

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

—Job 27:5

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VII. No. 20.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1925.

Price 2 Cents.

International Submits Final Memorandum To Governor Smith's Advisory Commission

Last Statement Meets Arguments Presented by Employers' Associations at Hearings—Presents Complete Summary of Union's Requests.

Last Tuesday, May 12, President Morris Sigman on behalf of the International Union, Vice-president Israel Feinberg for the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board, and Morris Hillquit, Counsel for the Union, submitted to the Governor Smith's Advisory Commission in the Cloak and Suit Industry of New York a final memorandum containing a complete summary of its requests. This memorandum is also designed to meet some of the more serious objections urged at the recent hearings held before the Commission by the spokesmen of the Industrial Council of the Protective Manufacturers' Association and of the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, to answer certain criticisms and complaints against the Union and to discuss the concrete suggestions of changes in the existing arrangements proposed by the associations of employers.

In brief the demands of the Union, in this final memorandum, are summarized under the following heads:

1. A minimum guaranteed period of employment for all workers in the inside shops and in the sub-manufacturers' establishments.
2. The designation of a minimum number of steady sub-manufacturers for each jobber with definite obligations on the part of the jobber towards such sub-manufacturers, including the obligation to furnish them with work to enable them to give their workers the minimum period of employment mentioned above.
3. An increase in wages.
4. A reduction of working hours from 44 to 40 hours per week.
5. That all examiners employed by members of associations shall be Union members.
6. That all members of the Indus-

trial Council shall use Union made embroideries, buttons and other trimmings.

The main complaints of the Industrial Council and the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association against the Union are:

1. That the productivity of the

workers employed in the inside shops is inadequate.

2. That the occurrence of stoppages of work or shop strikes in the shops of the Industrial Council members has not been properly checked.

3. That the Union is not taking
- (Continued on Page 2)

Joint Board Wins Important Case Against Sadovsky Firm

Vice-President Perlestein Brings Charges Before Impartial Chairman Ingersoll—Hearing Lasted Nearly Two Weeks—Firm Must Pay \$4,858 in Fines and Back Pay.

The firm of R. Sadovsky, one of the best known and largest cloak and suit concerns in the New York market, has an independent agreement with the New York Joint Board, as it does not belong to any of the existing associations in the trade. Recently there have occurred several grave violations of this pact on the part of the firm which have seriously affected some of its workers. The Union decided to call the firm to an account; the case was turned over to Vice-president Perlestein, manager of district No. 1, who at once began

to prepare the charges to be laid before Impartial Chairman Ingersoll.

The Sadovsky firm has an inside shop and a number of outside shops. These shops, designated by this firm as "units" are not treated by it as outside shops, and according to its agreement with the Union, the firm must maintain in these shops the same standards of labor as prevail in the inside shop. All work available must be distributed among all "units" equally.

The firm, however, seriously violated

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Jubilee Program of Local No. 50 Announced

Readers of Justice have already been informed that the Dress and Waistmakers' Union of Philadelphia, Local 50, is preparing to celebrate the 20th anniversary of its existence, on Sunday, May 24th.

The arrangement committee in charge of the elaborate festivities has now announced the complete program for the day and the evening. A classic musical program will be enacted in the afternoon, at the Arch Street Theatre, consisting of a number of orchestral selections to be rendered by twenty five members of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, under the leadership of M. Dusikov, renowned 'cellist; singing by Miss Helen Hittner, widely known soprano and soloist of the Philadelphia Orchestra, and several other no less prominent artists.

Local 50 has extended an invitation to all the locals of the I. L. G. W. U. all over the country to take part in their jubilee festival by forwarding contributions to the souvenir jubilee book which the local is issuing for this occasion. It is expected that many of the locals in New York and other near-by cities will send delegations to Philadelphia to participate in this momentous event in the life of the Philadelphia dress and waistmakers' organization.

Payment of Unemployment Benefits Begins on June 1st

Registration Office Opens Today at 6 East 29th Street

Arthur D. Wolf, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry, announced last week that he had engaged quarters for an office to be used for the

registration of unemployed workers in the industry. The office will be operated by the Board of Trustees under the supervision of J. A. Corcoran, Assistant to the Chairman.

The Insurance Fund office secures a record of each worker's lost time while employed from the weekly shop reports submitted by each firm. The rules adopted by the Board of Trustees, however, require all workers not appearing on the weekly payroll to register their unemployment with the Fund, and report regularly until again employed.

The registration office will be

located at 6 East Twenty-ninth street and will open on May 15. All unemployed workers who are required to register will be notified of the time to appear. These workers, who have been temporarily registering at the office of the Joint Board during the past two weeks, will be the first called to register at the new office.

Payment of unemployment benefits will become effective on June 1. All of the workers who have lost ten or more weeks' time since February 1, 1925, will then become eligible for unemployment benefits and receive the first payment on June 8.

Chicago Dressmakers' Union Stages Inspiring Pageant

Eugene V. Debs Speaks to the Members of Local 100.

May Day celebrations this year were carried out on a large scale by International locals not only in New York City. From Chicago comes the story of a wonderful pageant and dance staged by dress and waist makers' organization of the I. L. G. W. U. of that city which in scope, purpose and execution rivals, if it does not surpass, any of the elaborate First of May affairs arranged this year in New York.

It took place in one of the largest meeting places in Chicago under the management of a special committee of the local guided largely by Miss Mollie Friedman, International Organizer in the dress industry of that city. We quote the following from a letter by Miss Friedman describing the celebration:

"I desire to inform the members of our Union, through our Journal, of the pageant and dance which we held on May First, and also of the other activities of the local.

"The dance was held in one of the largest and most beautiful halls in Chicago, the Dreamland. Personally I believe that the name is very appropriate for the place. The success of the affair, as far as numbers are concerned, exceeded all our expectations. There surely must have been more than two thousand people in the hall.

"The pageant was carried out with rhythm and perfection, in the most artistic manner amateurs may aspire to. It pleased the audience hugely, and we have received a number of letters from prominent artists who had witnessed it, complimenting the organization on the beauty and skill with which it had been staged. It was truly impressive: full of spirit and imagination, and to such an appreciative broader vision and the ideals of our movement it surely was an inspiring spectacle.

"As for myself, I shall never forget

(Continued on Page 2)

President Sigman Back In New York

Dress Trade Campaign Plans Perfected—Drive Started to Unionize Cloak Shops in Small Towns Near Chicago.

After an absence of two weeks, spent largely in organization activity in Chicago, President Morris Sigman reached New York on Tuesday morning, May 12.

While in Chicago, Brother Sigman attended several meetings of the Joint Board arranged specially to discuss the pressing needs of the Chicago organization in his presence. President Sigman also visited member meetings of Local No. 5, the cloak operators' organization, Local No. 18, the Pressers' Union, and of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 186.

At these meetings, plans for a sustained and systematic drive in the dress trade were discussed and agreed upon. Miss Mollie Friedman, International Organizer in the Chicago dress trade, is to remain in charge of this activity as heretofore, working cooperatively with the officers and delegates of the Chicago Joint Board. The work will go on uninterrupted for seven or eight months until substantial inroads into the unorganized section of the trade had been made, when further plans and a change in organization

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Union Submits Final Memorandum to Mediators

(Continued from Page 1)

adequate and effective measures to unionize the industry.

The positive proposals on the part of the employers' associations are:

1. That the manufacturers be given the right to discharge a specified portion of their employees at certain times without right of review on the part of the workers.

2. That the employer be permitted to operate on the piece work system if he chooses.

3. That the associations of employers be given certain advantages over independent employers.

The memorandum then proceeds to analyze, step by step, the requests of the Union, the basic principles un-

derlying them, their timeliness, moderation, and urgency for the welfare of the workers and of the industry. From that it proceeds to the complaints lodged by the employers and proves that they are, as a rule, rare statements and conclusions unsupported by facts. It concludes with an analysis of the positive proposals made by the employers' associations and submits in their place some suggestions of its own containing reasonable provisions for the elimination of some alleged disadvantages of association members as against independent manufacturers and jobbers.

We shall publish in next week's issue of Justice some of the salient points of the Union's statement, as well as its concluding observations.

Chicago Dressmakers Stage Pageant

(Continued from Page 1)

get the moment during the pageant when the Spirit of our International, a tall beautiful woman garbed in a red Grecian robe with a torch in her hand, rose amidst the groups of girls dancing folk dances in the great hall in front of her, a beautiful girl, dressed as the Queen of May, with girl attendants, was handing out flowers, while everyone in the hall joined in the tune of the "Internationale".

"The affair has created a better spirit among our workers and everyone is still talking about it. Brother Sigman was in Chicago all this week. He is going to have a meeting with the executive boards of Locals 60 and 100 and later will meet with the Joint Board, where plans for organizing activity among the dressmakers will be worked out. A meeting of the shop chairladies and price

committees will be called for the end of the week and President Sigman will address them on the subject of organization. I am sure that his presence will stimulate more activity and hope among our girls.

Debs Speaks to Dressmakers

"Two weeks ago, our old comrade and veteran Socialist leader, Eugene V. Debs, addressed, by special request, a mass meeting of our dressmakers, members of Local 100.

The oration extended to Debs was beyond expectation. He spoke for about an hour, urging the dressmakers to organize. He reminded them of the glorious battles waged by our International and stirred the large gathering by the fiery appeal and the irresistible sincerity of his oratory. His address has, no doubt, made a deep impression upon our workers, and we hope that it will be productive of good results among them."

Vetcherinka and Concert in the Bronx

Saturday Evening, May 16th
in Local 2 Club Rooms

The conclusion of a successful educational season in the Bronx will be celebrated by a Vetcherinka and concert on Saturday, May 16, at 8 P. M. in the club rooms of Local 2, 1561 Washington avenue.

The following persons will participate in the program: Miss Cella Brownstein, soprano; Miss Elise Christian, pianist; Joseph Holzberger, violinist. Mr. E. Gottesfeld will read some of his most humorous sketches, and there will also be other recitations. The singing of folk songs will mark the end of the evening. Refreshments will be served.

It is expected that our members who attended the courses offered by our Educational Department in the Bronx and their families will come to this festival and spend a few hours together in good fellowship.

PRESIDENT SIGMAN BACK IN NEW YORK

(Continued from Page 1)

ing tactics might become necessary.

It was also decided to intensify organizing work in the so-called out-of-town zone of Chicago, where a number of non-union cloak and skirt shops have sprung up in recent years. Brother Joseph Dolnick, formerly a business agent of the Chicago Joint Board and a very active worker in the local organization, was appointed by President Sigman as organizer in this special field. A supervising committee, consisting of Brothers Bialis, Sher and Miss Friedman, was also appointed to guide the work in the Chicago out-of-town territory.

Vice-president Halperin of New York left for Chicago on Tuesday, May 12, at the request of President Sigman, to aid in the adjusting of some internal organizational matters of recent origin.

Joint Board Wins Sadowsky Case

(Continued from Page 1)

ed this clause of its pact with the Union. It had closed down two of the "units" entirely and had sent out the workers of the closed shops to work part time in other "units", to work by sets in turn one week after another.

In order to ascertain all the facts in the case, the Union instructed the auditor of the International, Mr. F. Nathan Wolf and his staff, to investigate the firm's books. The auditors, in addition to the above cited facts, also discovered that firm was sending out work in a covert manner, to non-Union shops, while its workers in the union "units" were going around idle. All these facts were summed up in one complaint and presented to Chairman Ingersoll, who ordered a hearing which lasted nearly two weeks. At this hearing the allegations of the Union were fully substantiated, and as a result it secured a clean-cut victory over the firm.

Chairman Ingersoll awarded damages to the Union amounting to \$1,858, and handed down a lengthy opinion bearing on many phases of the relations between the employers and the workers in the industry. Besides the damages, which included a fine of \$2,500 for breach of agreement, and \$2,368 in back pay to the workers for loss of time, Chairman Ingersoll made it clear the firm must close down "units" and re-employ all their former workers. The impartial chairman also ordered that the firm give these workers, between now and July 1st, enough work to reimburse them for the time lost through its manueverings.

Ingersoll's decision has made a profound impression in cloak circles in New York. It is expected that the ruling will have a salutary effect upon many other employers who might be inclined to regard their contract with the Union rather lightly, or as something which can be violated with comparative impunity.

LOCAL 131 HONORS UNION OFFICERS

The Cloak Salespeople's Union, Local 131, of the I. L. G. Y. U., at its last meeting, gave a pleasant surprise to two officers of the Union, Vice-president Samuel LeKovits and Sister Alice Greenbaum, the secretary of the local.

Local 131 is affiliated with the Miscellaneous District Council of New York, which is being managed by Brother LeKovits, who had helped the local, some weeks ago, to reach a new settlement with the cloak and dress store owners where most of the members of Local 131 are employed. An agreement was

signed on very satisfactory terms for the salesladies, and now the local decided to express to Brother LeKovits its appreciation in the form of a gift.

The occasion for it occurred last week. The secretary of the local, Miss Greenberg, is about to get married and the Local had presented to her at this meeting a wedding gift of \$100. Vice-president LeKovits was invited to the meeting to deliver the gift to Miss Greenberg, but he was himself agreeably surprised when he learned that the local had presented him a handsome and serviceable traveling leather bag as a token of the esteem in which he is held by its members.

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With the Cloak and Dress Joint Board

By JOSEPH FISH, Secretary-Treasurer

A meeting of the Joint Board was held on Friday, May 8, 1925 at Local No. 9, 67 Lexington Avenue. Chairman—Brother Ansel.

Committees:

A representative of the Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute appears before the Board and briefly explains the purpose of this institution. He emphasizes the fact that there are at present 22 schools and a summer camp maintained by the Institute, at which the workers' children receive a radical education. He requests that the Joint Board join this institution.

Decision on this matter is postponed to the next meeting of the Joint Board.

Communications:

Local No. 2 informs the Board that their Executive Board approved the minutes of the Joint Board of April 24th with the following exceptions:

1—The ad of \$25 given to the Prese Arbitre Bismare for their First of May edition.

2—The \$15 ad given to the Williamsburg Socialist Barar for their Souvenir Journal.

3—The appointment of Brother Shapiro as Business Agent in the Dress Department for the reason that Local No. 22—which Local Brother Shapiro represents—was not consulted.

Local No. 19 notifies the Board that they have approved the minutes of the Joint Board of April 17th and 21st and the report of the Board of Directors of April 22nd.

Local No. 22 advises the Board that they have approved the minutes of the Joint Board of April 24th with the following exceptions:

1—The appointment of Brother Shapiro as Business Agent without having consulted them, which is contrary to the custom of the Joint Board. The Executive Board believes that since Brother Shapiro is defeated in the recent election, it is not just to appoint him as Business Agent. The Local requests a reconsideration of this decision.

2—The report of the Finance Committee.

Local No. 22 has also approved the minutes of the Board of Directors of April 22nd, excepting the rejection of the recommendation of Brother Farber that committees be left for striking shops and that they be given additional aid.

The Executive Board of this Local calls the attention of the Board to the fact that Brother P. Rothenberg was not appointed, but elected on the 14th.

Brother Zimmerman, of Local No. 22, requests the Joint Board to reconsider its previous decision on the appointment of Business Agent Shapiro. Chairman, Brother Ansel, rules that this cannot be done.

Brother Zimmerman then appeals against the decision of the chair, contending that the chairman has no right to rule this question out of order.

President Ansel answers that he bases his refusal on the fact that Local No. 22 voted in the negative and therefore cannot bring up this question for reconsideration.

On a vote taken by hands, the ruling of the chairman is sustained. Local No. 59 informs the Board that they had approved the minutes of the Joint Board of April 13th, 17th and 24th and the report of the Board of Directors of April 22nd.

The United Hatters of North America, call the attention of organized

labor to the fact that the summer season is approaching. They therefore ask that all the workers be requested to purchase only such straw hats as bear the Union Label. This communication is accepted.

Finance Committee Report:

The Finance Committee recommends that the York Park Labor Lyceum be assisted with \$25.00 and that Local No. 50 of Philadelphia, which is celebrating its twentieth anniversary, be granted a page ad.

The recommendations of the Finance Committee are approved. The meeting is then adjourned.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS' MEETINGS

A meeting of the Board of Directors was held on Wednesday, April 29, 1925 at the Council Room of Local No. 48, 221 East 14th Street.

Chairman—Brother Weissman.

The following directors are present: Wertheimer, Herman, Dachs, Kosky, Ambrosini, Brick, Koshinsky and Milazzo.

Committees: A Sanders, member of Local No. 2, ledger No. 9275, appears as a committee of the shop of Hornestein & Rosman, 104 E. 22nd Street, and states that a strike was declared against his firm some time ago for the reason that the firm intends to go into the jobbing business. A committee of two was left to picket the shop.

Brother Sanders, one of the committee, therefore requests that the strike benefit of these two workers be increased. This request is referred to the office.

M. Bezer, member of Local No. 9, ledger No. 1267, was previously employed by Wokoff & Boeler, which firm went out of business some time ago. Brother Bezer informs the Board that this firm has now reopened a shop and therefore requests that be placed back to work. This case is referred to the office.

A meeting of the Board of Directors was held on Wednesday, May 6, 1925 at the Council Room of Local No. 48, 221 East 14th Street.

Chairman—Brother Weissman.

The following directors are present: Steinsor, Wertheimer, Herman, Kosky, Ambrosini and Milazzo.

Communications: The following communication was received from Local No. 2:

Board of Directors, Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union, 120 East 25th Street, City.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:—

We herewith wish to inform you that the attention of our Executive Board was called to the fact that in the letters calling the shop chairman to shop chairman meetings they are warned that in the event they will fail to attend a fine of \$5.00 will be automatically imposed upon them.

In discussing this matter our Executive Board is of the belief that all meetings must be attended, particularly shop chairmen meetings and that disciplinary action taken against those who fail to comply with the order of the Union. However, to our knowledge neither the Joint Board nor the Board of Directors nor any body in authority enacted such a decision and we therefore disapprove of the action of any individual in assuming undue

authority by imposing a fine upon anyone without first being called to responsibility for same.

We are calling your attention to the above so that you may take the proper action in the matter.

Fraternally yours,

EXECUTIVE BOARD

LOCAL NO. 2.
(Signed) J. DORUCHOWITZ, Manager.

Brother Perlestein explains that in order to get the chairmen to a meeting he found it necessary to state in his letter that a fine of \$5.00 will be imposed upon them should they fail to attend. He states that this is the best method to be applied in making attendance mandatory.

After this explanation the communication is placed on file.

Manager's Report:

Brother Perlestein, Manager of the Protective Department, Office No. 1, reports on the following cases:

A. H. Gittleson, 148 W. 37th Street:—This firm wishes to discontinue manufacturing and become a Jobber. The firm, however, did not give sufficient reason for doing so and the workers were instructed to wait for further developments. Should it be necessary to call a strike against them, the office will do so.

Dorfman & Miller, 501 7th Avenue:—This firm had of its entire force of cutters at the time it had a time agreement with the workers. The office was successful in placing the cutters back to work.

Aspils & Rotenberg, 22 West 31st Street:—This firm failed to pay its insurance as well as the wages due their workers. The office therefore withdrew the action and notified the jobbers to withhold a few money due this firm so as to secure the wages for the workers.

L. Simon & Co., 229 West 26th Street:—This case was reported at the last meeting of the Board of Directors (April 22, 1925), and was referred to the Impartial Chairman, who decided that the firm is justified in changing its business from manufacturing to jobbing.

At the meeting of the Board of Directors of April 22nd it was reported that the following complaints against R. Sadowsky, 1127 Broadway, will be taken up with the Impartial Chairman within a few days:

1. Sending work to non-union shops.
2. Closing up some of the units, and forcing 23 operators to work on 14 machines.
3. Unequal distribution of work.
4. Sending out work while the workers are idle.

Brother Perlestein reports that the case has already come up before the

Impartial Chairman and that the office had proved the Union's case conclusively. A decision has, however, not as yet been rendered.

Kaplan Bros., 25 W. 22nd Street:—This firm notified the office that it intends to become a Jobber. This, however, was stated by the firm as a threat as the Union investigated the non-union shops which they are employing. The firm was notified that should they do so, a strike will be declared against them. It seems that their attitude has changed and there is a possibility that the matter will be adjusted to the satisfaction of the Union.

Harber & Kaplan, 126 West 34th Street:—This firm, previously a member of the American Association, had to pay a fine of \$100 for sending its work to non-union shops. Because of this it resigned from the Association and now refuses to sign an individual agreement with the Union. The fine was paid by the Association and the shop was declared on strike. After several days a letter was received from the Association that the firm has been reinstated as a member. The Union, however, refuses to recognize the firm as a member of the Association, demanding that the firm pay liquidated damages before its reinstatement can be recognized.

T. Kipstein, 1372 Broadway: This firm discussed the matter of decreasing its inside force, with the union giving as their reason that they are now making a better line of garments and do not need the full force of workers. At this time it was disclosed that the firm sent out and made up thousands of garments in non-union shops. The matter is now pending and definite action will be taken at the opportune time.

This matter is discussed by the delegates and Vice-president Breslaw recommends that this matter be referred to the Local Managers, who are concerned in this controversy, in conjunction with the General Manager, who should see that the proper adjustment is made.

This recommendation is approved.

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JUSTICE

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Arbitration In Labor Cases

No. 8—Preparing the Case

(Note: This is the last of a series of articles based on study of labor arbitrations and practical experiences with different forms.)

Divisions of an Arbitration Case

An arbitration case falls into two main divisions—the prima facie presentation and the rebuttal. The term "prima facie," as it is generally understood in arbitration parlance, has come to mean simply the direct, or positive, statement of its cases by either party to the dispute. Thus, a union seeks to establish its contention by arguing that wages should be increased because the cost of living has risen, rates of pay are higher elsewhere, the employer can afford the advance, etc. The employer maintains that wages should be cut because they advanced more than has the retail price level, because his costs of production make successful competition impossible, etc. This is the approach of the prima facie presentation. The rebuttal is the refutation of the facts and the logic of the opposing side's contention. It is the negative aspect of the case. Whereas in the prima facie each side is seeking to prove its own case, in the rebuttal each is attempting to disprove its adversary's. There is sometimes also a sur-rebuttal, which is the rebuttal to the rebuttal, or, in other words, an attempt on the part of each side to re-establish its position in respect to those points in which it has been attacked. A sur-rebuttal is as a rule of minor importance, partly because it generally consists of a mere repetition of the prima facie statement, and partly because by the time it is reached, the arbitrator's mind is usually already super-saturated and incapable of absorbing further wisdom. A short, oral sur-rebuttal, for the purpose of a final summary of the entire case, may be helpful if well delivered and to the point, but anything more pretentious and a time-consuming ought to be avoided.

Prima Facie and Rebuttal Briefs

As an abstract proposition, the prima facie and rebuttal—the positive and negative aspects of the case—are of about equal significance. The ordinary rule is that no general arguments can be introduced in rebuttal. But that does not prevent holding a series of telling points for answer to an argument which it is certain the other side will make. In any specific increase, it may be advisable to present either the first or the second proposition. This is another of those matters concerning which no hard and fast rule can be laid down. There is often an advantage, just as in warfare, in assuming the offensive rather than waiting for defense, and this means putting the weight in your prima facie case. Yet it may be easier to attack some one else's argument than to maintain your own. What manner of man the arbitrator is must also be considered. Will he be swayed by first impressions of the rebuttal and give due weight to the intricacies of the logic or will he lean toward his mind as a half-suspicious "technician"? Will he be swayed by first impressions, or will he be more influenced by the last word? Furthermore, is it well to lay all your cards on the table in the prima facie brief? There is usually an appreciable interval of time allowed for the preparation of the rebuttal. This gives your adversary opportunity to pre-

pare his reply in detail and with care, whereas if you hold back ammunition till the rebuttal, your adversary will usually be constrained to answer on the spot or after only a short time for preparation. On the other hand, by the time you come in with your telling points, your opponent may have already succeeded in establishing his case in the arbitrator's mind and your ammunition will prove a "dud." All these factors must be given great weight by the "board of strategy" of the union, and serious study devoted to working out the best possible plan of campaign in view of all the circumstances.

Both prima facie and rebuttal arguments should be prepared in written form. They may be read at the hearings, unless, of course, the arbitrator requests the submission of the briefs without public reading, which is not the usual practice. Reading from a brief may be less effective than oral argument from the point of view of oratory, but it is infinitely more effective from the point of view of an orderly, clear-cut and comprehensive exposition, unless an unusually well equipped advocate can be found. Besides, there is always an opportunity for a certain amount of telling spontaneity through interpolations into the reading, through answering the questions the arbitrator may ask and through the impromptu interchange of amenities that so rarely occurs now and then between the opposing sides, either as the regular order of the proceedings or as the result of over-charged nerves.

The Union and the Technician

The preparation of an arbitration brief calls for a considerable amount of technical ability. Both employers and unions are relying more and more upon the outside expert to assist in various phases of the work—economic research, statistical computations, accounting, drawing graphs, writing the brief. Where a union is in a position to avail itself of these facilities it usually pays to do so, if competent and trustworthy assistance is available. The union ought, however, to keep in touch with its hired experts at every step of the work and consult and advise with them on all matters. Above all, the union official or lawyer should never shift the ultimate responsibility for the job as a whole on to the shoulders of the expert. The expert, if they are wise, will not accept this responsibility even if it is offered.

The actual presentation of the case before the arbitrator can be made either by the direct representative of the union, by a technician who has assisted in preparing the case, or by both jointly. Frequently there is an agreement as to whether the principals may or may not be represented by economic or legal counsel. If there is no such agreement, the union must be guided in its decision by such factors as the complexity of the case, the custom in the industry, the action of the employers and the feelings of the arbitrator. Some arbitrators are more impressed if a union official handles the entire case; others will give more weight to specially trained technicians. One good method of presentation is to have the union official read the brief and discuss the points with which he is familiar, while the technician is on hand to act as witness in respect to matters which involve his technical knowledge and ability.

Adequate Preparation Essential

In closing this series of articles we wish to point out once more that

An Evening With Local 38

By N. L.

"A cycle would have been out of his element there, for even a cycle would have had nothing to criticize.

"You think I'm exaggerating. Well, let me tell you, I have never attended and celebration which was like this one. As far as my experience goes, it is unique. And my experience has been considerable. I have attended parties, weddings and banquets run by small unions, big clubs, college fraternities, and high-society parties, but never have I seen anything like this one.

"Oh, your curiosity is aroused now. Your surprise will excel even that. The facts in the matter are common enough. Local No. 35, the Ladies Tailors', "Theatrical Costumers" and Alteration Workers, decided to have a banquet for its members at Park Palace on the eve of May 1, to celebrate the second year of its inauguration as Local No. 35.

"They did not have an easy time getting all the members together; in fact, some of them stayed away, and are properly regretful now. Not one member will miss the banquet next year, I can tell you that, and so can they.

"The party was home-made from start to finish, the members brought their wives and families, their good clothes, and their courageous spirits, both mental and material. They left behind them their worries and grievances, their miseries and pains. The eve of the workers' real holiday was going to be celebrated by these workers in a true spirit.

"Never has it been my experience to see such sparkling gaiety, such human friendliness, such harmonious merriment as was present that night. The fact that the food and drinks were unusually fine, that the hall was washed and decked into a state of blushing cleanliness, that the music played away with vigor and without effort from early in the evening until four in the morning, refusing to rest, are the least of the wonders of this gathering.

"The beauty lies in its spirit. Never has it been my good fortune to see brother greet brother as they did that night, with such a wealth

of love and kindness beaming from their faces as to make even brighter the very brilliant hall. Never have I seen grown men and women playing so easily and gracefully as those boys. They sang and danced, and talked and laughed, as if their ideal of having the world for the toilers was already attained.

"There was a calm serenity that sat on their faces and radiated from their throats. And speaking of voices. They did not have to engage high-salaried singers to perform for them. Brothers H. Senarunk, M. He Alto, and E. Armand delighted the audience with arias ranging from the most popular operas to the best-loved folk-songs in Yiddish, Russian and Italian.

"Those workers did not sing 'I'm So Blue' or 'Mammy.' They filled the hall with the golden melody of Verdi, Rossini, Donizetti, and scores of other masters. The liquid harmony that came from their throats and hearts was requested again and again, and they responded cheerfully and gladly, feeling amply rewarded by the sincere applause of their brothers and sisters.

"Who can describe the merry tables which groined under the load of good food and dainties, or the bright dresses of the women, the sober clothes of the men redeemed by a vivid flower in the buttonhole—and there were flowers for all, men, women, and children—or the brilliant colors on the walls of the hall, the bright lights which caught the colors of the jolly groups and reflected them a dozen times in the numerous mirrors.

"Everything was there. Even the crowning touch was not lacking. For an attempt to deliver serious speeches in the approved and time-honored manner, was cheerfully but firmly frustrated by the tremendous applause of the 400 guests each time a member stood up on a chair to make a speech.

"Finally the speaking members desisted, and songs were the only vocal expressions permitted at large. If that isn't a feat, at a workers' banquet, I'd like to know what is."

Workers' Health Still Unprotected

A survey of the workmen's compensation laws made by the Workers' Health Bureau since recent legislative sessions shows how little attention lawmakers are paying to the victims of occupational diseases. Such obvious injuries as broken legs, counting under the accident provisions, are grounds for compensation, but

the insidious and often deadly diseases that come with chemical poisoning or the inhalation of rock dust are usually ignored.

Only four states and the federal government have blanket occupational disease laws. Five other states and two territories give protection in a limited number of occupations: thirty-seven states ignore the occupational disease sufferers entirely. The federal law relates only to federal employees. No provision is made by either state or federal occupational disease legislation for marine workers.

The present New York occupational disease law is an example of inadequate legislation. Though 21 diseases are specified in the law now on the books there are no provisions for benzol, lead poisoning, benzine, naphtha, gasoline, skin irritations and silicosis and for ill arising from other chemicals constantly coming into industrial use.

States having blanket legislation for occupational diseases are: California, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Wisconsin. States granting compensation only for a limited number of occupational diseases are: Illinois, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota and Ohio, and two territories: Hawaii and Porto Rico.

arbitration is one of the methods of settling industrial disputes between employers and employees. There are various types of arbitration. Some unions favor one type, some another; some are opposed to arbitration in any form. Once a union has, however, accepted the principle of arbitration, in whatever form put into practice, it is faced with the task of making adequate preparations so that it can get for its membership all the benefits that it is possible to get. It should see to it that the conditions under which the arbitration is to take place are equitable; that a fair and able arbitrator is selected; and that its actual case is well prepared and presented. Whatever may govern the decisions of an arbitrator, the union which spares no pains in the handling of cases usually fares better in the long run than one which relies on impromptu methods.

Child Labor on the Farms

By EDWIN V. O'HARA

Director, Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference

The child labor situation on farms in the United States has recently been much discussed, not on its own merits or demerits (as it surely needs to be discussed) but in its relation to the proposed child labor amendment to the Federal constitution. In much of this discussion there is an assumption and an assertion, both of which lack substantial foundation.

It is constantly assumed that the manifold benefits of unregulated agricultural child labor are so obvious and outstanding and the evils so insignificant that for one merely to raise a question concerning the matter is to convict oneself of hostility to farmers as a class and of ignorance concerning farm home conditions. It is also repeatedly asserted that the enactment of the child labor amendment would cripple agriculture.

Wet pictures are drawn of the miserable situation which will ensue on farms the day following the enactment of the amendment when a host of Federal inspectors will prohibit seventeen-year-old boys from driving a team and prevent young women from doing the dishes. One is tempted to suppose that somebody credits such tales, but it is hard to believe that such persons have read the proposed amendment. The most casual reading of that proposal will make it clear to anyone that it involves only an "enabling act," and sets up no standards of child labor at all. The amendment would give to the States as well as to the States the right to exercise a power which the States alone have now the right to exercise. "The power to limit, to regulate, and to prohibit," is the language used. The right to limit the hours of child labor, to regulate the conditions under which children may work, and to prohibit the employment of children in dangerous and harmful occupations. That is all.

No State has yet attempted to regulate child labor on home farms. Nor did Congress in either of its attempts to legislate concerning child labor include child labor on home farms in its purview. The suggestion that the members of Congress who have their ears to the ground in their rural constituencies are awaiting the passage of the amendment for an opportunity to slap the farmer (in the face is simply grotesque.

But if the assertion that farming would be injured by the enactment of the child labor amendment is baseless, the assumption that rural child labor is altogether sacrosanct is no less unfounded. I have before me as I write Vol. IV of the Fourteenth U. S. Census, dealing with population by occupations. I find on page 450 that there were 63,950 children in the United States between the ages of ten and fifteen years working out for hire as farm laborers (not on home farms) and this, not in the pleasant summer time, but in the month of January. Moreover, these figures present but a fraction of the commercialized labor of children of tender years employed without suitable regulation in the sugar beet, tobacco, cotton, and fruit industries, an evil now growing apace in many States with the inflow of Mexican families. A society which would be satisfied with such a situation must be lost beyond hope of redemption. Fortunately for her soul America will not be complacent with this evil.

Hard, unrelenting toil for children before they have reached physical maturity can be justified neither on the farm nor in other industries. They

must serve their apprenticeship, but no industry built on the labor of apprentices is socially or economically sound. Unregulated child labor on the farm (even on home farms) will have to answer very largely for the hatred and disgust for the drudgery of farm life which have driven and are driving thousands of intelligent and capable boys and girls from agricultural pursuits.

Finally, it has been suggested that the regulation of labor incidental to securing educational opportunities should be denied to country children in order to keep their aspirations down to the level of farm labor. We desire neither peasants nor peons in American agriculture. Children have minds as well as muscles to develop and if one must be chosen for development to the exclusion of the other all mental components should abandon the farm forthwith and betake themselves to occupations in which education would not be a hindrance. Needless to say there is actually no such antagonism between trained intelligence and the work of the farmers.

Any industry dependent for its success upon the labor of immature children is a social and economic parasite. Such an industry, be it a certain type of agriculture in the South and West or manufacturing in New England, should have a rock tied about its neck and be thrown into the depths of the sea, if it seeks to stand erect on the backs of child workers; and on the highest authority that has spoken among men it will inherit a yet greater curse as surely as the children's angels stand before the face of our Father, who is in heaven.

A "Reasonable" Rate

By NORMAN THOMAS

A recent decision of Federal Judge Winslow that the Consolidated Gas Company of New York is entitled to a rate, which will produce 5% on its investment raises two questions:

(1) What shall be the basis of valuation? In the valuation allowed in New York there is an obscure item of some nine million dollars which certain critics allege is for what is ordinarily called good-will. Good-will may be a real factor between two competing concerns, A and B, when A is a going concern well established and popular. It is not a factor in the case of a monopoly. This is only one sample of the difficulties courts and regulatory bodies have in determining true value on which rates may be charged.

(2) Why is 5% rather than 6% a proper return? Who gave courts rather than public service commissions or legislatures the wisdom to decide what is a reasonable return and what is confiscatory and therefore unconstitutional? This much is certain. The City of New York does not have to pay 5% on its bonds. The city could finance the Gas Company at a lower rate than the Gas Company pays its stockholders. The one thing that stands in the way of efficient public ownership is the unwillingness of the people to see to it that they get the benefit of possible savings through public control by an honest, non-political administration of our utilities. A lazy, corrupt democracy which will not look out for its own interests costs us all very dear.

More Profits of Poison

Since months ago five employees of the Standard Oil Company in New

Jersey died in straitjackets after manufacturing tetra-ethyl leaded gasoline. This gasoline now sold in 27 States to eliminate the knock in automobile engines will of course bring enormous profit to the companies making it. The publicity following the death of the five men in New Jersey resulted in at least two investigations by experts. The first by the Bureau of Mines, reported that the new fuel properly handled was dangerous neither to its makers nor to the public in general. This report was vehemently challenged at a meeting of the American Society of Safety Engineers by Professor Yandell Henderson of Yale supported by Drs. D. L. Egdall and C. K. Drinker of the Harvard Medical School. Professor Henderson declared the menace of leaded gasoline is "probably the greatest single question in the field of public health that has ever faced the American people." And he discredited the Bureau of Mines report because it was financed by the interested companies.

Professor Henderson's opinion seems to be confirmed by the experience of two Columbia experts, Dr. Frederick B. Flinn and Miss A. Tarkenton, both of whom showed symptoms of lead poisoning in the course of their investigation. According to the "New York World" their report, prepared under the direction of Dr. Haven Emerson, Prof. of Public Health Administration, will show that workers engaged in the manufacture of the new fuel, garage men, motor repair mechanics and even the motorist who investigates his supply of gasoline are exposed to lead poisoning of the fumes and by direct contact.

The day following the "World" story Dr. Horatio Williams, professor of physiology in behalf of Columbia issued a formal denial that definite results had been reached. Yet this statement branding the "World" story as "utterly false" later admitted that slight evidences of lead poisoning were found in these two workers and the "World" repeats that its information was derived from one of them. It will be interesting to watch developments.

Whether any adverse scientific report will be accepted by the officials of the manufacturing companies as final and compel them to abandon this dangerous fuel, remains to be seen. Bitter experience goes to show that men will fight for the profits of poison. They will not admit that it is poison. This attitude is one of the evil fruits of our profit system. The health of the community must be guaranteed by the power of the community. It cannot be trusted to profit makers.

THE STRIKEBREAKER



—The Australian Worker

Rosmersholm

By special arrangement with the Educational Department, our members can obtain half price tickets to see Ibsen's ROSMERSHOLM at the Fifty-second Street Theatre. Cards entitling you to the reduced rates can be had from our Educational Department, 3 West Sixteenth street. Those of our members who wish to see this play should do so at once, as it will not run for a long period.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND

Two weeks from now, about June 1st, the recently founded Unemployment Insurance Fund in the cloak industry begins functioning, and such in our midst, as either by nature or "training" are always inclined to view with suspicion anything and all the Union undertakes on behalf of the membership; such as may be incited by any charlatan or demagogue to regard unemployment insurance as but another means of "wresting out of the workers' pockets another few cents"—these doubters and cynics will now have an opportunity to realize for themselves, first, the practical aims and purposes of this measure and, second, their own bigotry and shortsightedness.

In the first place, let us bear in mind, that it is not, in this instance, important how much the workers will get in unemployment benefit. Perhaps, the twenty, thirty or the whole sixty dollars which a worker may at present obtain as his or her share for the loss of time during the seventeen "legitimate" weeks of the season will not freeze his pans to any great extent, and we naturally expect that those who are always ready and eager to find fault with the Union will quite likely attempt to belittle on this account the entire scheme of unemployment insurance in our industry.

We know these maligners of our organization and we are familiar with their pure and disinterested efforts on behalf of the "tollers". We are also not entirely unmindful of the fact that not all our workers are farsighted enough to see through their demagogic trickery. It was for these, therefore not altogether amiss to enter at some greater length into the matter of unemployment insurance, and by a detailed discussion of it, safeguard our members against the perennial wiles of our detractors who are leaving nothing, undone to undermine the morale of the Union, our workers' only effective weapon of defense and offense in their fight with the employers.

In several European countries unemployment insurance has been in operation for a number of years past as an organized State relief agency. In America, however, unemployment insurance by the State is as yet a distant possibility, and from all signs may not be realized for many years to come. In this country a great many economic and political obstacles stand in the way of its realization, not the least of these being, perhaps, the silent or articulate objection on the part of the workers themselves to government "doles" such as are being distributed on a large scale for a number of years past in England, for instance.

Under such circumstances, if unemployment insurance is to be at all materialized at present in this country, it could naturally come only through the efforts of the workers themselves, and in such a seasonal industry as cloak making it could obviously find no other legitimate form of expression except through insurance introduced by the workers' unions. Our international some years ago has realized this fact when it first conceived the idea of carrying out its principle of unemployment insurance into practice in our trade. Various proposals in this direction had been made on several occasions, but these plans had been frustrated each time by seemingly insurmountable obstacles, not the smallest of which was the fear that, no matter how small the insurance rates might be, the workers would find the burden of maintaining it a duty which they neither could nor would desire to undertake.

These plans, therefore, had to be abandoned to make room for another arrangement which was regarded as more acceptable to the workers. This plan involved the payment by the manufacturer of the major part of the money which would go toward the raising of the unemployment fund. Surely, there could be no moral objection to such a plan on the part of the workers. It certainly is not their fault that they can find during the "slack" seasons no takers for the only commodity they may sell in the industrial market—their labor power. Surely, there is a clear obligation upon the industry and those who run it, the employers, to help the workers who are so indispensable to them during the "busy" seasons, to tide over the distressing periods of unemployment.

It was such a plan that the General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U., in cooperation with the New York Joint Board, had proposed among the other demands presented to the New York cloak employers last summer.

The Governor's Special Commission in the Cloak Industry recommended the approval of the Union's demand upon the terms suggested by the workers' representatives, namely, that the workers contribute one per cent of their weekly wage towards the rais-

ing of a joint unemployment benefit fund, while the employers contribute two per cent of their weekly payroll as their share.

We are not in the least inclined to assert that this is an ideal solution of the problem of idleness in our industry, or in any industry for that matter. We had stated more than once that the worker is just as entitled to make a living during the time he is forced to go idle as he is during the rush weeks of the season. This, however, is at present clearly an ideal that cannot be realized, and the next best thing, the taxing of the employers exclusively for the raising of an unemployment relief fund, appears to be confronted by a number of equally unsurmountable obstacles which make its realization at this moment impossible. One of these hindrances lies in the fact that, while some of the employers in the cloak trade have both short and "peak" seasons, others have a great deal more of work to give to their employees and these would bitterly object to raising the major part of a fund which would go largely to relieve the workers employed by the short-season firms, for whom, they claim, they have no responsibility, neither directly nor as an employing class, the existence of which our "individualistic" bosses still strenuously decline to recognize.

The plan suggested by the Union and adopted by the Commission obviates all these objections. Under it, every worker, no matter by whom employed, is obliged to contribute one per cent of his or her weekly wage to this fund. A similar obligation rests upon the employer, no matter of what grouping or classification, to pay two per cent of his weekly payroll towards this fund,—probably the best modus operandi that could have been proposed under the circumstances.

The fact that the workers themselves contribute a material share towards this fund clearly removes every taint of "charity" from this unemployment relief measure, a color which might otherwise be attributed to it by such sensitive cloakmakers who have not as yet grown up mentally to realize that the entire wealth of the industry is, after all, but the creation of the toil of those who work in it. The participation of the workers in the raising of the fund can thus justly be regarded as a further extension of the principle of mutual aid and cooperation which is the very cornerstone upon which every labor organization is based.

Furthermore, it is quite true that, while all cloakmakers are obliged to contribute equally towards this fund, not all of them will benefit equally from it, as for instance, such workers as have had full 17 weeks of labor during each of the seasons. It is also equally true that those who will have contributed the least toward it, those who have had the least number of weeks of work during the seasons, will get the major portion of the fund's benefits. We are, nevertheless, quite certain that the workers who will contribute the biggest share to this fund will not begrudge its beneficiaries the comparatively larger amounts to which they may be entitled. Quite the contrary, they no doubt are intelligent enough to realize that they themselves might be confronted next season by longer idleness, a condition that would place them but a short time hence in the category entitled to a greater measure of unemployment relief.

It seems to us that it is hardly necessary for us to dwell any longer on this particular point. For that matter, our entire organization is based on this principle of cooperation and mutual assistance, and it certainly never occurs to any of us, in the course of the daily run of the Union's business, to question or calculate the costs involved in the controlling of the workers who will contribute as a whole. There are big shops which have ever cost the Union a cent and where all disputes, as a rule, are adjusted amicably while, on the other hand, there are other smaller establishments where a state of continued warfare always prevails and which cost the Union large sums of money. Nevertheless, we have still to hear of complaints from workers employed in the so-called "good" shops against the expenditure of large sums required for the proper control of the bad shops. And we are confident that a similar spirit will prevail among our workers with regard to the administration and the distribution of the money raised by the unemployment fund.

It may be added that the rules governing the payment of unemployment in operation at present are not calculated to remain unchanged forever. Under the present circumstances, unemployment benefits could only be given to such workers as have been idle during the "legitimate" 17 weeks of the season. The remaining nine weeks are treated as "normal" slack weeks. If unemployment during these nine weeks were a law of nature that could not be altered. But this will, of course, change entirely after the Union had secured a guarantee of 32 weeks of employment during the year for all the workers in the cloak and suit industry. Then our unemployed men and women will be entitled to unemployment benefits for the so-called "normal" slack weeks, an arrangement which will practically secure for them a livelihood all year around, an object which the Union is primarily determined to attain.

Right now, nevertheless, it is not the size of the out-of-work benefit that we most have in mind as the Union begins this initial experiment in the task of securing our members against the ancient ravages and distress of periodic unemployment in the cloak and suit industry. Most important of all is the fact that the Union has finally, through the exercise of its power and pressure, succeeded in establishing the principle of unemployment insurance in the trade through a fund towards which the employers are to contribute the major share. Once firmly fixed, it is quite likely that the employers will be later called upon to bear the entire burden of this fund. Once established, there is every reason to believe that this fund will extend its scope and functions to

Neo-Communism

Berlin, May 2.

"Leninism, as the Marxism of our own day, blazes the way for us, but only our own revolutionary experience may gauge the pace and show the route of the proletarian revolution. This experience teaches us that we must be watchful regarding its temp and the concepts of the times. Even Marx and Lenin have made errors in this respect.

"What concerns the march of the world revolution in a political-geographical sense, we, at the beginning, visualized the path of this revolution from Russia across Germany."

"The German working class sees the Dawes plan only from the brighter side. The contrasts will grow sharper.

"The bourgeoisie has won, in a historic sense, a victory, having obtained a short though real breathing spell.

"An actual revolutionary situation does not exist.

"The road of world revolution is much harder, thornier, more fatal and obstructed than what we had previously thought."

"Who is uttering this heresy? Who is pouring so mercilessly icy water upon feverish minds? Surely not those old enemies of the Bolsheviks, not the Mensheviks, the Social Democrats, for, to them Leninism is the abys of despair by the Versailles Treaty.

"The aid in this direction from the Third International had to come quickly if it was to be of any use at all. This, in fact, was the mission of the Comintern; it had been founded for the purpose of stirring the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat and organizing these into potent, fast-moving relief armies for the benefit of Soviet Russia harassed on all sides by capitalist enemies. The whole literature of the formative days of the Third International breathes with such illusions concerning the rapid advance of the world revolution. The conditions for admitting new parties into the Comintern, the famous 21 points, had been made purposely severe on the ground that in times of social revolution, in a period of social civil war, when the class struggle is assuming its sharpest form, the parties that would join the revolutionary world army must be ready to accept the severest discipline to make certain that they could stand the strain when called upon to face the fire of proletarian warfare. The "iron discipline" which the Third International had demanded was motivated by the exigency of acute hostilities when only a centralized leadership is capable of assuming command of the entire battle field and when autonomous freedom of action of the individual parties may fatally affect the outcome of the social revolution.

"No, it is his Revolutionary Eminence himself speaking, the Red Pope Zinoviev, the president of the Communist International, at a meeting of the Bolshevik college of cardinals, the "Enlarged Executive Committee." It is for the first time that we hear such outspoken, frank words from Zinoviev, a sober, realistic declaration with regard to world revolution from the lips of this generous and prolific dispenser of "world revolutions" in every nook and corner of the globe.

"The bourgeoisie has won, in a historic sense, having obtained a short though real breathing spell." But this spell may, of course, mean a delay for several decades, like the "spell" between the '45 revolution to the Paris Commune, or the brief space of time from the 1871 to, let us say, the Bolshevik coup. Such an evaluation of world affairs naturally is a complete reversal of the orthodox Bolshevik orientation with its credo of a "permanent world revolution" already in its throes, upon which the Bolsheviks had based their entire tactical program. This cannot be denied by anyone familiar with Bolshevik literature and with the history of the Third International. During the early days of their rule, the Bolsheviks themselves have believed in consonance with the theory of Marx—that they could not exist as a isolated Socialist state in the midst of a capitalist world. They had therefore based all their hopes on a world revolution, considering themselves as its vanguard,

Blasted Hopes of World Revolution.

Special Correspondence to Justice
by LEON CHASANOWICH

though fully aware that without its success in other lands their own coup would go down as only a heroic attempt like the Paris Commune.

As a palpable confirmation of their strong faith in a world revolution then came the up-avalanches in Finland, Bavaria, Hungary, and later, the events in Italy and Germany. Lenin and his associates invariably in those days used to point to these revolutionary events as proof of the fact that the social revolution is on the march.

Bolshevism had laid particular stress upon Germany, sparing no effort or sacrifice to accelerate, with the aid of the Third International, the march of history in that country and seeking to achieve a proletarian victory in Germany not merely because it was for Russia geographically the bridge across to Europe but also because it seemed at that time that no other country was economically and psychologically more ripe for a social revolution than highly industrialized Germany driven to the abyss of despair by the Versailles Treaty.

The aid in this direction from the Third International had to come quickly if it was to be of any use at all. This, in fact, was the mission of the Comintern; it had been founded for the purpose of stirring the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat and organizing these into potent, fast-moving relief armies for the benefit of Soviet Russia harassed on all sides by capitalist enemies. The whole literature of the formative days of the Third International breathes with such illusions concerning the rapid advance of the world revolution. The conditions for admitting new parties into the Comintern, the famous 21 points, had been made purposely severe on the ground that in times of social revolution, in a period of social civil war, when the class struggle is assuming its sharpest form, the parties that would join the revolutionary world army must be ready to accept the severest discipline to make certain that they could stand the strain when called upon to face the fire of proletarian warfare. The "iron discipline" which the Third International had demanded was motivated by the exigency of acute hostilities when only a centralized leadership is capable of assuming command of the entire battle field and when autonomous freedom of action of the individual parties may fatally affect the outcome of the social revolution.

This all, however, is a matter of the past. They are "outlived illusions" that are more or less lightly but not cast out today upon the scrapheap of discarded Bolshevik shibboleths. Today, as declares Zinoviev, and Zinoviev never speaks his personal views only but the opinion of the whole Third International, "we must be careful with the pace and with the concepts of the time regarding a world-revolution," which im-

plies that until now they have been careful with neither; "that there does not exist anywhere an actual revolutionary situation" (whereas the "permanency" of the revolution had been harped upon heretofore). All of which implies that Bolshevism had made peace with the idea that it would have to wait many, many years for a goal revolutionary world-situation or for a return of a favorite revolutionary moment.

In the last part of his speech Zinoviev attempts somewhat to minimize the depressing effect of his own words. He describes the paradoxes of capitalist society and the conflicts which permeate its existence, paradoxes and conflicts which have been an open book to all Socialists in the days before the war. These descriptions lead Zinoviev to declare that the situation is still "revolutionary," and that capitalism is "mortally wounded" by the war and the Russian upheaval. How can the situation be "revolutionary" in view of his previous declaration that "no acute revolutionary condition exists"—no amount of mental gymnastics, of course, can explain, indeed, how can capital be "mortally wounded" and at the same time score a historic victory in the form of real "spell"? Which of these statements is the correct one? Which of these was made by Zinoviev in a moment of sacred revolutionary abandon and which in a sober, mortal manner?

It is not hard to perceive that the self-peddling of the second half of his speech was intended for the purpose of depriving the first part of its disheartening, frank, brutal admission, that the world-conflagration is not yet at the door and that the world-wide Bolshevik Messiah is still a distance away from us. Zinoviev is seeking for his faithful followers an easier crossing from their former world-viewpoint to the one that is being offered for their consumption at present.

Faetally, however, his declarations amount to a thorough revo-

lution of the accepted Bolshevik view on the trend of world's events and history. This is also confirmed by his later statements that a "true" Communist must have the fortitude to wait "tens of years" for the final battle. Which proves that Zinoviev calculates that a new revolutionary world-situation may not arise before a decade had elapsed, that the brief "breathing-spell" of the bourgeoisie may last for tens upon tens of years, and that capital may yet carry on for many more years with a "death wound" in its bosom.

What has served to disillusion the Bolsheviks must be undoubtedly the situation in Germany. The fact remains undisputed that since 1923 there has taken place a profound change in the state of mind of the masses of the German people. In the early days of the Ruhr invasion and during the height of the monetary debacle, Moscow believed that Germany was ripe for a revolution, and the organizing of the uprising in Hamburg had been intended as an inspiring example for the rest of the German working class. This uprising, however, had been suppressed, and this time even without the aid of a Nobe. Since then Communist sentiment has been steadily on a decline in Germany, accentuated so vividly during the just concluded Presidential elections. And if vanquished Germany had disappointed Bolshevik hopes, what sanguine results indeed may actually be expected from other quarters?

The result is a new orientation in Bolshevism, a change that I am inclined to style as Neo-Communism. I have attempted to present in this article its negative side, its disenchantment with the proximity of a world revolution, and its postponement of a world upheaval for an indefinite period. What is, nevertheless, its positive side, with what does Bolshevism now propose to replace the outworn dogma of its earlier days, and how does it aim to save the Communist world organization reared upon these discarded articles of faith from complete breakdown and eclipse?

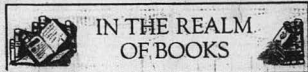
We shall take this up for discussion in our next letter.

"THE WAVE OF PROSPERITY"



as to eventually afford our unemployed an even greater and wider measure of relief during the periodic spells of "slack."

Our members must bear in mind that the unemployment fund, as it is to be operated at present, is but the beginning of a very important reform in our industry, a reform made possible through the intelligent and loyal direction of the forces of their Union by its leaders, a fact which our workers, regrettably, only too often lose sight of.



Meet the Doctor

ARROWSMITH. By Sinclair Lewis. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1925.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

With every book appearing from the pen of Sinclair Lewis, the phenomenon of Sinclair Lewis becomes increasingly fascinating. Here is a man who has placed himself unquestionably among the foremost ranks of our contemporary novelists. Here is a man who is recreating America for Americans to view in terms of its typical, humanly, in terms of Main Street, Habbitts, Arrowsmiths. The tiny American towns of our great mid-West, the up-and-going (or is it coming?) hamlets with their professional boosters, the great humming cities, all this civilization is being made into a laboratory for Sinclair Lewis, in which he recreates the "specimens" which show America to herself as she is.

Yet the Sinclair Lewis who is accomplishing this great and artistic service for us through the written novel is a novelist who cannot write. To wade through the cumbersome, lumbering tales which are Sinclair Lewis' media is to grow weary in vast quantities of commonplace. Sinclair Lewis piles up details with the laborious industry of a zoological scientist determined to prove to an uninterested world that Chance did split his infinitive. Yet Lewis' details fashion a whole that is momentous and engrossing. If Lewis never will learn anything of the artist's first tasks — of selection and form and that chiseling that is the essence of beauty — he will remain an important artist, nevertheless.

For Mr. Lewis, in the words of one of his critics, is conspiring with the spirit of the times to become one of America's most significant novelists. He is preeminently a sociological novelist, and one is often tempted to speculate in the middle of his tales on just what strange twist of circumstance made him choose art rather than science as his medium of thought and expression. No analysis of American society, no cross-section review of its peoples, no microscopic study of its typical communities could offer more penetratingly "scientific" an insight to the thing present-day America has become than these painstaking novels of Sinclair Lewis.

And just here enters another amazing item in the phenomenon of Sinclair Lewis. The "spelman" crowds around the dissecting table, where science is laying bare its impost, secrets. America has risen to Sinclair Lewis, has bought his revealing studies in thirty eagerness, has encouragingly asked him, after each dose for "more". Why? How can we explain this willingness, even anxiety, among our historically "touchy" Americans to see themselves as others see them? Probably the answer to this fascinating puzzle lies in the "spirit of the times", that other conspirator which with Mr. Lewis himself is plotting to make the novelist who cannot write one of our most significant writers.

For America has come of age. The sprawling, lusty land, heartily crying to all the world that it was just as good as, if not better, than anybody has subsided to maturity. Maturity is a period of reflection, of introspection, of soul searching. America is

taking stock of the gifts its youth has piled up for it. It is realizing that pettiness of spirit has lodged in its Main Streets, the pettiness that is born of boredom and vacuity and closed living. It is realizing that bustling unimportance has seized its business men, that the heroic captains of industry are George F. Babbitts, in different sizes and shapes. It is questioning the value of its prized materialism with all the booty that a prodigal people have tied up in it; it is questioning the self satisfaction in bread, which its ancestors has been bred; it is questioning every value and every ideal a previous generation held piously unchallengeable.

This painful job of growing up, Sinclair Lewis is chartering for us. He is unforgetfully labeling the disillusion — what revelation is compressed into those labels of failure, Main Street, Habbitt. Indeed the new art in America is both an agent and a product of America's coming of age. Only a civilization that has arrived at maturity can take the leisure to stand off and look at itself, the leisure in which art is born. The frontiersman, fighting for his life against nature and beast and man, had little time for the refinements to culture — and introspection. The spirit of our age has become thought and reflection. It matters little, therefore, whether Sinclair Lewis can or cannot write beautifully. He sees uncommonly sharp.

Arrowsmith is his third plunge into revelation. Once again he holds the mirror shyly up to our civilization. And once again the reflection is a summons to America to realize that all is not well. Main Street has paraded its tattered, pitiful soul under the pen of Mr. Lewis; Babbitt has hustled through the nothing that, in business to fundamental doubts; now America is invited by Mr. Lewis to meet the Doctor. We bow, watch, follow, (and those of us who know American doctors) recognize. There is much that is fine in this study, much that is inspiring, much that is provocative, and some that is unacceptable.

Mr. Lewis, apparently, approached the task of writing this novel somewhat as a scientist approaches a research job. Assiduously he gathered his material carefully he accumulated his facts, tested his hypotheses. Only a long and industrious investigation could have given a layman so detailed a knowledge of the present status of medical science, of its conceptual shorthand, of its outstanding material. Mr. Lewis has digested his material. We get from his resume a highly illuminating picture of Herr Doktor.

Martin Arrowsmith becomes before our eyes Dr. Arrowsmith. Dr. Arrowsmith tries to join the small band of seekers. The medical profession tries its best to tell him nay. The story how a man becomes a doctor and remains a man, how a doctor tries to become a scientist and a scientist is the fabric of Arrowsmith. In the progress of the fabric the standards of a young profession in a young land are shown in an horrible white light.

Martin Arrowsmith, a boy, gives his

young services free to the country doctor of the small town that was his birthplace. For Martin loves the medical cabinets, the perky skeletons, the red, large books. Martin goes to the University of Wisconsin. There he studies under Dr. Gottlieb. Dr. Gottlieb becomes the bossman of Martin's life. His selfless devotion to science, the joy of new truth would light the way of any devoted seeker. Dr. Gottlieb has no illusions about humanity. So wearily disappointed is he with the people life has thrown in the way of his path finding that he often wonders why he should seek ways of keeping more of them on the earth. And certainly the men about him at Wisconsin give little satisfactory answer to this probing question.

Argus Duer with his angular ambitions, his undeviating certainties of what he asks from life; such a youth will be only one kind of man. Stupid Irving Tavas, Irving, too, will some day ask three dollars a visit. Cliff Clawson was too boisterous for this decorous profession — but Martin was Gottlieb's delight. Martin also was a scientist. But Martin was a man, a blundering, slangy, sweet man. His manhood brought Madeline untwined into his life, and finally won him Leora, Leora of the clear vision and staunch heart. We know too little of Leora as she arches back upon her — and this is Leora's finest tribute. Martin marries Joyce later and finds he cannot go on. Martin the man blunders and finds happiness, too.

Martin, the Doctor, is a prod, and then a bored internist. Martin the Doctor, has his office in Wheatylvania, his public health job in Nau-

tilion, his clinical job in Chicago, his institute job in New York. Dr. Gottlieb, also, is ousted from the university, almost broken in commerce, rescued by McCord Institute. The picture of the physician, the pettiness, the self-seeking that shadow the path of the highest science; the revelation of the commercialism, the halfheartedness, the pretenses that deform this fine profession of healing is a mirror of a whole section of America whose boundaries reach far beyond even the medical profession. Yes, Sinclair Lewis, once again has drawn well.

But, for once he has drawn almost too well. Sinclair Lewis, I fear has become an artist with a mission, a scientist with a hard and fast hypothesis. He has a cause to brood. Main Street, Habbitt, Arrowsmith. One can almost imagine him casting his eyes about at the end of one book for another American idol to slay. Mr. Lewis is determinedly bent upon making America look at itself. And so his own vision is fast becoming professionalized. He is out to see, not what he sees, but what he wants to see. And too often such seeing reveals only the deformities (or for Pollyanna the beauties) that Mr. Lewis and his troop are looking for. To me Dr. Kennicot is a fair example of a doctor, a really admirable profession still seem important. To me the way of science must naturally be blocked by much the same human frailties that block all seeking.

Arrowsmith is an exciting book, and a revealing one. Yet it reveals more things than Arrowsmith or even than America.

Third Year-Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions, 1925.

Published by the International Federation of Trade Unions. Price: 10/- Obtainable from all booksellers or from the Publication Department, International Federation of Trade Unions, Teseelschstraat 21, Amsterdam.

We welcome the appearance of the new year-book of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which may most certainly be said to be the most complete handbook of the international trade union movement.

From this publication we see that at the end of 1922 there were affiliated to the Federation 23 Trade Union centres, comprising 835 organizations with a total membership of 15,321,892. In regard to 14,937,145 members out of this total, the sex is reported, so that we find that of this number 12,567,428 (85.3%) are men and 2,370,717 (14.8%) women.

A detailed table setting out the various orientations in the trade union movement shows that the total number of organized workers at the end of 1922 amounted to 28,439,329. Out of this total 16,490,121 workers adopted the platform of the International Federation of Trade Unions, while 2,245,849 (principally in Russia) were affiliated to the Communist, 2,345,832 to the Clerical and 494,790 to the syndicalist trade union movements. The remaining 14,970,027 take a neutral standpoint.

From a survey of the number of organized workers in each country compared with the population figures, it appears, inter alia, that in Austria out of every 100 inhabitants 17 are trade unionists; next on the list is Germany with 15.3%, then follow England (13.5%), Australia (12%), Czechoslovakia (11.1%) and Belgium (9.9%). The following countries are among those where the trade union movement is so far very little developed: Argentine, Finland, Bulgaria, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Peru,

Romania, South Africa, Brazil, Japan, India (British Empire), Dutch East Indies, Egypt and China. In all these countries not more than 1.5% of the population are organized workers.

Of the contents we would mention, in the first place, the tables with names, addresses and membership number of all the 835 organizations affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, together with the names of their trade journals. There are also tables with addresses and membership figures of the organizations which compose the Trade Secretariats, a list of the organizations caring for workers' education at the present time, and lists of the organizations affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International, the International Co-operative Alliance and the Young Workers' Socialist International.

It may also be specially mentioned that the year-book contains, for the first time, detailed reports as to the position of the trade union movement in the various countries, written by leaders of the national centres.

Both as an address-book and as a statistical year-book this publication will be of the greatest service to all those actively engaged in the trade union movement or who take an interest in the work of the labor movement.

Waldman & Lieberman
LAWYERS

302 Broadway, New York
Telephone: Worth 5623-5624

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

"Loyalty" Mobbers Sued for Damages

THE murder of five trade unionists at Bogalusa, La., in 1919 by "loyalty leaguers" gun men is recalled by a damage suit against the Great Southern Lumber Company in the local Federal District Court. It is charged that the company employed the gunmen to block the organization of its employees.

The suit was started by Mrs. L. E. Williams, widow of one of the victims. She asks for \$50,000 damages. Williams was president of the Bogalusa Central Trades Council. He and his associates were at the Williams' home when the gun men drove up in automobiles and opened fire with shot guns and rifles. Three unionists were killed outright, and the other two died of their wounds.

The mob then sought Ed Dacus, an influential negro clergyman, who was aiding the whites to organize the mill workers. Dacus hid in the swamp and later escaped to this city. The mob rifled his home and burned many of his belongings.

Since the assault every effort to secure criminal action against the thugs has failed and a civil case was finally started after years of successful effort by the lumber company to secure postponements. Numerous witnesses in this case, testifying for Mrs. Williams, identified several of the killers who appeared in court and who are included in the plea for damages.

Eviction of Strikers Blocked in West Virginia

GOVERNOR Gore has notified West Virginia coal operators that hereafter evictions of strikers from coal company houses must be in conformity with the law.

It has been the practice of the operators, with the connivance of local authorities, to evict strikers on a few days' notice to vacate or without any notice in some instances. Coal companies in Ohio and Marshall counties have recently resorted to this practice.

The State law requires a full calendar month's notice to vacate before eviction can legally take place. Governor Gore's order prescribes that hereafter the coal companies must comply with the law.

The Governor also assures strike leaders that the right of a trial by jury will be guaranteed in all eviction cases.

Unorganized Labor Helpless; Company "Union" Aids Bosses

UNORGANIZED miners in Colorado presented a pathetic picture before the State Industrial Commission when they attempted to resist wage reductions. In some cases the coal operators insisted that wages be cut 33 per cent, but the Commission allowed 20 per cent.

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, with its boasted company "union", was the loudest protestor for wage cuts. The much-advertised employees' representation failed of its purpose—as far as the workers are concerned.

Coercion by employers was so glaring that the Commission ordered the reinstatement of several workers who objected to the reduction. Fitted against skillful pleaders and high-priced attorneys, who were armed with statistics of every description, the workers stood dazed. Even if they were equipped to meet attacks on their living standards, they were helpless before straw bosses who would report their attitude to the company office.

The principal argument of the coal operators was that they can not compete with the non-union mines of Kentucky and West Virginia. This indorses the position held by the United Mine Workers who have repeatedly declared that trade unionists will not aid the "back-to-slavery" movement by competing with non-union wage scales.

Union coal miners point out that the Colorado wage cut may now be used by Kentucky and West Virginia anti-unionists to enforce another reduction.

Public Forums Asked by New York Workers

THE establishment of public forums in every school, under the direction and control of elected boards of education and of advisory committees, is urged by the New York State Federation of Labor in its educational program. These forums, the unionists say, will result in a better understanding of the employers', workers' and farmers' viewpoints.

The first demand on the program is "a free text book system for all school children."

The repeal of the State law granting a charter to the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations and the General Education Board is urged, as is surveys of conditions in the schools of the State "to the end that the lives and the health of our children and the comfort and the safety of the teachers may be provided for."

Laws for the protection of the children and the teachers, which shall be co-ordinated in purpose with those already existing upon the statute books for the protection of industrial workers, are favored.

Nation's War Loss Exceeded by Auto

AT a meeting of the National Safety Council in New York City it was shown that the automobile's dead and wounded throughout the country exceeded the total dead and wounded in the American army overseas during the world war. The army losses in the war were 275,946, while the auto's toll was 19,000 dead and 450,000 injured. Of the dead, 5,700 were children.

The daily average was 52 killed and 1,159 injured. These figures include automobile accidents at grade crossings, in which 1,633 persons died and 5,650 were injured.

The dead and injured equal the population of Washington, D. C. or Newark, N. J., or Cincinnati, or the combined populations of Albany, N. Y.; Norfolk, Va., and San Antonio, Texas.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

AT the Scottish Trades Union Congress, which was held last week, it was stated that, out of a total of 1,656,542 employed persons in Scotland, 54,422 are organized in 227 unions, or which 137 are British and 90 Scottish. Thirty-six of the larger unions contain about four-fifths of the total membership, 81 unions having a membership of less than 100. A resolution was passed instructing the General Council to plan the development and co-ordination of trade unions with a view to increasing their strength.

One of the dangers of trade unionism in Scotland was said to be the growth of the co-partnership system. Another resolution, which was, however, rejected by a large majority, proposed that the trade union movement "should assume full control of the political machine independent of all other sections."

GERMANY

The Success of the German Trade Union Bank

THE "Bank of Manual and Non-Manual Workers and Civil Servants, Ltd.", which belongs to the "free" trade unions, and was founded on May 31, 1924, has just submitted its first report on activities.

The balance-sheet of December 31 shows a gross profit of 229,661 marks and a net profit of 129,258 marks. Out of this net profit, 75,000 marks will be allocated to the statutory reserve fund, and 25,000 marks to a special reserve fund. A 10 per cent dividend has been paid.

German Workers Fight for Eight Hours

THE general confederation of the German trade unions is continuing its vigorous fight for the eight-hour day.

Early in the year, yielding to the insistent demands of organized labor, the Government applied the three-shift system in blast furnaces and coke works, but excluded rolling mills and Bessemer and Thomas converters.

To whip the reactionary government into line the International Federation of Metal Workers called a conference at Cologne.

"The eight-hour day," declared the conference, "is not only of the utmost cultural importance to the workers, but also conforms to the necessities of modern economic development, which demand the peaceful collaboration of all civilized nations in order to make good the losses engendered by the World War."

The conference condemned the German Minister of Labor for limiting the eight-hour decree to blast furnaces and coke works, denounced the large-scale industrial magnates for their opposition to eight hours, and insisted that the shorter workday shall be applied to the entire industry.

Pensions for Employees of the Labor Movement

AN Assistance Association has long existed in Germany to give aid to employees of the "free" trade unions and the Social Democratic Party when they have become incapable of further work, or, in the case of their death, of aid their surviving dependents. Contributions to the association were paid either by individual members or by organizations. By this means unions have done their duty towards their members, and yet avoided responsibilities which might fall very heavily upon their treasuries in the future. This organization, like all other German insurance institutions, suffered acutely from the inflation, and has only quite recently been able to resume its activities.

Its annual report for 1924 states that 26 organizations and 649 individuals are now members of the Association, the total number of employees affected being 4,459. The contribution is 4 per cent of the salary. By the end of last year 50,000 marks had been paid out in pensions to 202 employees, 41 widows, and 79 orphans.

AUSTRIA

Trade Unionism in Austria

THE National Centre of the Austrian Trade Unions has just issued its annual report for 1924. The report shows that the Centre comprises 657,376 fully-paid-up members. In comparison with the previous year, the fully-paid-up membership has declined by 26,729, the loss being due to the slump in trade and the heavy unemployment.

The total income of the Austrian trade union centre in 1924, including the balance from the previous year, was 140,728 Austrian shillings, against an expenditure of 1,672,794 shillings. A Fighting Fund for emergency use is administered confidentially. The National Centre receives an affiliation fee of 1d. out of every trade union contribution paid in. "Labour and Economics," the official journal of the National Centre, has a circulation of 15,000.

LATVIA

Ratification of the Eight-Hour Day Convention

ON March 31, the Latvian Parliament ratified the Washington Convention concerning the Eight-Hour Day and the 45-hour week. In the course of the debates there were keen differences of opinion. The Government proposed a conditional ratification; namely, that the Act should only come into force after the Convention had been ratified by all the important industrial states which had signed the Treaty of Versailles.

The Social Democratic deputies strongly urged unconditional ratification, but were unsupported by the other parties. Eventually a compromise was reached. The agreement will come into force in Latvia as soon as it has been ratified by three of the States of the greatest economic importance mentioned in Article 393 of the Peace Treaty.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



"Clear Voices In English Literature"

By B. J. R. Stolper

Course given at the Workers' University of the INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION Season 1924-25

Lesson 1. Anatole France: The Skill and subtlety of French Irony.

(Note: The course for this year is planned to take up the outstanding work in English and American literature. But the death of Anatole France has called forth so many discussions in regard to his work that it seems advisable to begin with an appreciation and an appraisal of this towering figure of all modern literature.)

His Life: The four periods of his work, and why he is representative of almost the whole range of French literary progress; tradition art for art's sake, humanitarian indignation, disillusion.

His Work: Extreme care is needed in reading him. He is almost always satiric; often at himself, usually at modern conditions, no matter how remote the century he is writing about, and very frequently at his readers.

His Characteristics: His extraordinary learning; his polished style; his strength as a critic; his ability to sum up, in brief, vivid presentation, the widest panoramas, both historical and philosophical; his kindness; his consistent socialist leanings; his ability to dissect, calmly and humorously, all forms of social and political absurdity.

The Dreyfus Affair: Its influence on him and his subsequent writings.

His Books: "The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard"—his most lovable.

"Penguin Island"—his bitterest, strongest and most disillusioned.

"The Red Lily"—characteristic of his last and most physical phase.

"Thais" and its ambiguous delight.

"La Reine Pedagogue"—curiously cutting.

His Short Stories: "Crainquebille"—a marvelous and bitter past of social misadjustment.

"Frotolo"—an amazing satire on the rise of myths.

Suggested Additional Reading: "The Revolt of the Angels," "The Gods Are Athirst," "Jocasta, etc."

Questions: 1. What is the first characteristic of France's work?

2. What phases of life influenced him most?

3. What is his attitude towards art? Society? Religion?

History?

(To be continued)

Ibsen's Rosmersholm at 52nd St. Theatre

By special arrangement with our Educational Department, I. L. G. W. U. members can obtain tickets at reduced prices.

The waning theatrical season has brought no production to compare in interest to the workers as the Stagers' presentation of Ibsen's master work "Rosmersholm," produced by Edward Goodman, the former director of the Washington Square players, and interpreted by such a distinguished cast as Margaret Wyeberly, as Rebecca West; Warren Williams, as Kresler; Carl Anthony, as Pastor Kroff; J. M. Kerrigan, as Ulric Brendes; Arthur Hughes, as Mortensgard; and Josephine Hull, as the housekeeper.

The critics have been so enthusiastic in their reception of both the play and its interpretation that we

feel sure that our members will wish to take advantage of the reduced prices that the Stagers have arranged to allow members of our organization.

The 52nd Street Theatre is a small house, seating only 229, the majority of its tickets are \$2.75. For members of the Union they are issuing slips which will entitle them to a 2.75 seat for \$1.10 at the box office of the theatre. These slips may be obtained from the office of our Educational Department, 3 West 16th St. These tickets are for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings, only for Thursday and Saturday matinees.

to save the country from economic collapse.

COOPERATIVE WORKMEN UNIONIZED

By referendum vote the British cooperative societies have made it necessary for all workers employed by the Cooperative Wholesale Society to belong to the union of their trade. Friction has developed in some industries between the unions and the cooperative societies, but these differences are now disappearing over the conference table.

Workers' Education; Its Methods

(Extract from Pamphlet on Workers' Education.)

By ARTHUR GLEASON.

Groups I and II

Methods in workers' education depend on objects. If the object is to train leaders and to give the ambitious minority of the rank and file an intensive education, then the method will be that of the small class and hard work. Education for these groups is for those only who feel a desire, and have some sense of the direction they wish to travel. The experiment will begin with three or four in the class, and with meager funds. If correctly grounded it will go slowly. Only at the end of some years will the experiment show results large enough to attract outside attention and public ceremonies. No short cuts and no brass bands will lead to workers' education of this intensive kind. This education is self-education. It is not by chance and happy blunder that workers' education rediscovered the ancient and correct method of teaching—The Socratic quiz, the question and answers discussion. The workers recaptured this method through necessity. The miner and railwayman, adult and having knowledge of life, would not submit to the autocracy of orthodox teachers. A "grown man" or woman will not sit silently each week for several years like a lecturer or orator holds the platform. Each one of the group insists on contributing. University extension courses, night schools, Chautauques, civic and church forums, mass meetings with star speakers, concerts, theatricals, are not the method of labor education of this kind. Labor education is intensive work on one subject carried on by a small class (5 to 25).

Opportunities for actual industrial responsibility are given by the duties of shop chairman, shop committee, and by the organization of cooperative establishments. This practice is of course an essential of education.

Group III.

One method of reaching the rank and file, as yet unawakened, is by semi-entertainment. Various devices for stirring desire for education will be used. Ribbons and hoses will be applied. A beautiful actress will recite Shakespeare. A full orchestra will find "The Lost Chord." Moving pictures, lantern slides, charts, budgets, maps, and other graphic representations, will be used. Three-quarters of the time will be spent in attracting people. The other quarter will contain some bits of information. Out of these mass efforts will come individuals, asking for help in the rudiments of mathematics, in the English language. Classes will be formed to meet the two-fold need of those who never had an elementary education, and those who find that an elementary education has left them uneducated. Mass education by mass semi-entertainment will contribute to the solidarity and enthusiasm, which may later lead to intensive education by the class-and-discussion method for a small minority.

The question is asked: If young people receive a full and good elementary and secondary education, would there be need of workers' adult education? The answer is

that the desire for adult education grows keener as the elementary education is more widely spread and more thorough. A well-instructed group of workers, twenty-five years old, will be eager for adult education. An illiterate group, or a group numbed by drink, will be hostile to class work. Also, a group of half-educated youths, fed on dogmas and preconceived notions and picturesque phrases dealing with catastrophic changes and millennial hopes, will be superior to education, to careful analysis, to surveys of fact.

A thoughtful paper on mass education has been written by J. M. Budish, of the United Labor Education Committee. He writes that the subjects included in the curriculum should be (1) Natural Sciences, (2) Social Sciences, (3) Cultural Elements. He suggests that:

The shop meeting reaches more workers than any other union activity. About 75% of the members attend. If the technique of the shop and the routine shop problems are made an approach to the study of the structure of the industry as a whole and then of the inter-relation of industries, the shop has become a "project."

In local union lectures it is possible to reach about 10% of the union membership. As in any organization, an active minority of 10% hold office, work on committees and attend business meetings. The series of lectures must at first be closely related to the pressing trade union problems of to-day; the abuse of injunctions, the open shop campaign, the shop chairman movement.

The official journals or endorsed papers are a neglected education medium.

The W. E. R. (Workers' Education Bureau) should create pamphlets to serve as a health for shop and class room use.

Personal guidance in reading may be given by the more advanced students and by a librarian as well as by teachers. The sense which his reading to readers must be enlisted for workers education. The worker must be taught how to handle books, use indexes, select what he wants, taught to digest and assimilate material found in libraries. Bring traveling libraries of say 50 selected volumes into the shops, the trade union meetings, and the classes.

It has been suggested that workers' education should be made compulsory for new members, for apprentices, and for officials. At best, this could only be done in certain unions. At worst there are possibilities of abuse. In any case, the suggestion calls for long consideration.

GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY!

The Office of the International, 3 West 16th street, is open every Monday and Thursday until 7 o'clock to enable members of the Union to purchase

"The Women's Garment Workers" at half price—\$2.50.

ASKS CO-OPS TO REBUILD ITALY

Disconnected by rising prices, the Fascist Government of Italy is appealing to the cooperative movement, which two years ago it was active in smashing, to rebuild the country's economic life. Learned conferences of economic experts and cooperative leaders have been held in Rome recently with representatives of the Government, which is anxious to repair some of the damage it has done to the consumers' societies in order

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

В июне.

Президент Национального Юниона М. Стивен в своем распоряжении, чтобы федеративный Бюро и Дрес Джобт Бюро объединились в один Дрес Джобт Бюро. Сказано это в предисловии к новому и обновленному изданию отчета последнего Отдела Юниона.

Торонто, Канада.

После окончания старшей школы официально организован Дрес Джобт Санитарного Контроля в г. Торонто.

Пинстировать кино.

Обычно Дрес Джобт налад торонтосские деловые приемы полиции попросила применить к инспектированию работы "Дрес Джобт" закон, воспрещающий инспектирование. Юнион переделал в канцелярии городской суда, который признал этот закон не подлежащим применению к инспекционным услугам во взаимноотомоченных капиталах и труда.

Дом отдыха.

Секретарь Национального Юниона А. Баров сообщает, что регистрация некоторых зданий для отдыха на выходящую фабрику "Форест Парк Индустри Гарз" имеет 25-ю мая в центре кинона. 3 Вест 16-ая улица.

Особенно внимание членов кинона обращается на тот факт, что "Юнион Гарз" теперь принадлежит Национальному Юниону, и поэтому секретарь для всех членов кинона, также, что помещены для приема гостей значительно расширены и что особенно выказано внимание на двустороннюю сторону, как то: лекция, концерты, специально вечера и др.

Не следует, конечно, забывать, что форма для отдыха оборудована для детей и поэтому стоимость жизни будет значительно ниже, чем в частных предприятиях.

В Чикаго.

Мозе Фришман, организатор Национального Юниона для Дрес Индустри в Чикаго, сделал очень обширный доклад об организационной работе

Фредя Кристенберг, заявила, что эта организационная комиссия призвана к контролю индустриального кинона.

"Проанализировать"

На годовом собрании Лига Прогрессивного Штата Нью-Йорк, состоявшегося в среду, 22-го апреля, состоялось принятие и рекомендация публике кинонаый фильм "Проанализировать" для Дрес Индустри. Лига выпустила отчет пространное заявление с указанием на необходимость для потребителей изучать требования и материалы только шитье, а именно кинонаый фильм.

В Отделе.

На состоявшемся в понедельник 11-го мая общем собрании собрания членов Русско-Польского Отдела были рассмотрены следующие вопросы:

- 1) Прочитан и принят протокол годового собрания Отдела и протокол Исполнительного Комитета Отдела.
- 2) Прочитаны и приняты протокол Дес Джобт Бюро от 22-го апреля и протокол Совета Директоров от 24-го апреля.
- 3) Выслушаны и приняты доклад делегата Отдела в Дес Джобт Бюро — Косинка в Нью-Йорке, в дека 2-й — Анникопел, в дека 25-й — Каского и Звержского и в Фонд Взаимопомощи Локал 25-го — Новизно.
- 4) Кандидат Отдела Анникопел доложил, что собрание на нормальном концерте в пользу еврей Советской России 31 и 33 сента пересланы через Интернациональный Банк на имя Е. И. Каземан.
- 5) Секретарь Отдела доложил о способе вылаты пособия из безработного фонда.

Правила Фонда.

- 1) Рабочий год считается с 1-го февраля по 1-ое марта. Год разделяется на два сезона — осенний с 1-го февраля по 1-ое августа, и зимний — с 1-го августа по 1-ое апреля.
- 2) Каждый сезон разделяется на два периода: рабочий период 17 недель и "сыды" период 9 недель.
- 3) Пособие выдается только за недоработанное до 17 недель время, по

10 долларей в неделю, но более как за 6 недель в каждом сезоне и за 12 недель в рабочем году.

4) Работы, выполняемые между 1-ым февралем и 1-ым Июном не более 6 недель выданы — выданы первые недели в первую неделю Июна месяца. Работы, выполняемые 9 недель в сезоне, выданы первые недели по вторую неделю Июна месяца. Проработавший 10 недель выданы в сезоне выданы первые недели по третью неделю Июна месяца и так далее, пока работы, выданы 16 недель работы, выданы все первые недели по 1-ой неделе августа месяца.

Проработавший 17 недель в сезоне, пособие не выданы. Если работы, выданы первые недели, выданы опять работы в проработав

тает выданы неделю или работает неуставные часы до полной недели, то то время будет присчитано к числу недель выданных в год.

Работы, не выданы в течение установленного пособия в первом сезоне года выданы больше чем за шесть недель в следующем сезоне того же года, если он не проработав указанного выше числа недель.

Только члены, принадлежащие к кинону по желанию одного года и проработавшие последний год на кино-ворочном рынке, будут выданы стипендию.

Работы, не выданы в течение установленного пособия в следующем сезоне, будут открыты около 15-го мая в июне 16-го Июн 23-ая ул.

М. Шевченко, секретарь.

DRESSMAKERS

MEMBERS OF LOCAL No. 22

6-BRANCH MEETINGS-6

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1925, at 7:30 P. M. SHARP

- at the following places:
- DOWNTOWN BRANCH: — Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St.
 - MARLEM BRANCH: — Laurel Garden, 75 East 114th St.
 - BROOKLYN BRANCH: — McKinley Square Gardens, 1253 Boston Rd.
 - BROWNVILLE BRANCH: — Labor Lyceum, 239 Backman St.
 - BROOKLYN BRANCH: — Vienna Hall, 195 Montrose Avenue
 - CONY ISLAND BRANCH: — Pythian Hall 294 West 21st St.

At these meetings, the reports of the Executive Board and other very important questions will be taken up. Such member meetings will be held every first and third Thursday of the month.

According to the decision of our union, every member is to attend at least one meeting in three months. Those who fail to do so will be fined one dollar.

Do not fail to come to these meetings, and thereby help us to strengthen our Union.

Fraternally yours
EXECUTIVE BOARD, DRESSMAKERS' UNION
LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.
JULIUS PORTNOY, Secretary

P. S. Bring your union book with you to be stamped as per that you attended the meeting.

COOPERATION TRANSFORMING RUSSIA

The Czars, Kerensky, Lenin and Trotsky pass away in Russia, but cooperation remains like the America of old, redoubles its strength by every fresh contact with the soil.

Centrosoyuz, the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Cooperative Societies, has sent to the All-American Cooperative Commission the latest figures of its phenomenal growth, showing the amazing total of 60,000 distinct societies, of which half are farmers' co-ops, 22,000 consumers' co-ops, and the remainder producers' societies. Seven and a half million families are represented as shareholders in consumers' stores, while 2,200,000 farmers have a financial stake in the movement. A third of a million workers are shareholders in productive enterprises. In one short year this represents an increase of 1,700,000 families who not only do business at cooperative enterprises, but also have invested their money in the movement.

Not only in numbers but also in volume of business the activities of these Russian cooperatives are striding ahead with unparalleled vigor. Back in 1913, the year before the terrible international slaughter was started, Centrosoyuz turned over \$125,000,000. Despite the unimaginable paralysis which overtook industry and transport in Russia in the sad years which followed, the total business last year was \$400,000,000.

The whole effort of the directors of the National Economic Council now is to foster the growth of the cooperatives as much as possible in order to suppress the middlemen and private business profit-seekers. These individuals will be unable to continue in business as soon as co-operation is big enough to run the distributive life of Russia. Cooperators hope later to extend their sweep into productive industry, where they already have a sizeable foothold with 220,000 workers financing and running their own industries under State supervision.

OUT ALREADY

The Women's Garment Workers

A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
A Book of 640 Pages, Excellently Bound

by Dr. Louis Levine

Author of "The Syndicalist Movement in France," "Taxation in Montana," etc.

The Price of the Book Is Five Dollars

Members of the International may obtain it at half price, \$2.50, from the General Office directly, at

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Out-of-town members can secure it at half price through local secretaries.

The Book contains several excellent illustrations — from the early days of the organization to the last Boston Convention.

P. S. The General Office will be open until 6:30 p. m. every Monday and Thursday to enable our members to purchase the book after work hours.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Unanimous approval of the penalties imposed upon members who violated the hours of work in the slack season constituted some of the important business transacted by the members at their regular meeting on Monday, May 11th, in Arlington Hall.

Others Deprived of Work

Such cases as were read to the members from the reports of the Executive Board and which drew the heavy penalties might have been dealt with more leniently in the height of the season. It might be argued then that to secure an additional cutter was difficult and the cutter, consenting to commit the violation, appeased his conscience by pointing out to himself that he was not depriving anyone of any earnings.

Of course, this reasoning never awayed the Executive Board from imposing effective penalties upon the individuals guilty of working excessive hours.

In the slack season, however, the violation is intensified. Because by the employment of an additional cutter in a shop where work is plentiful in the slack season the cutter first employed is not deprived of his week's wages.

The hiring of the additional cutter would but make it unnecessary for a cutter to work late into the night or on Saturday afternoons.

Working Card Withdrawn

This was practically the explanation given by Isidore Nagler, acting manager of the cloak division, in the case of Brother Max Moskowitz, who was not only charged with working excessive hours of overtime but was also charged with failing to receive proper pay for overtime. The business agent handling the case made a collection of the difference in the pay.

An examination of the books of the Super Cloak Company showed that Moskowitz had worked twenty hours a week overtime, which is a good deal more than the number of hours overtime allowed by the agreement and the rules of the union. It is obvious, as the books showed, that the cutter in question not only worked late into the night to make twenty hours a week overtime but also worked on Saturday afternoons.

This violation, added to the fact that Moskowitz failed to receive double pay for overtime, made for very serious charges. The Executive Board, therefore, not only decided that the working card of the cutter should be withdrawn but also imposed a fine of \$75.00 upon him.

When the case was reported to the members, their unanimous approval of the decision of the Executive Board was no doubt prompted by the fact that the penalty was just and that normally the firm could conveniently well afford to employ two cutters, thus permitting two workers to earn a week's wages.

Corporation Membership Costly

Again the Executive Board had occasion to deal with one who sought to endanger the working conditions of the union by organizing a corporation, the members of which secured under false pretenses membership in the union.

Samuel Rappaport joined the corporation firm which went under the name of Hammaslag. It consisted of a cutter, Rappaport, a presser, operator, and two other workers in other branches of the trade. For the purpose of disarming the union of suspicion, only the name of one of

the corporation was made public, who posed as owner.

Members are no doubt familiar with the fact that the union is very severe when penalizing members of the union who are also members of a corporation. The reasons are obvious: workers banded into a corporation know no hours of work or other decent working conditions. They are interested in but one thing and that is to underkill the legitimate worker by working all hours and by accepting any sort of pay so long as they get work.

Since the corporation was already disbanded, information of which reached the union following the dissolution, the Executive Board, in addition to withdrawing Rappaport's working card and ordering him to cease working for Hammaslag, imposed a fine of \$75.00.

Individual Registration For Insurance Fund

The action by the members on the reports of the Executive Board was preceded by the announcement, during the course of Nagler's report on the cloak activities, that individual registration for unemployment insurance would begin about May 15, the headquarters for which will be located in the store at 4 East 29th Street.

It should be remembered, however, very clearly that this registration office is open only to workers in the cloak trade who are not registered with any shop, whose shop has gone out of business, and so on. Workers whose names appear on lists of particular shops are not to register at the above office.

These latter have already been registered by the shop chairmen of their shops in lists on which are recorded the names of all workers. Announcement as to when and where workers who have shops will receive insurance moneys will be made public shortly through the pages of "Justice" and the regular press.

More detailed information for all classes of workers, such as workers with or without shops, who may not be sufficiently familiar with the details regarding unemployment insurance, may be secured at the registration office given above or from Brother Charles Jacobson, Manager of the Unemployment Insurance Department. His office is located at the Joint Board, 150 East 23rd Street, on the sixth floor.

Working Cards Important Issue

Brother Nagler, for the cloak division, and the writer, for the dress division, were compelled to go to some lengths, during the course of their reports on the activities of the office, on the matter of working cards. During the past three weeks, since the controllers have been placed in work, many employers have been penalized for doing their own cutters. These shops have invariably been such as the cutters of which failed to return their working cards when they were laid off. In other words, not until the controllers were assigned to these shops and visited them was the fact revealed that cutters were not employed.

Had these men, whose shops were laid off and whose employers were found to be doing cutting, paid occasional visits to their shops and returned their working cards, the employers, under the agreement, could have been made to pay them for some of the time they lost. The office is compelled to come to

the conclusion that the members take the matter of the rules governing the working cards very lightly and the only way their importance can be made plain is by some effective penalty. It should not, therefore, surprise a few members who may receive a summons to the Executive Board.

Rules Governing Working Cards

For the purpose of having the members understand fully the rules, and as a final warning, the rules are here given: a member must secure a working card for the shop in which he secures employment within twenty-four hours. If the card is marked, "Good for One Week Only", he must renew it at the expiration of the week.

If the card is marked, "Good Until January 1925", he must renew it immediately. Cards being issued at present are marked, "Good Until July 1925". Members whose cards are not stamped, "Temporary", "Good for One Week Only", and who are employed, must have working cards bearing the stamp, "Good Until July 1925".

Members who are laid off for lack of work, or who are dividing work, or who quit their jobs, must turn in their working cards to the office immediately. Cutters who did not quit their jobs but who are out of division of time or have been laid off for lack of work, should frequently visit their shops for the purpose of seeing to it that they secure an equal share of work or that no cutting is done by the boss or by other workers, non-union or otherwise, who are not supposed to do cutting.

Observation of these rules will not only save the members from penalties but, what is more important, it will greatly help the office in properly controlling the shops. The writer is of the opinion that the rules have been clearly stated, and failure to observe them will prove burdensome.

Miners Send Thanks

The office is in receipt of a letter from Brother Will C. Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer of District Number 17 of the United Mine Workers' Union, in which he acknowledges receipt of clothing sent to the striking miners. "I wish to thank you," he adds, "on their (the miners'), behalf, and assure you that we appreciate very much your interest in our cause."

Members and friends who contributed clothing, include Nat Baron, and Brothers Harry Berlin and Louis Gilden.

Employers Also Penalized

A glance at the adjustment of complaints filed by the office reveals the fact that it is not only the cutters who are penalized for violations. Since it takes two to make a bargain the employer, therefore, is invariably guilty of entering into collusion with the worker who violates working conditions and rules of the union.

When a cutter is summoned to the charge of working on a Saturday at termoon or Sunday, or a similar violation, a complaint is simultaneously filed against the employer and a penalty is demanded.

Thus, of the total number of complaints filed within the first three

months of the year, the great majority were adjusted to the effect that the firm was penalized. There were some, of course, that were adjusted as unfounded. These related to cutters against whom there was no case, and consequently no penalty could be imposed upon the firm.

Adjustment of Dress Complaints

Within the past few weeks or so quite a number of complaints have been filed against employers to the effect that they employed non-union cutters. The instance proved to be rare when a non-union cutter was found who was not a member of the union in the true sense of the word.

In ninety-eight per cent of the cases the so-called "non-union cutters" were found to be non-union in the sense that they had been members previously but were dropped from the membership rolls because of non-payment of dues.

It would not be amiss to say that there are more of these complaints filed against the employers in the dress trade than in the cloak. In other words, more dropped members seek readmission in the dress division. The reason for this becomes plain at once when it is remembered that the great majority of the shops in the dress trade are small contracting shops, the owners of which invariably include a cutter.

Few cutters enter into the manufacture of dresses stay in it very long. Most of them are happy when they withdraw their investment. Being cutters, what else can they do but rejoin the union and ply their trade? Hence, complaints such as cited in this instance generally mean that the non-union men are dropped members.

The men rejoin the union in every instance immediately upon a business agent's informing them of the necessity of this for them to continue working in the shop.

Miscellaneous Cutters to Meet

The regular meeting of the Miscellaneous Branch will take place on Monday, May 18th, in Arlington Hall. In addition to the regular order of business, which includes the report of the office, the members will hear a lecture on an important phase of the labor movement. The lecturer will be announced at the meeting.

The activities of the office in connection with the various trades are what might be termed normal. There is no serious difficulty with the Underwear Association or any of the independent employers pending. The office does encounter some difficulty in enforcing certain provisions of the agreement. Attempts are being made to adjust these difficulties without resorting to a strike against the shops involved. It seems, however, that strikes will have to be called because the time given the employers for reaching an adjustment with the union has elapsed and no other way seems to be open.

CUTTERS—ATTENTION!

I will teach you enough PATTERNING, MAKING, IN THE SEASON, DAYS or Evenings to hold a one-man job.

JOSEPH R. SCHEFFEL
Room 1205, 151 W. 28th St., N. Y.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, May 18th

REGULAR MEETING Monday, May 25th

At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place
Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.