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**Justice (Vol. 14, Iss. 5)**

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, ILGWU, labor unions, clothing workers, textile workers, garment workers, garment industry, New York, United States

Comments
*Justice* was the official publication of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.
The Twenty-First Convention is over. It is obviously difficult to apply a yardstick to the concrete achievements of any labor convention. Yet it seems only fair to state that the Philadelphia gathering was one of the most successful conventions the I. L. G. W. U. has ever held.

After the Convention

Taking precedence over all other problems at the convention, were the questions of stabilizing the Union's financial standing, the menacing situation in the New York cloak industry on the eve of expiring contracts, and the adjustment of some internal disagreements which have hampered the normal life of the Union for a considerable time past. To these essential questions the Twenty-first Convention has given a businesslike and thorough trade-union answer.

The convention voted to levy a $10 tax upon the membership in order to make it possible for the International to meet the most pressing debts which it is in honor bound to pay. Our creditors were faithfully promised about a half a year ago that the convention in May would devise means for meeting these obligations, and the convention did not fail to back up this promise made by the leadership of the International. There is every reason to believe that
this assessment will be collected at the first given opportunity and will be applied to the purpose for which it was levied.

The grave developments in the New York cloak industry, with a general strike looming in the immediate foreground, not only received the unqualified support of the delegates in a stirring resolution, but obtained even more tangible endorsement in the form of a pledge obligating every member of the International to contribute not less than 5 per cent of their earnings to the strike fund as long as that strike may last. It is this pledge which, in our opinion, contains the Union's most forceful reply to those cloak manufacturers in New York City who for quite some time past have been laboring under the illusion that they can foist piece-work upon the New York cloakmakers.

And the convention has not failed, by giving approval to the proposals brought forth by the Committee on Officers' Report, to voice its condemnation of the existence of group or faction rule within some of our important local unions. "Invisible government within any institution is an evil, all the more so in a trade union," says that report, admitting at the same time that, at this moment, these clubs and factions have taken too deep a root in some of these locals to be eliminated merely by a resolution or by a constitutional amendment. Such a course, the report further goes on to say, would only drive them from operating in the open into secret or underground channels, and, in the end, the results would even be worse. "Of greater value, in combating these clubs and factions within our locals, would be a moral, educational campaign to discredit their existence, to show up their unwholesome influence upon the life of our organization, and in this manner to create a strong sentiment among the membership against them, and gradually prepare the ground for their elimination," the Committee urged, recommending that the General Executive Board be guided in meeting the problem of clubs and groups within the rubber of such a policy.

The convention has made a workmanlike job of nearly every matter that was brought up on the floor for its attention. It has considered close to two hundred resolutions—a record number—covering every organizational activity in every part of the country where women's garments are being made. And to every question and request it has sought to give a square reply, circumscribed, of course, by the Union's financial limitations and by the special exigencies of the extraordinary industrial situation the country over. And every local union or joint board affiliated with the International and represented at the convention, we are certain, has left that gathering with the conviction that its special needs and pleas for cooperation were not left unheeded, and that whatever is possible will be done to satisfy these needs and to materialize these aspirations.

Above all, we feel confident in saying, the Philadelphia convention has achieved a better feeling and a greater measure of solidarity and a desire to work together for the preservation and the strengthening of our Union than we have had in our ranks for many years heretofore. It was one of the best organized conventions we have had and it was marked by a spirit of genuine tolerance and democratic conduct from the first minute to the final drop of the gavel. Surely, President Schlesinger's presiding at the Twenty-first Convention will be remembered for years to come for its perfect freedom from personal bias or partisanship and for the broad opportunities he had at all times afforded to every delegate to air his or her views on every subject brought up on the floor.

THERE ARE SEVERAL NEW faces on the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. elected in Philadelphia two weeks ago, while a few old familiar faces are missing from its personnel.

The New G. E. B.

Max Amundt, pioneer organizer of the Philadelphia cloakmakers, and probably the oldest G. E. B. member, has retired from union activity. His retirement will be sincerely regretted by thousands of his fellow comrades within the ranks and among the leadership of the Union.

Harry Wander, another veteran Board member, quiet, unassuming and efficient, and Jacob Halpern, for a great many years inseparably and actively connected with our movement, failed of re-election, while Abraham Kirzman of Toronto, declined to run. But, in the words of President Schlesinger, their failure of re-election "in no way implies that their usefulness to the labor movement has become diminished in any degree." It is just an incident in the flow and ebb of organizational life; they remain with us to render to the movement the best service they are capable of.

Taking the places of these retiring members are four new members, who are making their first appearance on the G. E. B. Louis Levy, the manager of the New York Cloak Operators' Union; Nicholas Kirtman, the manager of the Cloak Tailors' and Finishers' Union; Basilio Desti, a sturdy son of Local 48 and George Rubin, veteran leader of the Philadelphia cloakmakers, are the new acquisitions of the G. E. B. has made in Philadelphia. These new members of the Board may not at all times look upon all trade union matters from the same angle and viewpoint.

We, nevertheless, believe and hope that they will all be a valuable asset to the leadership of the International, an asset that will grow in quality with time and accumulation of experience.

PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER has been reelected unanimously chief executive officer of our International. we discount the six Communist votes cast against him for what they are worth—practically against his will—and against the dictates of his physicians.

President Schlesinger Elsewhere in this issue, the reader may find the statement addressed by President Schlesinger to the convention on the morning of its final day, in which he resolutely declines to stand for reelection on account of his poor health. His decision, however, was over-ridden by the will of the delegates, who would accept no argument however forceful and no compromise however plausible on this subject. The convention wanted Schlesinger back as president, and he, in the end, had to accept.

This, however, does not in the least alter the fact that President Schlesinger is ill and that he must recover his health as quickly as possible in order that he may again devote unhampered his great gifts to the cause nearest and dearest to his heart—the cause of our workers. This will, all likelihood, require his absence from the General Office for several months.

The good wishes of our entire membership, coupled with their prayers for his speedy recovery, will follow President Schlesinger wherever his medical advisors may direct him to go, to solve the urgent problem of his health. We feel confident that his marvelous recuperative powers, which helped him so miraculously on former occasions, will not fail him this time either, and that he will soon return to the helm of the Union to lead it on to new achievements and new glory.
BY THE TIME THIS ISSUE reaches our readers, the collective agreements in the New York cloak industry will have expired.

On the Cloak Front
Lines in New York

or a lockout. At this writing, conferences are still continuing with all the three employers' associations in the industry, and these parleys are likely to go on for some time.

Reasonably certain it is, however, that the renewal of the agreements will not be peaceably effected. There can be no backdown by the Union on the question of weekwork, and if the cloak employers, or more specifically the Industrial Council, are determined to force a reproduction of piece-work in the cloak industry—pure and simple, or under the fancy misnomer of "scientific standards of production"—they will face as stiff a fight as they have ever encountered in all their existence either as individual employers or as an association. On the other hand, the Union is deeply convinced that unless limitation of contractors is introduced for jobbers and for manufacturers doing part of their work outside, no balance and stability in the industry is possible, and the workers in the outside shops will continue to be intimidated by the everlasting threat of loss of employment in the event they dare to complain of work rule violations or whenever it may suit the whim of the jobber or manufacturer to cut off the contractor from work.

The lines are beginning to get drawn more and more tightly. The cloakmakers' organization in New York is speedily mobilizing its full strength; committees of active workers of all locals are being formed and shop chairman meetings are being held all through the trade. The collection of the strike tax is also proceeding at an encouraging pace despite the fact that there is not much work in the shops at this moment. And the remarkable demonstration for the cause of the New York cloakmakers given by the Philadelphia convention, has added impetus and inspiration to this final mobilization campaign.

The New York cloakmakers have no illusions concerning the coming conflict with their employers. General strikes are not holidays for our workers even in normal times, least of all in a period of depression. But our workers realize also that this depression has added no strength to their adversaries, and if the employers believe that they can stand the battle, the cloakmakers can stand it just as well. Certain it is that the threat of hard times flourished by the employers time and again will not make the cloakmakers yield an inch of ground. They will put up a magnificent fight for the preservation of their Union and of their work-standards—and no matter how long the battle lasts—will win out.

FEW DOCUMENTS ever published by the I.L.G.W.U. approach in candor, simplicity and completeness the financial report presented by General Secretary-Treasurer David Dubinsky to the Philadelphia Convention.

It is a report that contains not only the financial side of the International for the past two and a half years, an honest account of the Union's fiscal activity, but it is also a very instructive document, each item, schedule and table of which is accompanied by terse and clear explanatory paragraphs. Among the new sections in this report are a schedule of payments on old debts and a very interesting tabulation showing the numerical strength of the individual locals based on the amount of dues stamps purchased by them during the intra-union period and also of their membership as revealed by the census taken on November 1, 1931.

The exhaustive manner in which this report treats the debt problem of the Union, the schedule showing a comparison of liabilities from 1929 to this day, and a schedule covering the liquidation of the securities obligations, present further illuminating evidence of the earnest and competent approach with which Secretary-Treasurer Dubinsky tackles the financial problems of the International. His unassuming restraint to the highly responsible post which he has filled so creditably since December, 1929, testifies to the high esteem and regard in which he is held by the general membership of the International.

Lower Rates, New Facilities at Unity House
Big Throng at Decoration Day Week-End—Official Opening June 17

Isadore Nagler, Chairman of Unity House Committee, has announced that the official opening will take place the week-end of June 17. All locals are urged to send delegates to the House for the opening. The committee has also decided to reduce the rates for members of the International to $1.50 per week during the month of June.

For years the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has served union members and friends of labor with their beautiful resort, Unity House, operated on a non-profit basis. When money was more plentiful, the non-profit factor to most people appeared as more or less of an ideal impersonal thing. This season, a "non-profit" vacation resort takes on new meaning; workers these days are keenly interested in just how everything and anything affects their pocketbooks.

It is hard to estimate the saving Unity offers to its guests in dollars and cents. The low rate in terms of Unity's famous cuisine as well as its athletic and recreational facilities, represents a saving of many dollars, indeed. But there are the intangibles: the spirit of Unity guests, the loyalty of its staff, the gifts of the entertainers and the cooperation of stars in the world of literature, music and dance—these are the hard-to-measure attractions which are available only in Unity House.

In addition to the brilliant array of talent, Unity offers its new speedy tennis courts, handball, basketball, water sports, improved water front, free boats, hikes to Bushkill Falls and other famed scenic spots, to say nothing of the popular International dinners.

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Pres. Schlesinger's Opening Speech at Convention

Delegates, Members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of Philadelphia, and Guests: I first visited Philadelphia in 1902, thirty years ago. I was a member of the General Executive Board of our very young international at that time, and the meeting of the Board was held in this city. That meeting was called to serve a special purpose. There was a strike on at Strawbridge-Clother's, and the expectation was that if I had the opportunity to confer with that firm, that I might be able to settle the strike.

Many years later, in 1914, I spent a lot of time in Philadelphia, helping in the rehabilitation of the Cloakmakers Union, which had lost a twenty-six week strike a few years before. A year later, in 1915, I visited Philadelphia frequently directing the organizing campaign of the dressmakers, and both of these movements brought remarkable results. In 1916, we had our convention in Philadelphia, and a great many of you delegates and visitors, undoubtedly recall the fine condition of our Union at that time, and the splendid reception our good and loyal Philadelphia brothers and sisters accorded us at that time as on all other occasions later.

In 1921-22 Philadelphia took up a great deal of the activities of our International Union when we conducted the memorable dress strike which lasted many months. Philadelphia again came prominently upon the stage of our Union in 1922, when we had the long convention on record of our International. For nearly three weeks you must have tried then to solve all your confused political problems, with the result that, in about a half a year later, we had to go through the longest cloak strike in the history of the New York cloak industry, the consequences of which we still all feel.

The last two and a half years were disastrous years to the entire population of our country, and particularly to the working people. There are over eight million unemployed people in the United States today, and starring at the rates of only three to a family at least one-fifth of our population is jobless. And when eight million people are idle, it stands to reason that even those who are employed cannot be happy and certainly cannot feel secure with their living. The result is that practically every industry wages have been slashed and other union standards lowered.

How much longer will the workers and their families be able to hold out? For that matter, how much longer will our entire capitalist system be able to hold out, if eight million people and their dependents are permitted to remain without any purchasing ability? The most deplorable feature about it is that the majority of the people, even of the working class, don't seem to be concerned about it, and, what is worse, the vast majority of the people are so shortsighted that they don't even see the necessity for the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance by the Federal Government. They ridicule such insurance. They call it a “dole,” as if to depend upon public charity is more dishonorable than to work for the proud American worker without a job, than to depend upon his government!

The only thing our captains of industry have so far seen fit to agree upon as a measure to bring back prosperity, is to cut wages and to reduce other working standards. And while cutting wages and breaking down the purchasing power of the people, they tell us that prosperity is “just around the corner.” But it is quite evident that with such methods that the employing class is using, it will take very long for prosperity to turn the corner and reach our doors.

During the last war, those who urged more ammunition and more troops were looked upon as patriots. Today, in this world crisis, those who advocate reducing wages or restoring systems of work which were prevalent in the days of the disgraced sweat-shop, are inclined to consider themselves as saviors of industry.

The only rational measure against the critical economic situation and its terrible results, is not wage-cutting, but a drastic reduction of the hours of labor in every industry. The work-week and the daily hours of labor must be shortened to a point that would give a chance to every person able to work to have a job. And the work hours must be reduced with wages remaining the same, because in order to bring back prosperity, everybody must work and earn enough to buy back the things produced. Reducing wages because hours are reduced will not solve the problem, and so long as the purchasing power of the workers is reduced, I am afraid we shall not emerge from the present crisis.

Every labor organization in our country has suffered heavily during the past two and a half years, and our organization was no exception. In fact, we have suffered more than many other organizations because we already had a crisis of our own for quite some time when the general depression set in. We were financially, badly handicapped for the past six years as a result of the 1926 cloak strike. The report of General Secretary Dubinsky will show you that even now, in May, 1932, we still owe over a million dollars to various creditors, several hundred thousand dollars of which must be paid in the shortest time possible.

Our Union is confronted by a number of very important questions, involving our industrial situation, our financial stability and our effective functioning as a trade union organization. I hope that the delegates will rise to the occasion and meet all these problems squarely, intelligently, and will find a solution for all of them.

Pioneer Youth Camp Reopens
On July 1

Alexis G. Form, a veteran in the field of progressive education for children, will again direct the Pioneer Youth camp this summer and with a competent staff already selected is preparing for Pioneer Youth’s ninth season of creative-activity camping. The national camp in the foothills of the Catskills at Riten, N. Y., will open on July 1st and will accommodate 160 boys and girls from 8 to 15 years of age.

The needs and capacities of the individual child are emphasized in Pioneer Youth camping. Through clay modeling, painting, metal working, rhythms, singing, and orchestras as well as by the more usual camp activities such as athletics, hiking, and swimming, the child develops confidence and acquires freedom which many camps and the public schools do not make possible.

Rates at the camp have been substantially lowered this year to place these cultural opportunities within the reach of the children of trade union members. Two representatives of the I.L.G.W.U., Sec.-Treas. David Dubinsky and Miss Fanny Cohen, director of the Educational Department, are both members of the Pioneer Youth board of directors. Members who want information and an illustrated folder about the camp should address Pioneer Youth of America, 41 Astor Place, Stuyvesant Y-7865.
Hillquit Greets the I. L. G. W. U. Convention

I am, as your President introduced me, not merely the legal adviser to your organization, but I have been a sort of professional visiting delegate to many and many of your conventions, to most all of them. I don’t know just what Local I have been a member of—I imagine, as a lawyer I might belong to the Pressers’ Union. (Laughter and applause.) But also to the Cutters’ Union (laughed), and some of my clients, when I get through with them, say that I belong to the Finishers’ Union. (Laughter and applause.)

In past conventions we have in most instances considered our gatherings as meetings of celebrations; with every succeeding convention we have had progress to report. We have had victories to celebrate, and our spirits were high; until the last two conventions, when we met in a rather more sombre mood, facing problems and dilemmas of work and strife, and, then, finally we came to this present convention. And I wouldn’t be honest with you, I wouldn’t be talking to you as a comrade and a friend, if I had tried to make a Fourth of July oration about the beautiful conditions in which we find ourselves and the splendid prospects ahead of us, because we are met at an awfully serious moment.

The last convention of your International marked the high point of American prosperity, everything was going on, everything was open. It seemed, and it was claimed by the ruling classes of our country that they had solved the world problem forever, that they had established a basis of continued prosperity for everybody, employers and workers alike and that the outlandish notions of social strife which might hold good for Europe, had no place in this country.

But no sooner had you adjourned, in December, 1929, when the beautiful edifice began to crumble like a house of cards. First, there was the ominous trembling in the financial markets, in Wall Street; then came the gradual recession of industries, and it grew worse from day to day with irresistible speed. Industries became paralyzed, and the depression went over the country like a blight of pestilence. Great, powerful, seemingly unshakable reserves and financial institutions collapsed. Millionaires became paupers. The whole country seemed to be suddenly impoverished, and workers began to be laid off, first, by the thousands, then by the hundreds of thousands, and then by the million, until at this time the best estimate is that we have eight million jobless workers in the United States and several millions employed on part time, a total army with their families representing a population of almost any great country of Europe.

Jobless, without wages, without earnings, without any means of living. And there is no sign of improvement, no sign of change on the industrial horizon and of course, in conditions of this kind, we have to expect that the ruling classes, the employing classes, would take advantage of the weakness of the workers in order to cut down this surplus built up by their own achievements. In spite of the eloquent promises of our great capitalists and financiers and statesmen, that wage standards of the American workers would remain intact, wages have been slashed, time and time again, until there is no definite living standard for the American worker today. And organized resistance on the part of the trade unions has likewise crumbled and the trade union movement has suffered, suffered in every way, in loss of members, in loss of funds, in loss of power, in everything that made trade unions a great social force in the past.

In so far as our own organization is concerned, we probably have suffered more even than the average workers and the average trade unions, and that is quite naturally so. Our industry has always been chaotically conducted, our workers have always lived a very precarious, hand-to-mouth existence. We have suffered from seasonal unemployment in times of greatest prosperity, and when this depression struck our industry, it found very little power of resistance, all the more so because our organization had been previously very largely weakened by internal strifes and dissension.

Now, my friends, you are meeting here today to face these gloomy and perplexing problems. You are laden with the responsibility of saving the workers in the ladies’ garment industry of this country from wreck and ruin; to preserve and maintain, at least, a nucleus of organized strength, around which the workers, when the time is ripe, may gather to rebuild again the structure which had been erected by laborious work and effort of about twenty years. And there are a few lessons which we want to draw from it, and again I say, I should not consider myself your friend and comrade, as I do, if I did not speak very frankly.

The task before you is an immense one, and it isn’t merely a physical task. What you have to rebuild is not merely the physical structure of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, but also its spirit and its ideals. (Much applause.) When my old friend, Matthew Woll, spoke about the American labor movement and its program and its achievements, I couldn’t help thinking with sadness and with pain of the contrast between the American labor movement and the movement in the foreign countries to which he referred. I read the reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions; I follow as closely as I can the developments of the trade union movements in the various other countries. There is not a great advanced-European country in which the trade unions have suffered as much, lost as much, in every respect, during this period of depression, as did the American labor movement.

And now let me tell you why. We have organized our movement purely on the principle of immediate craft-interest, and when we did not succeed in satisfying these daily craft interests, we have nothing more to offer to the workers; whereas the trade union movement in every advanced country of Europe is organized on broad lines of class interest, not merely trade interests but as a unified, solid social and political organization. And what happens? As in all depressions, such as has struck, for instance, Germany or England, the workers, organized as they are, politically, economically and in every other way, have managed, at least, to enforce upon their governments the crying social duty of keeping their working populations alive.
They would have perished if in the course of these years they had not received as their due from the State, certain weekly payments, which, at least, serve to keep their body and soul together, which preserve their human dignity, and make it unnecessary for them to beg, steal, or starve. This, unfortunately, our own leadership, in our own American trade unions, have branded as a “dole,” a dole unworthy of the sovereign American citizen.

What we see in America is that our government, in which our workers have no part and no say, expends billions and billions of dollars in doles to its employers, in doles to the financial interests, to the capitalist interests of the country, while it cannot find a cent for the suffering millions of workers. And we see the humiliating spectacle of the American Federation of Labor sending a delegation of its heads, its leaders to the recent Congress of the United States and to the Congress of the United States asking finally for some dole, for some appropriation, for some relief, and they are being turned down cold as if they had never amounted to anything. Oh, my friends, there is one great lesson arising from this depression. Mr. Woll has mentioned part of it and mentioned it properly. The workers have the producing power. That power of production should be organized. It should be organized into one great, all-embracing labor union along industrial lines throughout the country. The workers have the consuming power and that should be organized into a great combination, such as the great cooperatives of England, Germany, Denmark and other European countries. But, my friends, the workers also have another power, an important power, a vital power, the political power. (Great applause.) And that should be as fully organized as the workers have been fully neglected by American labor.

And if there has been any question of any doubt, or any difference about it, we should learn this lesson, this clear, vivid lesson from the recent depression. What has it shown us? Why has our country suddenly become poor? Only three years ago we were the richest country in the world. Only three years ago we were the wealthiest country in the world. What has happened to it? What did our wealth consist of three years ago and where has it gone so suddenly? We had a great country, with a tremendous area, of every conceivable climate, fertile in every way, full of natural wealth, and it is still all there. Not a square foot of our area has disappeared. Not a part of the fertility of our soil or the wealth of our natural resources has been destroyed or has in any way diminished. Our wealth consisted of our tremendous modern machinery and equipment. It is all there. Most of it stands idle, but it is all there, capable of production. Our wealth consisted of millions and millions of trained, skilled workers, ready and able to turn our raw materials and our natural wealth into consumer goods. They are all there, still possessing their skill and training, and able and anxious to work. Why then this sudden calamity? It was not a natural calamity, such as an earthquake or a flood or a pestilence. Oh, no! It was simply a fog in the industrial process. It is simply a demonstration of the fact that our industries as they are organized today cannot sustain the people in simple bread, in the simple necessities of life.

And why not? And here, my friends, we come to a very practical consideration, which is taught and charged with the destiny of the people of the United States. We are passing through a period of general misery, solely because our industries are owned and operated individually, for individual and private profit, and by hired labor. Now this is no mere theorizing, this is no more general, social philosophy. It is something that should strike us between the eyes now, that everyone who has eyes to see should notice. It means just this—our privately owned industries have been running for years in times of prosperity in competition with each other, without regard to, and for each other, without organization, without plan, each one striving to make as much profit for itself as it possibly could, each one producing as much as it expected the market to absorb, each one producing just a little more than could be absorbed, until such time as the accumulated surplus goods from year to year, has clogged up our channels of industry and commerce.

Our economists call this a condition of overproduction. We have produced more goods than can be used up. That is a lie. There is no overproduction. There never was a condition of overproduction in this country. If you were to allow today all the men and women who are hungry for bread, who go unprovided, who are scantily clothed, who are deprived of all the necessities of life, if you were to allow them to help themselves to the stores of food and clothes and other necessities, if you would give them to more than half, if you would make them share in simple, human decency, there would be no overproduction. There would be, on the contrary, an insufficiency of goods. (Applause.) What they call overproduction simply means a quantity of goods which the people cannot buy, not that they cannot use. And why can’t they buy? For the simple reason that we are operating our industries with wage labor. The employers cannot pay back to the workers in wages an amount equivalent to all that they have produced. The workers constitute the great mass of the people. They don’t get enough to buy back what they have produced. The capitalists, with all their proverbial large stomachs cannot use up the difference. There is bound to be a conflict between the power and the capacity to produce and the power to consume, and then we have these depressions.

Now, my friends, we have had depressions before. Depressions are inseparable from the capitalist competitive, individual system of production. But we have never had one that was as prolonged and as catastrophic as the present one. It has now lasted about two and a half years, and there is not only no sign of improvement—it is getting worse from day to day. I don’t mean to say that the capitalist system is in its final stage of collapse now. There may be a temporary recovery, a partial one, probably, but as sure as the laws of economic conflict continue, just as sure will you have more and deeper and worse depressions, until your entire economic system will go down, unless the workers will reorganize it on a sane basis.

Now, my friends, this is no theory. This is no more abstract reasoning and idealism. It is the only sound, practical interpretation of existing conditions. And that is why the workers of all countries, and that includes the workers of the United States, must realize that their only hope for survival lies in uniting all the forces to take over, the entire productive system, the entire industrial machinery from the hands of mismanaging individual capitalists and use it for their own benefit, for the people’s benefit. (Great applause.)

I don’t know whether this talk sounds a little strange even to some of you. I know that in some sections of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union a tendency has arisen of late to be practical, and I want to say to you, my friends, if there ever was a time when you needed, like your daily bread, your old-time idealism and greater vision, it is the time now. (Great applause.) I accept practically all, or, at any rate, some of the policies outlined by Mr. Woll. They are good; they are proper for their place and time. But their function, but I think they are deadly if they stand alone and do not go beyond that. Restricting immigration was offered as one remedy. Are we blind, my friends? Don't we learn anything at all from capitalist practice? Don’t we know that when the

(Continued on page 20)
Principal Resolutions Adopted by Convention

Endorsing organization campaigns in the Middle West—Chicago dress industry, Chicago suburban territory, Kansas City, St. Louis dress and miscellaneous trades.

Authorizing G.E.B. to continue work of New York Out-of-Town Department and to increase its usefulness.

Instructing G.E.B. to carry on Philadelphia dress campaign to successful completion.

To support organizing drives in raincoat industry—New York, Boston, etc.

To continue campaign in Boston dress industry.

To support organizing work in San Francisco cloak and dress trades.

To continue helping in drive to complete organization of whitegoods and lingerie workers in New York City.

Instructing G.E.B. to take action with regard to a strike in the New York ladies' tailoring industry at the opportune time.

To support coming struggle in New York cloak industry. Full resolution reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, the collective agreements in the cloak and suit industry in the City of New York expire on May 31, 1932, and

"WHEREAS, the employers have presented a number of demands calculated to bring back sweat-shop conditions of unsavory memory of years ago, including restoration of piece-work and

"WHEREAS, the Joint Board of the New York Cloakmakers' Union submitted to the employers' association a number of modifications to the present agreement, which aim to establish order and control in the industry and to eliminate the cut-throat competition from which he various factors in our industry suffer, and particularly the workers, and

"WHEREAS, the efforts of the Union to reach an understanding with the employers' associations for the renewal of the agreements on fair terms have hitherto been utterly unsuccessful, and

"WHEREAS, after the date of the officers' report upon the situation, a communication has been received from one of the employers' associations in effect threatening a lockout of the workmen at the expiration of the agreements in an effort to enforce a lowering of the working standards, be it therefore

"RESOLVED, that the Joint Board of the Cloak, Skirt and Reelformers' Unions of New York be and hereby is authorized to take all steps and measures which, in its opinion, will be required for the protection of the workers and the preservation of the established working standards, including, if necessary, the calling of a general strike and the resistance to any lockout, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that the incoming General Executive Board be hereby instructed to support all such actions of the Joint Board of New York to the utmost of its power and resources and that all local unions of the International be called upon to pledge themselves to the support of the cloakmakers of New York in their coming struggles to the full extent of their ability."

Obligating all members of the International in New York and elsewhere to contribute not less than 2 per cent of their earnings to the strike fund of the New York cloakmakers from the first day of the strike to the day of its conclusion.

Urging the immediate collection of all outstanding payments on the Cleveland assessment.

Adopting a $10 tax on entire membership to meet, in part, pressing debts of the International.

Abolishing referendum on election of General Officers.

To continue Educational Department.

Against deportation and persecution of aliens.

For recognition of Soviet Russia.

In favor of 36 hour 6 day work week.

In favor of State and Federal legislation for unemployment insurance and instructing delegates to A. F. of L. convention to introduce resolution to that effect.

Favoring local funds for relief of unemployed members.

Instructing G.E.B. to include provisions for unemployment insurance in agreements with employers.

In favor of old age pension legislation.

Instructing G.E.B. to study existing benefits in local unions and to place them on a more scientific basis; also to encourage such funds in local unions.

To assist local unions in working out plans for group insurance and to recommend the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, as insurance company controlled by the organized labor movement, for such purpose.

Reaffirmation of stand in favor of a Labor Party and independent political action.

To refer to G.E.B. for further study and investigation the problem of clubs and groups within the Union, with the aim in view of arriving at a workable plan for the control of the activities of these clubs and groups and the elimination of obstructive tactics which are detrimental to the existence of the organization.

Important Amendments to the Constitution:

"The General Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish to all Local Union secretaries uniform printed blanks, to be filled out, signed and forwarded to the G. S. T. not later than five days after the first of each month, showing the income of the Local Union from dues, initiation fees, assessments, etc., and the amount of dues stamps; and assessment stamps purchased by the L. U. from the General Office of the I. L. G. W. U. for each month of the year, and showing likewise all disbursements made by the L. U. for each month. Failure to comply with this rule shall be regarded as an infraction of the laws of the I. L. G. W. U. and such secretaries shall be subject to removal from office by the General Executive Board."

"That a new section be incorporated into Article V of the Constitution requiring the General Secretary-Treasurer to publish in the official publications of the I. L. G. W. U. semi-annual reports of all the locals and of the General Office, covering the income and disbursements as recorded in the monthly reports received by him from the Local Unions and checked up by the Auditing Department of the I. L. G. W. U."

"No L. U. or other subordinate body shall be authorized to make contracts or to incur liabilities for the I. L. G. W. U. and the I. L. G. W. U. shall not be responsible upon any such contracts or
Norman Thomas' Speech at Convention

Of course, I appreciate, more than I can tell you, the welcome you gave me. I do not take that welcome as a personal welcome, but as a symbol of your belief that at this particular time in the history of America, more than ever before your plans and hopes must be supplemented by effective political action.

I want to tell you that it gave me great pleasure when I got off the train this morning to read that Leopold Stokowski, the famous conductor, was at last to be allowed to conduct in this city a concert for the benefit of the jobless, and I am sure that the reason for this sudden change of heart on the part of the Philadelphia City fathers was the result of what had taken place at this convention yesterday. I am glad that happened, and I have new hopes for the success and vitality of the labor movement, because the chairman of the Central Trades and Labor Council did not stand here yesterday on the platform and talk the usual platitudes and meaningless phrases. That was a very fine and encouraging thing.

I feel it more because I was in Philadelphia last Sunday at a Socialist May Day meeting. I talked to newspaper reporters who were present and saw with their own eyes the horrible clubbing that took place at the day. That action did not have the slightest shadow of an excuse. The mayor did that entirely on his own responsibility against the advice of men in charge of affairs. For that kind of government there is nothing but shame, that kind of government is scandalous, and must be rebuked by all decent men everywhere. I am happy that this convention has made that rebuke, which I saw in the headlines of the newspapers of Philadelphia.

NORMAN THOMAS
Socialist Leader Who Addressed Philadelphia Convention

We knew perfectly well what politics are. When I read the statement made by Governor Rolfe, of California, about Mooney, it impressed me as an example of self-centered sadism. I followed the Mooney case since its beginning. They continually have had to invent new reasons for keeping him in jail. Rolfe, however, has passed all limits. His recent pronouncements alike do not answer a single one of the charges against Mooney. What is it to them if he is innocent? What is it to them if the judge who had to convict Mooney is on record that Mooney was unfairly convicted? What is it to them that the whole wide world is convinced that Mooney was convicted by perjured testimony, by the testimony of prostitutes and of bought witnesses? They have got him in jail, and they have made up their minds to keep him there.

What do they say? "Mooney and Billings were labor agitators. If you have them in jail, keep them there. It they did not do it, they might have done it!" That is what Sullivan and Rolfe said. "If they didn't do it, they might have done it!" And why? Because Rolfe and the other politicians, who were once elected as friends of labor, had cast up the accounts and they heard them and decided that they ought to fear more from the public utilities and the associated plutocrats than from labor! (Applause.)

I wish to say that those who plan for the labor movement, for its future, must know where they stand. We must appraise the facts so that we may be strong to meet them. I have been recently to Washington. I went there to appear before the Senate Committee on the subject of balancing the budget. There I had a chance to observe some examples of high pressure politics. They try to make you think they, the politicians, are seeking to remedy a crisis. They try to create the impression that they are "soothing the rich." If a prize fighter never socked anybody any harder than they, he would not even score a technical knockout. For instance, they have raised the price every two-cent letter. That was an easy dodge because it deals with the individual taxpayer. But they are leaving the newspapers and magazines alone. They are afraid of the wealthy publishers, of the big commercial interests which use largely the second-class mail for profitable blunder, and then these same newspapers and magazines come out and declare, "We are against the tax for the unemployed working man." Let him die of starvation, but do not give him a dime.

There is literally no country that you can name which has done so little for the unemployed as the richest country in the world, the United States of America. We need not go far to show this. For instance, I have been told, and those of you who live here in Philadelphia may correct me, that right here in Philadelphia there is no provision made for any kind of public relief after the 15th, or last of June. And this same thing is true in practically every big city where I have been. What is Congress thinking about? Balancing the budget! No benefit of any kind for the unemployed, they are too busy balancing the budget! They
Conference Urges Economic Reconstruction

Having action upon recommendations made in speeches of industrial and economic leaders last Saturday, May 21, the Labor Conference gathered at the Women's Trade Union League, 247 Lexington Avenue, passed a resolution to aid the adoption of a program of State and Federal Unemployment Relief, unemployment insurance, a national unified system of free unemployment exchanges and a number of other measures to relieve the present economic crisis and to avoid similar future ones. Commissioner Frances Perkins, head of the State Department of Labor; Mrs. Chad Green, Secretary, Miss Lois MacDonald, of the Department of Economics of New York University, and Mr. Abraham Lebowitz of the Teachers Union were the speakers.

The resolution of the Labor Conference is as follows:

WHEREAS the world-wide depression and the seeming inability of our industrial system to function effectively raises grave doubts in the minds of thinking persons as to whether we can survive as a nation without a plan of reconstruction of our social order, and

WHEREAS the failure to take effective action tends not only to break the morale of our ablest workers, but also to encourage the unconscionable type of employer to use this emergency to break down wage standards and to undermine working conditions, the effort of these be it

RESOLVED that we urge the adoption of the following program:

I. Large scale federal and state unemployment relief as even the richest localities are no longer able to cope with their unemployment relief programs to be raised either by taxation or by bond issue.

II. A national, unified system of free unemployment exchanges.

III. The establishment of industrial councils of experts representing labor and industry to work out programs for the stabilization of respective industries.

IV. National and state old age pension laws for those no longer able to work with dismissal from the labor market, plus workers created by improved technology.

V. A comprehensive scheme of unemployment insurance and an unemployment fund to meet changes created by unusual crises like the present with which no unemployment insurance scheme can cope.

VI. The establishment of a six hour day and five day week as a national emergency far greater than war, without reduction of earnings.

VII. Elimination of children from industry by the enactment of the Child Labor Amendment.

VIII. The establishment of a sound tax policy based on a more complete application of the principle of ability to pay. Hence we urge the restoration of war rates on incomes, inheritances, corporations, plus the addition of a hundred per cent on incomes over $50,000, or inheritances of over five million.

Miss Rose Schneiderman, President of the Women's Trade Union League, presided over the meeting.
Norman Thomas' Speech at Convention

Of course, I appreciate, more than I can tell you, the welcome you gave me. I do not take that welcome as a personal welcome, but as a symbol of your belief that at this particular time in the history of America, more than ever before your plans and hopes must be supplemented by effective political action.

I want to tell you that it gave me great pleasure when I got off the train this morning to read that Leopold Stokowski, the famous conductor, was at last to be allowed to conduct in this city a concert "for the benefit of the jobless, and I am sure that the reason for this sudden change of heart on the part of the Philadelphia city fathers was the result of what had taken place at this convention yesterday. I am glad that happened, and I have new hopes for the success and vitality of the labor movement, because the chairman of the Central Trades and Labor Council did not stand here yesterday on the platform and talk the usual platitudes and meaningless phrases. That was a very fine and encouraging thing.

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There is literally no country that you can name which has done so little for the unemployed as the richest country in the world, the United States of America. We need not go far to show this. For instance, I have been too, and those of you who live here in Philadelphia may correct me, that right here in Philadelphia there is no provision made for any kind of public relief after the 15th, or 1st of June. And this same thing is true in practically every big city where I have been. What is Congress thinking about? Balancing the budget! No benefit of any kind for the unemployed, they are too busy balancing the budget! They
want no unemployment insurance, no legislation for a compulsory five-day week, no direct aid of any kind in this crisis. Congress only hears the voice of those who keep on shouting, "Tax our incomes too high and we shall reduce your campaign funds!" Whose fault is it? Ours, of course, in no small degree. I have heard it time and again from experienced observers that if in twenty cities in the United States there had been held under labor auspices demonstrations for labor aid that the LaFollette-Costigan bill would have been passed. Not a great achievement, but still a beginning along sound lines toward direct Federal aid. Yet nothing was done about it, while Congress was busy balancing the budget.

There isn't a country that does so little for the unemployed as the United States. Governors and mayors send telegrams and inquiries to Hoover, to Walter, Gifford, chairman of the committee of the A. T. & T., which contributes to relief funds and then charges it up against operating expenses. They tell you everything is jake, but nothing is being done, because there is no effective driving power to carry things to a conclusion. And so, by the 4th of July, most of the workers of America can live on paternal, or find happy and try to fill their stomachs with patriotic assurances. That is your situation in America today, and that's all because we have no organized power to enforce our demands.

I give it as my judgment, from observing conditions pretty well over the United States, that until we have destroyed the force of the injunction clubs and have given the workers a measure of security through unemployment insurance, the road toward progress will be immensely difficult. The Norris anti-injunction bill has done much—it is time—but we still have state injunctions and there still is the fear in the hearts of the workers lest they lose the rations of crumbs that keep them alive. This fear has kept them easily cowed. They are afraid the few crumbs will be taken from them. It is up to us to insist on that control of government that will give the workers elementary power to obtain better conditions. We shall never get progress unless we get these things—effective unions that would become a powerful social force.

I have been reading the report of your General Executive Board. It is a very remarkable document. I want to tell you what an inspiration it was to this friendly outsider. There is evidence of the solidarity of the workers in the kind of response that was given you in the general press strike in New York. I have confidence in workers who can have a strike such as that. I have confidence in an organization that can make public a report such as that. I have confidence in this organization because of the progress that it has made. I know how difficult your problems are and have a high confidence that you will have success in dealing with those problems and crisis. You must continue to use your voice and power to encourage the organization of workers. We have got to get a strong organization that can maintain its power. A union of experience and power like yours can lead the way in the whole labor movement.

You will see, my friends, that I have not come here just to say complimentary things or to congratulate you. I have brought no flowers, I have brought you congratulations for having faced the difficulties of last year, for having rebuilt a union so nearly torn down, and for the courage and solidarity you have displayed. No union, however, may succeed simply by the control or partial control of labor conditions in one industry or in solving only its own problems. Times have come when we have to get together and work in the interests of the whole country. There is an opportunity to make a start toward cooperation and simultaneous action.

The resolution of the Labor Conference is as follows:

WHEREAS the world-wide depression and the seeming inability of our industrial system to function effectively raises grave doubts in the minds of thinking persons as to whether we can survive as a nation without a sound reconstruction of our social order, and

WHEREAS the failure to take effective action tends not only to break the morale of our ablest, workers, but also to encourage the unconscionable type of employer to use this emergency to break down wage standards and to undermine working conditions, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That we urge the adoption of the following program:

1. Large scale federal and state unemployment relief as even the richest loyalties are no longer able to cope with their unemployment relief programs to be raised either by taxation or a bond issue.

2. A national, unified system of free unemployment exchanges.

3. The establishment of industrial councils of experts representing labor and industry to work out programs for the stabilization of respective industries.

4. National and state old age pension laws for those no longer able to work, with dismissal wages for those surplus workers created by improved technology.

5. A comprehensive scheme of unemployment insurance and an unemployment fund to meet changes created by unusual crises like the present with which no unemployment insurance scheme can cope.

6. The establishment of a six hour day and five day week as a national emergency far greater than war, without reduction of earnings.

7. Elimination of children from industry by the enactment of the Child Labor Amendment.

8. The establishment of a sound tax policy based on a more complete application of the principles of ability to pay.

Hence we urge the restoration of war rates on incomes, inheritances, corporations, plus the addition of a hundred per cent tax on incomes over $500,000, or inheritances of over five million.

Miss Rose Schneideman, President of the Women's Trade Union League, presided over the meeting.
"There will be a revolution in this country if nothing is done at once to create work for the unemployed or to meet their needs in some other way."

This warning comes not from a Socialist or a radical, but from a spokesman of the American Federation of Labor, Edward F. McGrady, delivered in the name of his organization before a Senate sub-committee which is studying the Costigan bill to appropriate a half billion dollars for constructive relief for the unemployed.

McGrady was not the only speaker who appeared in this vein. The other members of the big trade union delegation which attended that hearing talked in the same spirit. "Unemployment is growing more acute from day to day," McGrady declared to the Senators, "several outbreaks in industrial centers have been explained to you as being merely Socialist affairs. The truth, however, is that the great majority of those who have taken part in the riotings do not know anything about Communism. All they want is bread. ..." And further: "The Government should know that balancing the budget is not all. We must get bread and butter for the hungry. We intend to get it through work, but if this becomes impossible, we shall get it through other means."

This is about the plainest talk heard in America since the crisis has settled upon this land in 1929. Congress, so far, has rejected the LaFollette bill which demanded immediate and concrete relief for the idle; Congress has also ignored the more radical unemployment relief program of the Socialists. Congress may now attempt to trim the Costigan bill, but it is hardly possible that it will dare to smother it in committee. And that is tremendously important. It is an indication that the crisis is beginning to influence the state of mind of the masses and that those who speak for the masses of the people are beginning to find tongue and words for a more militant demand for bread and jobs.

The situation in Russia is daily becoming more uncertain. About two weeks ago, the Soviet Government issued an order permitting the peasants to sell a part of their grain in the open market. Independent and "collectivist" peasants alike will henceforth be allowed to furnish a smaller allotment of grain to the State elevators and sell the rest to direct consumers. A similar order, permitting the peasants to sell about one half the amount of beef they were compelled heretofore to supply to the Government stores at a fixed price, and to sell the remainder in a free market.

On the whole, the state of affairs in Soviet Russia at this moment looks very much like the condition which preceded, in 1921, the introduction by Lenin of the New Economic Policy. The peasants, who in 1921 had forced Lenin to abandon "military Communism" and to allow free trading, are compelling Stalin to call a halt to his erratically drive for 100 per cent Communism and to swing the Bolshevik chariot to the right.

The peasants are achieving this new Communist retreat; it would seem, without any open rebellion. It looks, however, like a silent nationwide "strike" against Stalin's enforced marching, against the involuntary enrollment of millions of peasants into the "kolhozi" (state farms), and the literal destruction of the entire class of "middle" peasants, which for years had been Russia's backbone of agricultural productivity. What actually the muskets have done in Russia is maintain mass-farmer policy was to stop tilling their acreage, to neglect their crops, and what proved most effective, to slaughter indiscriminately their livestock.

As a result, Russia is hungering. Except that, while during the period of Lenin's "military Communism" it was the population of the cities that hungered most and the peasants had plenty to eat, the peasants today are worse off than city folk in Soviet Russia. The swing to the right by Stalin may give the peasants and the cities and the breathing spell and may for the while arrest the "strike" of the peasanty, particularly dangerous now in view of the Spring sowing. Under all circumstances it will be interpreted, in Russia and abroad alike, as a declaration of bankruptcy of Stalin's ultra-militant policy so ruthlessly pursued by him and his Politburo.

The war clouds in the Far East are thickening. According to Moscow dispatches, the Soviet War Commission has issued orders for the mobilization of all available 13, 22, 21 and 20-year-old classes, a total of about eight hundred thousand men. In addition, the Red Army maneuvers this year are ordered to take place East of the Urals Mountains, which is practically in Siberia, instead of European Russia as in former years, obviously for the purpose of keeping the bulk of the Army closer to the prospective field of military operations.

There is hardly any doubt that Soviet Russia wants no war at the present moment. The Soviet are not ready, at this moment, for a war with any first-class power like Japan. A war might seriously interfere with the industrialization policy of the Russian leaders; a defeat, besides, might seriously threaten the regime of the Communist Party as it might invite further attacks upon it from the West. The Russian-Siberian transportation facilities are today not in much better shape than they were in 1904, when the Tsarist armies were so badly lashed by the Japanese, and the Red Army, besides, would not be in a position to obtain the huge quantities of foodstuffs it was able to get during that war from Manchuria and Mongolia where Japanese power is now paramount.

On the other hand, the economic, financial and international situation of Japan is far from sound to warrant a real war with Russia. What seems to be more plausible is that the Japanese rulers are bent on taking advantage of Russia's present relative weakness to wrest from the Bolsheviks some important economic and territorial concessions that would strengthen Japan's influence in the Far East. It is almost a safe bet, however, that Stalin would concede nothing to Japan rather than to risk a war.

There are many people whose sympathies usually are with the Socialist movement who will be inclined to explore the acrimonious discussion and heated orations at the Milwaukee Convention last week during the contest for the party chairmanship, especially the intrusion of loose "race prejudice" talk in some of the speeches.

There is, however, very little alarming in this. This story debating only proves that Socialists are not afraid to practice free speech at their conventions as they are preaching all year round; that they don't hesitate to sell into their acknowledged leaders in the open when they seem to believe that they have cause for it; and it further proves that the Socialist movement is founded not upon dictatorship from above but upon the democratic expression of the will of its members.

The Milwaukee convention has adopted a score of resolutions on nearly every subject affecting the economic, social and political situation in the country. It appears to us, nevertheless, that in immediate practical imporance, the resolution which voted for loyal coop-
Impartial Chairman Alger's Address

It is a great pleasure for me to be present at this convention. I have greatly enjoyed the responsible work which the industry has placed upon me during the past year as Impartial Chairman and no part of it has been any more instructive than to see the high measure of ability, intelligence and forcefulness of the officers of the Union in the problems which have been placed before the Impartial Chairman and in which the interests of the worker are involved. The Union has every reason to be proud of the quality and character of its executive officers, their singleness of purpose, their resourcefulness and fidelity in presenting the interests of the workers in the great problems which confront the industry today.

I realize, as you do, the numerous difficulties which confront not only our industry but all industries in this unprecedented period of depression. I am not here to commiserate with you upon those conditions as they affect you. You know them far too well as the report of your General Executive Board shows for me to attempt to add anything to your present knowledge. What I do desire to say is this: It is not merely a time of general depression, low wages, non-union production, profitless business, with employers trying desperately to meet the unreasonable demand of retailers for cheaper garments, for a public which will not buy. I think it is a time of opportunity, as well as a time of depression. It is a time of opportunity if all branches of the industry can be induced by common necessity to develop the ways and means of greater industrial control over this much distressed industry, and if the various factors, I will not say facts, can be induced to meet in common fairness not only their own problems but the problems of those branches of the industry which must be solved as well as their own. It is natural for each branch to feel the pressure of the demands of its own organization and to endeavor to respond to those demands by passing responsibility to other shoulders. To my office these problems converge. I receive these problems from all sides. They cannot be met unless they are met in a spirit of mutual forbearance and helpfulness. If they are not met, the depression may prove to be an advantage, however disquieting the immediate conditions may be.

I know that so far as the inside shop manufacturers and the jobbers are concerned this is a period of cut-throat competition. Retailers are making demands for cheaper and cheaper goods. The more these manufacturers and jobbers become disorganized and succumb to these demands, the worse for them and the worse for you. The backbone of this industry, the main source of stabilization in it must be a strong, organized Union, maintaining labor standards for workers which make these garments, labor standards which are also living standards for men and women engaged in the industry. There will be no disquieting voice in any branch of the industry, I think, when I say that there is no permanent advantage to any legitimate factor in this industry to have these labor standards broken down or to have this great body of workers in want and suffering and demoralized. This demoralization would spread. Rancorous price competition would follow and even if some contemporary advantage were perhaps obtained by certain shortsighted and selfish manufacturers, it would not last long for their benefit and would result in further price cutting, profitless selling and general chaos. The interests of every legitimate part of the industry is favorable not only to the maintenance but to the extension of the Union. Those forces in the industry which tend to undermine labor standards, to turn this business into a form of racket at the expense of the worker and the legitimate houses, who, though hard-pressed, are striving to maintain the standards, must be driven out or contented. It is to the interest of every respectable factor in the business to have this accomplished.

While this is in many ways a highly organized industry and while it has functioned in the past effectively in normal times, still further steps are needed to complete its organization and to coordinate industrial control so that the unity of buyers and the heartlessness of their assailants upon a fair price structure can be met. Any branch of the industry or any narrow-minded, over-seas or selfish minority faction which seeks to take advantage of the prevailing distress not only will tend to extend the period of depression but, in the long run, will produce results injurious to its own interest. Minimum costs of production and minimum labor standards must be maintained as a limit below which prices must not go. The process of coordinating the industry, of enforcing these standards and making them effective is of prime importance not only to you but to every legitimate factor in the industry itself. The responsibility of each factor for the maintenance of these standards must be resolutely insolated upon. A fair measure of equality in conditions of competition on labor costs of production between different branches of the industry must be created or factors in the industry essential to its existence will suffer.

The economic problems confronting the industry at this time are of great difficulty and they require all the wisdom of which we are capable. It is a time in which narrow-minded men, over-seas and over-zealous men are peculiarly in disrepute to progress. The industry has a right to expect from you a fair consideration of the difficulties which confront the; other factors and a willingness to co-operate so far as possible in working them out.

On the other hand, no manufacturer
or jobber has a right to expect to have his problems met out of the lives of his workers by undermining standards of life for these workers and their families. I shall not attempt, of course, to discuss the revisions of the contract deemed to be necessary in the negotiations now under way. I should not trespass upon the controversial field, particularly in one in which it is my duty to remain impartial. I do feel, however, that we need more facts about the operation of the industry as a guide for us all. We should know continuously and through my office the extent of employment or unemployment, the extent of non-union production and whether it is increasing or diminishing. We should have statistics of the business operation of the industry, on demand for goods, and all such facts as can be used as a guide in production. We should have a system by which if there is slackness of work, this slackness should be spread as far as possible through the industry itself instead of having slackness of demand met in certain quarters by the slaughter of prices with the collapse of employment and an assault on wage standards. Ours is a seasonal industry. I am not so sure that we have reached the end of our resources in modifying the effect of its seasonal character or that seasons cannot be extended by adequate industrial control, plus genuine cooperation through a still further coordination of the branches of the industry with uniform labor costs as its stabilizing backbone. I am not so sure that extreme variations of style are not capable of at least some control. If at this time all factors of the industry set themselves at the task of making this depression a period of reconsideration of economic problems, of devising additional resources for its stabilization and control, we have reason to believe that this depression may prove to be a great blessing rather than a calamity.

If greater stabilization is to come, it must come through greater control in the industrial organization itself over forces which tend to break it down.

Readers of Justice

In case you move from your present quarters, please notify your local office of your new address. We shall then forthwith put your new address on our mailing list.

The unlimited competition in our industry comes today from forces mainly out of our control in the battlefield of business—retail and chain store pressure for still lower prices, for extra discounts, for unreasonable short-time deliveries, with demand for "specials" which are almost gifts for basement bargains. We have plenty of unity of buyers dealing together to get the utmost last on rush prices and no unity of sellers to enforce living prices for merchandise sold.

I see no earthly reason why the lives of 27,000 workers should be thrown in to make a bargain hunter's holiday. These forces of unbridled competition are the enemies of all branches of the industry. If against this disruptive force there can be a further perfected organization of workers, employers and wholesalers to define and maintain minimum labor costs and prices which must at least reflect those costs, I am not afraid of going to jail for enforcing them.

I have yet to see, nor do I anticipate any decision of the courts holding that reasonable protection of the right to live is a conspiracy in restraint of trade. I shall be glad to see our present rudimentary schedule for fixing minimum labor costs and prices which must at least reflect those costs. I am not afraid of going to jail for enforcing them.

What gives me courage and optimism in these days of depression is a feeling that down underneath it all, forces are at work which properly directed will make for a better order in industry, with the ending of the despair of unemployment as one of its major objectives. People who never thought about such matters are thinking of them now.

It was less than a generation ago that industrial accidents and their enormous toll upon the life of the workers were looked upon as inevitable, as unavoidable and when a half million workers were killed or injured in our industries each year and left in the main to private charity for relief, before the great principle that "the blood of the worker should be paid for the cost of the product" was written into our workman's compensation laws.

To establish this principle seemed at the outset a hopeless task. It nevertheless came.

We are suffering now from the results of unregulated mass over-production, technological unemployment in a period of plenty as the aftermath of a second industrial revolution, created as the by-product of an uncontrolled efficiency which considered mechanism and mass production and forgot men. We have been stupid about it. We are suffering today from industrial collapse.

I look forward to the time when unemployment will be transformed by a fairer distribution of leisure and when the distressing conditions of today will seem as unreasonable, as unnecessary, as voidable as the uncompensated industrial accidents of a quarter of a century ago. (Applause.)
Statement of Receipts and Disbursements
I. L. G. W. U. • • • November 1, 1929 to March 31, 1932

Submitted by General Secretary-Treasurer, Dubinsky to 21st Convention, Philadelphia, Pa.

Receipts:
- Due Per Capita: $569,037.15
- Convention Assessment: $14,317.50
- Special 10c Assessment: $7,756.00
- Emergency $7.75 Assessment: $10,016.76
- Initiation Tax (Nov. 1929 to Dec 31, 1930): $4,400.67
- Initiation Tax (Jan. 1931 to Mar. 31, 1932): $22,047.59
- Supplies: $7,735.15
- Advertising: $1,672.33

Interest:
- Check Accounts: $135.66
- Savings Accounts: $1,689.46
- Investments: $666.25
- Total Interest Received: $1,871.33
- Charters Fees: $100.00
- Miscellaneous Income: $413.90
- Net Proceeds from Sale of Citlville Property: $2,850.00
- Outstanding Checks - Int'l Madison Bank: $1,641.99
- Collections Received for Volkseitung; Bund; Polish Needle Trades, Palestine Fund and P eruian's Union Fund: $2,682.14
- Securities Received (Out-of-Town Dept.): $400.00
- Contributions by Locals for 1930 Dress Strike: $27,828.00

Bonds Sold:
- Swift & Co.: $5,048.61
- Texas & Pacific: $16,245.44
- L. L. G. W. U. Bonds: $3,831.80
- Loans Returned by Joint Boards, Locals, etc.: $12,940.74
- Loans from Locals, etc.: $12,949.00
- Loans Payable - Assigned Accounts of Locals - Int'l Madison Bank: $31,405.76
- Loans Payable - Assigned Accounts of Joint Boards and Locals - Bank of United States: $8,359.89
- Notes Payable - Banks: $199,750.00

Total Receipts: $1,374,741.61

Disbursements:
- Administrative Expenses:
  - Salaries - Officers:
    - President, Benj. Schlesinger: $17,500.00
    - Secretary-Treasurer - A. Baroff: $862.00
    - Secretary-Treasurer - D. Dubinsky: $14,150.00
  - Total Salaries of Officers: $32,565.00
- Office:
  - General Office Salaries - Bookkeeper, Stenographers and Clerical Help: $15,121.24
  - Auditing Department: $12,278.45
  - Educational Department: $7,846.57
  - Record Department: $7,018.05
  - Publication Department:
    - Printing and Mailing - Justice, Gerichtigkeit and Guiltina: $55,118.73
    - Salaries of Editors and Contributors: $20,905.00
    - Mailing Department - Salaries and Expenses: $9,158.29
- Total Disbursements: $191,205.02

Extract from Report:
The financial statement contained in this report shows that we have received during the past twenty-four months, since the Cleveland convention, from locals and joint boards, the amount of $728,467.46, in per capita dues and assessments. This is a considerable sum of money for such an abnormal period as we have gone through since 1929. Right at this point, it is essential to state that over 50 per cent of this income, namely, $470,565.30, we had to remit on debts left over to us from the unfortunate 1926 strike. In other words, over half of our income, instead of being applied to organization work, or other activities vital to the progress and development of our Union, had to go to liquidate obligations incurred through a disastrous adventure not of our making. And what is just as important for you, fellow delegates, to know is that this burden is not yet lifted from our shoulders and that we are still confronted with pressing obligations growing out of that same source. The liquidation of at least the most pressing of these liabilities is, therefore, one of the fundamental problems facing this convention.

The administrative expenses for this period, according to the report, is $305,885.50. This includes the amount of $31,405, which was applicable to the prior period, which means that the actual administrative expense for this period is $284,480.50. Our total income per capita was $593,971.15, which means that 47 per cent of the per capita income was spent for administrative purposes. The report also shows that the organizing expense was $325,125.50, adding to it the contribution for the 1930 dress strike amounting to $17,000, which is listed separately in the report, making a total of $442,125.50. This amount includes the sum of $29,000 which represents payment of debts applicable to the prior period, so that the organizing expense for this period was $413,125.50. In other words, 37 per cent of the total per capita income was spent for organizing expenses.

The following table sets forth the percentage of expense for administrative and organization, and other expenses, based on per capita income:
Office Maintenance:
- Rent: $43,908.00
- Printing: $8,216.35
- Stationery: $1,148.55
- Telephone and Telegrams: $6,444.56
- Postage: $1,376.95
- Water - Towels - Ice: $703.53
- Insurance: $357.42
- Carfare - Newspapers, etc.: $835.66
- Special Office Expenses: $6,786.83
- Building Expense - Repairs and Remodeling of Offices: $2,170.16
- Miscellaneous Expenses: $2,233.56

Total Office Disbursements: $76,245.83

General Executive Board Meetings
Standing and Special Committees
Referendum Committee
A. F. of L. Per Capital
Dues and Per Capita to Other Organizations

Convention Expenses:
- International Convention (1923): $13,837.85
- International Convention (1922): $71.38
- A. F. of L. Convention (1930): $1,925.00
- Total Convention Expenses: $14,834.33

Total Administrative Expenses: $202,088.50

PERCENTAGE OF EXPENSE BASED ON PER CAPITA INCOME

Administrative Expense: $302,088.50
Included in this amount are payments which are applicable to prior period: $4,000.00

Administrative Expense - This period: $298,088.50
47% of Per Capita

Organizing Expenses as per statement: $215,129.55

Contribution to Dress Strike: $17,000.00

$242,129.55

Included in this amount are payments for debts which are applicable to prior period: $30,000.00

New York District Committee
Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry

On June 25, Barnard will open its doors for the sixth year to young women from all branches of industry who are interested in acquiring the kind of education that will equip them to better understand the conditions under which they work and to make their contribution to the improvement of these conditions. In line with such a program the school offers a seven-weeks' course in the social sciences - economics and history - and English with special drill in public speaking and written work.

On the recreational side the Summer School students are able to make use of Columbia's resources for exercise, such as tennis courts and swimming pool. A splendid combination of work and play is to be found on the roof where students sit day after day studying a history assignment or else carrying on heated discussions about labor philosophies and tactics.

Tuition for Barnard, together with lunch and dinner, is free. To meet expenses such as lodging, daily breakfast and week-end meals an additional weekly scholarship of not more than $15 is sometimes offered.

If you are interested in this educational venture, get in touch with our Educational Department at the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th Street, or with Lucile Kohn, 61 East 86th Street, telephone number, Butterfield 8418.
G. E. B. Committees Organized at First N. Y. Meeting

The first meeting of the General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U. was held on Wednesday, May 26, 1932, in the Council Room of the International Building. The following vice-presidents were in attendance: Leila Akstas, Joseph Breslaw, Basilo Dezi, Jacob Heller, Julius Hochman, Nicholas Kirtzman, Louis Levy, Salvatore Nino and Isidore Nagler, of New York; Elias Riesenberg and George Rubin, of Philadelphia, and General Secretary Dubinsky, in the absence of President Schlesinger, who was confined by illness to his home. First Vice-President Nino presided.

The current situation in Boston, the developments in Toronto and the condition of the New York ladies' tailors organization, Local 83, whose agreements with employers will soon expire, were taken up for discussion. Vice-President Nagler presented a report of the negotiations now going on with the employers' associations in the New York cloak industry. Vice-President Julius Hochman touched upon conditions in the New York dress industry.

The G. E. B. voted to appoint a committee for raising funds for the adequate financing of the impending cloak strike in New York, of the following Board members: Secretary Dubinsky, Nagler, Nino, Breslaw and Levy.

Secretary-Treasurer Dubinsky reported that President Schlesinger was unable to attend the current negotiations with the cloak employers' association on account of ill health. He declared that immediately upon his return from the Philadelphia Convention, President Schlesinger visited his physicians, who ordered him to give up the time he was spending in the Union owing to the state of his health and advised him to leave New York for a different climate to seek recovery. The Board, therefore, appointed a committee consisting of Vice-Presidents Nagler, Levy, Nino, Breslaw, Dezi and Secretary Dubinsky to visit President Schlesinger and to deliver to him in person the wishes of the entire G.E.B. for a speedy recovery and to transmit to him the message that although the Board recognizes the great value of his services at the present moment, all its members are ready to do everything in their power to make it possible for him to regain his health and then again to resume his activity as President of the International Union.

The G.E.B. meeting before adjournment, appointed the following standing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Other Expenses</th>
<th>( \text{$48,911.28} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Joint Board for 1930 Dress Strike</td>
<td>( \text{$40,446.65} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collections Turned Over—Volkservung, Bund, Polish Needle Trades, Palestine Fund, Furriers Fund</td>
<td>( \text{$2,726.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securities Returned—(Out-of-Town Dept.)</td>
<td>( \text{$100.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.L.G.W.U. Bonds—Refunded</td>
<td>( \text{$5,376.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans to Organizations on Bonds</td>
<td>( \text{$18,446.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Joint Board Securities—Returned</td>
<td>( \text{$180,813.13} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid to Pres. Schlesinger balance of wages due him at time of Oct. 31, 1929</td>
<td>( \text{$2,550.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>( \text{$55,639.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans Given to Joint Boards, Locals, etc.</td>
<td>( \text{$28,943.40} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans Returned to Locals, etc.</td>
<td>( \text{$15,729.70} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans Payable—Returned—Assigned Accounts—Int'l-Madison Bank</td>
<td>( \text{$1,751.76} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans Payable—Returned—Assigned Accounts—Bank of United States</td>
<td>( \text{$235,376.82} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes Payable—Banks</td>
<td>( \text{$18,000.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Monthly Payments on Loans</td>
<td>( \text{$1,561,299.89} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary:</td>
<td>( \text{$75,210.48} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance November 1, 1929</td>
<td>( \text{$69,276.43} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Receipts</td>
<td>( \text{$1,874,741.91} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>( \text{$1,944,030.04} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Disbursements</td>
<td>( \text{$1,952,000.00} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance March 31, 1932</td>
<td>( \text{$12,729.15} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This Statement of Receipts and Disbursements includes amounts paid during this period which were applicable to the period prior to November 1, 1929.

SECURITIES SCHEDULE

From the schedule given below, the delegates will have before them a clear picture of the security problem with which our International has been confronted during the last few years, an obligation which amounted originally to about $500,000, as well as the payments made, the savings effected and the balance due thereon.

| Payments: |
|------------------|------------------|
| By International—Jan. 1, 1927 to Oct. 31, 1929 | \( \text{\$89,638.10} \) |
| By International—Nov. 1, 1929, to Mar. 31, 1932 | \( \text{\$180,813.13} \) |
| By Joint Board—Jan. 1, 1927 to Dec. 31, 1929 | \( \text{\$116,472.28} \) |
| By Joint Board—Jan. 1, 1930 to Mar. 31, 1932 | \( \text{\$28,206.07} \) |
| Total Payments | \( \text{\$415,129.58} \) |
| Unpaid: |
| Independent Clock Firms | \( \text{\$18,733.98} \) |
| Independent Dress Firms (Estimated) | \( \text{\$4,000.00} \) |
| Associations | \( \text{\$11,554.12} \) |
| Total Unpaid | \( \text{\$126,124.11} \) |
| Savings: |
| Due from firms to U.I.P. and Applied Again on Account | \( \text{\$12,300.11} \) |
| From firms | \( \text{\$16,000.00} \) |
| Savings on Settlements | \( \text{\$174,997.32} \) |
| Total | \( \text{\$749,556.13} \) |
Schlesinger's Letter and Acceptance Speech

Pres. Schlesinger's Letter to Convention

"May 14, 1932.
"To the Delegates of the Twenty-first Convention of the I.L.G.W.U.

"Brothers and Sisters,
"At the last meeting of the General Executive Board I have officially announced that I cannot stand for re-election on grounds of ill health. Since then, and particularly at this Convention, I have been insistently urged to reconsider my decision and to stand for re-election.

"While I fully appreciate the confidence implied in this attitude on your part, and while my supreme desire now, and as ever, is to serve the cause of the workers in our industry to the best of my ability, I am respectfully compelled to stand by my decision, and I ask the delegates to this Convention not to attempt to persuade me from this decision which is final, but to elect another member of the organization as its president.

"The reasons for this stand are purely personal. I have, as you know, been in ill health for some time. My physicians, my family and my friends insist that I go away at once and for the near future devote all my efforts, energies and thought to the task of getting well. I do not feel that I have any right to disregard these urgent orders, and I shall go at the earliest possible moment. By taking proper care of myself for some time, I hope to recover my health, and I assure you that if I do, I shall be glad to devote myself, as always in the past, to the cause nearest and dearest to my heart,—the cause of the labor movement.

"Please accept the assurance of my sincere thanks for the renewed marks of your confidence and for the many years of your co-operation.

"Fraternally and cordially yours,

BENJ. SCHLESINGER"

Schlesinger Accepts

"Delegates, I assure you I am not looking for this demonstration. Please do not waste your time on applause. I think we understand each other. My letter was read to you this morning. I won't describe my condition to you in detail, because I am not a physician. There was nothing personal in my decision to resign. I am losing my health. In the last eleven and a half months I have lost twenty-two pounds, which is a lot of weight for a man weighing but 133 pounds. I have some responsibilities to my wife and family. I have a son who is not married yet. I have a family and children and grandchildren to whom I feel obligation of affection.

"Politics has nothing to do with my decision. It was purely for personal reasons, because I am a sick man.

"I feel that you really have no right to do what you have done. I have been for a long time in the labor movement and in the cloakmakers' movement. My life is divided into four parts. I am fifty-five years old. I spent the first fourteen years of my life at home with my mother. The next fourteen years I spent in the sweat shops of Chicago as a cloak worker, and let me tell you that I was the best cloakworker in Chicago in my day and I am proud of it. I believe that the origin of my trouble could be traced to my fourteen years in the sweat shops of Chicago, because conditions then were not the same as they are today—bad as they may be now. My first workroom was in a kitchen; there were three rooms occupied by my father and his wife, and I worked in the kitchen.

"For about twelve or thirteen years I was the manager of the "Forward," at a time when the manager had to work very hard, and I am happy to state that while I was managing the "Forward" it became, from a bankrupt organization, the splendid organization it is today.

"After that, I have been for thirteen years with the Union. I served as business agent of the Union in Chicago for many years and once was a manager of the Cloakmakers' Union in New York, and then I was elected President of the International. I have devoted my entire life to the International, so that you may now understand why this Union is dear to me. As I said before, today I am broken down in health. Bro. Dubinsky, knowing of my condition, hesitated to approach me and to ask me to resume the office of President. Others came to me and asked me to accept. I told them, "you will not have a hard job in getting me to accept, but it will probably mean the last years of my life."

"You have decided upon a certain action. I don't know whether you had the right to take such an action out of consideration to me, but you have taken it and I stand by it.

Hillquit's Comment

I have been a close friend of Schlesinger for many years, and I know how vitally important it is for him to throw himself into an intense struggle which might consume what little health he still preserves. Schlesinger is a very valuable man, not merely to your organization but to the labor movement as a whole. He has unusual vitality and extraordinary recuperative power. I know if he is given a chance or some little time to get well, he will get well. I feel it is our duty to protect him against himself, if he accepts this office. I know his impulse will be to throw himself into the fight immediately, and I know with what intensity he does so once he starts. Before I urge upon him the acceptance, I want you to understand clearly that he will not only be given an opportunity but he will be forced, if necessary, to look out for his health and recuperate first.

"Now, my friends, this coming cloak controversy is very important, but it is not the last battle, that you will have to fight. We are facing a period of extraordinary industrial difficulties, where nothing but a strong, powerful organization can save the workers from utter misery and destitution. There will be other battles.

"One final word. When I urge him to accept, I want to be in a position to do so in behalf of a united and harmonious organization. (Applause.) I know that there are differences of opinion among you, but so long as we are in earnest about things, there naturally will be differences of opinion. But, remember that the things that separate us are insignificant in comparison with the great many things that should unite you. You should all have enough will-power to sink your differences for the triumph of a cause which you should all serve alike. I hope I succeed in my mission and, when this convention adjourns, I want to say that, with the election of Benjamin Schlesinger as President, and David Dubinsky as Secretary-Treasurer, you have as good and faithful a leadership as any other trade union in the country ever had. (Tremendous applause.)"
Jobs—The Key for Recovery

Monthly Survey by A. F. of L.

A month ago we reported a most critical emergency. Since then (end of March), stock prices have declined 23 per cent; bond prices 5 per cent; 4,000 business firms have failed; business activity has fallen 5 per cent further; the general price level has dropped 1 per cent; unemployment in industry has increased by 100,000 (March 31st and April 1st).

Clearly, relieving the banking situation alone has not started us on the road to recovery. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has stopped bank failures, but there is no sign yet of business upturn, and the past month has added to the wreckage.

Every depression ends when people have jobs and their demand for goods puts new life into industry. In this depression, the demand for goods has fallen for over two years and is still shrinking. In March consumer buying was 31 per cent below normal, and still declining. No new industry has come into the picture to create jobs and start demand.

The key to our economic difficulties lies in putting people to work. Jobs create buying power and a chance for profits. That is the key to getting us out of depression. It is the key to balancing our Federal Budget. It is the key to relief for the millions who want jobs in order to buy bread. It is the key to stopping liquidation. It is the key to restoring confidence and sanity.

The two main ways of putting people to work now are: (a) Using federal credit for construction of public works which would give jobs directly to thousands and through orders of materials to other industries would create additional employment and (b) Credit to private business undertakings so that they could start production.

Launch the Authorized Federal Construction

By bold, direct policies the Federal Government could assume leadership in this emergency and reverse the tide of business. There are construction undertakings already authorized by Congress amounting to $1,632,464,576. Congress authorized these projects because they were needed for better national development. They could furnish employment to several hundred thousand workers with the fewest means, when work is most needed. Voting the appropriations necessary to start these projects would in no way interfere with balancing the budget. The addition to current expenses would be insignificant—enough to pay interest for the current year. Federal contracts would enable the construction companies to get bank credit; men would be put to work at once and idle funds turned to producing wealth. Bonds could be issued, to be refunded in the more prosperous years which would help to create. The people's money would be invested in building useful projects and in turning adversity into prosperity.

Give Business Credit

But public work could not furnish employment for all. The great majority of unemployed must get jobs through the normal channels—production in private industries. Production cannot increase without credit. Many a firm has been refused a loan for plant improvement or new machinery, and has even been denied credit finance work on orders which would give hundreds of jobs. Banks claim they must protect depositors' funds and see a risk in any loan except to firms of the highest financial standing. In 1929 they gladly gave loans to thousands on collateral which they refuse today. But at present with prices of stocks, bonds and goods continually going down, a firm may go on the rocks at any time. Credit might save the business but the banks feel they must play safe. Therefore, although the Federal Reserve has pumped $550,000,000 of credit into the banks since the end of February by buying government securities, this credit is not being passed on to business. Loans to business are less than $400,000,000 during this period and are now at the lowest level since depression began. Loans of all banks have dropped from $4,385,400,000 at the end of 1929 to $2,325,000,000 at the end of 1931, a decline of ten billion dollars.

Invest in Prosperity

Congress has failed to grasp two important principles in its efforts to “balance the budget.” 1. Distinction between current costs and capital expenditures. A balanced budget means the payment of current costs out of current income. But capital expenditures—permanent improvements and additions to our national equipment such as government building projects—are not paid out of one year's income, but progressively over a period of years. The Government has always budgeted expenses on this kind over a cycle of ten years or more, paying for them in prosperous times. An investment of $10,000,000,000 to bring back prosperity would increase our national debt only $10 per person. We paid our $119 per person in 11 years ending 1936. The United States has an enormous unused credit based on our ability to produce wealth. When government bonds are selling above par and the public has just offered $361,666,000 for a government loan of only $75,000,000 dated May 11, need we fear for the government credit?

Avert a Catastrophe

We are close upon an unparalleled relief crisis. Every month brings it nearer. Nearly 8,000,000 are still unemployed and as relief funds are exhausted in city after city, nothing stands between them and starvation. We can no longer care for the unemployed by relief alone. Government work is a constructive answer. After the billion dollars worth of authorized government construction is voted, it will be time to consider federal loans to municipalities and states, loans for housing projects for families of small income and loans to private business. The universal five-day week would make all these plans increasingly effective. We cannot stand by and see people starve when jobs could bring them food and their buying could help start recovery. It is necessary for the Government to declare a national emergency and take appropriate measures to prevent a great human catastrophe.
The Month in Local 10

BY SAMUEL PERLMUTTER

Special Meeting Adopts
Convention Report

At a well-attended special member meeting on Monday, May 23, the delegation of Local 10 to the Philadelphia convention submitted a report.

Among those who reported were Brothers Philip Ortkes, chairman of the delegation, Samuel Perlmutter, David Dubinsky and Iosidore Nager, general manager of the Clockmakers' Joint Board.

Convention Adjourned in
Harmonious Spirit

Notwithstanding the depressed atmosphere which prevailed in the convention for the most part of the next two weeks, the convention wound up in song and fraternal greetings.

In accordance with instructions given to our delegation at the membership meeting held on April 25, immediately before the convention, our delegates submitted a number of resolutions, among which were the following:

1. To urge the A. F. of L. to endorse a universal 38-hour week.

2. To make distribution of slander against our leaders through groups or by individual members illegal, the penalty of which shall be suspension from the union.

3. The establishment of unemployment insurance, to be administered by the government.

4. To call upon all local unions to levy a tax upon all members employed during the season and to use the funds raised through such a tax for the benefit of those out of work.

5. To levy a tax upon all members affiliated with the international for the purpose of redeeming the bonds purchased by our members.

6. To endorse a vigorous organization drive in the New York dress industry.

7. To make proper arrangements for reorganizing the business of the New York Dress Joint Board and its affiliated locals so as to reduce their current expenses and to make that joint board self-sustaining.

The convention decided, with regard to Resolution No. 5, to levy a tax of $10 upon all members affiliated with the union in order to make it possible to redeem the bonds, 25 per cent of which shall be paid within three months immediately after the adjournment of the convention.

Resolutions, enumerated above as Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 7, were also adopted by the convention almost unanimously. What concerns Resolution No. 2, dealing with slanderous literature, it was combined with another resolution dealing with "Clubs and Groups" and referred to the incoming General Executive Board to work out a detailed plan for the control of group and club activities.

Local 10 and
Dress Strike

On one particular occasion, when the New York dress situation was being discussed, a delegate from Local 22 audaciously charged Local 10 with deliberate refusal to cooperate with all the other locals during the recent dress strike, stating in addition that Local 10 had been organizing cutting departments in some dress shops while paying no attention to the conditions of workers in other crafts.

The writer of these lines immediately challenged these assertions on the floor of the convention and pointed to such shops as Charles Armour and Germano-Mantill, where cutters lost their jobs because they were the only ones to respond to the strike call. He added the case of the surrender Dress Company, where the firm had pleaded for a cutting department but Local 10 refused to grant it because the rest of the workers in their shop were involved in the strike. Local 10, besides, it was pointed out, advanced more than $4,600 to the strike fund over before the strike tax was collected.

Harmony at Last
Appears

Before the last day of the convention, the tension in the hall began to show signs of disappearing. Realizing the necessity of unity and the cementing of good will among all the elements within our union, particularly in view of the approaching general strike in the cloak industry, the leaders of the international at the convention amended a decision of the Committee on Officers' Report, providing for a $1.75 tax, which would be divided into two payments, namely, $7 and $3.75, and decided on a straight tax of $10 upon all members. This was accepted by all the delegates, except by a few communists and by Local 22, which voted against it.

In conformity with the decision of the convention, providing for a $10 tax, we hereupon inform our members that those who have already paid the $3.75 tax will have to pay now only a balance of $6.25 within the coming two years.

Inasmuch as a considerable number of cutters did pay the $3.75 tax, this decision should be good news to all members of Local 10.

Pres. Schlesinger's
Reelection

Among the many important problems confronting this convention, it was faced with the question of electing a president of the international, which for a time became almost the paramount issue, as it was almost a certainty that Brother Schlesinger, due to his ill health, was determined to decline the post. It looked as though there was no chance of persuading Brother Schlesinger to change his mind. It therefore became necessary to call in Comrade Morris Hillquit, who has been associated with our international since its early days and is one of our dearest friends, to help us in our dilemma and to prevent us from accepting him.

On Friday our delegation, learning that a good many of the delegates who had become restless and anxious to go home, would eventually begin to leave the convention, began to confer with Brother David Dubinsky, urging upon him to use all means at his disposal to convince Brother Schlesinger to remain.

It was not until late Saturday morning that the efforts of our delegation began to bear fruit. Brother Schlesinger realizing he was in a perplexed condition in which the convention found itself, finally yielded the call of the delegates, which nominated him unanimously (excepting the votes of six Communists) in his absence.

Following the nomination, a committee was appointed to see him at the Sylvia Hotel and to convey to him the desire of the convention that he accept the nomination. Within an hour, Brother Schlesinger, escorted, appeared in the Elia Hall and was met by thunderous applause which lasted for several minutes. He told the convention that although he still did not change his mind, since it is the wish of the convention that he remain regardless of circumstances and conditions, he is ready to stand by their decision.

A Few Former Communists
Warned Against Destructive Activities

Among several matters reported by the executive board to the membership meeting on Monday, May 23, was that of a group, most of them former followers of the Communist party, who had recently returned to Local 10, claiming that they repudiated the policies of the Communists and find now the policies of the international and of Local 19 sound.

Stating that they represent the unemployed, this group of members appeared before the E. B. with a program and re-
The Month in Local 10

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posed action. In view of the fact that several officers of the Local, including some Executive Board members, were obliged to leave for a conference that same night with the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association, the Executive Board was unable to take any action and, therefore, postponed it for the next meeting.

It appeared, however, that some of these members were bent upon disturbance and insisted upon a discussion of their proposition at that meeting. Maurice W. Jacobs, the president, officer, admonished them against resorting to unseemly tactics and advised them that they better behave like union men or they would be ordered out of the room. Thereupon, order was restored.

Manager Samuel Perlmuttter called attention to the fact that an insignificant group, supported by outside forces, have now nearly embarked upon an active campaign which was very injurious to the Union. In the past two months, since the slack period has set in and the unemployment situation has grown worse, this group has run away to the minds of the unemployed and to create confusion, misunderstanding and distrust towards the organization. Only recently the group had called a meeting in Memorial Church, where they engaged in slandering the organization.

Any offer, Brother Perlmuttter averred, that could not stand suggestions for improvement or reform is not worthy of holding office. The suggestions, however, must be made in the proper way and in the proper place. These few fellows, however, receive their instructions at 14th street and 2nd avenue, where the "Lovestone groups" of the Communists is located. These tactics, however, will not be tolerated any longer, and a warning is therefore, issued in the presence of the hundreds of cutters assembled at the meeting that unless they change their ways and learn to bring their criticism to the local meetings, where it properly belongs, the people responsible for these destructive activities will be held to strict accountability.

Unemployed Must and Will Be Aided

We are now in the midst of a very dangerous period. Brother Perlmuttter continued, a time when men can be led to desperation, and even well-meaning people who honestly yearn for a better organization, can be misled. Therefore is the duty of each and every member to be on guard and watch these self-styled and self-appointed representatives of the unemployed.

The question right now, Manager Perlmuttter insisted, is not only that these already unemployed but how to prevent further unemployment by inducing large manufacturers to remain in business. Insofar as the unemployed are concerned, the Executive Board has reached a decision which can only be enforced when work starts, namely to levy an assessment upon those that work to help the unemployed, and if there are any other suggestions to be offered tending to ameliorate the lot of the unemployed they will be welcomed. As a matter of fact a Good and Welfare meeting will be held on Monday, June 20, at Arlington Hall, solely for the purpose of discussing the question of the unemployed.

Brother Perlmuttter then reported about the cloak situation and the conference that have been held with the Merchants' Association, also about the planned conference with the Industrial Council, on Tuesday, May 26. Inasmuch as the Industrial Council announced that they would not renew the agreement after June 1, on the old basis, he urged the members not to take any steps before receiving information from the office of Local 10.

Brother Perlmuttter further reported that in the next few days a meeting of all shop stewards and active members will be held at which instructions will be issued to all of them.

Hillquit's Speech

(Continued from page 6)

American capitalism does not get its cheap immigrant labor in this country, that he brings his goods of the same cheap labor market in other countries? What does Mr. Ford do when he does not get enough immigrant labor next year? Why if foreign labor does not come to his factory in Dearborn, he brings his factory to foreign labor in Germany, in Czecho-Slovakia, or wherever else he can find it. And what is that protective tariff, but one that paralyzes the industries and paralyzes trade all over the world and makes recovery harder and harder.

The workers of all other countries have taken the position that their salvation does not lie within each country separably and through special national remedies, but they have long ago concluded that the only salvation of the working classes lies in an international movement, in an international union for a world change, in favor of labor and against exploitation. (Applause.)

We will have hard times ahead of us. Those of you who are called upon to lead your organization and the workers in your industry, will find that your employers naturally will take advantage of the present situation, in your industry, perhaps, more than in any other industry. They will try to take advantage of your precious achievements and gains of the past. Their ideal is to throw the working masses back into the condition of the sweat-shop days, such as existed before your Union was organized. You will have a rather small and exhausted, weakened army back of you. Your only chance to win out, your only chance to be victorious is to go back and spread among your followers that fire of enthusiasm, of idealism, of faith and of hope in the cause of the workers which made you strong in your infancy and which should make you strong at this critical hour. (Tremendous applause.)