

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."
—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. V, No. 10.

New York, Friday, March 2, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

PHILA. D READY

Mass Meeting on
Wage Fi

PHILADELPHIA CITY AUTHORITIES MEDIATING FOR CONFERENCE BETWEEN UNION AND ASSOCIATION

When President Sigman gives the signal, the several thousand dress and waist makers of Philadelphia will leave their shops.

This has been decided at a big mass meeting of dress and waistmakers on Monday evening, last, called for the purpose of taking a final stand with regard to the proposed strike in the dress and waist shops of Philadelphia. For the last six months, ever since the Cleveland convention had authorized the General Executive Board to launch a new organizing campaign in Philadelphia and charged Vice-President Reisberg with the task of conducting it, the atmosphere in Philadelphia has been tense with expectancy. The unheard-of oppressions to which the girls in the dress and waist shops have been subjected by the employers since the failure of the strike in 1922, has embittered these workers and has made the impending renewal of a clash between the union and the associated employers almost inevitable.

The Philadelphia dressmakers are today full of fighting spirit and are determined to restore union conditions in the shops. The remarkable victory scored by their fellow-workers in the dress industry of New York, the winning of the 40-hour work week, has made their determination even firmer. And the result of the vote of last Monday's meeting, which decided by 1049 votes against 57 for a general strike, is an irrefutable index of the state of their minds.

HOPE OF CONFERENCE TO AVERT STRIKE STILL EXISTS

President Sigman has spent most of the last two weeks in Philadelphia, with Secretary Baroff and Vice-President Feinberg, in an eleven-hour

attempt to avert the strike, if possible.

The union firmly states that it does not desire another conflict and

BOSTON DRESS STRIKE ENDS; AGREEMENT SIGNED

CONTRACT ALSO SIGNED WITH CLOAK JOBBERS—SETTLEMENT A COMPLETE VICTORY

With the signing of a collective agreement with the Massachusetts Dress Manufacturers' Association, which controls or owns 42 waist and dress manufacturing shops, the strike of the dress and waist makers in Boston has practically come to an end.

Vice-President Perstein, the leader of the double strike in Boston—of the dressmakers and of the cloakmakers employed in the jobbers' shops—was invited to the general office on March 1st, as follows:

"Cloak jobbers signed agreement with union. That settles cloak strike in the jobbers' shops. Last night agreement signed with Massachusetts Dress Manufacturers' Association, which means the return of the bulk of the dress strikers to work tomorrow. Agreement provides for a ten per cent wage increase, and for six legal holidays, and arbitration to settle disputes. Of the 3,000 workers involved in the strike of the cloak industry, 2,400 will be back at work in a few hours. Between 600 and 700 workers remain and we expect that the 20-odd firms employing these workers will be settled with by the end of the week. Sixteen independent dress manufacturers have also signed under the same conditions and adopted the same union schedule as the Association.

"We can congratulate ourselves on this victory. We are making Boston a 100 per cent union city. Next Monday night a monster mass meeting and celebration will be held in Tremont Temple."

There can hardly be any doubt that Vice-President Perstein's jubilant remarks concerning the substantial gains scored in Boston are fully justified. The city of Boston has again been reclaimed for our International in the fullest sense of the word. Boston always had a good cloakmakers' union. The development in recent years of the small "social" shops, fostered and controlled by jobbers, has, however, begun to interfere seriously with union conditions and union standards in the legitimate shops. The last strike was called for the purpose of placing squarely the responsibility for working conditions in these shops upon the jobbers. The collective agreement with the jobbers definitely settles this question.

For the last four years, Local No. 49, the waist and dress makers' union of Boston, has been in a very bad way. For one reason or another, principally because the workers themselves have neglected the real interests of their union and have devoted most of their time at meetings to extraneous politics and subjects, the dressmakers' organization has lost all its influence in the trade. Nothing short of a wide agitation and a revival of union sentiment on a broad scale, followed by a general strike, could restore this Local to its former position of control and influence over labor conditions in the Boston shops.

After weeks of agitation, directed by Vice-President Monoson, the General Executive Board has instructed Vice-President Perstein of Cleveland

will call one only if every other effort fails. To that end, President Sigman has been endeavoring to arrange for a conference with the employers at which a final attempt will be made to effect an agreement between both sides and to reestablish contractual relations. At the time of this writing, it appears that such a conference might take place through the efforts of the city authorities of Philadelphia, who would, it appears, not like to see a repetition of the half-year's struggle in the dress and waist trade of their city that occurred a year ago.

The outcome of this conference if of course very problematical. The union is not over-confident concerning its results, even if such a conference is finally arranged. The workers are ready for every emergency and are eager to respond to the call of the union whenever the order for the general strike is given.

PRESIDENT SIGMAN RECEIVES OVATION AT MEETING OF CLOAK JOINT BOARD OF NEW YORK

FIRST APPEARANCE MARKED BY WARM RECEPTION, FLOWERS AND APPLAUSE

There was a distinct holiday atmosphere at the last meeting of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York. It was the first meeting attended by Brother Morris Sigman, the newly-elected president of the International. The meeting hall was crowded with delegates and went to Boston to assume charge of the situation and to call out the dress and waist makers on strike, if necessary, in order to conclude a collective agreement with the organized employers and to restore union conditions in the shops. This mission was carried out in a most effective and successful manner. Local No. 49 is again in a position to guard over the work conditions in the shops in the dress and waist industry in Boston, and, if it will mind its business, like a true fighting union, it has a great future before it.

NEW CARDS FOR THE JEWISH ART THEATRE

The new card for the Jewish Art Theatre is now ready and can be obtained at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street. Upon presentation of this card, our members can obtain tickets at half price on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, and Saturday matinees, excepting holidays, first nights, and benefit performances.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN ON PACIFIC COAST CONTINUES UNINTERRUPTED

Vice-President Gorenstein Visits
New York in the Interests
of the Union

Vice-President Max Gorenstein, general organizer of the International on the Pacific Coast, spent a few days in New York last week. He came from Los Angeles to Baltimore as delegate to the special convention and from there paid a short visit to New York.

While in New York, he discussed with President Sigman the organization campaign on the Pacific Coast. The situation of our Locals in California is at present not an enviable one. The cloakmakers of San Francisco are on the eve of a strike. Local No. 8 of that city is ready to begin a fight for union recognition by the employers. The cloakmakers in the San Francisco shops are all union people, but the union as a whole is not recognized by the employers. Today the members of Local No. 3 are determined to win such recognition by a fight, if necessary. Vice-President Gorenstein recently visited San Francisco and will stop off at that city again on his way to Los Angeles to lead in the fight for union recognition.

(Continued on page 9)

visitors who came to listen to what President Sigman had to say to the delegates of the Joint Board.

The meeting began earlier than usual in the afternoon and its first part was consumed by committee reports and a lengthy statement by Vice-President Feinberg, manager of the Joint Board, on the present state of affairs in the cloak trade. President Sigman had been in Philadelphia and could not arrive until late in the evening, and, when he finally appeared on the platform, was greeted with tumultuous applause from every corner of the large auditorium.

In a few terse remarks, he thanked the members of the Joint Board for the warmth of their reception and for the confidence that the delegates of the Joint Board to the Baltimore Conference had vested in him by voting for him for president of the International. He stated that he was conscious of the difficulties that are confronting our organization at present—the strikes, negotiations, and incessant conflicts with the employers. "Strikes, however, shall not daunt us," he exclaimed, "we have grown to become big in combat. With harmony and unity in our own ranks, we shall come out on top everywhere."

He was followed by Secretary Baroff and S. Yanovsky, editor of GE-RECHTIGKEIT, who greeted the new president and wished him good luck in the great work which has fallen to his lot.

Topics of the Week

By N. S.

THE WORLD COURT CURE

BEATEN in his fight for the Ship Subsidy bill, harassed by questions from Senators as to what the State Department is doing regarding foreign affairs, President Harding, a week before the close of the present session of Congress, has come forth with a plan exclusively dedicated to our international relations.

President Harding announced his plan in his related message to the Senate. The plan is clear and unambiguous. Its main features are as follows: America should join the International Court established by the League of Nations. But the President is careful to point out that "we may fully adhere and participate 'in the court' and remain wholly free from any legal relation to the League or assumption of obligation under the covenant of the League." The President wants no economic or political intervention in Europe. He even fears that by joining the impotent League of Old Men our traditional policy of "splendid isolation" would suffer. He therefore hit upon a happy compromise. He could neither be accused of abandoning the stand of aloofness, nor could he be charged with meddling in European affairs.

The President's court plan is fashioned after The Hague Tribunal which was established at the close of the Nineteenth Century. Czar Nicholas has been the midwife of the Tribunal, and Kaiser Wilhelm one of its godfathers. Even the United States has from time to time participated in the adjustment of disputes in that court. It is clear therefore that The Hague has been a perfectly harmless institution. Serious disputes were never referred to that court. Wars took place as if The Hague had never existed.

President Harding and Secretary Hughes now seek to resurrect the corpse. Is it suited to present conditions? Will it help to stabilize conditions in Europe? Will it establish better relations among the European nations? These questions apparently did not bother the Administration. What the President and his advisers were interested in was how to put a stop to the endless questions and resolutions of obstreperous Senators. The diplomatic smoke that screened the doings of the State Department was being pierced. The country was beginning to realize that the Government is merely concealing a void. Hence the announcement of a policy. It is too late for the present Senate to consider this plan, and it is immaterial. The next session of Congress will begin next December, and that is a long time off.

MINERS ON THE COAL SHORTAGE

OPERATORS have assumed the role of martyrs in the present coal shortage. They point to the miners' strike last Summer as the sole and irrefutable cause of all the ills, including the high prices they are forced, they say against their will, to charge. They insinuate that they are as much the victims of the "inordinate" demands of the miners as is the public.

This legend which has been daily hammered into the mind of the consuming public sustained a shattering blow a few days ago. It came from the miners in the form of a report which their union has presented to the Fact-Finding Coal Commission. This report, which is based on a special investigation of the anthracite coal fields in Pennsylvania, finds that the operators, through "monopoly organization" of the industry, are taking an overcharge of at least \$3.61 on each ton from consumers. This extra loot is then shared by three divisions—mining, transportation and distribution—which are ultimately coordinated and unified in one trust, managed and controlled by the railroads and Wall Street bankers.

The miners' union is inviting the Fact-Finding Coal Commission to dig up the facts of the coal industry which have thus far been kept a profound secret. The report points out that the first step toward a solution of the coal problem is to ascertain all the facts in the case, including those of profits. "We ask you to convince yourselves of these facts," the miners state in their report, "as we are convinced, by tracing out the ownership of coal from the ground through the process of mining, transportation and distribution—processes often controlled entirely by one interest which then takes four different profits on every ton."

THE BEER-WINE PLEA OF NEW YORK

THE New York State Assembly and Senate last week went on record as favoring Congressional modification of the Volstead act so as to legalize the sale and consumption of light wines and beer. Governor Smith is sure to sign this memorial which will be promptly dispatched to Washington.

It appeared for some time that the wets were triumphant and the dries irrevocably beaten. On the one hand there was jubilation and on the other mournful gloom. But this was only a passing illusion. The deeper truth soon came to light, and the situation was almost reversed. More and more wets are realizing that they had been duped. They see in the adoption of the plea to Congress a hypocritical attempt to side-track the issue. Had the Albany lawmakers really been in earnest, these wets argue, they would have first repealed the Mullen-Gage law, the prohibition law enacted by the New York Legislature. For New York State to petition Congress to modify the Volstead law while keeping it intact on its own statute books is a strange inconsistency, so that many outraged wets are beginning to accuse the petitioners of acting in collusion with the Anti-Saloon League.

The wets felt that they were betrayed. The manufacture, sale and consumption of beer and wines will have to be carried on underground as heretofore. The end of the era of bootlegger and revenue agent appears to be still far off.

ANOTHER NEWBERRY CASE IN SENATE

NEWBERRYISM weighed heavily on the Republican Party. It dragged down the prestige and influence of the Harding Administration. It split the Republican ranks. It has placed a deadly weapon in the hands of the Democrats who used it mercilessly. Newberry, who paid such

The Next Annual Conference of the Naturalization Aid League

By HENRY FRUCHTER, Manager

The Naturalization Aid League, which is to hold its annual conference on March 11th next, at the Ford-Wad Hall, celebrates its fourteenth year of naturalization service among the alien workers of the greater city.

Established in 1909 to satisfy a pressing need for assistance and advice on citizenship, it has grown in extent and sphere of service until now it assists an average of 20,000 applicants a year, in addition to furnishing advice through the mails to thousands social and economic life. It has grown to be more of a social service bureau; it has become an institution of national importance to thousands of workers scattered in all sections of the land.

Without underestimating the importance of the political significance of citizenship, it must be realized that naturalization brings results which extend beyond the mere privilege of voting at the ballot box. Psychologically, it furnishes the alien with a sense of dignity and self-respect. It makes him more assertive in his union activity. It stimulates a greater interest in all political and social problems. And, generally, it transforms him from an indifferent, self-deprecating outsider into an interested, independent partner in the affairs of the Country.

It is these considerations which have prompted the Naturalization Aid League to meet to meet the daily call for aid in citizenship, but from time to time to inaugurate campaigns of education for naturalization. In this connection our trade-union and progressive periodicals have been of inestimable value. As time goes on we hope to extend that phase of the work and to utilize all means at our disposal to bring home to the alien worker the importance of American citizenship if he is to remain in this Country and participate in its economic, political and social life.

The Naturalization League is sup-

ported by such organizations as the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish Daily Forward, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and numerous independent unions. Its main office is at 175 East Broadway and it maintains branch offices in the Bronx, Harlem, Williamsburg, and Brownsville. All service is rendered absolutely free of charge.

The annual conference on Sunday afternoon, March 11th, is called for the purpose of rendering a report of the League's activity, as well as for the discussion of problems affecting immigration, naturalization and the relation of the alien to American life. Among the speakers we expect the following:

Hon. Meyer London, Judge Jacob Panken, Benjamin Schlesinger, Joseph Schlosberg, B. C. Viadek, Max Pine, and Joseph Bakshin.

It is important that every progressive labor union elect two delegates to this conference. Whether they are affiliated or not, the problem is sufficiently important to warrant their sending their representatives to join in a consideration of these important questions.

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a large sum of money for his seat in the Senate, was forced to give it up and return to his home in Michigan. But the Newberry blot could not be removed from the Harding regime.

Last week the Republicans heaved a sigh of relief. It was occasioned by a 600-page volume of documents laid by George B. Paddy before the Vice-President in the Senate, formally opening his fight to prevent the seating of Earle B. Mayfield, who defeated him for Senator at the last election in Texas. Paddy was nominated by the Republicans and endorsed by the independent Democrats, while Mayfield was the straight Democratic candidate.

Mr. Paddy adduces facts and figures to show that Mayfield's election was "illegal and fraudulent." Paddy shows that Mayfield's bid agents manipulated the ballots in such a fashion as to produce a mere majority for himself. He expended over \$150,000 in the campaign, the lawful maximum being \$10,000. But what is perhaps the most serious charge is that the voters were intimidated by the Ku Klux Klan at the instance of Mayfield, who was a member. It is shown that the Ku Klux Klan strain runs all through the election and was not only responsible for keeping Paddy's name off the ballots, but drove hosts of voters away from Paddy and aligned many others with Mayfield.

Paddy's adherents, which constitute the entire Republican Party, are preparing to stage a grand battle in the Senate next fall that will wipe the Newberry row. The far-sighted among the Republicans are even planning to turn this into an issue in the presidential campaign. That will mean revenge on the Democrats!

LABOR PARTY HOLDS CONVENTION

A PROGRAM for a closely-knit American Labor Party for the State of New York embracing trade unions, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party and cooperative and fraternal organizations, was outlined at the convention last Saturday and Sunday.

The convention adopted a long list of resolutions declaring the position of the New York State Labor Party on the numerous industrial and political questions of the day. It demanded the repeal of the Lusk laws, the passage of the bill requiring all compensation insurance to be written by the State fund, it protested against the occupation of the Ruhr, it protested against the denial of political freedom in Russia, it demanded public ownership of the coal supply of the nation, etc.

An executive committee was elected which is planning a State-wide organization campaign.

News From Local No. 1

By BERNARD SCHANE

For quite some time past, the shops in our industry, the cloak trade, have been getting smaller and smaller in size, while a number of the larger and so-called legitimate shops have gone out of business entirely. It stands to reason that this change has added to the difficulties of controlling union standards in the shops, for it is quite obvious that, where only a handful of workers are employed, "deals" between workers and their employers are feasible and frequent.

The Joint Board of the cloak industry has had this problem before it on more than one occasion. Our own Executive Board has disowned it at length too. To be sure, the last general stoppage in the cloak industry was primarily called for the purpose of checking this evil tendency in our trade. Unfortunately, this stoppage has not succeeded in great extent. Today, we are confronted with the same imperative necessity of checking this tendency of the shops' breaking up into smaller and smaller units, and we must find means for strengthening union control in the shops. It is not a secret that, in recent months, there have been opened a number of non-union shops in the trade—and these shops must be either entirely eliminated or organized.

The Executive Board of the Operators' Local is seriously worried about this situation. Our Local has formulated a number of recommendations to the Joint Board and we hope that, when these recommendations are adopted and finally carried out, the conditions in the union shops will be improved and the non-union shops obliterated to great extent. Among these recommendations, we propose that a committee of active members of all the Locals be organized to help the permanent officers of the Joint Board to track down all the non-union shops within the limits of Greater New York and, through this vigilant watch, make it impossible for the small contractors to do business in non-union factories. We also propose that stricter control be exercised over the jobbers so that they might not send out work to such non-union shops. If a jobber is found violating this clause of our agreement, a strike should be called forth in his shops and no settlement

be made with him unless a substantial security for faithful performance of the agreement is obtained from him.

We also propose to introduce a Central Labor Bureau to control the labor market and to settle prices for all workers engaged or re-engaged in the shops controlled by the union. We also recommend that a recording bureau be established to control the shops where our members are employed. Such a bureau would be of great help in weeding out the workers from the non-union shops; for, no cloakmaker, even such as might at times be forced to enter a non-union shop, would want this fact to be known. Through a recording bureau, we can keep our eye on every man and woman in the trade and know where and for whom he or she is working.

We have touched on these recommendations only in a casual manner, as we believe that we shall have more than one opportunity to discuss them at length at the regular meetings of the Local.

IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN EXCOMMUNICATES EXPELLED MEMBERS OF LOCAL NO. 1

In the shop of Blauner Brothers, there were four workers who took it into their heads that they can defy the union and do everything they pleased. These four operators, Sperling, Shapiro, Herrick and Mazursky by name, were of course brought before the Grievance Committee of the Local in due time to explain their acts. It would seem, however, that before coming to the Committee, they had taken counsel with their employer, who advised them to ignore the Committee, and, as a result, they refused to answer the various questions put to them. Confronted by such an attitude, the Committee had no other course left for it but to expel these four recalcitrants from the union.

Recently this question came up before an impartial chairman, after the union had requested that Blauner Brothers discharge these four men. The impartial chairman ruled that, in accordance with the terms of the contract of the union with the Association,

the members of the Association were obliged to operate "preferential union shops" but that the firm is not compelled to send away these men. Nevertheless, he laid down certain rules which have put these fellows in their proper place. He, for instance, ordered that the firm must lay off these operators before any one else is laid off in the shop when the slack period of the year arrives. When there is little work in the shop, these men are to be the last ones to get any of the available garments. When the new season starts, these men are to be put to work last of all. The arbitrator made his attitude still clearer by saying that these men who had given up their union and had chosen the employer as their protector should not be entitled to any of the privileges which obtains in the shop through the influence of the union.

You can readily imagine how these men are being looked upon in this shop right now. Indeed, a member of the union who ignores and defies his organization has no easy sailing in the shops of the cloak industry of New York. There is a burning example in the consequences of the act of these men in Blauner's shop to the tens of thousands of our members in New York City—a lesson of what follows when union men choose to desert their own organization.

There was another case in a different shop where the workers ignored the order of the union not to work overtime unless all the machines are occupied. These men were called, as expected, to the Grievance Committee of the union and were adequately fined. Some of these "aristocrats" must have felt deep hurt at the action of the Grievance Committee and decided to square up accounts with their judges. It so happened that one of the members of the Grievance Committee, the Chairman of our Local, was unemployed and he applied for a job in that particular shop. Some of these men decided to "fix" him, and after working for a week and a half, he was discharged without cause. Unfortunately, he could not be re-instated under the circumstances. These, however, who have had a hand in this conspiracy are pretty well known to the union and in time they will have to answer for their noble deed.

We do not care to mention the name of this shop because we do not want to involve in this shameful act

the upright and honest members of the union who work there and who have done all they possibly could not to allow the carrying out of this underhand piece of work.

HARRY KELLY BEFORE OUR EXECUTIVE BOARD

At the last meeting of the Joint Board, there appeared a committee from the Modern School Association, asking for a credential permitting it to sell stamps in the cloak shops for the purpose of covering the deficit of this excellent educational institution. The same committee came before the Executive Board of Local No. 1 to ask that we help it to carry out this plan. A subcommittee was elected to put the work through and, in connection with it, we would like to say a few introductory words to our members.

The Modern School Association was organized about twelve years ago. It spent its early days in New York, where it laid the foundation for child education, along free, libertarian lines. In this school, the iron discipline that prevails in most public schools was entirely abolished. A non-dogmatic, free system, allowing the children to develop mentally and physically without the customary restrictions of the conventional schoolhouse, was put into operation. Very soon, however, the School learned that this work could not be conducted in a great city like New York with so many influences and factors militating against it. The School moved out of Harlem to a village near New Brunswick, N. J., called Stelton. There the sponsors and organizers of the School have had a wider opportunity to apply their ideas and ideals in connection with child education in a free and untrammelled way.

It stands to reason that rich persons would not send their children to such a school. It has had to be supported and maintained by workers and labor organizations. Our Local, as well as Locals 9, 48 and 89, and many other labor organizations, have joined the Stelton School Association, towards which they contribute annual donations. The School, however, now has a serious deficit, and it appeals to all organizations to come to its help at this critical period of its existence.

Local No. 1 appeals now to its members to help the Modern School of Stelton in its far-reaching and noble work.

A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service.)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR TESTS

In all the countries immediately concerned, in Great Britain, France, and Italy, to say nothing of the neutrals, organized Socialism is protesting vigorously against the French occupation, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany. It would be impossible here to mention the innumerable meetings and demonstrations held, and the resolutions to this effect passed, during the past week in this Country alone; and next Sunday sees a mass meeting of protest in Trafalgar Square. It is, however, generally suggested, as in the resolution passed at Amsterdam last week by the International Executive (Trade Union, Second, and Vienna), that the German workers should at the same time bring all possible pressure to bear upon their government to get money from German Big Business, now generally believed to be largely invested abroad, in order to pay reparations; and M.

Philips Price, "Daily Herald" correspondent in the Ruhr, wires to that paper today to say that the support of the workers in the Ruhr to their own government in this crisis would undoubtedly be stronger if that government had given more proof of its sincerity by making the provisions disorganize their wealth in taxes. "The Germans have undoubtedly won the first round by making the French look ridiculous," he says; "but in the second round it will need more evidence of sacrifice on the part of the powers behind the Cans Government, if the Ruhr is to be saved for Germany."

Pacifists everywhere are watching the Ruhr struggle from another point of view, for it is clear, if it is demonstrated that even a nation unwillingly disarmed makes it impossible for such provocation as that of the French to cause a war, how much more could be done for the peace of the world by voluntary disarmament! Certainly, so far passive resistance has won in the Ruhr; if provocation causes riots, and riots bring armed reprisals,

bloodshed may yet ensue. But everybody knows that if both France and Germany were disarmed, Europe would be saved from the chance of another war over the reparations crisis; a thing that is now by no means certain.

THE EFFECT ON UNEMPLOYMENT

The effect on the industrial situation here is naturally disastrous. In answer to a fine indictment of their futile plans for meeting unemployment, addressed to the Government by Sidney Webb, the Labor M. P. and well-known economist, Mr. Bonar Law has nothing definite to reply except that he denies the hypothesis of Mr. Webb's letter, i.e., that every person in need has a right to look to the State for either work or maintenance. Of course, the capitalists deny this; that is why they fight madly against Socialism and tell the readers of their Press that Socialism is all sorts of things it isn't, and carefully refrain from telling them what it is. That their readers, large numbers of whom are suffering from the present system, go on believing what is told them is only another indication that Bernard Shaw had some foundation for his bitter jest, that this planet is used by the other planets for their lunatic asylum!

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Office, 2 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFFSKY, Editor.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year.

Vol. V, No. 10. Friday, March 2, 1923.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1102.

Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

The U. S. Labor Bureau

By J. CHARLES LAUE

The United States government for nearly forty years has had a labor bureau that in this day of "fact-finding" agencies still stands out as uninfluenced by partisan considerations and its reports are accepted by both sides as authoritative. This is the Bureau of Labor Statistics which continues its work regardless of changes in politics, grinding out bulletins and reports on industrial subjects.

The only charges that the employers can make against it is that it does its work too well and so for the last four years it has had to struggle along with a comparatively small appropriation allotted for the Department of Labor of which it is a part. The more enlightened employers use the fruits of its investigations as much as do the labor unions and its work is becoming more and more the basis of national policy with respect to economic legislation.

The bureau was created by Congress in 1884 after nearly twenty years of agitation on the part of the labor movement. The movement for the creation of a Federal department to concern itself primarily with the interests of the workers of the United States began soon after the close of the Civil War.

At a conference of labor representatives held at Louisville, Kentucky, in August, 1885, for the purpose of considering the existing problems of unemployment and inadequate wages, the following resolution was adopted:

Every department of the Federal government is now and has been officered by professional men, busi-

ness men and manufacturers. They are or have been employers of labor or counselors of employers. Naturally their sympathies are not with labor. There should be at Washington a department of labor to be officered by men who are of and with labor, the duty of that department to be the guarding of labor interests in every way now known or which may hereafter become known.

Not until the bureau had been functioning for a generation were the organized workers successful in getting a Department of Labor. That was ten years ago.

That the hopes of the original sponsors of the idea that it was a function of government to look after the welfare of the workers, as well as those of commerce, industry, agriculture and national defense has not been entirely realized is generally admitted.

What has resulted is a fact-finding bureau and this in itself is sufficient although the mental attitude of the directors have much to do with the nature of the work that is outlined for the bureau. With the facts about wages and the cost of living at their command the union leaders as well as the employers have had ammunition for their respective sides, and with both supplementing the government figures with the reports of their own investigations the battle of figures goes on merrily.

The bureau consists of 123 experts working under the direction of a commissioner. There are three main di-

visions of work: statistical, editorial and research and law.

In conjunction with the bureau a labor library, the most comprehensive to be found in this country has been gathered. In it will be found the copies of all trade union publications; *Justice*, the organ of the International, being found there, with the *Mine Workers' Journal*, the *Upshotters' Journal* and hundreds of other labor publications.

The most fundamental work of the bureau is the collecting and tabulating of data. No other subject has received so much attention as that of wages and hours of labor. Over one-half of the reports that have been issued deal with this subject in one way or another and many have dealt with it exclusively.

These particular statistics are published monthly. They are of two kinds: those obtained from the pay rolls of representative employers, and the union scales and hours obtained from labor organizations.

In some establishments even though they employ only union labor, the union wage scale may be constructed on a piece-rate basis, as in some branches of the garment industry, in such cases it is necessary to get the pay roll data in order to record the hourly, daily or weekly earnings. The data published shows the full time weekly earnings, the full-time hours of labor per week, and the rate of wages or earnings per hour in the principal occupations of the 43 industries that are studied regularly and systematically by the bureau.

These statistics cover the entire United States and show the difference in rates of pay and hours of various localities, industries and occupations and are used by employers in making wage adjustments and by unions in getting wage increases.

Another important function of the bureau is to judge the trend of employment and, as experts express it, to "show the necessity for smoothing the employment curve by better organizing the labor market."

This service is valuable also to employers for since wage rates lag several months behind changes in the amount of employment, a business man can approximately forecast the buying power of the public, and govern himself accordingly in the production and the purchase of stock.

This work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is also of the highest importance for seasonal industry for as

the result of its records it may be possible some time before the millennium arrives to fit together industries that have different seasons of activity and mitigate the results of extreme fashion fads which, alternating, give feverish employment to hundreds of thousands of workers and for twenty weeks in the year might leave them idle, or on part time.

In addition the bureau has made some excellent surveys. In 1915 it made a special investigation of 104 New York city blocks and 3,703 tenement houses to find out exactly how the workers lived on the meager earnings of various members of the family group. It has made a study also of the regularity of employment in the women's ready-to-wear garment industry, and issued informative bulletins on conciliation, arbitration and sanitation in the dress and waist industry of New York city in the early days of the "protocol" of peace, as well as a special study of the regularity of employment in the cloak and suit industry of New York.

The work of the Bureau with relation to the gathering of data on food prices and the cost of living is a comparatively recent development, the big survey of 1919 when the bureau expended \$1,000,000 to make a nationwide search being the basis for the present findings.

From 1914 to 1916 only annual statistics were published but since then these are issued monthly in the Monthly Labor Review, a most valuable publication for the economist of any local union to receive. In the early reports only the retail prices of food were given but now the retail prices of dry goods, coal, gas, and other items that make up the family budget are included.

The tremendous work accomplished by the National War Labor Board is still felt in the continued policy of the government's statistical bureau to include as far as possible the main items of the cost of living, of which food is about 25 per cent.

The data is furnished by 1,500 retail stores, 200 bakeries, 250 retail coal dealers, 80 gas companies, and 225 dry goods stores in workers communities. This is supplemented by information gathered by department agents.

The bureau also has in its personnel some of the best trained labor investigators to be found. Their work includes a survey of special labor conditions both here and abroad.

To the Members and Shop Chairmen

OF

Locals 1, 3, 9, 10, 11, 17, 21, 23, 35, 45 and 48,

Affiliated With the

JOINT BOARD CLOAK, SKIRT AND REEFERMAKERS' UNIONS, I. L. G. W. U.

Sisters and Brothers:

You are all aware of the decision announced recently by the Joint Board that each member of our Unions donate not less than one hour's work towards the campaign for "Hias."

Letters and subscription lists have been mailed to all of the cloak and skirt shops under the control of the Joint Board.

All of those shops which did not yet have the opportunity to work the hour for "Hias" are called upon immediately to do so and the shop chairmen are requested to see that this is carried out.

Brothers! We hope that you will carry out this decision in a way that will enable "Hias" to continue its life-saving work for our unfortunate brothers and sisters across the seas. Do your duty!

With greetings,

JOINT BOARD, SKIRT AND REEFERMAKERS' UNION, I. L. G. W. U.

ISRAEL FEINBERG, General Manager.

LOUIS PINKOVSKY, Chairman.

LOUISE LANGER, Secretary.

First 100 Cloak Shops Contribute to "Hias"

The first 100 cloak shops in New York have already contributed an hour's work, which the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union has voted for as the contribution of the New York cloakmakers towards the fund now being raised by the Hebrew Immigration and Sheltering Aid Society, popularly known as the HIAS.

One hundred shops would quite likely mean a great deal for any other industry in the cloak trade, however, which boasts of over 2,000 shops, in Greater New York, 100 shops is a small fraction. In these 100 shops, a few thousand cloakmakers have responded to the call for help to the wandering masses of the European Jewry, who have been aided and sustained by the HIAS. The great bulk of the membership of the cloakmakers' union, however, have not as yet been heard from.

There may be any number of reasons and excuses for this silence. Excuses and explanations, however, will not help the westward-bound Jewish immigrants who are helpless without

the HIAS. The \$25,000 which the Cloakmakers' Union had pledged itself to raise for the HIAS fund, is included within the minimum fund without which the HIAS cannot continue its salvaging operations in Europe. If this money is not raised, the HIAS will have to give up business.

Those cloakmakers, who have not as yet responded to the call of the HIAS, will surely not want to be responsible for the suspension of the wonderful work conducted by the HIAS in Eastern Europe. To leave their brothers and sisters without a helping hand from America, without material and moral aid and advice from the Sheltering Society—all because of a failure on their part to give up an hour's work—is something, we are certain, our cloakmakers will not be found guilty of.

Let, therefore, each shop chairman, each active worker become busy at once in this work of urging upon the men and women in their shops to contribute an hour's work for HIAS, for the burning needs of the Jewish wanderers in Europe.

The Women's Clothing Industry in New York State

By ABRAHAM TUVIM
(Record Department of the I. L. C. W. U.)

PART THREE

PRODUCT AND PROFIT

Section 2

The second series of facts derived from the Government Report on the industries of New York State for the year 1919 shows an almost fabulous return on capital invested for the manufacturers in the women's clothing industry. This return ranged from 39.7 in the wrapper, petticoat, and house dress division of the industry to 85.9 in the suits, cloaks and skirts division. These figures were for regular factories. The average for the contractors' shops where the investment is much smaller was even higher.

The following series of charts and

explanations is an analysis of product and profit in the industry. The charts are subdivided according to the division of the industry and also by regular and contract factories.

It should be noted that in each instance the figures accepted are those supplied by the manufacturers to the Government for census purposes. No effort is made to divulge profits in the Government report, but the report, nevertheless, lends itself to an analysis of that kind. We will first consider Chart No. 1 concerning the regular factories in the industry producing cloaks, skirts and suits.

Chart No. 1—Regular Factories

WAGES AND PRODUCTS

Suits, Skirts and Cloaks

Paid to Labor	Executive Officials, Clerks, etc., Contractors, Tailors, Rent	Cost of Materials	Value of Product	Total Profit	No. of Owners	Average Profit	Capital	Percentage Return on Capital
\$5,127,689	\$1,582,754	\$1,137,876	\$71,124,721	\$7,272,296	1,871	\$1,480.35	\$2,421,914	82.9

It will be noticed that the total profit of approximately eighty millions of dollars was made on an investment of ninety-three million dollars, or 85.9. The chart also shows an average profit of \$47,859.36 per individual manufacturer in the industry. When the number of shops is considered in which in a good many instances there is more than one member of a firm, the average profit is \$69,967.63 to a shop.

The figures taken into considera-

tion here, as well as those in all the other charts which are to follow are deducted from figures submitted by the manufacturers themselves. In numerous instances manufacturers are credited with monies which they actually pay to themselves in the form of executives' salaries, officials' salaries and rent. Were it possible to divide this there is no doubt that the average profit of the manufacturers would be materially increased.

Chart No. 2—Regular Factories

WAGES AND PRODUCTS

Waists and Dresses

Paid to Labor	Executive Officials, Clerks, etc., Contractors, Tailors, Rent	Cost of Materials	Value of Product	Total Profit	No. of Owners	Average Profit	Capital	Percentage Return on Capital
\$2,649,332	\$739,617	\$64,941,478	\$27,123,251	\$7,392,263	1,574	\$1,457.65	\$1,569,251	64.3

The waist and dress industry did not in 1919 show as large a proportion of return of capital invested nor as large an average profit as was shown by the cloak division. It however, gave the manufacturers a return of 64.3 on capital invested and showed an average individual profit of \$24,674.52. The profit for the average shop was \$30,192.87. It is peculiar that this industry, with one hundred less owners than the cloak industry and with a finished product that is only two-thirds as valuable as

the finished product in the cloak industry, charges four million dollars more to executive officials, clerks, contractors, etc., than its richer sister. Of course, this extra charge reduces the average profit on paper. There is no doubt, however, that the actual average profit is infinitely larger than that which can be ascertained by the most careful analysis of the Government document. The chart considers regular factories only.

Chart No. 3—Regular Factories

WAGES AND PRODUCTS

Undergarments, Petticoats, Wrappers, House Dresses and Others

Paid to Labor	Executive Officials, Clerks, etc., Contractors, Tailors, Rent	Cost of Materials	Value of Product	Total Profit	No. of Owners	Average Profit	Capital	Percentage Return on Capital
\$1,858,942	\$1,512,481	\$67,479,866	\$77,360,216	\$7,343,296	1,429	\$1,612.18	\$9,361,496	29.7

The above chart is an analysis of product and profit in the production in undergarments, wrappers, petticoats, house dresses and others. The government report does not specify just what is meant by "others" but it may be assumed that it includes various other articles under the caption of "women's wear." This division of the industry gave a return of 39.7 on the capital investment. It is the lowest return paid in the industry with a profit of approximately twenty-eight million dollars on an investment of approximately seventy million dollars. The average profit of

this industry was \$19,415,000.18 per individual. This was increased, however, when the number of shops was considered, to \$25,766.72. The analysis shows a disproportionate loss written off under the heading of executives, officials, contractors, etc. The total finished product of this industry was much less than half of the product of the cloak and suit industry. But the amount written off was much more than half of that industry. If it were possible to analyze the amount written off the individual average would undoubtedly be much larger.

Chart No. 4—Contract Shops
WAGES AND PRODUCTS
Suits, Skirts and Cloaks

Paid to Labor	Executive Officials, Clerks, etc., Contractors, Tailors, Rent	Cost of Materials	Value of Product	Total Profit	No. of Owners	Average Profit	Capital	Percentage Return on Capital
\$1,327,634	\$1,543,897	\$365,007	\$1,364,524	\$6,828,414	1,279	\$4,559.99	\$4,387,774	116.1

Waists and Dresses

Paid to Labor	Executive Officials, Clerks, etc., Contractors, Tailors, Rent	Cost of Materials	Value of Product	Total Profit	No. of Owners	Average Profit	Capital	Percentage Return on Capital
\$1,221,642	\$1,237,651	\$457,733	\$4,009,541	\$7,928,317	1,114	\$4,941.77	\$1,763,147	119.9

Undergarments, Petticoats, Wrappers, House Dresses and Others

Paid to Labor	Executive Officials, Clerks, etc., Contractors, Tailors, Rent	Cost of Materials	Value of Product	Total Profit	No. of Owners	Average Profit	Capital	Percentage Return on Capital
\$2,461,474	\$67,555	\$67,713	\$5,634,137	\$4,244,244	213	\$1,332.89	\$1,888,975	83.4

The above chart is for all of the contract shops in the women's garment industry. The return on the capital investment in the contract shops was much larger than that of the regular factories, though the profit was considerably less in volume. This is accounted for when it is considered that the contract shops do not produce the full value of a garment, because the cloth is supplied to them, and that secondly, their investment does not include the overhead necessary to a regular factory. The contractors in both the suits, skirts and cloaks and the waist and dress divisions of the industry got a return of over 100 per cent on their investments in 1919. In the suits, skirts

and cloaks division a total profit of \$5,608,414.00 was made on an investment of only \$4,830,744.00, or 116.1. In the waist and dress division the percentage of return was 112.0, only slightly lower than that of the cloak and suits. In both instances a goodly share of the amount written off for executives, officials, clerks, etc. went into the pockets of the contractors themselves. The same is true of the third division, that of under garments wrappers, etc., though in this industry the return was only 69.4 on the investment, and the average profit per shop was \$5,076.67. The average profit for each shop in the cloak and suits was \$7,010.82, that in waist and dress \$7,823.32.

Chart No. 5

WAGES AND PRODUCT

Grand Totals of all Division of Industry

Paid to Labor	Executive Officials, Clerks, etc., Contractors, Tailors, Rent	Cost of Materials	Value of Product	Total Profit	No. of Owners	Average Profit	Capital	Percentage Return on Capital
\$12,741,212	\$3,973,619	\$1,829,547	\$36,792,069	\$17,561,212	7,459	\$1,574.69	\$12,861,284	64.7

The above chart considers the grand totals for all the divisions of the industry from the point of view of product and profit. In this instance, when all the divisions of the industry are considered, the percent of returns on capital is found to be 60.7 and the average profit per individual \$1,574.60. This average, however, is materially increased when the number of shops is considered instead of the number of owners. Under such consideration the average becomes \$29,823.81. The average for the entire industry it may be seen then is materially less than that in the cloak, suit and skirt division. This is accounted for by the fact that the cloak and suit averages are materially reduced when thrown in with the averages of the divisions of the industry which pay proportionately less.

DIVISION OF THE DOLLAR

Section 3.

The following is a chart explaining the division of the dollar in the in-

dies' garment industry in New York State. The division is on the basis of various factors in the industry which are concerned in the making of a garment.

1. Officials, Executives 1.9
2. Contractors 2.4
3. Rent 5.7
4. Labor 1.2
5. Fuel and Power2
6. Labor 15.5
7. Materials 55.4
8. Profit 17.9

TOTAL 100 per cent

It should be remembered in this analysis that the dollar considered is represented in the finished product before it is sold to the jobber or retailer. The garment that is bought by the consumer costs considerably more after the middle man and retailer add on their share of profit. The Government report, however, does not deal with these figures but considers only the finished product in the factory, of which an analysis is shown in the above chart.

YOUR DENTIST

Have your teeth thoroughly examined, without cost to you, by your own dentist at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center served 10,000 workers during the year 1922, members of the I. L. C. W. U. and their families.

The Dental Department is equipped to serve EVERY member of the Union this year.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center is Your Dentist. Charges are based on costs, not profits. Remember, a small cavity today means a bad tooth tomorrow.

Office Hours: Daily, 10 A.M.—8 P.M.
Saturday, 10 A.M.—5 P.M.

R AND SCHOOL

Courses Beginning
February 10th, 8:40 P. M. . . . SCOTT NEARING
"Labor Economics"
February 26th, 8:40 P. M. . . . HERMAN EPSTEIN
"Meaning of Music"
7 East 15th St.
Saturday, Feb. 26th, 3:30 P. M. "Is Europe Coming or Going?" Charles Eschlin

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel. Chelsea 2148.
MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFSEY, Editor.
A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year

Vol. V, No. 10. Friday, March 2, 1923.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1102, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

EDITORIALS

THE VICTORY OF THE NEW YORK DRESSMAKERS

There are victories and victories. There are victories which require interpretation, comment and alibis. In the course of labor struggles, such victories are at times inescapable and contain neither shame nor reproach for the leaders or the participants in a strike.

There are, however, victories in the fight of labor for a better life, which require no such interpretations. They speak eloquently and loudly for themselves. The dressmakers' strike, which came to an end in New York City last week, belongs to the second category of labor victories. It marks a milestone on the road of the women's garment makers towards democratization of industry and the winning of a better world for themselves and their fellow workers.

The dressmakers have won, after a two weeks' struggle, a 40-hour week-work. If appraised in money values, this gain would amount to an increase ranging between 15 to 20 per cent in wages—which is by no means a small matter. To our way of thinking, nevertheless, estimating this gain in dollars and cents falls entirely short of the mark and is woefully inadequate.

The dressmakers of New York will, beginning this week, work 4 hours a week less. In other words, the 30,000 dressmakers in the Greater City will work 120,000 hours less every week, thereby affording 3,000 additional dressmakers a chance to work. If, of the 30,000 dressmakers, only 27,000 have been employed before this strike broke out, and 3,000 were idle, these 3,000 will now have an opportunity to earn a full week's wages without in the least injuring the other 27,000. The decrease of work-hours has simultaneously decreased the reserve army of idle dressmakers by at least 3,000 workers.

But unique as this gain is, it by no means exhausts the entire significance of the 40-hour week. The dressmakers of New York will, from now on, work only 5 days a week, the remaining two days to be left entirely to themselves, to do with them whatever they please. This is a fact of immense importance not only for the dressmakers but for all the workers in the various needle trades. Doubtless, sooner or later the workers in our other trades will follow the example of the dressmakers. The winning of the 40-hour week by the dressmakers will be recorded in the annals of the labor movement as a pioneer step in the direction of the 5-day week in industry. It should fill with joy and pride the hearts of our strikers and their leaders that it has fallen to their lot to be the first to have won two days of complete rest out of seven for the workers in a great industry.

It is true—the victory was not a complete one. The demand for week-work, the principal demand, was not won. But our workers have by this time come to realize that under present circumstances there can hardly be such a thing as a complete victory. No matter how satisfactory, a conflict must end on the basis of smaller or greater compromises. In this respect the dressmakers' strike is not an exception to all other important labor conflicts. We must nevertheless frankly state that the winning of week-work, at the sacrifice of other concessions would at the present time perhaps be not as desirable as many have been inclined to believe.

It is true—we have regarded, and still regard, the system of week-work as the only tolerable method of work for wages, insofar as the wage-system can be tolerated at all. We nevertheless do not believe that any work-system can be forced upon workers when they are either opposed or indifferent towards it. We do not believe that such a change in the work-system can be beneficial for the workers. It would probably result in its half-hearted and insincere application and would be followed by wholesale violations and attempts to "fool" the union. Week-work, indeed, is not for the workers. But the workers must first understand fully its significance and superiority over any other work-system before they can appreciate and embrace it. An enforced, premature introduction of such a system might do more harm than ultimate good to the workers.

And that's why we have today little regret over the failure of achieving week-work in the dress industry at the present time. We are confident that sooner or later week-work will be the prevailing system in the dress trade as it has become in the cloak industry. We are convinced that the piece-work system is doomed to extinction in all our trades. This, however, does not imply that week-work must be introduced everywhere and under all circumstances at the same time.

The only mistake that was made in connection with week-work, in the last dress strike was that the leaders of the union, as it now seems, did not have sufficient courage and foresight to abandon this demand frankly, just as soon as they had learned that the overwhelming majority of the men and women

in the trade were not in favor of it. As a result, the strike was called for the purpose of defending an issue which did not enthrust the great masses of the workers. The leaders of the dressmakers, however, soon discovered this, and, instead of bending their efforts in a desperate attempt to obtain week-work, they succeeded in making important gains in a direction that will prove of lasting importance to the workers for years to come and which will inevitably lead to the introduction of week-work.

We desire to extend our sincere congratulations to the capable and tactful leaders of the strike, who have displayed able generalship and excellent diplomacy in dealing with the employers. Indeed, our entire International is proud of the way the strike was conducted. Needless to say, the courageous and indefatigable men and women, the tens of thousands of the rank and file, who have stood by the union from the first minute to the last hour of the strike have richly deserved the warmest greetings of every member of our Union.

To make this great achievement a full and complete victory, the dressmakers of New York will now have to stick even closer and with even a greater measure of loyalty to their organization. They will have to watch as vigilantly as human beings can, that 40 hours and no more be worked in all and every shop of the trade in every section of the City. Secondly,—and this is our fondest, heartfelt wish, we hope that the two free days in the week which the dressmakers have now won for themselves, will be utilized by them to make their life richer and wider in a spiritual sense. The dressmakers of New York must and will make their newest gain, the 5-day week, a beacon light and an example to follow for the workers in every trade and occupation in the whole country.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE PHILADELPHIA DRESS AND WAIST MAKERS

As these lines are being written, all is still peaceful in Philadelphia. It is nevertheless practically certain that in a few days the struggle of the Philadelphia dressmakers, under the leadership of their union and their International, will be in full swing.

The union did not desire this fight. The union has sought every available means to sway the Philadelphia dress and waist employers to come to an understanding with it. The union has heard the bitter cry of the enslaved dress and waist workers of Philadelphia and has appealed to the employers in an effort to relieve the miseries of the men and women in their shops. The Philadelphia employers have so far closed their ears to the request of the union and to the groans of the workers. Having failed in this peaceful attempt, it would seem now that the Philadelphia workers will again be compelled to enter a hard and bitter conflict with their organized bosses.

There is gall and desperation aplenty in the hearts of the Philadelphia dressmakers—which has been steadily accumulating since that day last year when they were compelled to return to the shops after an unsuccessful strike of 26 weeks. Their employers have been revenging themselves on them to the fullest extent during the last year. There has not been a humiliation or a manoeuvre designed to drag down their spirits which these workers have been spared. Wages have been cut; work hours lengthened, and every appeal for redress heartlessly smothered. Small wonder the workers are chafing at the leash now, and, despite the heart-rending experience of last year, are ready like one person to leave the shops.

Yes, indeed, there is a bitter contest ahead in the Philadelphia dress and waist trade—in comparison with which even the last year's half-year's struggle will appear like child's play.

The Philadelphia employers are shortsighted indeed if they believe, that, because they have been persecuting their workers for the last year, they have robbed them of all power of resistance, and have made them helpless. They do not seem to realize that there is inexhaustible power in desperation, that workers who have nothing to lose will fight more stubbornly, more tenaciously, even because of that fact. They would blind themselves to the fact that behind these few thousands girls in Philadelphia there stands the International Union with all its material and moral resources. If the last strike has brought ruin and bankruptcy to dozens of obdurate employers in Philadelphia, the International would now rather see the entire dress and waist trade in Philadelphia wiped out than to have it operated under conditions of semi-slavery for the workers.

This eleventh-hour appeal we are directing not to our workers. We know that they will prove their mettle in this coming fight as they have in former encounters with their employers. We speak now to the entire population of Philadelphia and we implore them to stand by the girl-strikers in this truly noble attempt on their part to break down the shackles which have enslaved them and have robbed them of every means of self-defense.

We remember that the sympathy of the people of Philadelphia was on the side of the strikers last year. It was, nevertheless, a half-hearted, timid sort of sympathy and it was perhaps in no small degree responsible for the utterly unjustified prolongation of the fight. We should like to hope that the Philadelphia feelers that it is not in the interests of their city that it be shaken up by such upheavals in an important industry every other half year.

Another word to the American labor movement in general: Of course our International Union is directly interested in the coming fight in Philadelphia—more than any other labor body. Local No. 15 is flesh of its flesh and blood of its own blood, and surely our International will spend every atom of its energy to deliver the workers in the dress and waist trade in Philadelphia from their present condition of actual serfdom.

The Failure of the Undermyer Reforms

By A. ZELDIN

Samuel Undermyer—so it appears—has met the fate of most reformers. He has set out to capture the dove of industrial peace and caught instead—a Cossack.

To his credit, we desire to say, that Samuel Undermyer belongs to the category of honest reformers—the number of which is so infinitely small in comparison with the reformer politician type who showers pledges and promises upon our heads during the hectic pre-election days. This latter type of "reformer," when he finally chooses to bestow a reform or two upon us, usually picks one of the kind that would, for instance, have a President of these United States inducted into office on January 1st instead of March 4th and similar other world-saving stirring measures.

The less numerous sort of reformer, the earnest kind, usually possesses the faith and the faithfulness to endeavor honestly to improve this world of ours—even against its own will. He begins, as a rule, very nicely, but ends up in a fiasco. The cause for his failure is practically one and the same in every instance. He invariably attacks the surface of evil—never either daring or having the vision to descend to the roots of the trouble.

This is in brief the beginning and the end of the story of the Undermyer failure too. Undermyer was qualified, if anybody ever was, from every point of view to become an earnest reformer-crusader. To begin with, he is a person endowed with infinite belief in the omnipotence of the law. Secondly, he is wealthy and influential enough to make his voice heard. Samuel Undermyer is one of the most successful lawyers in America with a slightly liberal tint. As a man of big means, he is naturally heart and soul for the preservation of the prevailing economic system—yet he hopes and believes that it is possible to improve and patch up conditions and eradicate certain evils within the framework of the present order.

Undermyer is, for instance, one of the principal shareholders of the Bethlehem Steel Company; nevertheless, he always has been an opponent of the union-smashing policy of the Steel Trust, and during the last steel strike Undermyer was on the side of the workers. Undermyer has helped in the course of his legal career to organize a number of trusts and corporations, yet he would not agree with many of their methods. He had, for instance, declared recently war upon the building materials trust, branding it as the principal cause for the housing shortage in America and declaring that this combination is charging such high prices for the materials it controls that it is well-nigh impossible to build homes nowadays

for persons of limited incomes.

This prompted him to take an active part in the investigations of the Lockwood Committee, in the course of which he "discovered" a number of other iniquitous industrial and business practices, such as the usury methods employed by some of the industrial insurance companies, and the indefensible tactics of some of the labor unions in the building trades. The wind-up of all these investigations was the time-honored practice of recommending a number of new laws, sponsored by this Lockwood Committee. Among other laws, this committee suggested the establishment of a State Trade Commission which would regulate prices with the object of checking profiteering; secondly, the monopoly of State insurance in industrial accident cases; and thirdly, State supervision and regulation of labor unions.

The hearing in Albany a few weeks ago on these bills was full of dramatic incidents. Mr. Undermyer interrupted his vacation at Palm Beach to come to Albany to defend his bills before the Legislative Committee. He met, however, with such powerful resistance that he had begun himself to doubt the fate of his reforms. It would seem as if every element and factor in our social fabric was lined up against the Undermyer bills.

The hearing was attended by representatives of both capital and labor. The spokesmen of the workers, of course, argued for the regulation of capital by the State. The capitalists, on the other hand, were very much in favor of the regulation by the State of the trade unions. Yet both sides sharply attacked the bills because these bills exposed the principle of regulation in general, and both sides insisted that they would not tolerate the interference of the State in their internal relations, branding it as tyranny and intermeddling.

It is not, of course, our purpose to defend the point of view of the capitalists. They have enough defenders without us. It would seem, however, that as long as we have this sort of parcel of an entire system, it is folly and futility to attempt to fight it in a local manner and by means of legislation. Taking, for instance, the above-referred practices that are alleged to exist in some unions. Granted that Mr. Undermyer is right that some unions in the building trades have practiced silent sabotage and have increased thereby the cost of production; granted that it would be less expensive to have certain work done by apprentices at half the cost the same work would be done by competent workers at full union wages; granted that some unions close their doors to outsiders and admit no apprentices, a

practice that is obviously deplorable from the point of view of social economy. Nevertheless, it must not be lost sight of that these minor evils were born out of a number of even greater evils—the principal one of which is the economic insecurity of the worker. If workers do not produce enough, it is largely not because he is too lazy, but because he wants the job to last longer. If a group of organized workers would not allow other workers to enter their midst, it is not because they begrudge them this privilege but that they fear competition for whatever work that is available.

Under the present circumstances, such a reform as advocated by Undermyer, the regulation of the unions by the State, would very likely call forth another far greater evil. If the State would force certain un-

ions to accept an unlimited number of apprentices, it might result in these young workers crowding out the older workers and leaving them without means of subsistence. From a social point of view, the second alternative might be even worse than the first.

In a word, it seems a foregone conclusion that industrial relations can never be regulated by laws not abolished by them. The laws enacted to regulate the trusts can serve as the best illustration. They have been in existence for over twenty years and, despite the generally prevailing opinion that trusts are a calamity of the earth, their anti-trust laws have accomplished next to nothing in the way of regulating the huge industrial combinations in our midst. For, as long as there are men who will profit from industrial inequalities, they will find a way to circumvent all laws enacted to check them. Undermyer himself knows this, perhaps better than anyone else. It is an old rule: You cannot reform a society that profits from its own wrongs.

Union Health Center News

HOW DO YOU STAND?

It is an important question, the question, "How Do You Stand?" in this "world we live in"; much depends upon it, your position in the eyes of your fellow workers, the effect you have upon your wife, or husband or sweetheart; your friends are interested in how you stand, and it is within your power to stand well in the eyes of the world.

"How?" you ask.

The Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street has arranged a series of practical corrective exercises for workers in the garment industry under the competent instruction of DR. WARD CRAMPTON, formerly physical director of the schools of New York City.

Dr. Crampton has made it possible for the workers to take advantage of his years of experience in the correction of physical defects. He will outline a series of special exercises for the worker who is always suffering from constipation. Workers in the garment trade are compelled to sit at their machines all day long. They usually sit cramped forward and are not able to get much change of position; the result is that they suffer from congestion of the system and a resultant constipation which could be easily eliminated if the worker only practiced the right kind of exercises and performed them faithfully at the Health Center every Tuesday evening beginning March 13th.

A special registration fee of \$1.00 will be required for the entire course; every worker should take advantage of this opportunity to help himself improve his own posture, and to give herself a physical tonic. Registration may be made every day in the office of Miss Theresa Wolfson, Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street.

DR. W. R. ROLLINGS, of the Department of Health of New York City, will lecture at the Union Health Center on Friday evening, March 2nd, on the "Curse of Patent Medicines and Drugs." This will be an illustrated lecture and will start at 8:15 P. M. promptly.

The subject should be of great interest to every one because of the tendency on the part of workers to take all sorts of prepared patent medicines during this season of "flu" and pneumonia epidemics.

On Friday evening, March 3rd, the neurologist of the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, Dr. J. SMITH, will lecture on the "Psychology of Cosmism" and other fads. Dr. Smith attended many of the clinics of Cosmism when he was in America and has much to say about the work of the little man from Nancy, France, who invented "day by day in every way."

On Tuesday evening, March 6th, DR. WILLIAM A. ROGERS will deliver the last of his series of lectures on the "First Aid." This lecture will deal with the subject of "How to carry injured persons, and will also include a brief review of his entire course on "First Aid."

The electric baking machines at the Union Health Center have now been installed and are ready to be used. This department of the Union Health Center will extend its service to all members of the International and their families who happen to be suffering from rheumatism, lameness and other such diseases. The application of heat greatly benefits such cases. The physio-therapeutic department is equipped in the most modern fashion and is to be carried on under the supervision of Dr. S. W. Bornstein of Fordham Hospital.

This fight, however, involves more than a local issue. In Philadelphia a group of local employers have conspired to destroy a big labor union—and behind them stands the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and other entrenched groups of vested interests. The coming strike in Philadelphia will be a strike for the principle of trade-unionism, for the right of the workers to be organized, and for the right of collective bargaining.

The coming strike in Philadelphia is a fight of the whole American labor movement. And we appeal, therefore, not only to our own unions, but to every labor organization in America, to make this fight their own, and to help in every possible manner to smash to bits this conspiracy against our workers in Philadelphia.

THE COMING STRIKE OF THE WHITE GOODS WORKERS

Space forbids us to discuss in these columns the situation of the white goods workers of New York as thoroughly as it fully deserves.

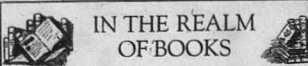
Suffice it to say, their condition is today not much better than what it was a few years ago when the White Goods Workers' Union was just formed after a stormy strike which received union attention from the public. During these years, the White

Goods Workers' Union has been striving to improve the lot of the workers in the underwear shops at every opportunity. Causes beyond its control, however, have brought about a weakening of the influence of the Union in the shops. The effect of this weakening has soon made itself felt in the earnings of the workers, their work-hours and the treatment accorded them.

True, the Union has had an agreement with the employers, but this agreement was systematically being ignored and the Union did not feel strong enough to call a halt to these wholesale violations.

Now the old agreement is about to expire. The workers are determined that matters shall not continue as they have been going on in the past. The white goods industry is now on the eve of a fight. The Union is ready to renew the contract with the employers, provided a number of changes in the agreement are made and a substantial guarantee for faithful performance is obtained.

At this critical hour, it is the immediate duty of every white goods worker in the Greater City to help the Union prepare for the strike. No matter what the outcome of the preliminary negotiations with the bosses, the workers in the shops must be ready for every possible emergency.



The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations

The Philosophy and History of the Court

By

JOHN HUGH BOWERS, Ph.D., LL.B.
Professor of Social Sciences at the
State Teachers' Normal College
at Pittsburg, Kansas.

(A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1922)

*Great King Canute from the wind swept shore
Ordered about as he pleased. But those who moved
When Canute's kingdom would breakers and defend
But the tide moved on and wet his feet.*

Unless our Government begin to study the movement of the tides, it, too, is going to get its majestic feet wet. And that, in these days of colds and flu epidemics would be too bad. King Canute himself never made a more lordly and futile gesture to the tides than did the State of Kansas to the industrial conflict. The United States Government recently also has made several attempts to pursue Canutianism. One gets a moment of comfort from the recollection that Dr. Royal S. Copeland has been elected to the United States Senate. But the comfort is brief indeed. For the effects of such foot-wetting as our Government is in for cannot be treated from the Materia Medica.

The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations created quite a stir since its founding in 1920. All the timid souls who fear the movement of natural forces watched breathlessly to see if Canute could stop or at least control the tides. Strangely enough, the tides themselves, even while they moved forward under the pull of irresistible forces, attached undue importance to Canute's upraised finger. Henry Allen, governor of Kansas, in 1920, became the prophet of a new panacea for industrial strife. The labor movement combined to defeat the adoption of that panacea. The United Mine Workers of America were torn by internal conflict over how to fight the Court. President Harding in his message of December, 1921, recommended that a similar federal court be established. Congress bent upon saving that over-distracted but elusive lady known as the "Public," charged full-tilt at windmills. And the tempest still boils in the teapot.

I do not for a moment want to understand the challenge hurled to labor through the Kansas Court. I wish merely to point out that just as nature can stop the tides as long as the pull of the moon and the forces of gravity remain, so nothing can finally stop the industrial conflict as long as its causes remain. Supporters of the court frequently claim that the court recognizes the existence of conflicting industrial interests but seeks merely to settle peaceably actual issues arising in the course of that conflict. Nothing shows up the holes in this argument better than the reasoning of those who present it.

Professor Bowers' little book is a warm defense of the court from this point of view. Because he is an outsider, a professor and presumably, therefore, a man with some respect for facts and the scientific method, his reasoning upon the value of the court permits us to judge the "arguments for" more fairly than when presented by Henry Allen or Judge Higgins. And Professor Bowers' book is an essay in unconscious ex-

posure. Nothing could leave the motives behind the Industrial Court agitation more naked than what one reads between the lines of his attempt to deck them out.

The main points in Professor Bowers' defense and analysis of the present Kansas Court stand forth clearly.

Man, argues Dr. Bowers, is both an individual and a member of a society. As the former he has certain rights; as the latter he has certain duties. Each individual must constantly remember his membership in a brotherhood which includes all members of the state. The political extension of that brotherhood is government. The government cannot permit individual rights to conflict with group welfare.

To greatest menace to general welfare comes from the conflicting interests of class organizations, such as capital and labor. These classes fight one another. "This conflict the state must prevent as a protection to its people." Just as dueling by private agreement has been forbidden, so must the modern industrial conflict be prevented. The state cannot surrender its sovereignty, which is practically unlimited, to any class within it. It must have complete and unlimited power over all property and persons, and prevent waste of capital, working time and wealth. Its duty is not only to protect the "brotherhood," but to perfect it.

The coal-strike of 1919-1920, Professor Bowers continues, was an instance of most flagrant disregard of group welfare. Striking at the beginning of winter, the miners at once imperiled the public. Homes, schools, churches, business houses, industries, even hospitals were hit by the "coal shortage." In Kansas the situation became especially acute because of arrogant tactics of the miners' district organization led by Alexander Howat. After attempting to persuade the miners to return to work, the Governor called for volunteers. Eleven thousand men responded within two days. The Kansas National Guard and Federal troops sent by General Wood appeared on the scene to protect the volunteers. We have Professor Bowers' word for it that the volunteers finally chosen were all "very capable and worthy young men," heroic, kindly and patient. They saved the day.

In January, 1920, Governor Allen called a special session of the legislature for the purpose of finding a permanent remedy for such situations. Careful study had led to the belief that arbitration did not present a way out. Instead he recommended the method of "adjudication" which finally was incorporated in the Kansas court of Industrial Relations Act. The law received careful consideration. Its labor opponents represented by Frank P. Walsh, Jake I. Sheppard and others were permitted many hours to present their case against it. It was passed with only 7 opposing votes in the Lower House and only 4 in the Senate.

The law may be summarized briefly as follows: No interruption in the operation of the basic industries affecting food, clothing, fuel and transportation can be tolerated by the state. All controversies which

threaten such interruption shall be heard and decided by a special court, whose judges are impartial men, removed from daily and continuous contact with the industry. Cases may be brought before the court on complaint of either party, or the Attorney General, or citizens, or on its own initiative. Appeal from its decision may be taken to the State Supreme Court. Refusal to obey the law or violation of any of its provisions is a felony, punishable by fine, imprisonment or both.

From the time of its establishment until November, 1922, the court had adjudicated 33 industrial controversies, 32 of which had been brought by labor. Its important and only arrests were those of Alexander Howat and August Dorchy for their refusal to recognize the Court by testifying before it, and their attempt to set the Court at naught by suing any miner or miners' local that appealed to it.

In conclusion Professor Bowers reaffirms his conviction of the state's right to step into the industrial conflict. He points out that the people of Kansas have approved the Court at later elections, and ends with a hope that the Federal Government will follow in Kansas' footsteps.

Now where is the weakness in this chain of reasoning? To me, at least, it appears to come in the very first link. Accept Dr. Bowers' concept of the state and you may be able to follow him in what comes after. But Dr. Bowers seems to have no realization, that there may be a fundamentally different concept of the nature of the state. At any rate he makes no attempt to answer its challenge.

This other (Marxian) concept of the state sees government not as a reconciler of class conflicts but as a product of them. It sees the political state as a superstructure upon the economic system, and a weapon in the hands of the dominant economic class. It points out that a feudal government served the landed aristocracy, that American government in the last decades of the nineteenth century served the middle class, that most modern governments beneath all the cross-currents that democracy creates, serve the capitalist class, that the Russian Soviet Government serves the working class, etc. When the economic conflict finally has been stilled, the political government as a force raised above society will no longer exist.

Certainly nowhere has there been a clearer proof of the class basis of government than in the United States. We in America have seen troops, injunctions, Supreme Court decisions, law and what not, concerted mainly against one party to the industrial conflict—labor. And how else could it be? Modern governments base themselves upon a recognition of property rights. All who oppose or threaten those rights place themselves outside of the pale of the law. With the money bags in the hands of a small, compactly organized group, it becomes easy and natural to identify that purpose of current institutions with the maintenance of the powers that be. Only one who did not want to see "Gold to deliver" such a paeon of "good will to men" in the face of the hard facts.

Professor Bowers gives ample evidence of his subconscious unwillingness to see. I imagine that one basic question could crumble the whole pretentious edifice of his "philosophy." In the name of group welfare, he contends, it is the duty of the state to prevent waste of capital, waste of labor time, and waste of wealth. Well and good. But engineers are coming to believe more and more strongly that nothing wastes capital, wealth or labor time as blatantly as does the profit system itself. What would Professor Bowers advise his industrial court to do with an indictment brought against the whole capitalist system, on the very grounds which he regards as primary?

Yet one need not go outside of Dr. Bowers' own writing to discover his bias. One needs only ask why, for instance, he takes every one of his specific illustrations of the dangers of class conflict from labor's side of the ledger. The railroad workers held up the public in 1916 for the eight-hour law; the miners held up the public in 1919 and so on. Of course, it is always easy to see the results of a dramatic walk-out of thousands of workers. But should an "impartial" account contain not even a word of Judge Gary's refusal to meet with union representatives, even at the request of President Wilson, when such a meeting might have averted a steel strike? Or of the fact that almost all large employers' associations after 1901 turned from "negotiators" tactics to "belligerent" ones? Or of West Virginia's "private ownership of public officials," etc., etc., etc.? Let the Freudian explain why Dr. Bowers has not one explicit word to say on such aspects of class conflict.

And now, I wonder, would the Freudian explain little slips like these. For many months, and especially when reading such books as Dr. Bowers', we workers have wondered just who and what the public was. Here is Dr. Bowers' subconsciousness proffered aid to our understanding.

"In Pittsburgh many of the people are afraid of offending the union laborers, and so they were just a little cautious about giving an open welcome to the governor and his volunteers, . . ."

but they were heartened by success and
"Ten days from the time that Governor Allen began operations the
(Continued on Page 11)

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

WOMEN EARNING MISERABLE WAGES IN NEW YORK.

That thousands of women wage earners in New York State receive wages "hopelessly inadequate to support them in health and decency" is the chief conclusion of a state-wide survey of wages, hours of working and living conditions of working women, which was made public by the Joint Legislative Conference, an alliance of leading women's organizations of New York City.

WEST VIRGINIA'S NEW CROP OF INJUNCTIONS.

Two additional injunctions forbidding officers or miners of the United Mine Workers of America from compelling or persuading miners in Logan County to break the individual contracts under which the Logan coal field is kept in a non-union status were granted in Logan, West Virginia, by Judge Bland in the Circuit Court.

A NEW BOURBON DECISION ON THE "OPEN SHOP."

The right of strikers to picket an "open shop" is denied and the right of a small manufacturer to maintain an "open shop" is recognized in an opinion handed down by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York which issued an injunction restraining the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and its officers from picketing or otherwise interfering with the business of Altman & Lehman, manufacturers of garments.

STANDARD OIL SALARIES.

The salaries paid oil company officials—\$125,000, a year each to A. C. Bedford and Walter Teagle, Chairman of the Board and President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey—were made public in a partial report of the Senate sub-committee investigating the oil industry. Thos. Shelby Black of Chicago told the committee the Standard Oil still retains petroleum and gasoline monopolies despite the dissolution decree issued by the Supreme Court in 1911.

TERRORIZE WORKERS.

Textile mill owners are attempting to terrorize workers against aiding the state-wide organizing campaign of the United Textile Workers in North Carolina. A significant feature of this campaign is the attitude of young men who were in the army. Prior to the war, many of these chaps would be affected by the bosses' attitude, but now their confidence and independence are inspiring others.

HERRIN INDICTMENT CRUMBLING.

Indictment against three of the nine coal-diggers originally selected by the prosecution as defendants in the second of the trials arising from the Herrin massacre were nolle prossed. Sentiment has swung markedly in Williamson County in favor of the miners and there is a general feeling that further trials are futile. The defense scored heavily in the first trial by its exposure of terrorism practiced by armed guards at the strip mine days before the rioting.

HOW THEY TEACH CHILDREN IN LABOR SCHOOLS.

The labor schools of northern Europe and their methods of instruction were described by the U. S. Bureau of Education by radio. "The labor school teachers of Europe point out that their methods help to reveal special gifts of individual pupils. A pupil discovers his talents either with saw or plane, chisel or electric appliance in the laboratory, or with the books."

NO SABOTAGE ON THE NEW HAVEN ROAD.

Representatives of the striking shompen testifying before the Connecticut Legislative Committee on Railroads asserted that the strike of the railway shompen was responsible for present conditions, that "sabotage" had not been preached or resorted to, as charged by General Manager Barbo two weeks ago, and that a compromise along the lines of the Baltimore agreement was possible and if accepted would enable the road to rehabilitate itself.

ORGANIZING DRIVE CONTINUES ON PACIFIC COAST

(Continued from page 1)

nition—if such a fight becomes unavoidable.

The conditions in Los Angeles are not much better. The collective agreement between Local No. 52 and the Cloak Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles expired last summer and has not yet been renewed. True—the conditions in the shops have not been changed; nevertheless, there is uncertainty in the trade and no one seems to know what the next day will bring. The union insists upon a renewal of the agreement, but the employers are inclined to play for delays. As a result, the atmosphere is quite tense and a strike appears imminent.

After discussing the situation over with President Sigman, Vice-Presi-

dent Gorenheim was instructed to begin an organization campaign on the Pacific Coast, not only among the cloakmakers, but also among the thousands of other ladies' garment workers in Los Angeles and San Francisco. He was promised the full assistance and cooperation of the general office.

It should be kept in mind that there are about 5,000 women workers employed on waists and dresses in the city of Los Angeles alone, most of them Spanish-speaking girls, organizing work among whom presents very big difficulties. There is no reason, however, why a concerted drive among these women, who are very poorly paid and work long hours, should not result in success.

FOREIGN ITEMS

BRAZIL.

JAPANESE FOR BRAZIL.

Agreement has been reached between Brazil and Japan for migration to Brazil of 500,000 Japanese for purposes of colonization. It is understood that the Brazilian government will require \$3.60 a head from the Japanese government.

JAPAN.

A nation-wide demand for manhood suffrage is being voiced by the press practically unanimously. Mass meetings in Tokio are densely attended. The government has named a commission to investigate whether an extension of the franchise is the real desire of the people.

ITALY.

DISMISSES AVANTI STAFF.

A dispatch from Milan says that Menotti Serrati, Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies and director of the newspaper Avanti, who has just returned home from Moscow, yesterday dismissed the entire editorial staff of the Avanti and appointed a new personnel, composed of Communists.

The old staff refused to leave work and were in their old posts this morning. They threatened to throw out the director and any new staff which put in an appearance at the offices of the Avanti to take their places.

PORTUGAL.

BOMBS EXPLODED IN LISBON FACTORIES.

Two dynamite bombs were thrown this week in factories in Lisbon, injuring three persons. The outrage is supposed to have resulted from syndicalist opposition to overtime work.

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EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Dr. Lyon Again at the Workers' University

When Dr. Lyon finished his course in literature at the Workers' University a month ago, many of the students hoped that he would be able to continue. His previous engagements, however, made it impossible for him to return during February.

However, the Educational Department succeeded in securing Dr. Lyon again for a part of the remaining term. We are glad to announce that on March 3rd and 10th Dr. Lyon will

discuss with our class in literature the work and influence of Ibsen and Tolstol.

Needless to say, all of our members are interested in these two great men and will be only too glad to have this opportunity of listening to an analysis of their work by such a splendid lecturer as Dr. Lyon.

The first of these discussions will be held at the Workers' University on Saturday, March 3rd, at 1:30.

Concert and Lecture of Local No. 20 a Great Success

The members of our Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 20, with their families, assembled in the beautiful auditorium of the Washington Irving High School on the afternoon of Washington's Birthday and listened to an artistic musical program and to a lecture. The program was excellently performed. Among the artists were Miss Rose Dreeben, soprano; Miss Frances Goldenthal, violinist; Mr. Julio Osma, pianist, and Miss Sadie Cheliff, accompanist.

The lecture, arranged by the Educational Department, was given by Mr. E. Rogoff on "The Relations Between Europe and America."

The program ended with the singing of popular numbers by the Workers' Circle Chorus.

Brother Wechsler, the manager of the Local, as Chairman, pointed out the importance of the activities carried on by our Educational Department. The printed program which was distributed among our members had one page devoted to a description of the aims and purposes of the educational activities of our International Union.

Entertainments of such character that bring together the membership of our local union are praiseworthy and we wish more locals would follow their example.

Workers' Education in the United States

Report of Proceedings of the Workers' Education Bureau Conference held in April, 1922.

The proceedings of the Second Conference of the Workers' Education Bureau held in April, 1922, is just out in book form. An excellent review of it by Miss Sylvia Kopald, a member of our faculty, appeared in the JUSTICE of February 16th.

We advise those of our members who for one reason or another missed this review, to read it now. We

are certain that this will stimulate in them a desire to read the Proceedings. The book is a history of the Workers' Educational Movement within the trade unions which has been carried on for the last few years. In it are described the trials and tribulations, the hopes and aspirations, of the pioneers of this movement, their achievements and aims.

Our members can obtain a copy of the Proceedings at the office of our Educational Department for the sum of 50 cents.

Professor Thompson's Lecture on Farmer and Labor

At the Thursday evening lecture which was held at the I. L. G. W. U. Building on January 25th, Professor H. Thompson of the College of the City of New York, presented a very interesting analysis of the American farmer's attitude towards labor.

The lecturer presented many important facts. Some of these are perhaps not very agreeable to organized labor. But we must realize that intelligent workers must know actual conditions on which to base their plans and arguments.

The following is a summary of the lecture:

The resident of New York often fails to realize the extent of the farming industry in the United States. The following figures are taken from the United States Census, volumes on Agriculture, 1920.

There are nearly 6 1/4 million Farms in the United States. One-third of the population is engaged directly in tilling the soil. This is much greater than the number in any other occupation, and production much larger than in any other country in the world.

Average size of Farm 148 acres about half of which is improved land, remainder wood, swamp or stony land.

In every 100 Farms, the sizes are as follows:

Less than 20 acres 12
20 to 50 acres 23 plus
50 to 100 acres 23 minus
100 to 175 acres 22.5
175 to 500 acres 15.6
500 to 1000 acres 2.2
1000 acres or over 1.

Many of these larger farms are cattle ranches where the soil is not suitable for agriculture. Evidently conditions in this country differ from those in Europe where the land is in the hands of the few.

Over three-fifths of the farms are operated by owners, nearly two-fifths by tenants. Only one in a hundred is operated by a hired manager.

Three-fourths of the farmers are native-born white Americans—about one-tenth, foreign born whites and the remainder colored.

The average value of land, buildings, machinery and live-stock is \$12,000 for every farm.

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY
Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.
Room 307

Saturday, March 3rd

- 1:30 p. m. Social Forces in Literature.
Dr. J. H. H. Lyon—Tolstol and Ibsen.
2:30 p. m. George Soule—The Textile Industry.

Sunday, March 4th

- 10:30 a. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology of Current Events—Hereditarily and Environment.
11:30 a. m. Dr. H. J. Carman—Political and Social History of the U. S.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, March 5th

- Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43
Brown Place and 135th St., Room 305
8:30 p. m. Dr. Margaret Daniels—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 84
Stone and Glenmore Aves., Room 310.
8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—What the War Has Done to our Present Economic System.

Tuesday, March 6th

- Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171
102nd Street, Near Fifth Avenue, Room 406.
8:15 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Modern Tendencies in American Unionism.
Waldmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40
220 East 29th Street, Room 205.
8:00 p. m. Solon De Leon—Land Ownership and the Worker.

Wednesday, March 7th

- East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63
4th St. Near 1st Ave., Room 404
8:30 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Modern Tendencies in American Unionism.
Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61
Crotona Park East and Charlotte St., Room 501
8:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—The Market As An Economic Institution.
Waldmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40
220 East 29th Street
6:00 p. m. Loretta Ritter—Physical Training

EXTENSION DIVISION

Friday, March 2nd

- Local No. 1—Clubrooms, 1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
8:00 p. m. J. Ashpis—The Element of Harmony among the Joint Board Locals.

Saturday, March 3rd

- Headquarters Local No. 17—142 Second Avenue
1:00 p. m. Dr. I. Goldston—The Health of the Worker—at Home and in the Factory.
New York Tuberculosis Association.

Sunday, March 4th

- Local No. 1—Clubrooms, 1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
10:30 a. m. L. Lehrer—Social Psychology.
Harlem Educational Center of the I. L. G. W. U.
62 East 16th Street
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The Economic Structure of our Present System.

Saturday, March 10th

- Headquarters, Local No. 9—225 Second Avenue
1:00 p. m. Max Levin—The Economic Structure of our Present System.

The Farmer a Capitalist—but a capitalist who depends little upon hired help. While there are thousands of hired men and hired women on farms, on the majority of farms help is hired only at particular seasons (if at all), usually when planting or gathering a crop. This is particularly true of fruit farms, cotton farms, etc.

The farmer and the farmer's family do most of the work.

Machinery on Farms

Considerable machinery is used on farms, and this is what makes possible such large production, but for many operations no satisfactory machinery has been devised.

Here is also a point. There is economy in using additional units of this machinery together. That is, it cost twice as much to operate two reapers as one.

Prosperity of Farmer

Is the farmer prosperous? Yes and No. He has his living. Generally he produces most of his food and he has his house. In counting his income, he forgets this fact, and only considers as income what he sells.

No farmer becomes very rich. Many make comfortable livings. Many live in privation and poverty.

(Continued on Page 11)

Friday, March 2, 1923.

The Garment Workers in Great Britain To-Day

By W. RINES

Member Executive Bureau International Clothing Workers' Federation

(Continued from Last Week.)

The Trade Board Inquiry

Nineteen twenty-two (1922) will be memorable on account of the fierce attack made upon Trade Boards by employers' associations, and the recommendations of the Lord Cave Committee in connection with the inquiry instituted by the Government then in power. Those recommendations were directed towards lessening the power conferred upon Trade Boards by the amending Act of 1918, and setting upon the Cave Report, the Minister of Labour, Dr. T. J. Macnamara, published, in July last, a statement of the Government's policy in the administration of the Trade Board Acts, that seriously interfered with the advantages secured by the 1918 Act.

In the inquiry itself, the wholesale employers supported the retention of the Trade Board system, while employers on the retail bespoke side made no secret of their desire to see the Boards abolished.

If there is one fact that emerges from the Cave Inquiry with greater clearness and certainty than any other, it is that the Trade Board System has secured and maintained industrial harmony ever the whole range of industries for which they have been set up. Surely this is something we should all prize and not lightly cast aside.

One significant statement made by the Cave Committee by Mr. David Little, President of the Wholesale Manufacturers' Federation, on the question of unemployment in trades covered by the Boards, is worth recording. It is as follows:

"My Federation," he said, "does not agree with the idea that unemployment is worse in trades covered by the Trade Boards Act than in trades not so covered."

Retail Bespoke Employers and Minimum Rates

So far as the retail bespoke trade is concerned, the attack of the Merchant Tailors' Federation upon minimum rates and the whole system of Trade Boards control was, without doubt, adroitly timed, and has been maintained through the year by the aid of zealous efforts to cripple the

machinery on which the maintenance of the minimum rates depended.

As a result of fierce controversy on the non-enforcement of existing minimum rates towards the close of last year, a "Piece-rates sub-committee" of the Trade Board was set up. The committee was to explore the possibility of adopting and adapting the London Uniform Time Log as a "National Log," the agreed time items to be eventually characterized by rates, those rates to become "National Piece-Rates."

This appeared to have adjusted the differences existing, and to pave the way for the department to get over the difficulty of enforcing "log time," instead of log money charges, or piece-rates. The real work of this committee began at its second meeting, early in January, 1922. The trend of events at that meeting would not appear to have been to the liking of some of the workers' side of the committee, so a proposition was advanced that "further consideration of the terms of reference from the Trade Board should be deferred until the question between the log hour and the clock hour had been settled." This being ruled out of order by the Chairman, the committee proceeded along its original lines.

Prior to this meeting the Department had taken elaborate time tests, both in England and Scotland, and the information so gained was placed before the third meeting of the committee.

Following then discussion of the tabulated results of tests supplied (a) by employers, (b) workmen, (c) in a specter, for hand, machine and plain trousers, lounge vests and operators on lounges, equations as between the log and clock time were agreed upon, and a recommendation sent forward to the full Board to set up rates for those garments made by journeymen tailors working by themselves, or working with the help of female assistant, or with an assistant and an apprentice or learner, male or female.

The settlement of the journeymen tailor's position and that of the skilled tailors along the lines would have affected the whole body of men and women who can be said to de-

serve the appellation of "Handicraft Workers" but it was not to be, and the unsatisfactory character of the history of the year commenced by the break-up of this reasonable compact, has led to complications that have resulted in the workers' side refusing to act further on the committee.

The refusal of the employers' side to constitute the full board when it was called to consider the committee's recommendation amongst other business unless the resolution was rescinded and the whole matter re-committed, de novo, was a staggering blow to the workers' representatives, and to the journeymen tailors of Great Britain.

That action, combined as it has been with the wiping out of a previously determined definition of the skilled tailors, by which, so to speak, has been left in a state of suspended animation, and the gradual cutting down of apprentice and learner's rates, with still further and persistent demands for reduction in adult male and female rates, is in no way reassuring to the workers' side, and does not correspond to their efforts or their hopes on behalf of the journeymen tailor, or the women and young people in the trade.

THE KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT

(Continued from page 8)

Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce met and passed a resolution endorsing the action of the state; and business men began to talk about a new 'declaration of independence' for Pittsburg" (pp. 27-28, bold mine.)

I hope it is now clear to all that "many of the people" represent "Chambers of Commerce" and "business men." I hope it is also quite clear that Chambers of Commerce and business men are entirely removed from the class conflict.

The direction of Dr. Bowers' scientific carelessness is also revealing. For instance:

"Many miners said they were anxious to work no as to feed their families but that . . . they feared union persecution (p. 32)

Well just how many, Professor?

"The author has interviewed many persons of all classes . . . and has found but few critics who really seemed both informed and free from bias" (sic!) (p. 29).

Well, again, just how many and how few, Herr Doctor? (If this is so, I wonder how Dr. Bowers explains the recent election of Governor Davis, democrat, campaigning on a straight anti-Court platform, to the political leadership of Republican Kansas?)

ests are opposed to those of the laborer.

The farmer wants—

1. The highest price for his products,

2. Cheap goods—good clothing, machinery, furniture, etc.

The laborer wants—

High wages,

Short Hours, and

Cheap Food.

Before any Farmer-Labor Party can succeed these divergent interests must be reconciled.

The farmer is not class-conscious as organized labor is class-conscious.

Moreover, the farmer pays direct taxes, and sees the cost of extension of state activity. Generally, he opposes extension of the activity of the state.

Amalgamation

The Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union have persistently pressed the matter of Amalgamation, and the latest reply of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors to the General Council of Trades Unions, for a further conference on that matter is, they cannot enter such a Conference pending the holding of their next National Conference of branch representatives.

The early part of 1923 is fraught with many serious possibilities for clothing workers. For one thing, the renewal of national agreements comes up for consideration early in the new year. We can but hope that mutual concession will be the keynote of the conferences that must take place upon that important matter, and that the course adopted will make for peace and economic adjustment, which above all things, are calculated, we think, to maintain and still further advance our industry in its position in the industrial economy of our time and generation.

In the coming year may the deplorable business experience of the past two years be compensated for by a revival of trade. May the differences that have existed during this year be amicably settled, and the relations of employers' and workers' representatives be improved towards overcoming the difficulties and abuses that have been all too clearly shown to exist during the year 1922.

FARMERS AND LABOR

(Continued from Page 10)

and seem to have little return for such hard work.

One Difficulty

1. The farmer buys in a restricted market.

2. The farmer sells in competition with the world.

In other words, the farmer does not fix the prices for his products, nor does he fix the prices of his purchases.

Uncertainty of His Business

The farmer may work and work hard and intelligently and then by no fault of his own, lose because of Hail, Flood, Drought or Insect Pests.

If he has a good crop, others are likely to have good crops also, and prices fall.

Difficult for farmer to hold back crops for better prices. Some can be held back, but perishable crops must be sold at once.

The farmer markets individually, and does not get the best prices for products. Middlemen take disproportionate share. Co-operative societies have improved conditions in some sections. Orange and apple

growers have been particularly successful.

Psychology of Farmer

Generally the farmer is an individualist and a conservative. Socialism makes little appeal to him, and Communism less.

Occasionally, he has been radical, but it has been sporadic and caused by economic hardship. When the hardship is removed, his radicalism ceases and he becomes conservative again. Instances are:

1. The Grange Agitation,

2. The Farmers' Alliance Movement which developed into the Populist Party,

3. The Non-Partisan League seems to have little philosophic radicalism behind it.

The farmer feels that he has not had a fair share of prosperity. He is jealous of the town.

Attitude Towards Organized Labor

Generally hostile. He compares the eight or nine hours of the industrial worker with the twelve to fifteen of his own life and feels that he has to pay more for what he buys because of this fact.

As the farmer sees it, his inter-

But, most important of all, Dr. Bowers gives the whole case away in his last chapter. "The Court can adjudicate differences, but it cannot compel men to be satisfied with the results." Exactly. So Dr. Bowers proposes "some of the methods of industrial democracy." Profit-sharing, good wages, mutual interests, savings by workers, reinvestment in business co-management, inheritance taxes, religion, education, and a few other such trifles must be introduced. For "Good-will and political wisdom must be made more abundant." In other words when the Industrial Courts finish preventing the industrial conflict, the industrial conflict still remains. All they can really accomplish is to take from labor its present most potent fighting weapon.

I happen to differ with Professor Bowers on the methods of industrial democracy. But because his proposal for an industrial court carries with it union recognition and some supplementary industrial democracy, I would make a suggestion to him. Let him propose his full plan to Judge Gary. He then will understand and undoubtedly sympathize with Canute's pained conviction of futility.

SYLVIA KOPALD.

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The Week in Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The general meeting for February, was attended by a part in the person of Vice-President Gorenstein, who came from Los Angeles to attend the convention in Baltimore and subsequently came up to New York to visit his friends and family. Being in the city, Brother Gorenstein made it his business to attend the general meeting, which was held on Monday, February 26th, in Arlington Hall.

Brother Gorenstein delivered a short address to the cutters, congratulating them, particularly the dress and waist cutters, on their big victory in gaining the forty-hour week, which is actually a fact in the waist and dress industry today. In his talk, he also mentioned the fact that, although there is a strike in Los Angeles and he would like to be there, nevertheless he wished to come down to see the cutters and congratulate them on their new gains.

Brother Gorenstein also expressed gratification at the satisfaction of the membership with the work of its officers and the improved conditions secured by our members in all divisions. His speech, as well as he himself, was well received by the members present at the meeting.

This last General Meeting also had before it the adoption of the recommendation of the Executive Board that the \$4.00 assessment, which was levied by the last International Biennial Convention in Cleveland, should be collected beginning March 1, 1923.

The purpose of this, which the members will recall, was explained to them some time ago, is for the organization work to be conducted by the International in the unorganized districts of the Country. In accordance with the adoption of this decision by the general membership, General Secretary Brother Fish is not to accept dues from any members after March 1, 1923, unless the \$4.00 assessment is paid.

On Washington's Birthday, the Executive Board authorized the office to send out committees to apprehend all cutters going to work on that day. The committees consisted in all of about fifty men who were stationed at the various subway and elevated stations in the garment section.

These committees were afterward sent out by Brother Dubinsky to about 125 shops in which he suspected the cutters were working, and, though all these were under suspicion, it was found that in only eight shops there actually were cutters working. These offenders will be summoned before the Executive Board and dealt with accordingly, so that it may serve as a lesson to them as well as others who may attempt to commit a similar violation in the future.

WAIST AND DRESS

The last special meeting of the Waist and Dress Division, which was called by special postal cards for the purpose of ratifying the agreement concluded between the Joint Board and the Manufacturers' Association, was held on Wednesday, February 21. The meeting, as usual, was held in Arlington Hall, which was filled to capacity.

Brother Dubinsky gave a report of the settlement, which was followed by the report of Brother Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board of Waist and Dressmakers. Brother Hochman, in a short address, expressed his satisfaction

with the conduct of the cutters throughout the strike, as they were an important factor in it. He also told them that as far as these settlements are concerned, the cutters are really the ones profiting most by them, and that, although the week-work proposition was not granted by the manufacturers this time, he believes that this will be the demand of the waist and dress industry at the expiration of the new agreement, and that he does not want the cutters to forget this fact. He also stated that he believes that, should the cutters be called upon to strike for the industry in order to achieve this important gain for the workers of the industry, the cutters would respond in full force and back this request of the workers in the other crafts.

The Joint Board obliged the cutters with a number of ballot boxes to give them an opportunity to express their sentiments by a referendum vote on the settlement effected, the reason for this being that the majority of the cutters were meeting in Arlington Hall and did not know about the referendum unless through the special postal cards which were sent out.

The settlement certainly was a great victory for the cutters, and the cutters fully realized it, since, of the total number of votes cast, which was 1,100, there were only seven votes against this settlement. We also wish to acquaint our readers with the fact that by the total number of votes cast by the entire membership of the Joint Board, which was 12,475, only 1,902 were against the ratification of this agreement, as against 10,455 for it, signifying a ratio of 5 to 1 for the approval of the settlement reached between the Joint Board and the Association.

About 400 shops of the Association are back to work and cards have been issued to the cutters of these shops, as well as to the cutters of the shops which are being settled each day. There is no doubt but that about 75 per cent of our people are back at work, although there are a number of Association shops which are not yet settled, some due to grievances that the union may have against them, others against whom the Association may have grievances. But as a whole, the majority of the Association members have their workers back to work, in addition to a large number of independent shops which have settled up to date.

The union has also been successful in organizing quite a number of open shops, and many new members as well as dropped members have joined the organization as a result. But the greatest satisfaction is not so much in the number of members who have joined the organization as in the number of open shops which have been organized. The office is gratified with the fact that it has received many requests from the people working in open shops asking that the union organize them, so that they may become union shops. Undoubtedly, this is due to our victory in getting the forty-hour week, which is becoming a factor in the industry at the present time.

The cutters in these open shops, be they union or non-union men, are clamoring to be organized, as the forty-hour week is quite an attraction not only to union members but to non-union men as well. The office in the dress division, ably managed by Brother Shenger, general business agent, the business agents working from the Joint Board, Brothers Fruhling, Settle and Sonen, and other active members of our

organization, and General Manager Dubinsky believe that the drive will be a success and that good results will be achieved.

It is expected that every morning a number of cutters will be willing to come a bit earlier, in conducting this organization campaign in the open shops, especially around Madison Avenue and in the Garment Center, where a number of these open shops are located. Brother Dubinsky feels confident that we will be successful in organizing these shops, whereby not only the people in the shops will gain and the organization increase its membership, but the forty-four week will become a real factor in the industry, as the forty-four hours have been until now. The Waist and Dress Industry in the city will then be 100 per cent unionized.

Appropos of this, Brother Dubinsky reported to the Executive Board on the good work done by our former general secretary, Brother Israel Lewin, who devoted a great deal of his time giving information and advice to the members coming to Arlington Hall for that purpose. Particularly did he perform valuable services in settling a number of open shops with the members of which he became personally acquainted when he was manager of this division a number of years ago. It was through Brother Lewin's efforts, as well as those of Brother Shenger, that we succeeded in securing an increase in wages for the cutters in these shops.

Because of the settlement of the strike, Arlington Hall, the general headquarters of our striking cutters, which was under the direct supervision of Brother Shenger, has been given up, and all business will be conducted from the office of the union, 231 East 14th Street.

General Manager Dubinsky has expressed his satisfaction with the conduct and work of our people in Arlington Hall, as well as of the help extended by the Joint Board to us. It is largely due to this fact that we may congratulate ourselves on the results of the strike.

In last week's issue of JUSTICE there were given in detail the terms of the settlement reached between the union and the Manufacturers' Association, and we will therefore not repeat them here. However, we wish to call the attention of the cutters in the Waist and Dress Branch to the main issue involved, i.e., the forty-hour week. This provision entails working the first five days of the week, eight hours per day, and no work on Saturday and Sunday will be tolerated by the organization. Should a cutter be found working on either Saturday or Sunday he will be summoned before the Executive Board, and removal from the job may be his punishment.

With the institution of the forty-hour week, work on Saturday morn-

ing will be considered a greater violation than working on Saturday afternoon or Sunday was heretofore, and the members are already acquainted with the fact that the Executive Board was not any too lenient up to now in dealing with these offenses.

It was further agreed between the union and the Association that the maximum weekly amount of overtime be limited to four hours, to be worked one hour per day for the first four days of the week, and that no work whatsoever shall be done on Saturday or Sunday. This applies to all shops working on dresses, either by the piece or week, as well as those shops controlled by Local No. 23.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

CLOAK AND SUIT.....Monday, March 5th
WAIST AND DRESS.....Monday, March 12th
MISCELLANEOUS }
GENERAL.....Monday, March 26th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place