

"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'

Vol. V, No. 49.

New York, Friday, November 30, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

REFERENDUM TO DECIDE CONVENTION CITY NEXT MON.

Secretary Baroff Sends Ballots and Instructions to All Locals—Vote Must Be In by December 31

At the last meeting of the General Executive Board, it was decided to nominate the cities of Baltimore and Boston as the prospective cities where the 17th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. may be held. In accordance with precedent, the vote of the members on the convention must be submitted to the seventh quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board which elects a committee on arrangements to take care of all the technical details of the convention.

On Monday last, Secretary Baroff therefore forwarded to all the locals affiliated with the International copies of ballots and a letter of instruction covering this referendum. The locals are requested to have the vote taken either at regular or special meetings but they are reminded that, unless their vote reaches the General Offices on or before December 3, it will not be counted.

The letter reads as follows:

Greetings:
In accordance with the by-laws of our organization, the General Executive Board of the International, at its last quarterly meeting in Chicago,

nominated the cities from which the general membership by vote shall choose the convention city for the 17th convention of the International in May, 1924.

The cities named for the referendum are Boston and Baltimore. We are enclosing herewith a ballot form which you will fill out after a vote has been taken by all the members of

your local, or, in case you have section or branch meetings, by such meetings. The total vote given for each city is to be compiled and duly testified to by the chairman and secretary of the local.

Please bear in mind that the vote must take place and ballots returned to the General Office on or before December 31, 1923.

Local 38 Nominates Officers Next Week

Local 38, the Ladies' Tailors Local of New York, will have a special meeting next Tuesday, December 4, to nominate candidates for the regular officers of the local.

The meeting is to be held at the

Harlem Educational Center Building, 62 East 106th Street. The offices to be nominated for include the paid positions as well as the unpaid positions in the local. An unusually large attendance is expected.

Montreal Needle Trades Unions Help Cloakmakers' Campaign

The first concrete example of true solidarity among the needle trades workers in the city of Montreal was given last Sunday afternoon, when a conference of all the local unions of

that city was held for the purpose of assisting the campaign of the local cloakmakers to revive union activity in their trade.

The conference was attended by delegates from the Amalgamated, the Capmakers and the Furriers' locals, in addition to our own, and it decided to issue an appeal to call mass meetings, visit benevolent societies, and write letters to all members of these needle trades unions calling upon them to see that their relatives engaged in the trade join the cloakmakers' union. The object of the conference was first, to improve the morale of the cloakmakers; secondly, to contribute financially to enable the union to go on with its organization work as well as with the court trial it has on hand.

In this connection it can be stated that the Montreal Joint Board intends shortly to issue a call to all unions in the Dominion of Canada to help

them to fight to the end the drastic injunction which confronts them. The case in question involves the writ issued by Chief Justice Martin of the Montreal Superior Court, ordering the union to pay the costs in the injunction case of Berkowitz vs. the Cloakmakers' Union, making the injunction permanent, and for good measure, condemning the union to pay an additional sum of \$200 as compensation to the employer "because the latter had to pay more for labor and obtained less results than before the strike."

In view of the great importance of this decision to organized labor in Canada, the Cloakmakers' Union of Montreal decided to take this case to the Privy Council in England if necessary. The Trades and Labor Council of Canada at its last convention in Vancouver, B. C., adopted a resolution endorsing this appeal for financial assistance.

Tuckers and Hemstitchers

Called to a Meeting

The Executive Board of Local 25, the Waistmakers' Union of New York, has forwarded a special call to all the tuckers and hemstitchers in the trade, whether employed in union or non-union shops, to come to a special meeting of the local next Monday, December 3.

The meeting will be held at 5:30 p. m., right after work hours, at 16 West 21st Street. It is considered by the executive board of the local as a very important meeting which will mark the beginning of a series

of organization meetings among the tuckers, the most important and best skilled workers in the waist trade.

Miss Morganstern, the manager of Local 25, reports that the organization work began among the waistmakers several weeks ago is now beginning to yield satisfactory results and the spirit among the workers in the trade has been considerably heightened lately, as they see the possibility for better times and a better control of the work conditions in the waist shops.

New York Joint Board Discusses Minimum Wage Scales

Special Meeting for This Purpose Called for Friday, November 30

A goodly part of the last meeting of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union of New York was devoted to the discussion of the new demand proposed by the General Executive Board of the International for the raising of the minimum scale in the cloak and dress industry of New York and for the adoption of such a minimum scale as the only one that the union would stand ready to protect.

The delegates to the Joint Board were not quite unanimous about this proposition. Of course all of them favored the raising of the minimum scale beyond the present limit. The idea, however, of classing this scale as the only one for which the union will fight, did not appeal to some delegates. They argued that a large number of workers in our industry who survive today without the minimum scale might find themselves un-

protected if this principle were adopted.

In view of the great importance of this matter, and in order to allow the delegates an opportunity to discuss it to the fullest possible extent, the Joint Board decided to devote the next meeting of the Board entirely to this question.

The meeting will be held as usual in the Council-Room of the International Building, at 3 West 16th Street, and full attendance of all delegates is expected.

Beginning with this issue, there will appear each week on the eleventh page of this publication a Russian-Polish news column devoted to the discussion of the problems confront-

Officers Subscribe for Union Bank Shares

Start Subscription Drive Among Members

At a meeting of officers of all the organizations affiliated with our Union on Friday afternoon last, the vice-president and general manager of the International Labor Bank, Mr. Philip L. Rodriguez, appeared together with Brother Philip Kaplowitz, the cashier of our bank, to urge upon these officers the necessity of starting a drive among the members of International in New York for stock subscription and for spreading far and wide the news that soon the bank will throw its doors open for deposits and other business.

After short talks by Mr. Rodriguez,

Brother Kaplowitz, and Brother Baroff, the president of the bank, the officers present decided, first of all, to subscribe to shares of stock in the bank. They also pledged themselves to start a lively campaign among the members and to make the bank the liveliest issue wherever ladies' garment workers congregate.

It was announced that the International Labor Bank will open for business positively on Saturday, January 5, 1924, about six weeks hence. The original date for the opening, December 1, 1923, had to be changed as the extensive renovating operations undertaken in the building to be occupied by the Bank to make it fit for the requirements of a financial institution made this delay inevitable.

Meanwhile all members desiring to buy shares or to become depositors in the International Union Bank are requested to apply to their local offices or to the office of the Joint Board, 150 East 25th St.

A Russian-Polish Column

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

ALL-UNION COAL

RIGHT now when coal is on the lips of everybody, the news item which appeared last week concerning a trainload of coal mined by union men from union-owned mines and sold through a union-owned distributing company to union members in Cleveland, is of refreshing interest.

Behind these mining and marketing organizations which have taken over the complete handling of the shipments of coal from mine to consumer is the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. This great-riding union, which owns the Coal River collieries in Kentucky and West Virginia, is now offering for sale in Cleveland at \$7.50 a ton an unlimited amount of a good grade of bituminous suitable for household use. They are hauling the coal direct from car to consumer, thus eliminating all middleman expense.

In the meantime the real coal problem remains untouched. This week, at the conference called by Governor Pinchot representing delegates of the governors of fourteen coal-mining and chief coal-consuming States, the Pennsylvania executive suggested Government control of the anthracite industry through a commission which would regulate production and distribution of hard coal from the mine to the consumer's bin, for the purpose of assuring, first, a fair price; second, clean coal; and, third, a fair share of the coal available in time of scarcity.

Nevertheless, it would be idle to entertain any hope of actual relief from the exorbitant coal prices, either this winter or in the near future. It would take more than gentle persuasion, or even such official roaring as Pinchot's fusillades, to pry the wholesalers, jobbers and operators from the fascinating margin of profits which they have been accustomed to since the war days and which they are still hugging now. Only a definite program for nationalization of the mining industry, backed by every available source of strength within and outside of the labor movement, can solve the problem of coal in the United States once for all.

HELPING GERMAN UNIONS

THE announcement that the American Federation of Labor and all its affiliated organizations are to make a special drive to raise a big fund for the trade unions of Germany rings with the spirit of international solidarity and is wholesome and heartening labor news.

On Sunday last, at a conference which was attended, in addition to President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, by the heads of the international unions in the printing, cigar-making, ladies' garment and many other big trades, it was decided to issue an appeal to organized labor in America to make a fund for the great German trade union to tide over the present emergency on account of the depreciation of the mark. The collapse of German currency has practically destroyed the union treasuries and wiped out the little property they may have accumulated.

The central organization of the German workers has appealed for aid to other labor organizations beyond the boundaries of Germany, and the action of last week's conference comes in response to this appeal. The details of this money-raising plan have not yet been decided upon. But whether they will take the form of shop collections, as taxes on wages or in any other way, it is sincerely hoped that the organized workers of America, regardless of former racial or national affiliations and opinions rightly or wrongly entertained during the recent conflict, will by generous contributions prove that labor, the world over is one, and that they keenly appreciate the invaluable service rendered by German labor in safeguarding liberty and freedom and democratic institutions in that woe-begone land.

THE THREE THOUSAND DEPORTEES

A COUPLE of weeks ago we stated in these columns, and not without a sense of gratification, that "for reasons of humanity" high authorities in the department of Labor in Washington had seen fit to admit several thousand immigrants, British and Russian, who were detained in the Port of New York and marked for deportation on account of excess of their national quotas.

True, at that time, we entertained some suspicion that this clemency order was issued partly in order to save the United States Shipping Board, on one of whose liners 1600 British immigrants had arrived, from a loss of several hundred thousands of dollars that the deportation of these immigrants would involve it in. Unfortunately, our foreboding proved to be only too true. The 1600 English immigrants were admitted, but the order regarding the admission of the remaining 2000 or more immigrants from Russia was shortly afterward countermanded and these unfortunates are now being shipped back thousands of miles across the water, after having spent every penny of their savings in passage to America. This ugly and heartless incident brings out in bold relief the cruelty of the existing immigration laws and the burning need for their revision. It is not enough to say that these laws have shortcomings and loopholes which have to be remedied or filled. They are inhuman to the core, and as a living contradiction of the ideals and principles upon which this nation was reared and has grown, they should be repealed.

TORY-LIBERALS AGAINST LABOR IN ENGLAND

LAST week in these columns a suspicion was raised to the effect that one of the reasons for the sudden dissolution of Parliament in England and the flaring up of the tariff issue as a battleground between the Conservatives and the Liberals, was to catch the Labor forces unprepared and little ready for a campaign, and strike a blow at them.

A cable despatch to the New York World from London this week in part bears out this idea. The Daily Herald, Labor's official mouthpiece in England, openly charges a Tory-Liberal plot for a new coalition to smash Labor on election day. "The issue is not between free trade and protection," says the Daily Herald, "the two older parties are pretending to fight each other, but are planning a coalition of 'Big Business' against Labor to follow the December 6th election." There is no doubt that the Labor Party has a mighty struggle on its hands between now and election day. It will find in many districts where it won seats last year, a combination of Liberal-Conservative arrays against it such as we, in the form of Republican-Democratic coalitions, are accustomed to find in the United States wherever

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Union Health Center News

Last Thursday, Brother Harry Wander, chairman of the Union Health Center, signed a lease of the 71st Armory for the Masque Ball to be given for the benefit of the Union Health Center Clinics, on Saturday night, March 29, 1924.

The committee, which consisted of Brothers Wander, Levy, Weiss and Fish, decided to print ten thousand tickets at \$1.00 a ticket to be distributed among workers in the trade. It is also intended to publish a journal which would show the activities of the Union Health Center which has become so popular among the members of the Union. Brothers Breslaw and Wander are the committee in charge of the journal.

It is to be hoped that the members of the Union will take an interest in this affair as it is for the benefit

of their own institution coming in contact with the workers.

The lecture of Dr. Benion Liber last Friday was very well attended. Much interest has been shown in the exposition by the lecturer of the various medical fads and fakes which are so common. He spoke very convincingly about many illegal medical practitioners, lately brought to light, in Connecticut and other states. He also exposed chiropractic, the so-called Dr. Abram's treatment and many other similar methods of healing.

This coming Friday, November 30, Dr. George M. Price, director of the Union Health Center, will speak on the risks and dangers of the various trades, especially in reference to the garment industry. A motion picture will be given to illustrate the lecture.

The Cleveland Plain-Dealer on the Cleveland Settlement

The decision of the board of referees in the local garment industry, to guarantee employment for forty weeks during the year to workers in that trade, must have a wide appeal wherever the seasonal character of the industry is appreciated. It strikes at practices which have often reduced the employe in the clothing trades to an indefensibly low standard of living, and seeks to place upon the community the cost of raising him and the industry in which he is employed to normal competitive levels.

The modern world has within recent years familiarized itself thoroughly with the evils of unemployment, seasonal and otherwise. Since the serious depression which followed the war, welfare agencies as well as the government and private employers have been seeking means and methods by which industry can be stabilized and unemployment

reduced, if it cannot be completely avoided.

The scheme now in operation in the local garment industry which is assured again for 1924 looks in that direction. It seeks to relieve the worker of the uncertainty that attaches to his employment under the conditions which ordinarily obtain in the industry, and indirectly to contribute to his usefulness and happiness.

Unfortunately employers in the local industry find themselves in competition with manufacturers in other localities where no effort has yet been made to stabilize production or to pay employes a reasonable yearly wage. It is to be hoped that they will be able somehow to overcome their disadvantage and to accept permanently the principle at least of the arrangement which has just been renewed for another year.

—Editorial, Nov. 21, 1923.

the chances for electing a labor or a Socialist candidate seem promising. The Labor Party has put in the field over four hundred candidates, among them a dozen women, and, as election costs in England are considerably higher than those in the United States, they will find these expenses quite a strain on the already depleted by unemployment coffers of the British trade unions.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

The Joint Board Educational Committee is going on with its work at a rapid pace. Lectures on various topics are given at the local meetings by prominent instructors. Preparations are also being made for offering special classes in English for our members at the High School of Practical Arts at Roxbury. Other courses that will be given at the above school will soon be announced through these columns. To mark the opening of the season's educational activities, the committee engaged the beautiful Ford Hall, 15 Ashburton Place, for Friday evening, February 14, 1924, for a concert for the members of the International and their families.

The committee desired to make this concert a real get-together for all our members and has therefore decided to notify them by mail of this event and is enclosing two admission tickets with each letter.

The concert will include selections by Professor Morrow, eminent pianist, and his famous quartette, as well as by Mr. P. Cherkasky, violinist with the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Among the speakers of the evening who will deliver short talks on education for the workers will be Professor H. W. L. Dana, formerly of Columbia University; Professor Clarence Skinner, of Tufts College, and Fannie M. Cohen, Educational Secretary of the I. L. G. W. U. No effort is spared to make this evening one that will long be remembered by our members.

The waist and dress trade is still very slack. The office of Local 49 is doing everything possible to enforce equal division of work among the members in the different shops, and with good results. In former years the dress shops would be working at this time of the year for the "January Sales." This year seems to be an exception. The manufacturers and jobbers are loaded up with considerable stock, so that the chances for work in the next few

weeks are very slim. This slack does not however deter the Executive Board of Local 49, from making all necessary preparations for the coming season. Our agreement with the manufacturers expires February 15 of the next year. Ten days prior to the expiration of the agreement either side is to notify the other of any desire to terminate it. The Union will in all probability ask for a number of changes in the present agreement. With this in view the Executive Board appointed a committee of four, consisting of Sisters Ida Kalis, Mania Teitelbaum, Jennie Borowsky and Brother Philip Kramer of the cutters' branch, who, in conjunction with the office staff, will work out the differences desired in the agreement and report them to the Executive Board; if approved by it, they will then be brought before the members for approval.

The dress jobbers in Boston are as yet not controlled by the Union, which fact acts as a detriment to the Union in its organization work. For while the contractors in Boston proper are one hundred per cent unionized, there are a few contractors in the suburbs who are not. And these few are used as a whip, in the slack season, against the Boston contractors and indirectly against the members of our Union. Our organization is determined to bring these jobbers in line before the beginning of the spring season. In order to facilitate the work of organizing the jobbers, the Executive Board of Local 49 invited the Contractors' Association for a conference to be held on Tuesday, December 4. An invitation will then be extended to all jobbers to meet with representatives of the Union for the purpose of reaching an agreement in an amicable manner. Our members will be informed through the JUSTICE on the progress of these negotiations.

In Chicago

By M. RAPAPORT

The last two meetings of the Chicago Joint Board were crowded with business as usual.

On November 9, Charles P. Bell, member of the striking miners of West Virginia, appeared before the Board asking for aid for the miners of that city who have been on strike for the last year and a half. He came with a letter of recommendation from Brother Louis Langer, secretary of the New York Joint Board. His request was referred to the Finance Committee.

The Joint Board took up at that meeting a number of appeals asking for the rescission of fines and other modifications of sentences imposed on members. In the majority of cases, these appeals were granted.

Brother Solt, shop chairman of the New York City Company of this city, appeared before the Joint Board in the name of his shop, claiming that work is being sent out to non-union places, and that the workers in the inside shop are unable to make a living on that account. He was inclined to blame for it the business agent of the union because he had done nothing to stop this practice. After Brother Ruffer, the business agent covering that section, had given his explanation, the matter was referred to the labor manager for immediate action,

a report on which is to be made at the next meeting.

Vice-president Perlestein recommended to the Board that each business agent call shop-meetings in his district where the manager of the Joint Board, together with the committee, would be present to hear complaints from workers in the shops. He also brought up the matter of a union-owned factory reporting that interviews and communications with buyers are under way, and that he fully believes that the project will be a great success if the workers show proper interest in it.

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Our members, quite likely, would like to know what our local is doing now and how it is getting on in general. I should like to state it here in brief.

Right after the 19 members of our Executive Board had been unseated for disobeying the laws of our International, the entire work of the local fell upon the five remaining members of the board, who at once set about administering the affairs of the local. They took charge of the machinery of the organization and saw to it that all the standing committees took care of their assigned functions, and they regularly and diligently attended to their work. Members and committees from shops appearing before these committees found that they were being properly attended to and treated fairly and with required consideration.

After that the members of Executive Board got in touch with the General Executive Board then in session at Chicago, about ordering new elections for the vacant place in the Executive Board of the local. The G. E. B. then elected a sub-committee to work together with the members of our board in arranging for a speedy holding of these elections. Our executive committee also took steps to hasten the transferring of all the dressmaker members of Local 23 to our local, which was long ago decided and ordered by the G. E. B.

Already we have 1,500 of these dressmakers in our local, and our aim is to have a complete, 100 per cent dressmaker local in New York before the next season. We hope that these new members of our organization will take a keen interest in its affairs, will come to our meetings, and will help maintain intact the unity and the efficiency of the local.

It is still slow in our trade. Nevertheless, this slump has not in any way affected the work of our members. Our executive committee is now meeting several times every week and is deeply concerned with the solving of trade problems that are facing us everywhere.

You will remember that, before we became affiliated with the cloakmakers, some of us thought that because the latter were such a big organization they would not be able to give our problems as much attention as they deserved and we would be neglected there. It appears, however, now, that our fears have been in vain. We became now a part of the one big Joint Board and we are being regarded with as much concern and interest as the cloakmakers. Moreover, the officers of the Joint Board, together with the officers of our own local, are now working together on constructive plans for organizing the entire trade and for bringing it under effective union control. Shortly these plans will be laid before the board of directors of the Joint Board and a big effort will be made to carry them out in practice.

Our members are also considering now the question of sick benefits. The addition of former members of Local 23 to our locals has been one of the reasons for taking up this matter, as these members have enjoyed the sick benefit system in their old local for years and we do not consider it practical to have in our midst two, so to say, sets of members. Besides, we have found it very important from our daily experience to have such a fund in our organization. The time is appropriate now, and we shall make an effort to make it a reality.

Very soon the members of the local will be called upon to nominate members for the vacant seats on the Executive Board, and we are calling upon them now to come to the front and prove that they are sincerely interested in the affairs of the union. Every loyal and devoted member of Local 22 who holds the interest of his trade organization close to heart will not fail to take a part in these nominations and elections and help elect a wholesome, working Executive Committee for the local which will insure its steady, normal progress and will lead it on the road of unbroken achievement for our workers.

Meeting of Local 89

The members of the Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 89, are all requested to attend the general membership meeting to be held on Tuesday, December 11, 1923, at 5:30 p. m. in the Auditorium of the International Building, 3 West 16th St.

The order of business will include:
1. Deliberations of Executive Board.
2. Financial Report.
3. Partial Election of Executive Board.

4. Selection of city for next Convention of the International—Boston or Baltimore.
5. Other important problems of the Union.

No one is excused from attending this meeting, which is of extreme importance to all unionists interested in the development of their organization. All must attend without fail.
(Signed) LUIGI ANTONINI,
General Sec'y.

JUSTICE

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Public Business in the United States

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Concluded from last week)

THE RECLAMATION SERVICE

The United States Reclamation Service, operated under the direction of the Department of the Interior, is doing marvels in reclaiming arid and swamp lands in making it available for agricultural purposes. In its 1916 report a few of these achievements are practically set forth.

During the year 1915, according to this report, the reclamation service "developed, stored, distributed and delivered irrigation water to 850,000 acres of arid land in seventeen states, converting from desert to producing farms an area equal to the cultivated acreage of Delaware and Nevada and yielding a crop value exceeding that of New Hampshire and Utah."

It operated 40 reservoirs with a total capacity of three billion gallons, sufficient water to cover Massachusetts and Connecticut a foot deep; 10,000 miles of canals, tunnels and other conduits, a length sufficient to circle the United States; 75,000 structures, including dams, headgates and other irrigation devices. It delivered water to 20,000 farms. It carried on construction work on 24 irrigation projects.

It completed the highest dam in the world and another which formed the largest irrigation reservoir. It built 700 miles of canals, 600 bridges, etc., excavated about 10,000,000 cu yds of earth and rock and manufactured 60,000 barrels of sand cement. And these do not complete the list of its activities.

AS FORESTER, FARMER, BUILD-ER, PRINTER

The government is giving increasing attention to the job of maintaining and improving its forest lands, which constitute about one-fifth of the total timber lands in the country. As a result of its forestry service, "in the space of less than 25 years the forests on the public domain have passed from a condition in which the timber was always in imminent danger of being destroyed to one in which it is everywhere being protected; from a state in which, as a result of repeated fires and wasteful lumbering, the annual growth was steadily decreasing, to one in which scientific management insures a steady increase in annual growth and a good supply of timber for the people for an indefinite period." It is developing a vast system of national parks—16 at present, with an acreage, as has been stated, of 5,500,000 acres.

The national government has taken foremost rank in the work of improving agricultural production. The Department of Agriculture in 1922 spent some \$9,000,000 in research work alone in the fields of animal husbandry, plant life, soil, bee culture, insect diseases, food properties, market conditions, etc.; \$3,000,000 in extension work; \$20,000,000 in giving actual service to the farmers in the form of information, seed, etc. (this bureau in 1921 circulated 35,900,000 copies of books, bulletins, etc., among the farmers); and \$7,000,000 in the actual eradication and control of plant and animal diseases. It pays increasing attention to the development of cooperation among the farmers in the purchasing and selling of their products.

It has become a gigantic builder of roads. By the end of 1922 no less than 17,000 miles of roads had been completed as a result of the aid it extended to the states for the construction of highways.

Through its Bureau of Standards, the United States is doing much to

stimulate new scientific discoveries. These it is placing at the direct service of the country's industries. In this bureau, experts have studied the problems of chemistry and electricity, of wireless telegraphy, of transportation, of refrigeration. They test cars and textiles and rubber and watches and photographic lenses, publish numerous books and pamphlets and circulars on industrial science, encourage the development of research laboratories, and at a thousand and one points improve industrial standards.

The government operates at Washington the largest printing plant in the world. A few years ago its book output contained more than 4,000,000,000 printed pages. The Division of Public Documents in a year sends out in the neighborhood of 50,000,000 copies of documents.

In connection with its army and navy, it conducts scores of auxiliary industries which have to do with providing food, clothing and shelter and supplies to thousands of government employees.

Many of the states of the union also possess lands, water power, mines and other resources, and conduct significant industrial, educational and social services. Unique among these have been the state enterprises of North Dakota.

FUTURE PLANS IN AMERICA

The plans for additional nationalization in the United States which, during the last few years, have met with the greatest popular favor, are the Plumb Plan for the public ownership and democratic administration of the railroads—advocated by the railroad brotherhoods and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and the more recent tentative plans of the Nationalization Research Committee of the United Mine Workers of America and of the miners of the anthracite fields.

The Plumb Plan of railroad nationalization provided for an administrative board, one-third to be appointed by the railroad workers, one-third by the railroad administration, and one-third by the President—the last named group supposedly representative of the general public.

MINE NATIONALIZATION

The plan for mine nationalization, suggested as a basis for discussion by the miners' committee, also provides for the vesting of mine ownership in the nation. The committee members make a definite distinction between the control and the administration of the mine. The Nationalization Committee, they suggest, should be placed in the hands of a permanent Federal Interstate Commission of Mines, composed of 11 members, five to be named by professional and industrial organizations and six by the President. At the head should be the Secretary of Mines, a cabinet officer. The commission should tabulate all the significant facts regarding the industry, analyze the costs entering into the production of coal, make up the annual budget, fix the price of coal, conduct necessary researches, etc.

"Any plan of nationalization must arrange for the determination of price, quality and quantity of output by the whole community and not by the group of workers. This means that the federal commission of mines, and the secretary of mines will have the final say on these matters. This will be the public safeguard."

The job of administration should be vested in a National Mining Council made up of three kinds of members: (1) The financial, technical and managerial administrative heads of industry, (2) the miners, and (3) the coal consumers, the consumers of other allied industries and the community. There should be regional councils in the important regions and also mine committees in the mines or groups of mines.

Wages should be determined by a Joint Wage Scale Committee, representative of the miners and of the directors of the industry, the miners' representatives to be appointed by the United Mine Workers. A Bureau of Wage Measurement, connected with the Federal Commission of Mines, should assist in ascertaining facts which must be known before wages for particular kinds of work could be scientifically determined.

"The conditions of success for nationalization are these: (1) administrative organizations in the public service; (2) a competent technical staff; (3) a 100 per cent organized union; (4) collective bargaining publicly accepted as a basis of wage agreements; (5) a large labor representation in all departments of government; and (6) a political labor party. The conditions of nationalization are a 100 per cent union and a political labor party. A democratic policy for nationalization can be achieved only in a democratic state." (Black type mine.)

This line of approach to the problem of nationalization is probably that along which in general the most ardent advocates of public ownership and democratic management of industry will in the future proceed.

Thus we see that considerable progress toward public ownership in America has been made in municipal utilities, particularly in the water and electrical supply; that America has conducted gigantic public works in Panama and in Alaska; and that in the various services supplied by the United States Post Office Department, in the government's development of land and of forests and in its encouragement of agriculture, of scientific discoveries and of education, it has occupied a unique position. An increasing number of workers and of the general public are urging the socialization of the railroads and mines.

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS

At present the main danger of the extension of the functions of government in America lies in administration by politicians knowing little about the technique of the industry and controlled directly or indirectly by business and imperialistic groups for their selfish interests. This kind of control exists in far too many federal and municipal industries at the present time. If this danger is to be avoided, a demand for public ownership of a federal or municipal industry should be accompanied by a demand for control by those who by their training, their knowledge, their interests, are best qualified to administer, and, in addition, by the continuous strengthening of the forces of labor on the industrial and on the political fields. And if international warfare is to cease, advocates of public ownership must think not only in national but in international terms. Some method must be devised whereby a natural advantage possessed by one nation may not be monopolized by that nation to the detriment of others, but may be shared by all civilized world.

The trend toward a new order of industrial society—toward an order based on service and not on profit—is unmistakable throughout the world today. America, with its highly industrialized life, as has been seen in the foregoing pages, is being increasingly brought into this world current.

TWO THANKSGIVINGS

When He Was Unorganized



After He Had Joined the Union

A Higher Minimum Wage in the Cloak Industry

By BERNARD ACKERMAN

A minimum wage is purely a protective measure. It is the worker's defense against the approach of the inevitable rainy day, the slack period. When the labor market is hungry, for workers and workers are scarce, the employers bid against each other for labor, causing a rise in labor costs beyond established minima. The employers then accuse labor of profiteering; the workers deny the charge cheerfully and seek even higher prices. The worker is then on the offensive and casts aside the defensive minimum wage as a shield becomes useless. His steadily increasing wage is guaranteed by market conditions. The union at such times can protect the worker's right to his job, his dignity, the control of the shop, etc., but the wage takes care of itself.

But when there is a sufficient number of workers to perform the work offered, or when the market offers sufficient work to give employment to all the workers in the industry, the relation and enforcement of the minimum becomes a matter of paramount importance. The worker can no longer accept a "market" price for his labor. The "market" is cruelly against him; to accept its dictate would mean the acceptance of a wage destructive of his standard of living. He realizes that the industry must supply its workers with a living wage, and that in order to live humanely, a certain minimum price for labor must be considered as law. His united power, his union, challenges the economic law of supply and demand; the union demand a living, a minimum wage.

The fixing of such a wage therefore must not be made in haphazard fashion. The placing of an extravagant minimum, even in an industry under complete union control, might defeat its purpose by forcing the cost of the finished product to such heights that the consumer would be compelled to seek substitutes or refrain from buying, creating a lack of demand with the consequent shortage of work; or if an organization aspires to a minimum far in excess of that paid in related industries, the workers of such industries will flock to the more highly paid occupation causing an acute shortage of work, a keener competition between the workers, which eventually might threaten the minimum. When an industry is not entirely under control, as is our own, the union must weigh, besides these considerations, the menace of the open shop, and guide its action accordingly.

The problem is not the gaining of the higher minimum. The problem is to sustain the minimum, once gained, in the face of adverse economic conditions. For the minimum wage is the worker's most important line of defense; if that line crumbles the enemy will not rest content, but will move on to attack the remaining union defenses and cause general demoralization.

Our own industry resists control; true that the percentage of non-union shops is not high; yet the number of union shops that are evading control, including the out-of-town shop and the "social" shop, is admittedly considerable. These facts are to be faced and studied, in order to determine what the minimum shall be. Furthermore, a reading of the recently adopted recommendations with regard to wage rates shows that in fact not one but three simultaneous increases of the minimum are demanded:

1. The minimum wage scale to be reasonably increased.

2. The establishment of the 40-

hour week, which implies a decrease of four hours weekly, a raise of 9 per cent in the minimum.

3. Out-of-work insurance to be established. Presumably the cost of such insurance to be carried all or in part by the employers, which drives the minimum upward again.

These demands for minimum advances are desirable, but are they obtainable? If they are obtainable, are they retainable? Should a higher minimum be demanded; if so, how high shall it be?

Let us approach the subject from another angle. One of the ten suggested demands is, "To ask of the employers and manufacturers the limitation of contractors." This recommendation is made in recognition of the jobber's position of importance in the industry. It is insisted by the leaders of the union, by the informed, thinking element among the members that the jobber as such is none but the ancient enemy, the manufacturer; that he is the true employer; that the contractor is merely a foreman, a manager, and that therefore the manufacturing jobber must be held accountable. In fact, the manufacturing jobber stands unmasked, stripped of his disguise. He is recognized as "the man higher up" of the industry. From behind the scenes he pulls the strings and his puppets, the contractors, dance accordingly, and the workers must perform keep in step. The manufacturer thus reestablishes the open competitive market for labor. In pre-union days he compelled worker to compete against worker, today he compels shop to compete with shop. He settles prices (with the contractor), hires and fires, and, moreover, by the shop. He has all the attributes of a boss. He IS the boss.

This situation is being discussed on all sides, earnestly, heatedly, and the conclusion is being logically drawn that the theory of controlling the manufacturing jobbers indirectly, through a hold on a portion of even all of their contractors, is fallacious. The manufacturing jobber is the true defendant in the worker's suit for industrial justice, and upon that ground must the workers' subpoena be served.

This is, relatively, a new truth, and we are likely to ignore its implications and ramble off to other fields of thought. We must hold fast to this truth, and in its light examine our prospects as agreements approach their expiration. By so doing a flood of light will be thrown upon the causes of past failures and partial failures to control the industry; complexities will become less complex, and the road to be traveled less obstructed.

If the manufacturing jobber is the employer, it inevitably follows that he must be controlled before he can be made to accept conditions, as otherwise, by virtue of a free hand allowed him, he would shake himself free of restraint, regardless of conditions imposed upon his subordinates, the contractors. Clearly, then, the imposition of a high minimum becomes exceedingly difficult. The jobber possessing the liberty of playing contractor against contractor, shop against shop, and worker against worker, can easily bring down the worker's wage to its "market" value, which in time of slack is below a high minimum. We must conclude then that when the shops are flooded with work the minimum might hold, but as soon as work becomes scarcer, the minimum would crumble and give way. As work further decreases, the "weaker" workers would lose em-

ployment, the average worker would be discriminated against, and only the fastest workers would get the minimum or more. It cannot be expected that the slower workers will accept loss of work philosophically.

A good many, it is to be feared, will seek relief by accepting below-minimum prices, or in some cases will become active in "open" or "social" shops.

The manufacturing jobber possesses the power to make futile and inoperative any high minimum or any other of the major demands of the workers. It follows, therefore,

1. That the manufacturing jobbers must be put under the largest possible measure of control.

2. That important demands and measures, if they are to be successfully applied, must await the establishment of such control.

The demand for the limitation of contractors is a natural and necessary one. It would operate as a brake against competition. The manufacturer should be allowed to employ contractors, limited in number to a quantity sufficient to produce his accustomed volume of business. Permission to employ new contractors should be granted gradually, and only on proof that the number previously agreed upon is insufficient for turning out his work. Discharge of contractors should be discouraged and fought. The net results would be a limitation upon competition, the abolition of the jobber-manufacturer's power to indirectly discharge workers, and approximately a fair division of work among all the workers of the jobber. These gains in themselves are significant.

If it be contended that this single measure in itself is insufficient to satisfy the needs of the workers, and it is practical to demand more, the rational step would be to make another demand upon the manufacturers, viz:

1. Limitation of contractors.

2. Equal prices to contractors.

Which would mean that the manufacturer would be compelled to pay

equal prices for equal work to each of his limited number of contractors. Such a measure, when effected, would deal a death blow to the competition of contractor against contractor. It would confirm and make effective Demand 1, removing the manufacturer's economic interest in preferring one shop as against another. It would mark the end of the jobber's unbridled independence, the beginning of real control, and of equal price standards throughout the industry.

It would make effective the imposition of a high minimum, by depriving the manufacturing jobber of the power to nullify it through the competitive tactics now employed. Then only could the union impose and enforce the highest minimum that the industry could bear. It could make that high minimum the maximum as well, to the discouragement of the abnormally fast worker. The speed artist in consideration of a few extra dollars a week sets a cruel pace for the rest of the workers, establishes in himself a standard of production by which his less accomplished brothers are judged. Deprived of the economic reason for over-exertion he would subside in productiveness to the level of the average worker, and transfer some of his surplus energy to other useful fields.

It is not to be supposed that the manufacturer will yield without the bitterest struggle, leading, as he has been, a careful and joyous existence. He will resist control at every step, and will resent the attempt to curtail his "liberty." He will sign agreements under pressure and attempt their violation before the ink is dry.

The need of the day seems to be a well-defined policy against the jobbers as an employing class, and as many definite demands upon the class as is practical at this time, together with the creation and development of a strong machinery for the enforcement of agreements once obtained. The large scale cooperation of the contractors, prompted by self-interest, is also a power not to be despised by the workers in this situation.

As for the rank and file of the workers, they are by this time fully conscious of the fact the manufacturing jobbers are playing in their daily lives and will face the struggle with new-found hope and enthusiasm.



TWO MEMBERS OF OUR SYSTEM

One goes to the root and explains causes while the other owns the tree and gathers the plums for himself.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

AND NOW TO WORK!

Our unions have, during the past few months, gone through quite a critical period. Instead of devoting all their time and attention to ways and means of making their organizations stronger, the members of some of our locals have been scrapping with one another about issues that have no bearing whatever on their actual wants and interests as union workers. Of course, this state of affairs could not fail to have had a bad effect upon the International as a whole. It was a shame and a heartache to watch meetings disturbed and broken up through the subtle machinations of outside sinister influences, and the fight as it flared up at times seemed to threaten seriously the existence of that splendid edifice, our Union, which we all have helped to build at the cost of such enormous travail and sacrifice. This work of destruction, amid a babel of tongues, where brother failed to or would not understand his brother, was carried on with such fanatical zeal and bitterness that any voice of warning and admonition raised against it, would immediately be howled down in a torrent of abuse, billingsgate, and infernal cursing.

Fortunately, this period of savage, obdurate blindness is now behind us. Here and there cinders are still smouldering, remnants of the extinguished conflagration. But the ravages of the fire are already fully under control, and the malicious outburst which visited our organization only a short time ago bids well to soon become an unsavory memory. Very soon the "fighters" themselves will be asking themselves the question: What was it all about? What did we storm for and what did we want from our Union after all? Is it possible that we could have been so blind as to believe that a play in or a change of mere words was sufficient to bring the millennium?

But whether they realize that or not, this internecine fight is already a matter of the past in our Union. The time of splittings and factional fighting is over, and thanks to the energetic and courageous handling of the situation by our General Executive Board, unity again prevails in our ranks. And now that the evil spirit of destruction and disunion has left us, the time has come for action, for a real, sincere struggle against the great evils in our industries, the deep underlying shortcomings which doubtless have had a great deal to do with the discontent among our workers which was so dishonestly and brazenly utilized by outside demagogues for their own narrow partisan aims.

For, let us have in mind that every diseased condition has its causes, secret or open, and no radical cure is possible unless these causes are eliminated. Charlatans, false prophets and adventurers we always have had and always shall have in our midst, and though we succeeded in tearing off their mask and exposing them this time, we must nevertheless be ready to ward off their evil influence in the future as well, and for this we must deeply study and find the proper means of safeguarding our workers against a possible recurrence of the unfortunate events of recent months.

The first thing for us to do, is to put our unions upon a more sound basis than heretofore. The Union must give its members in the future more than it has given them in the past. The union must be not merely an office where the workers pay their dues and where from time to time they would get instructions concerning shop conduct, but a place for satisfying their spiritual needs as well. The worker must find in the officer not merely a superior but a true friend, one to whom he might bare his conscience and heart and from whom he might expect an answer to the questions and problems that burden him. The week-day, ordinary atmosphere and spirit that prevail in our unions must give way to a higher, purer environment. The union meetings must be made sufficiently interesting and absorbing for our members to attend them without being driven under penalty of fines and other forcible measures.

Our union spends large sums and exerts great effort for educational work—and we hope not entirely in vain. But it appears to us that this money and endeavor might be spent even to greater advantage were this educational work brought directly to our union meetings. The lecturer and the speaker on history and literature could bring an entirely different spirit to the meeting, and the discussions on general topics as well as specific union problems could not fail to enliven and lend a color of interest to these gatherings. In a word, in order to protect our members against the poisonous vapors of the perennial fakers, we must strive to develop and stimulate the power for thinking and for honest analysis among our workers on a much larger scale than heretofore.

It is a task that we cannot afford to postpone either. The sooner each individual local takes to it, the safer will our union as a whole become from the attacks of the charlatans on the outside. Yet this is not all; there is other work that we must

proceed to do in this direction, and without delay. It cannot and should not be gained that a considerable number of our workers are suffering from the chaotic conditions in our trades, and it is only natural that when working men and women suffer from want it is comparatively easy for a demagogue to make them believe that all their ills are due to the union and its leaders. We must therefore bring to an end this intolerable situation in which many of our workers find themselves today.

It seems to us that the program prepared at the last meeting of the General Executive Board, if energetically and intelligently carried out, is bound to create a revolution in our industry. It will bring down to a minimum the periods of industrial slump from which our members are suffering so much; it will make an end to the condition of inequality between member and member in the various shops which has been a source of just irritation and disharmony in our ranks. The program for constructive action is here, but it will need the combined will and enthusiasm of our workers to carry it into practice, for let us not forget that, should the employers refuse to accede to this series of just industrial demands, it might become necessary to fight for it. In that case it is of paramount importance that our workers know exactly for what and why they are fighting.

This program and all our ten demands must therefore undergo a thorough and very conscientious discussion by our entire membership. It has already been the subject of discussion at the last meetings of the New York Joint Board, and as these discussions continue, we are certain they will clarify the position and the attitude of the members in general towards it. It is quite likely that some of these demands will in the course of these debates be either modified or entirely eliminated. In that case the sooner this is done the better for the carrying out of the program as a whole. But it is just as important that these debates be carried on at the meetings of the locals and the sections with the same thoroughness and with an open mind.

We must, however, warn our members to avoid as far as possible in this discussion momentary and personal interests, and have in view rather the interest of the union as a whole. When for instance the question of a standard minimum wage, the only one for which the union should be responsible, and which we consider as one of the most important points in this program, will be discussed, we may expect that some men in our organization might disagree with it on the ground of personal interest. That they have a right to give expression to this personal interest, we have no doubt. The General Executive Board is not infallible, but if the sole argument against this standard minimum wage is the possible but by far not probable loss on the part of a more fortunately situated individual of a dollar or two in his pay envelope, then such a point of view is entirely untenable and injurious to the union as a whole.

It may be very simple and elementary, yet it cannot be repeated too often, that the true union man must seek to protect his own interest and sure self, as they conform to and coincide with the interests of the collective membership of the union. This at times may involve a personal sacrifice, but it invariably leads to the general betterment of conditions in the trade and of the group to which he or she belongs. If our workers will therefore, in the course of the discussion of this program, be inspired solely by their personal motives, the handling of these important problems will be diverted into a wrong channel. That is why we insist that our members must as far as possible free themselves from this powerful motive of self-interest and adopt the broader and truer viewpoint of the interest of the union as a whole.

Only then can clarity of purpose and a unified will to carry out this industrial problem into practice be molded at the discussions at our local meetings and among members in general. And once the personal factor is eliminated from these debates, it should not take long to reach a firm and unified attitude on all these demands and then get to the actual work of putting them into practice.

The sooner this is done, the better for the union. A large number of our workers are in very bad shape and they want quick and sure relief. Of course, we do not advocate precipitate and too hasty action. We know that it takes time to decide on a program of action. But at the same time the discussion should not drag out indefinitely and we will do well to proceed to the task as quickly as possible.

WHOM SHALL WE THANK FOR THAT?

These lines will reach our readers on the morning after Thanksgiving Day. We are inclined to believe nevertheless that a majority of them have asked themselves the question, What are we to get thanks for? What has the past year given us that we should think of it in a spirit of joyful thanksgiving? And whom to thank? Has not Providence, to say the least, in the course of the last year, visited hunger, pestilence and earthquake upon millions and millions of human beings in no way worse than ourselves, and destroyed them with a merciless hand? Whom shall we thank and what for?

Many of us have probably tried to find an answer to these questions. It is true that we had but little reason to thank anybody for anything that has occurred to us. Nevertheless, with but a slight effort, you may find that, badly as we have fared this year, things could have been even worse. You have suffered from unemployment, and have perhaps been forced to seek loans and pawn things in order to drive the wolf from the door. Yet again, the period of idleness might have been even longer than it was. And you might have found nobody that would offer you aid and succor when you looked for it. You may also find solace in the fact that when you got back to work, your wage was at least sufficiently large to recuperate some of the losses caused during the wretched period of idleness.

The "Ten Commandments"

By S. YANOVSKY

II.

Important as were the first five "commandments" which we discussed last week, the remaining five are perhaps of even greater significance inasmuch as they imply the adoption by our International of a new principle, one that is probably out of keeping with the general run of things nowadays but which is nevertheless in full accord with the concept of true justice.

The governing principle of present-day co-living is the survival of the strongest, and woe to the vanquished. In the language of "science," this principle is regarded as a "law of nature" which may be regrettable but cannot be helped. Had the workers consented to agree docilely to such a viewpoint, they would never have succeeded in organizing themselves, as the very basic idea underlying the trade union movement is the protection of the weaker. Had each worker individually been able to offer resistance and fight the aggression of the employer, unions even if organized would not exist for any length of time. The idea of a labor organization is to protect by mutual effort the weaker individuals who are compelled to look for jobs from employers at whose mercy they would otherwise be.

The trade union movement indeed never accepted the idea that a worker must submit to the employer because he happens to be the stronger in a social and economic sense. On the other hand, the labor union sought to make the weaker members of the shop or trade stronger by uniting their efforts. And it is on this basis that the idea of a minimum scale is founded. The labor unions concern themselves therefore principally with the minimum scales below which no worker, even the weakest, must work, caring but little for the maximum scales.

It is a fact, however, that while most persons subscribe to this principle, they have never thought, or deemed it possible to carry this principle out to its logical consequences. There are, for instance, unions which care very little whether their members are discharged from jobs as long as other union men are put in their places. In most unions, too, they never think much of equal distribution of work during slack periods, or say nothing of fighting for it. Of course, such a policy places the weaker worker at a disadvantage and compels him to use means and methods not quite becoming a member of organized labor in order to retain his or her job.

The ordinary labor union has stopped short in this matter of carrying out the principle of protecting the weaker and less capable of resistance members. They treat unemployment as a calamity but they are practically helpless in applying any practical means for curing it. They consider unjustifiable discharge as brutality and an act of injustice, but at the same time they have neither the daring nor the imagination to prevent it.

Our International has differed in this respect considerably from other labor unions. It has always fought against the so-called right of an employer to discharge a worker without cause, and it has actually succeeded in putting an end to this practice. Neither has it tolerated indiscriminate discharge of workers during the slack season, and has always insisted upon the equitable distribution of whatever work there may be in the shop among all the workers.

Consciously or unconsciously, therefore, our International has gone much farther than other labor bodies in this matter of protecting the weaker members in our trades. Nevertheless, even our union did not go far enough. It seems to have stopped short at the point of the annual slack period. This periodic industrial slump has been regarded by us as an affliction without a remedy, some thing which the union could not help. The union, we said, could help the worker to be paid well for his labor when there was work for the shop, but when there was no work, it could not offer him any relief.

At the last quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board in Cleveland, the International took a radical step in this direction. It proclaimed unanimously the principle "that the industry in which a worker is employed owes him a living wage," not merely for the months and weeks that he is actually employed, but a living wage that will maintain him all year around. Of course the bourgeois economist will strongly demur at this principle. He will declare that the industry owes a worker remuneration only for labor done, but no more. But the trade union movement has never reckoned with bourgeois economics. The labor movement has, for instance, violated very strongly the "iron-clad law" of supply and demand by endorsing the minimum wage in industry and the labor movement will not stop at carrying out the principle of the workers' right to a living wage in industry whether the economists of the bourgeoisie like it or not.

And let it be understood that this demand is not merely a matter of justice or equity. The line of argument presented by the union is approximately as follows:

When an employer rents a loft for his factory, he pays an all-year-round rental for it, whether he is busy working in it all year or only part of the year. He buys his machines or rents them on the same all-year-round principle whether he uses them the entire year or only part of it. And the union claims that the workers, who are just as necessary for industry as the loft and the dead machinery, should be treated at least with as much consideration. They must continue to live and the worker and his family must live and sustain themselves all year round and it would be anti-social, wasteful and economically wrong to condemn these workers to want and starvation in time of industrial depression.

It was on this ground that the International put forth its sixth demand that the worker be guaranteed a fixed number of months in a year, let us say, nine or ten months, regardless of whether he is full employed during these months or not. The jobber and the manufacturer must guarantee his workers, whether employed by them directly or indirectly, a certain number of working weeks annually and this must be secured by a fixed fund by these employers.

It need be stated that this principle is not entirely new in our International. In Cleveland, the cloakmakers' union carried it out a couple of years ago. In the union shops in Cleveland, the workers are guaranteed forty weeks of work yearly and this period of employment is secured by a trust fund towards which the manufacturers contribute weekly ten per cent of their payroll. Up till now, Cleveland in this respect was the exception in our union, but the decision of the General Executive Board will make this principle obligatory in every one of our markets.

The seventh demand is for the establishment of a joint unemployment insurance fund to which the jobbers as well as the manufacturers should contribute, and from which workers totally unemployed should be paid certain definite sums per week, for a certain period of time during the year.

The eighth demand is the formation of a labor bureau which would register all the workers in the trade, supply workers for employers on demand, and keep track of the workers entitled to insurance. We have written a good deal about the labor bureau in our industry in the past, and, from time to time, as we recall, attempts have been made by individual locals to organize such labor bureaus. Until now these attempts have not been successful, largely because individual locals took the initiative in the matter. The labor bureau which is being proposed now is a joint labor bureau for the entire membership of the Joint Board. It is hardly necessary to enlarge upon the benefits of such an agency for our workers. It would be a blessing, inasmuch as it would eliminate the "labor market" and would make it needless for workers to knock at doors and look for jobs premissuocally. It

Members of our Union who desire to avail themselves of the opportunity of attending some of the most outstanding musical events of the season at rate ticket prices, can do so by applying to the office of the Educational Department of the Union at 3 West 16th Street, fourth floor.

Readers of JUSTICE are also reminded of the request we had made

to them sometime ago in these columns, namely, that if they have in their possession any old documents, or printed and written material bearing on the early history of our Union, that they loan same to the General Office. This material will be used in compiling the History of our International, being written at present by Dr. Louis Levine, and will be safely returned afterward to senders.

You felt really happy and elated when, from time to time, you could from your more or less meager savings, send a dollar or two to your stricken sisters and brothers across the sea. So that, while life was not a bed of roses to us last year, we undeniably have had happy moments of joy and satisfaction, limited though they may have been.

And whom shall we thank for the little that we have had? Let us hope that most of us have found the good sound sense to answer to this: Bad as are our union, our International and our leaders, we must admit that it is the union that we must thank that our wages have not been lowered, that our work hours have not been lengthened, and that our employers were compelled to retain a degree of respect for us during the past year. And what the union has succeeded in doing during the year that has gone by, it shall at least be able to uphold for us in the days and months to come.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Organizers Pauline Newman and Charles Frumer are sent by the International to Chicago, where they hold a number of mass meetings with organized and unorganized workers.

The Richmond, Va., ladies' tailors form a local of the I. L. G. W. U. Vice-president Harry Dubinsky installs the new local.

The Checkmakers' Union of New York begins publication of weekly organ, The New Post, in addition to two other publications, in Russian and Italian. The dues of the members are raised one cent a week to cover the expense of publication. The members of the Union are to receive a copy of any one of the three publications every week.

The wrapper and kinnon workers of Greater New York are making preparations for a general strike. They demand a four week, a raise in wages, and clean shops.

would also enable the union to know how many unemployed there are in the trade at any time and would contribute greatly towards the elimination of chaos in our trades.

The ninth demand is for the adoption of a union and sanitary label to be placed on all union-made garments and to be given out only to shops that observe proper union conditions.

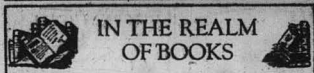
This will insure the elimination of the non-union sweatshops from the trade, and will also serve as a security to the consuming public that the garments are made under uniform sanitary working conditions.

The tenth demand is "to reclassify the various classes of finishers in the trade." It will be stated in this connection that in recent years through the adoption of more and more simplified methods in the cloak trade, there is a considerable amount of chaos in this particular branch of the industry. Real good workers are often receiving the wage of an ordinary button sewer. It became necessary, therefore, to make a new classification and an indexing of the men and women in the trade to one for all define who is a full-fledged finisher entitled to the full scale and who is only an assistant.

NOTICE TO READERS

Then again, you surely cannot complain of not having had at all times a handy scapegoat upon whom to visit the curse and blame for all your ills. You have had your union and its leaders upon whom, from time to time, you could ease the bitterness of your heart. In such moments, the dismal present was lightened by the hopeful gleam of revenge that, when election day comes around, you will in one fell swoop rid yourself of these horrible fellows.

This may seem like jesting, but, as in all jests, there is a kernel of truth in it. It would be hardly fair to say that last year to you and all of us was just one mean day after another—particularly when it comes to mind that so many millions of men and women in Germany, Austria, Russia, and all over Europe are regarding you as the lucky sons of fate—who you have found shelter and more or less work in America. You cannot deny that



The Child Grows Up

Contemporary American Plays.

Arthur Hobson. Quinn, editor. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

"What," asks the hundred percent, contemptuously, "do you New Yorkers know about America? Why, New York is a foreign city."

The New Yorker has seldom troubled to answer this charge. He has not asked in return whether America, with some sixty per cent of its adult population foreign born or of foreign parentage, is not itself a "foreign country." He has ignored the charge because to him the cosmopolitanism of this city is a thing to cherish. To move amidst the races of the world is an experience; to meet each day the various philosophies and attitudes of humanity is a continuous education. Why, then, argue with Babbitt who makes a virtue of his limitations?

To thrill with a great pride at such a collection as this of Mr. Quinn's is not to question the fine spirit behind this acceptance of "foreign" New York. When Duse, Martin Harvey, the Moscow Art Theatre, the Yiddish Art Theatre, Molnar, Sabatini, Reinhardt hold the boards on Broadway, it is heartening to find such offerings under the title of Contemporary American Plays. There is no cheap nationalism in such a feeling. It is not that America, too, is producing notable things; the emphasis lies entirely in another direction. It is that art, at last, is being enriched by American experience.

It was only some fifty years ago that Bronson Howard refused to sell his plays to any producer who would

not feature each one as an "American Play by an American Author." To admit the American derivation of a play at that time was to kill its chances of success. Culturally America was still a colonial dependent of Europe. According to Mr. Quinn, almost one hundred of the one hundred and thirty-seven plays produced in New York during the year 1921-1922 (exclusive of musical comedies and revivals), "remain to the credit of the native playwright." In this fact is written both the enrichment of human art and America's coming of age.

Undenially art has no national boundaries, for frontiers have been set between men by the interplay of external forces. Art is an expression of man's inner life which shows neither time nor place. Yet that inner life is sensitive to all stimuli and external forces, as well as any, impinge upon it. Russian conditions, history, tradition, customs are different from American; therefore Russian life and Russian art must be different. As long as America did not translate the peculiarities of her own life into her own art, the art of mankind as a whole was poorer.

America did not make that translation before because America was young and immature. For the young, experiences are merely things that happen. Things happen to the mature also but always in the symphony of immediate sensations sound some overtones of permanence. For years

America has merely been growing up; experiences crowded so fast upon her people that they had little time to stop for the overtones. Growing up is a serious business, as any adolescent can tell you; and America like a true adolescent had no patience with those who questioned the validity of her immediate aspirations. Today the child has at last become a man. The limits of physical growth have been reached; the active introspective life of the mind and spirit has begun.

Americanization committees and Ku Klux Klans seek merely to prolong the childhood. Artists like these who speak in Mr. Quinn's pages testify to the maturity. Certainly if a true hundred percent would leave the musical comedies long enough to look in upon any of these "Contemporary American Plays," he would place its author at once in that dangerous class we Bohemians and agitators whose punishment is a duty of red-blooded American pueriles. What would he make of Jesse Lynch Williams' "Why Marry?" with its urbane yet none the less sharply direct attack upon the "immorality" of American marriage. Think of Eugene O'Neill writing an entire drama of a "nigger" in an island not yet self-determined by white manhood! Gilbert Emery raises much too disquieting questions in his story of "The Hero" for those who believe that all "our boys" who fought to make the world safe for democracy were a noble sacrificing lot! And is not such shy art as George S. Kaufmann and Marc Connelly poke at in most sacred in American business a form of treason? Only Rachel Crothers, of the authors represented here, could have some chance of escaping the hundred percent's wrath, for the hundred percent, too, likes to think that the new jazz generation must be saved by a return to the simple life.

The first of the five plays in this book appeared in 1917; the last in 1922. Within those five years appeared some of the most significant

and vital developments in our creative life that we, as a nation, have ever experienced. It was a real awakening; only the "upheaval of the forties" is comparable. Drama was only one of the fields through which that awakening was sounded. But it was one which held portents of most brilliant promise for our future. These five plays could have been produced only in a country which was mature enough to stand off and look at itself.

It is significant that three of these five plays are comedies. We have learned not only to look at ourselves, but to laugh at ourselves, too. And no surer index of maturity exists. "Why Marry?" (the first winner of the Pulitzer Prize), sparkles and effervesces like some heavy wine. "To the Ladies" is often hilarious, always nimble, yet its fun is constantly understanding and gentle. "Nice People" carried the least enjoyment and meaning for me. After all, the newest generation of the idle rich are not the most important section of our people. I can seldom feel much concern over their salvation. "Emperor Jones" and "The Hero" are more sombre creations. There is fun, too, in each of them, but predominantly they turn up the pathos and tragedy of American life.

The greatest promise of the future of American art and thought contained in this collection lies outside the volume itself. It lies in the fact that the majority of the authors represented within it are continuing to produce drama that probes at the roots of American life. Eugene O'Neill is, perhaps, our outstanding dramatist. Gilbert Emery and George S. Kaufmann and Marc Connelly certainly rank among our most promising.

Such a volume as this, therefore, is a true milestone of our spiritual growth. The names contained within it are so many promises that "Foreign America" will become the American nation and that American experience will form part of the materials of the art of man.

Social Change

With Respect to Culture and Original Nature, by William Fielding Ogburn. New York, B. W. Huebsch Company. 1922. \$2.00.

The purpose of this book is to consider not primarily particular questions, but rather "the more general and perhaps more fundamental aspects of social change" which bear upon specific programs. There are five parts. Part I, entitled "The Social Heritage and the Original Nature of Man," is characterized chiefly by distinctions and definitions. It consists primarily of differentiation between culture and the original nature of man and of an explanation of the terms used in the book. Man has two heritages: (1) that of nature; (2) a social heritage. The social heritage does not come to man as does for example, a piece of property. It is truly social because it comes to all in a particular group and because it is itself the product and achievement of society. Professor Ogburn brings to the fore the importance of this social heritage, which has been neglected by students of society. He also makes clear that he uses the terms "culture," "the superorganic," or "civilization" interchangeably with the term "social heritage." He uses the word "culture" most frequently. Likewise he uses interchangeably the terms "original nature of man," "human nature," "man's psychological equipment," and "man's biological inheritance." His most common expression, however, is "the original nature of man."

Part II is called "Social Evolution,"

and is mainly concerned with the development of culture, though there are comparisons with the biological development of man. In one section, Professor Ogburn points out that this culture in its material aspects is cumulative. The use of stone is supplemented by the use of bone, and the use of bone by the use of bronze and other metals, but then they are all used together. Another very significant point is that while biological change in the past two thousand years has been slight, if it has occurred at all, cultural change has been very great.

Whereas, Part II has dealt with cultural changes, Part III takes up reasons why some cultural changes are slow. These may be briefly summarized: Professor Ogburn inclines toward the theory of utility in explaining survivals of culture. We have found certain forms of culture useful, hence we cling to them. It is usually easier to use an old form than to acquire a new one. There are also psychological reasons for opposition to cultural change. Habit for instance, plays an important role.

Another aspect of social change receives attention in Part IV. The thesis of the discussion is as follows: "That the source of most modern social changes today is the material culture. These material culture changes, force changes in other parts of culture such as social organization and customs, but these latter parts

of culture do not change as quickly. They lag behind the material culture changes, hence we are living in a period of maladjustment."

The title of the last part is "Adjustment Between Human Nature and Culture." How shall we solve this problem of maladjustment? Shall we put most of our time and effort upon trying to change the original nature of man, or shall we put the emphasis on changing culture? Professor Ogburn answers as follows: "In the more acute cases of maladjustment the most probable solution of the difficulty lies not in attempts to change human nature but rather in attempts to change culture; for the reason that in such acute instances further efforts at changing human nature result in repression of instincts which is followed by objectionable consequences to the indi-

vidual and aggravations of the social problems."

—From Federal Council Information Service, Oct. 20, 1922.



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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

MINERS' WAGE LOWERED.

On October 6 the miners' strike, which lasted for seven weeks, and affected some 120,000 workers, was brought to an end. Under the pretext that the workers would have to contribute to the reduction of prices, the employers first of all demanded a 30 per cent wage cut. During the negotiations which followed, they reduced their demands to 15 per cent, but this too was rejected by the workers, on the ground that they had accepted last spring wage cuts which, taken altogether, amounted to 37 per cent, and that coal prices could have been lowered long ago if the employers and the State had made sacrifices even approximating those of the workers.

According to the Government's arbitration proposals, which have now been accepted, the average wages for the various grades of workers, which formerly ranged from 42 to 52 Czech kronen per day, have now been reduced by percentages varying from 9 to 13.

SWEDEN

AMALGAMATION OF PRINTING UNIONS.

Some time ago the Swedish Author's Union approached all the manual and the non-manual workers' organizations in the printing industry with the proposal that an amalgamated union should be formed catering for all manual and non-manual workers engaged in the industry.

A committee was appointed to consider this proposal, consisting of representatives of the union of authors, journalists, artists, bookbinders, printers and lithographers. This committee has just submitted its report to the organizations. The proposal for the formation of an amalgamated union is rejected, because it is apparent that the conditions necessary for cooperation within a common union are not yet in existence. It should however be the task of the unions concerned, and it would certainly be to the interest of all, to strive for the creation of these conditions. The committee proposes, on the other hand, the formation of a cartel comprising the above-named unions, and the adoption by the unions of the following resolution:

"While maintaining their right to self-government, the unions are prepared to cooperate for the safeguarding of the common interests.

In order to establish such cooperation, a committee shall be appointed to which each union shall send a representative. The chief function of this committee shall be to serve as an information center, and to deal with such questions as concern the relations existing between the various sections of the industry and the relations between the individual organizations and the employers.

The decisions of the unions with regard to this resolution must be sent in by November 1.

NORWAY

UNION OF MUNICIPAL WORKERS.

The scheme for the conversion of the trade unions into industrial unions, which was passed by the Norwegian trade union congress, also provided for the creation of a single union to cater for all the workers and salaried employees in the service of the municipalities. The executive committee of the unions of municipal workers and municipal salaried employees have therefore resolved upon the immediate amalgamation of the two unions. The new union, "Norvik Kommuneforbund," will contain some 5500 members.

MEXICO

EDUCATION ENFORCED BY A TRADE UNION.

The City of Mexico branch of the Society of Railway Maintenance of Way Workers compels its members to attend the free evening school provided for them on pain of dismissal. It has a union shop contract with the railways, which enables it to apply this compulsion.

GREAT BRITAIN

NEW LONDON LABOR PUBLICATION.

In October G. D. H. and Margaret Cole are bringing out a new monthly journal, entitled "New Standards," for the promotion of workers' control in industry, politics and education.

HOLLAND

INTERNATIONAL HELP FOR THE GERMAN TRADE UNIONS

The German trade unions must inevitably collapse, unless they receive adequate financial assistance speedily. For this reason the Management Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, acting in conjunction with the representatives of the International Trade Secretariats, who had been invited to attend a joint meeting, decided to place at the disposal of the German unions a considerable sum from the funds of the I. F. T. U. to issue an urgent appeal to the national Federations to provide assistance immediately from their own funds, and to urge upon the organizations affiliated with them to do the same.

An appeal for financial help has also been sent to the American trade unions.

INTERNATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST WAR AND ARMAMENTS

In the year 1924 ten years will have passed since the outbreak of the World War. For this reason, the Management Committee of the I. F. T. U. has resolved that the third Sunday in September, 1924, shall be set aside in every country for the organization of great demonstrations against war and militarism.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WORKING WOMEN

The Management Committee of the I. F. T. U. has resolved to hold an International Conference of Working Women at Vienna in 1924, immediately before its International Congress of Trade Unions. One of the tasks of this Conference will be to determine the relations of the I. F. T. U. to the International Federation of Working Women. In addition to the representatives of the International Federation of Working Women, only such delegates will be admitted as are sent by the National Centres affiliated with the I. F. T. U.

GERMANY

NEW METHODS FOR COMMERCIAL INSTRUCTION.

The Hamburg branch of the Clerical, Commercial and Technical Employees' Union is adopting new methods in its vocational classes. The individual students take fictitious names of firms and conduct for a month an imaginary business between themselves, with lectures and discussions (also self-conducted) on the particular business and business methods selected. The opportunity is also utilized to instill into the students' minds ethical conceptions of business, and of the social problems to which it gives rise.

THE SALARIES OF GERMAN TEACHERS.

The salary earned per hour by a teacher during the week from September 16 to 23, 1923 was 9,412,500 marks, while the wage per hour earned by a carpenter during the same week was 18,210,000 marks.

SCHLEIFER FOUND GUILTY; RAILROAD MACHINISTS' FIGHT CARRIED TO HIGHER COURT.

A sentence of three and a half to five years has been imposed upon Ernst Schleifer, organizer for the International Association of Machinists, found guilty by a jury in the Superior Court, New Haven, on November 15, of making a speech inciting violence among the striking shopmen of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. A motion to set aside the verdict was denied, but an appeal will be carried to the higher courts.

Schleifer was arrested following a speech to strikers on November 22, 1922, in Trade Council Hall. The prosecution, local labor men charge, had the backing of the railroad interests, and is part of a long campaign to discredit the strikers.

The Plan for A Union-Owned Factory in Chicago

In America, the co-operative movement is not very well developed as yet. Unlike Europe, America is still a young country and economic conditions here are different from those on the continent. Nevertheless the co-operative movement has begun lately to make encouraging strides, though on a different basis than in Europe. The economic organizations of the workers are entering the co-operative movement on a large scale.

Trade union co-operative banks are being organized; mines, dairies, and other industrial enterprises are being taken over by unions, and there is reason to believe that before long the American trade unions will have organized large co-operative enterprises. Such co-operatives will employ thousands of workers and will control a huge capital. This new source of power will materially strengthen the unions and will serve as a great opportunity for securing a better and more comfortable living for their members.

In addition to the immediate benefits that the union members will derive from these co-operative industrial enterprises owned and controlled by the unions, members will through these co-operative enterprises get in closer touch with the working out of the difficult problems of modern economic life. We must remember that our future, the future of the working class, depends on the ability of the workers to solve for themselves the intricate handling of our methods of production and distribution.

Should the Chicago members of the International be the first ones to organize a Co-operative Cloak and Dress Factory?

The Chicago cloakmaker have a very fine and well-established organization. It is neither too big nor too small to enable the union to undertake important enterprises. The members of the different locals know each other. They have not that confusion in their ranks which naturally comes from thousands or even tens of thousands of workers being members of one and the same local body.

Chicago is a city very fit for an enterprise of this kind. It is one

of the best industrial centers in the country. Chicago has a progressive labor movement and is surrounded by communities of organized workers and friendly farm populations, an element that will surely patronize the co-operative shop where they can get good and well-fitting garments manufactured in the first union-owned co-operative cloak and dress factory in the country.

HOW THE FACTORY SHOULD BE ORGANIZED

The factory should be organized on the following basis:

First: One hundred thousand dollars must be raised. Money to be raised by selling shares at \$25 each. Every member of the union should buy at least one share. Those who are able to buy more should do so. Dividends should be paid to the stockholder.

The sale of shares among the members of our Union should bring in approximately \$65,000.00. The Chicago locals should invest about \$25,000.00 and the rest of the shares be sold to the International and to the other locals of the International throughout the country.

Second: The factory should be supervised by a Board of Directors. The Board of Directors should engage a manager and salesmen. The manager and salesmen should be the best obtainable. The factory and the workmen should be supervised by a shop committee, elected by the workers of the shop. The shop committee to be responsible to the Board of Directors.

Third: The Union should incorporate a White Sanitary Union Label, and also incorporate a Trade Mark. The label and the trade mark should be extensively advertised in all trade newspapers and journals.

Fourth: The best designers obtainable should be employed and the Union should strive to produce good stylish garments.

Fifth: The Union co-operatives should strive to employ as many workers as possible. The profits should be invested to enlarge this factory or to open branch factories. The Union should plan to open retail stores later in locations or towns that will reach the consumer.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

Education Week in the United States

Last week was celebrated throughout the United States as Education Week. President Coolidge issued a proclamation calling upon all the citizens of the country to devote some thought to the problems of education. The governors of practically all the States of our Union did the same. In our city, citizens were invited to visit all the public schools and see how their money is being spent in the education of their children.

Throughout the country, editorials were published in all the leading newspapers. They agreed in their main thought. This was, that the welfare of our country and the happiness of all its citizens depend to an overwhelming degree upon the education of our children. They all urged that the nation spend more money on education. They urged more school buildings, more teachers, better equipment. There was no difference of opinion among them as to the value of increased educational facilities.

To those who are interested in Workers' Education, this propaganda is noteworthy. The case for education seems to be one-sided. Who is there to deny its advantages? But in considering this matter, trade unionists must keep in mind the truth that the education which is advocated and urged throughout the country is

a certain kind of education. It is an education which fits our children to get along in society as it is. It is an education which will not interfere with existing institutions. It advocates the continuance of the standards and ideals of the present day. Very little of this education is deliberately or consciously organized with the purpose of enabling our children to see the defects of modern society and to remedy them. And in particular, this education does not in the least aim to make the workers of America realize the unjust conditions under which they live and how to change them.

It is the function of Workers' Education, that is to say, of education within the trade union movement, to remedy this deplorable situation. Every intelligent worker should advocate and support a system of education which presents to the workers of our country a true picture of our economic, social and political life, the grave weakness underlying it and such facts as will enable them to formulate scientific programs of social readjustment.

The Labor Movement of America should not be satisfied with only one Labor Education Week during the year. Every week should be its Education Week.

A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the
UNITY CENTERS
of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Season 1922-1923

LESSON 7—Continued.

6. The problem of national debts and unbalanced budgets bears much the same aspect. Domestic debts are being practically repudiated by their payment in valueless paper money. But international debts must be paid in gold or its equivalent. The United States is the chief creditor nation. European governments owed our government some \$10,000,000,000 at the end of the war. Interest alone on this amounts to \$500,000,000 every year. Nothing (save a \$100,000,000 interest payment by Great Britain in 1922) has been paid so that by now, the amount is at least \$12,250,000,000 (interest annually, \$611,000,000). Europe cannot pay in gold, since the United States holds almost all the world's reserve, nor does the United States want gold. Even if Europe could pay in goods, the Fordney Tariff erected by the United States itself would prevent such payment. The present system will not cancel its international debts and cannot pay them. Budgets become increasingly unbalanced. (Financial Report of the American Committee to International Chamber of Commerce meeting in London, June 26, 1921. Figures revised to include England's 1922 payment.)
7. And so the capitalist system faces a ruined world, which thus far shows no promise of mending. Men are beginning to say: give us food, homes, clothes, or make way for some system that can. Capitalism has heard the challenge. It has made many attempts to save itself. At least fifteen conferences have been called to write the prescription that would give health. All attempts thus far have failed. We need review only the most important and point out briefly the causes behind their failure.
8. There was, first, the League of Nations cure. But once again the capitalist attitude and interests prevented this from being the international political trust it might have been. By making the League's executive council a thing representative of and dominated by the Great Powers, by providing a system of mandates (a pretty word for imperialistic control of "backward areas"), and by demanding unanimous consent for all council decisions, the Allies broke any power the League may have had to save capitalism. The United States—Germany and Russia are not members of the League. (The Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919, Part I, Articles 2, 4, 5 and 22.)

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 529

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1—1:30 p. m. Bird Stair—Social Forces in Contemporary English Literature—John Galsworthy, the tenderhearted humanitarian, appealed by the gulf between the classes.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1—2:30 p. m. David J. Saposs—American Labor in Modern Civilization—Economic Attempts of Labor to Reorganize the Existing System.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2—10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Foundations of Modern Civilization—Does advance in the power to make more "things" mean materialism, in the bad sense? Are we therefore a materialistic civilization? What does materialism in the bad sense really mean?

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2—11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—Political and Social Institutions in Modern Civilization—The Era of Social Control.

UNITY CENTERS

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171—Room 408—1034 Street, near Fifth Avenue.

8:30 p. m. Margaret Daniels—Trade Unionism in the United States. The growth of modern industry and the resulting expansion of labor unions.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43—Room 305—Brown Place and 135th Street.

8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement—This course will attempt to show how the business management of modern industry has and is working out; it will point out how and where the waste in modern production comes in.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61—Room 511—Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street.

8:45 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement—This course will attempt to show how the business management of modern industry has and is working out; it will point out how and where the waste in modern production comes in.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63—Room 404—4th Street, near First Avenue.

9:00 p. m. A. I. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions—How the growth of commerce and trade rapidly developed with the establishment of new and better methods of communication and what effect they had on the workers.

English is taught for beginners, intermediate and advanced students, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2, Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx.
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The American Labor Movement.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, Local 17—Reefer Makers' Educational Center—142 Second Avenue, Manhattan.
6:00 to 8:00 p. m. Mr. Goldberg will instruct in the English language.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn.
8:00 p. m. Rehearsal I. L. G. W. U. Chorus. Members of the International are invited.

OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

PHILADELPHIA

YIDDISH

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1035 Spruce Street.
7:45 p. m. Max Levin—What Constitutes a Labor Movement?

CHICAGO

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, Office of Joint Board, 328 W. Van Buren Street.
8:00 p. m. Arthur W. Kornhauser—Social Psychology.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, Lawson School, 1256 S. Homan Avenue.
7:30 p. m. English.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, Office of Joint Board, 328 W. Van Buren Street.
8:00 p. m. Paul H. Douglas—Labor in Modern Economic Society.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7, Sabin School, 2216 Hirsch Avenue.
8:00 p. m. Gymnasium work.

CLEVELAND

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, Office of Joint Board, 203 Superior Building.
8:00 p. m. H. A. Atkins—Applied Psychology.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, Office of Joint Board, 203 Superior Building.
8:00 p. m. E. L. Oliver—Aims, Problems and Tactics of the American Trade Union Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.

BALTIMORE

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, Office of Joint Board, 201 Alquist Street.
8:00 p. m. N. B. Fagin—How to Understand the Social and Economic History of the United States.

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.

Rockefeller—Labor's "Friend"

By HARRY LANG

Several days ago, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., spoke at a banquet of his employees in the Standard Oil refineries of New Jersey. In reporting this speech, the newspapers took pains to emphasize what a liberal gentleman the young Rockefeller is and what a liberal industrial platform he was proposing for Standard Oil. For did not he plainly state that he values highly, nay, worships labor?

It cannot be gainsaid that, by comparison with Steel King Gary, who so often voices his views about labor and the workers, young Rockefeller appears well along a revolutionist. Only not so long ago Gary was heard preaching that God himself in his heaven is against a shorter workday for the steel workers and is therefore a staunch upholder of the 12-hour day in the steel mills. But Rockefeller says quite the opposite thing. Gary used to insist that industry cannot pay on less than twelve hours a day—while Rockefeller tries to prove just the contrary!

"Seven days of work and the twelve-hour day serve neither the economic nor the social welfare of an industry," says Rockefeller, "it is uneconomical, inhuman, and bad business." And further: "A worker is not a machine; he does his best when he has enough time to devote to his private life, his home, and his family."

That sounds entirely different from the talk we used to hear and still hear from the Garys—big and little. But this is not all. Rockefeller said something else which sounds quite well. "The business and the fighting which often invade industrial life are frequently more the fault of capital's part in industry. Those representing capital should see that permanent relations be established between the managers and workers in industry—relations including right for workers."

Quite liberal, is it not? But Rockefeller proceeds to advance another theory.

"There are four parties in industry," says he, "the stockholders, those who supply the capital; the management, which gives administrative ability; labor, which supplies production, and the public, which provides the market for production. No one party can run industry alone, that's why all these interests are equal. The welfare of each party depends upon the welfare of the others. Consequently, all these four parties must cooperate constantly. There can be no talk of fighting each other; if one party declares war, if it comes out against this quadruple alliance and refuses to do its part, it means suicide for itself and for the other three. The sum total is that all the four parties in industry must consider themselves as links in one chain and the one that disturbs the harmony of the whole is behaving like a criminal."

We shall not enter into a discussion of Rockefeller's rather odd theory concerning the number of parties in industry, and whether the number of these parties cannot be reduced to two—capital and labor. Rockefeller himself in his speech used oftener the term "two parties," meaning capital and labor, than the term "four parties"—which goes to prove that in his own mind he may have reduced their number to two anyway. Neither does it seem to appear necessary for readers of this journal to enter into a long discussion about the "partnership" or the "internal harmony" between capital and labor. Rockefeller, contented with his lot in life, probably sees things as they seem desirable to him but not as they are. And besides, Rockefeller has not come forth with a brand new theory, but is simply repeating the old bourgeois economic theories. What we may do, however,

is put to Rockefeller the following question:

"Quite true, Brother John D. Rockefeller, Jr., you speak beautifully, far more prettily than Gary, at any rate. But why are your oil workers unorganized—just as are the steel mill workers of Gary?"

It might be necessary to state here that at the banquet where Rockefeller spoke there were present also "his workers." For Rockefeller's workers are organized—not in regular trade unions but in "company unions." What these "company unions" are like one could have gleaned from this selfsame banquet. This affair took place at the annual gathering of the "organization" in Rockefeller's oil refineries in New Jersey. And since in these oil refineries everything is harmony, it would seem to imply that the banquet was everybody's banquet. But the fact is that the "common" workers were not invited to the repeat. Those who have to do the dirty work in the oil works, on whose behalf Rockefeller spoke, and for whom he "demands" a shorter workday, who surely, if anyone, fall under that category of "labor" for whom Rockefeller pleads an equal voice in industry—these were not even brought to the banquet as an "ornament," or as a publicity stunt to prove the soundness of the "boss" theory.

At this banquet the "company" union was handed down a program of activity and a line of conduct. At this banquet there were present, it is true, foremen, supervisors, superintendents, all wage-workers earning thousands of dollars yearly, but the real working force of the Rockefeller oil plants, the "common" wage earners, were conspicuous by their absence. These poor devils obviously did not "belong."

For, if Rockefeller were actually to descend from his omnipotent heights and deign to ask his bonafide workers a thing or two and insist on a frank answer, he might learn that the first thing they are not eager about is his "democracy," his "company" union.

To sum up, there is little if any difference between a Rockefeller and a Gary, except that Gary comes out against his workers and their aspirations with a naked fist while Rockefeller wraps this fist in a silken glove. And that is about all.



Minister: "Inasmuch as we are not at war, I will take for my text: 'Peace on earth, good will toward man!'"

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

В РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКОМ ОТДЕЛЕ ДАМСКИХ ПОРТНЫХ.

В пятницу, 16го Ноября, в Народном Доме, 315 Нев 10ма ул., состоялся очередное собрание отдела.

Присутствовали больше 60 человек. Обсуждались вопросы в следующем порядке:

Большой параллельной Думской образовался за неделю, для того был создан параллельный сбд. Собрало 33.61.

Тов. Петр Стародуб, член комитета, обратилось к параллельной области с предложением о членстве в члены комитета его болезни и смерти его жены.

Получено секретарю Саушкина написать письмо в Членскую Комиссию № 1 с просьбой освободить его от уплаты членских взносов.

Были прочитаны протоколы собрания отдела от 2го Ноября, а протокол № 1 от 12го Ноября, в котором рекомендовали общему собранию принять следующее решение тов. Кош. Тов. П. Глазковский просил тов. Кош. вызвать ему разрешение работать в мастерской не уплачивая членских взносов до тех пор, пока его здоровье не поправится.

После обсуждения вопроса о его просьбе, я удостоившись в том, что он действительно был, решено просить комиссию в Сов. Ком. Лок. 1, которая должна заботиться о его просьбе. В комиссию избраны тов. А. Александров и А. Давыдов.

Тов. Кош. рекомендовал созвать Генеральное собрание на 30ое Ноября для обсуждения кандидатов как на членство в отдел, так и в другие Коммунальные учреждения.

Были прочитаны доклад депутаты от всех уездных комитетов:

Действ. Борд. № 1, № 35 и Рендф. Ком. из которого видно было, что решалось в названных отделах.

В докладе секретаря Саушкина говорилось, что им были получены жалобы от некоторых членов, жаловавшихся на своих фабрикантов. Эти жалобы были переданы им в соответствующие департаменты для рассмотрения.

Также им были получены жалобы против некоторых членов, как русских, так и еврейских, работавших поштупом, что разбиралось в жалобной комиссии.

которые решали снять этих рабочих с мастерской.

Далее указывалось на то, что некоторые члены, являясь членами не базируясь для членства для того тому жалко, и не смотря на обращение с ним письменно и в газету, не не возвращают; потому тов. Кош. поручил Секретарю Саушкину обратиться к ним через газету, и если они не возвращают, то передать дело в Жалобную Ком. Д. В.

По поводу имени было указано, что имени будут принадлежать по историческому развитию России и в ближайшем будущем будут прочтены имени по Гипотезе и Ралло, как на русском, так и польском языках.

Исполнительный комитет предложил написать немедленно собранию сумку денег в пользу съезда в России.

Протокол тов. Кош. был принят общим собранием отдела.

Были прочитаны протоколы Действ. Борд. в Борд. от Департамента от 21го Октября, в 2го и 3го Ноября, которые также были приняты собранием.

Рекомендовали Г. Д. В. в связи с работой мастерской была предложена, и некоторые пункты были одобрены, но некоторые пункты были отвергнуты департаментом Д. В.

В порядке докладов: депутаты доложили о том, что решалось в Д. В. и № 1 и 35.

Далее депутаты были приняты собранием.

Секр. Саушкин доложил о некоторых жалобах членов, которые рассматривались комитетом.

Он также доложил о том, что происходило с некоторыми из коммунальных мастерских, как в городе Нью-Йорке, так и в провинции.

Секретарь доложил: Доклад 9. Он указал, что то, что происходило в последние время в этом докладе, то при своем безразличии нежелал было освещать, что принадлежало этому делу. Борд. № 9.

Секретарь сказал, что во вторник, 13го Ноября, в Д. В. Борд. № 9 явился комиссия от Интернационала во главе с председателем Лизанком. Президент очень ясно нарисовал картину того положения, в котором находится наша индустрия, и в то время работа, которую ведут различные элементы в нашем комитете.

Президент ясно указал Д. В. Борд. что он строго придерживается конституции Интернационала, которая дает право каждому члену вето, в то, что ему нравится, но Интернационал никогда не является таким же, как было раньше (затем) организованная группа, которая для разрешения того же вопроса (организации), которые строятся изнутри, но не являются кликушескими, и пусть не думают люди, чужие обществу не имеющие с нашим комитетом, что им удастся разбить нашу организацию и разложить тем, что потом и придет доброту кликушеских.

Президент предложил Д. В. Борд. № 9 или уйти из Интернационала и продолжать действовать так, как им диктуют эгоизм, или же оставаться с Интернационалом и работать на благо всех членов нашего комитета.

На эти предложения президента он ничего определенного не ответил. После этого им было заявлено, что комитет будет реорганизован.

В заключение Секретарь заявил, что он также указал, что Д. В. Борд. № 9 соглашались остаться с Интернационалом и несли бы тех членов, которые принадлежат к Лизанку, ведущим разнузданную работу в нашем комитете.

На этом собрании закончилось, которое прошло весьма оживленно.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH.

GENERAL

The shortest as well as the best-attended meeting that has ever taken place in the history of our organization was held on Monday night, November 26, 1923. These columns have carried a description of the activities of our organization prior to nominations as well as of the campaign carried on prior to elections. And surely the quietest pre-nomination time in the past number of years was the one just past,—so much so, in fact, that the nomination speeches were of the shortest possible duration.

For the general offices, nominations were made, for the most part, without opposition. And the hottest contest seemed to center on nominations of members for the Executive Board, for which about 27 men accepted nomination. Undoubtedly there will be quite a number of these who will withdraw acceptance of nomination, as generally occurs in our elections.

Brother Philip Ancel, who presided at the meeting, before proceeding with the regular business of the meeting, i. e., nominations of candidates for the various offices, appointed a Ball Committee for the coming affair of our organization. The following brothers were appointed to serve:

ISIDORE NAGLER,
SAM B. SHENKER,
JOSEPH FISH,
DAVID DUBINSKY,
BENJAMIN EBY,
SAMUEL PERLMUTTER,
JOHN C. RYAN,
IGNATZ FISCHNER,
DAVID FRUHLING,
ABE CASPER,
JOE ABRAMOWITZ,
MORRIS TORAN.

This committee will begin its work in the very near future for the preparation of our coming ball, which is going to be held in Tammany Hall on March 29, 1924. This is the first reminder that our members will receive through these columns regarding our annual affair. And from now on until the actual date, the brothers will be constantly reminded about the Cutters' Ball.

The majority of the committee that has been appointed by Brother Philip Ancel have been members of former ball committees, and since they are very well acquainted with the workings of such affairs, there is no doubt that this affair will be as big a success as that of last year, if not more so. We are sure that the committee will do its utmost to make this affair the most successful ever run by our local.

Brother Philip Ancel then proceeded with the regular business of the evening and the first nomination placed before the membership was that of the office of

President:

PHILIP ANCEL, No. 1929 was re-nominated.

For Vice-President:

MORRIS JACOBS, No. 15135 was re-nominated.

For Manager:

DAVID DUBINSKY, No. 9016 was re-nominated.

For Secretary-Treasurer:

JOSEPH FISH, No. 5136 was re-nominated.

For Inner Guard:

SAM MASSOVER, No. 737 was re-nominated.

For Business Agent:

SAM B. SHENKER, No. 5057, and JOE WEINBERG, No. 5739 were nominated.

For Three Delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council:

The following were nominated: ISIDORE NAGLER, No. 4107 BENJAMIN SACHS, No. 2770. MOE DIAMOND, No. 3276 * LOUIS PANKIN, No. 3961.

HERMAN WEINSTEIN, No. 4254

For Ten Members of the Executive Board:

The following were nominated: MAX COOPERMAN, No. 6964

MEYER SKLUH, No. 5356

BENJAMIN EBY, No. 6762

GUS WOLF, No. 3769

CHAS. W. SERRINGTON, No. 282

HARRY ZASLOWSKY, No. 1701

LOUIS POLANSKY, No. 817

SAM LIDER, No. 2520

NAT STARR, No. 9676

LOUIS PANKIN, No. 3961

HENRY ROBBINS, No. 5711-A

IRVING STONE, No. 15199

LOUIS FORER, No. 9834

MORRIS JACOBS, No. 15135

MICHAEL ONDUSKO, No. 327

MOE DIAMOND, No. 3276

SAM KERR, No. 7225

AARON ABERMAN, No. 6607

HENRY MOSTOVEY, No. 3137

MEYER MEDELOWITZ, No. 15219

HARRY SHAPIRO, No. 3267

SAM SOKOL, No. 9313

ISAAC BARENBLATT, No. 5218-A

DAVE DOLNICOFF, No. 15220

HARRY BLUM, No. 6

SAM MEDELOWITZ, No. 5117

SOL LEVINE, No. 188

This concluded the nominations for the various offices for the ensuing term of 1924. From the nominations that were made the Election Board will have an easier time of it than all its predecessors, as the main count will be centered on the Executive Board, since the majority of the other offices have no opposition, with the exception of the office of Business Agent.

The next order of business for the evening was nomination and election of poll clerks. It has been customary with this organization that poll clerks be elected at the branch meetings and generally by a secret ballot. And this was usually due to the fact that few members attended the meetings in previous years, since the election of poll clerks took place at branch meetings and since, in addition, the attendance at these meetings was not nearly as large as now, and only two men were elected at each branch meeting, all of which made this system possible.

However, since the revision of the Constitution, these six poll clerks are to be elected by the members at the General Meeting. The attendance at last Monday's meeting was very large, as has been the case with all our meetings in the past year. It was therefore deemed inadvisable to apply the method of balloting by slips. A suggestion was made by Manager Dubinsky that the balloting be done by a hand vote. This proposition was put before the members and was carried.

The chairman then opened nominations for poll clerks and the following brothers were nominated and accepted nomination:

NATHAN SAPERSTEIN, No. 762

MEYER KATZ, No. 6706

JACOB FLEISCHER, No. 4641.

ABE REISS, No. 9698.

MEYER FRIEDMAN, No. 9145.

EMANUEL KOPF, No. 8775.

MORRIS TORAN, No. 5151.

JACOB GOLDSTEIN, No. 6698.

JOHN C. RYAN, No. 2505.

MAX STOLLER, No. 640.

Before placing the names of candidates for poll clerks to a vote, Brother Ancel appointed three tellers to count the votes, and the following was the result:

VOTES

NATHAN SAPERSTEIN ..194

MEYER KATZ ..183

JACOB FLEISCHER ..161

ABE REISS ..158

MEYER FRIEDMAN ..127

EMANUEL KOPF ..148

MORRIS TORAN 8

JACOB GOLDSTEIN 49

JOHN C. RYAN 83

MAX STOLLER 24

Brother Philip Ancel thereupon declared the following brothers elected as poll clerks for the coming elections:

NATHAN SAPERSTEIN, No. 762.

MEYER KATZ, No. 6706.

JACOB FLEISCHER, No. 4641.

ABE REISS, No. 9698.

EMANUEL KOPF, No. 8775.

MEYER FRIEDMAN, No. 9145.

After the election of poll clerks, the meeting adjourned.

Now that nominations are over, we wish to call to the attention of the brothers who are candidates for the various offices that, according to our constitution, they must sign a resignation blank which shall be deposited with the Executive Board at least ten days prior to election. All those who do not comply with this provision of the constitution and will not have their resignation sent in to the Executive Board ten days prior to elections will be taken off the ballot by the Secretary.

These resignation blanks will be mailed by the Secretary to all candidates. December 5 will be the last day for these resignation blanks to be in the hands of the Secretary.

As yet, all indications show that our coming election will be a very quiet one compared with the last election and the ones preceding it. As the members have already noted there is no opposition for president and vice-president. There is also no opposition for manager and secretary-treasurer, as well as inner guard.

The only opposition is in the office of business agent, and a contest for delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council. But the most active contest is centered on members of the Executive Board, since only ten are to be elected and twenty-seven have accepted nomination. This may be due largely to the new amendment to our constitution, which makes the delegates to the Executive Board also members of the Executive Board and elected by the Executive Board with

the approval of the members.

From the Election Board that was elected at Monday's meeting the majority has already served on previous election boards and have done justice to their task. And we believe that these brothers will serve on this Board as conscientiously as they did formerly and will prove to the satisfaction of the members that they deserve their election.

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CUTTERS, MEMBERS OF LOCAL 10, ATTENTION!

Election of officers for the ensuing term will take place on Saturday, December 15, 1923, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place.

Polls will be open from 12:30 to 6 p. m.

Members must be in good standing and have their dues books with them in order to vote.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

CLOAK AND SUIT Monday, December 3rd
WAIST AND DRESS Monday, December 10th
MISCELLANEOUS Monday, December 17th
SPECIAL GENERAL Saturday, December 22nd

Special Order of Business: Installation of newly-elected officers.

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place