

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABORERS' UNION

Vol. VI, No. 1.

New York, Friday, Dec

Price 2 Cents

AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT ASKS HELP FOR GERMAN WORKERS

A. F. of L. Executive Council Calls Upon Trade Unions in America to Help the German Federation of Trade Unions

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor forwarded to all its affiliated international unions an appeal signed by President Gompers and Secretary Morrison calling upon them to begin immediately to raise funds to help save the German labor movement from extinction. A National Committee consisting of representative labor leaders in the United States has been formed by the Executive Council for the purpose of handling these funds and for transmitting them to Germany. President Morris Sigman of our International has accepted membership on this National Committee to represent the workers in the needle industries.

The appeal in part reads as follows: "To the Officers and Members of International Unions, National Unions, State Federations, City Central Bodies, Local Unions, Trade Unions and Friends.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers: A disaster threatens the trade union movement of the world. The German trade union movement is bankrupt. Union funds have been wiped out of existence by the depreciation of the mark, to the point where it is worthless. Without funds trade union officials cannot exist or operate; union officials must give their time to earning even a bare livelihood; communication within the movement stops; the trade union, which is essentially organized cooperation, disintegrates.

"Due to the catastrophic drop in the value of the mark, the German Federation of Trade Unions and affiliated trade union bodies have been

forced to discharge practically all employees. One by one official journals have suspended publication. For a while mimeographed notices maintained some degree of cohesion but now even this is being discontinued through lack of funds. When communication through union centers stops, unified action among trade unionists in defense of trade union standards will cease. How serious the consequences to German wage earners will be is manifest through information relating to efforts to lengthen hours of work.

"If the German labor movement is

not assisted in this time of dire need, the achievements of forty years of struggle will be wiped out.

"We learned in the World War how closely the world is knit together by the ties of world organization in science, in education, in finance, in production, in commerce, in labor and practically every relation of life. We owe to those who gave their lives in that war to make constructive use of all information gained in that frightful debacle.

"If aid is to reach Germany it must come from America, for the workers (Continued on page 3)

President Sigman to Confer with Boston Dress Employers

Negotiations for the renewal of the agreement between the dress employers of Boston and the workers' organizations in the trade have already begun. The present contract will expire on February 15, 1924.

The first conference with the dress jobbers was held on Thursday, December 27, jointly called by the Union and the Contractors' Association. The purpose of the conference was to endeavor to come to terms on all matters of possible dispute so as to avoid unnecessary friction and perhaps strife later.

Early next January the Union will confer with the "independent" manufacturers with regard to renewing the

agreement and will call the contractors to that meeting as well. President Sigman is expected to be in Boston on January 2 to take a hand in these negotiations. One of the principal demands of the Union will be a forty-hour week. The New York market has been negotiating on a forty-hour schedule for the last year, and the Boston dressmakers are determined to work no longer hours. In fact, Boston always followed New York closely in the matter of work-hours in the dress trade, and in 1919 the Boston dress employers agreed to grant the 44-hour week shortly after the New York waist and dressmakers had won 44 hours after a strike.

Seventh Quarterly Meeting of G. E. B. Begins January 9th in Philadelphia

Organizations affiliated with our International Union, as well as individual members, who desire to transmit any requests to the General Executive Board are requested to forward them at once to General Secretary

Larry Baroff at the International Office.

The seventh quarterly meeting of the board will begin its sessions in Philadelphia on Wednesday, January 9. By the time the meeting convenes,

the result of the referendum on the convention city will be known, and the G. E. B. will at that meeting appoint a committee on convention arrangements which will supervise the huge job of running this convention.

The Philadelphia meeting will concern itself primarily with the duty of putting into final shape for early execution the program of industrial demands formulated at the Chicago meeting of the board and now accepted by all the principal subdivisions of our Union all over the country.

Dressmakers, Local 22, Nominate Executive Board Members

Examination and Objection Committee to Meet This Saturday—All Candidates Must Appear Before Committee

As reported in these columns, the dressmakers of New York, now combined in Local 22, held nomination meetings for members of their executive board on Thursday last. Nineteen vacancies on this board, caused by the removal by the General Executive Board of the International of that many disqualified persons from it, have to be filled and for this purpose this election has been called.

Local 22 is today being administered by the remaining members of its executive board together with a sub-committee of the G. E. B. The nomination meetings were held simultaneously in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Harlem, Brownsville and the East Side, and each of these meetings was

presided over by a member of the G. E. B. sub-committee. At some of these meetings "lefts" have attempted to create trouble by starting obstructions, "points of order," "appeals to the chair," and other tricks, but they have succeeded little beyond unduly protracting the meeting in some instances.

On Saturday afternoon next, all the candidates nominated at these meetings will have to appear before the Committee on Examination and Objections to Candidates, which will meet at the office of the Union at 16 West 21st Street. If they fail to do so their names will not appear on the ballot. They are also requested to bring their union cards along.

79817A

79817A

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

Ladies' Tailors Elect Officers This Saturday

This Saturday, December 29, the members of the Ladies' Tailors Union, Local 28, will elect their officers for the coming year. The election will take place in the office of the Union, 877 Sixth Avenue, between the hours of 12 and 3 p. m.

The ladies' tailors do not have to be reminded that participating in an election of officers is one of the most important duties of membership. It is not enough to pay dues and occasionally to come to a branch meeting. If a person belonging to a trade union values his or her membership in the real sense of the term they must participate in the forming of its policy and in the choosing of the men who are to represent the organization all the year round and who are to carry these policies into effect.

It is expected that this year, owing to the fact that now, since the ladies' tailors have been separated from the sample makers, they are to vote for their officers separately, the interest in the election will be considerably greater and a large number will take part in the voting.

District Council in New Jersey

We have recently reported the formation of a district council of all the locals of our International Union in Connecticut, for the purpose of carrying on more concerted and efficient organizing work in that territory.

Now a similar report has been received from the Eastern Organizing Office, under the management of Vice-president Halperin, for the locals of our Union in New Jersey. Upon the initiative of Local 21 of Newark, the oldest local of our International in New Jersey, it was decided to call a conference of all the locals in that State on January 16, 1924, for the purpose of forming a district council.

The locals in New Jersey will, doubtless, receive this call with sincere satisfaction and will to achieve something solid and permanent with regard to organizing the garment workers of their State. The preliminary work of arranging this conference is in the hands of Brother Max Bruck, manager of the Newark office of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board, and all information concerning it may be had by referring to him at the office of the Union, 103 Montgomery Street, Newark, N. J.

International Union Bank

The International Union Bank, the financial institution opened and operated by the Progressive Labor Movement of New York, will open its doors for business on Saturday, January 5th, in its building at 5th Avenue and 21st Street.

The International Union Bank is completely equipped with every facility for handling banking in every one of its branches and will serve the interests of our workers fully in this capacity. Members who desire to purchase a share of stock can still do so in any one of the branch offices of our Unions.

H. ROGOFF on "AMERICAN CIVILIZATION"

H. Rogoff will lecture on American Civilization in Clinton Hall, 161

Clinton Street, this Sunday at 12 o'clock in the morning. The lectures will continue throughout the season in the same place and at the same time. Admission is free to the members of the International.

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

FORD FOR COOLIDGE

TOPPING in interest everything else in domestic politics last week—note that Congress has closed down for a holiday recess—is beyond dispute the sudden coming out of Henry Ford for Coolidge as his first, last and final choice.

Only a few months ago Michigan's "first citizen," through the medium of a widely-read national weekly, announced to a breathless country the platform on which he might be induced to run for President of these United States. It was an elaborate instrument dealing with every phase of the national life, and having as much to do with the standpat Coolidge program as a "peace ship" has with actual cessation of hostilities. Then began with a swoop and a rush the formation of "Ford-for-President" clubs all over the country—with a conference of a myriad and one of these organizations set for December in Chicago as a goal.

But the climax of the Ford boom, so it would appear, was reached long before December. The "most popular business man" in America, the one who was supposed to have had the farmer, the worker and the small business man sewed up in his vest pocket, simply did not materialize. The Ford clubs everywhere wilted and withered before they grew. So the word went out from Dearborn, a week before the "national" conference, to call off the whole show. Then, so runs the story for the great innocents, Ford read the Coolidge message to Congress, and felt so overpowered by its warm appeal that he decided to visit him and let him know that never, never will he consent to run against him "on any ticket."

But why and how? Has Ford "sold out" to Coolidge in the hope of attaining the coveted Muscle Shoals, as Hiram Johnson charges now, or has the galling fiasco of his own "boom" driven the flivver "radical" into the arms of the Old Guard candidate? But why seek explanations? The flopping of Henry Ford into the Coolidge camp is an appropriate sequel to a sham and shallow affair blown into significance by no other merit than the size of its sponsor's purse now definitely retired into oblivion unused and unwept by any one.

ANOTHER KING COME

GREECE, swiftly after an election in which the abolition of the monarchy was one of the principal issues, ordered her king to retire and he went.

It was not entirely a bloodless affair and the enforced withdrawal of the Greek ruler may yet find an echo in later royalist disturbances and clashes. Again, the proclamation of a republic may not in itself bring peace and prosperity to the Greek masses. But a step in that direction it beyond doubt is, and, after the birth of the Republic of Turkey, the triumph of the republican idea in Greece has been a foregone conclusion.

In the Balkans there are still a few throes, the elimination of which may contribute a great deal to the peace and equilibrium of the harassed and tax-ridden population of Southeastern Europe. After Turkey and Greece, now may come Rumania and Jugoslavia and make a clean slate of the king-business in a section of the world that for the past quarter of a century has fairly reeked with warfare and blood-letting hatched and nurtured by petty dynastic plotters and counter-plotters.

THAT WASHINGTON BOOZE LIST

ALONG with some of the other great unsolved mysteries, so it seems practically certain now, will go down in history the puzzle of the disappearance of the list of booze-drinkers in Washington, D. C.

The whole story is still a fresh, throbbing tale. Last week prohibition sleuths uncovered a great find in the Nation's capital by making a haul of eleven prominent bootleggers on the eve of the holiday liquor rush. But they did more than that: together with the booze-traders they took a list of 2,500 of their officers, names that shine in every walk of life, legislators, administrators, diplomats, men of letters and science, and, as some would have, persons known for their uncompromising and unbending advocacy of strict prohibition enforcement . . . for others.

For a day and a night Washington was on the tiptoe of expectancy, and the rest of the nation appeared to be equally agitated. Here, at last, there was a powerful trump in the hands of the Volsteadians, and sure enough they would make all capital possible out of it. Here there was a chance to expose to public pillory a galaxy of public men who should not drink but would, who should tread the narrow path but would rather zigzag it.

Then came the climax. Of a sudden the distressing news was given out that the list, all but ready for publication, mysteriously disappeared, and all search notwithstanding, cannot be found. What is worse—no one actually could be found to be blamed for this startling loss. It just went and lost itself, and that's all there was to it. The prohibition authorities, of course, would not mind insinuating that some all-powerful hand of the opponents of the 18th Amendment may have reached out for this list to save their friends from undesirable publicity. But on the other hand, the Association Against Prohibition is yelling foul and demands the publication of the list hoping to expose thereby some of the best-known hypocrites in the country and to capitalize the affair for its own purpose. Meanwhile the list is not here and, we are afraid, will never see the light of day.

And now again we ask: What, indeed, has become of the Washington boozeers' list?

THE COMING HEARING ON RUSSIA

THE stir over the policy of the United States with regard to recognition of Soviet Russia has, after a week of excitement, denials and charges of forgery, settled down now to a definite assurance that the Senate will conduct a comprehensive and full inquiry on the subject of Soviet intervention by propaganda in America.

That such a hearing is a welcome thing there can be no doubt. It is clear that both sides, those who are for Russian recognition and those who are against it, are equally anxious to keep it out as a campaign issue next fall and would have it disposed of as soon as possible on the floor of Congress. The blunt manner in which Secretary Hughes rebuffed the request

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Union Health Center News

"Tuberculosis—A Disease of the Masses" was the theme of a very interesting and illuminating talk by Professor S. Adolphus Knopf, of the Post Graduate College and Hospital, before the Friday night class at the Union Health Center on December 21st. Dr. Knopf is the author of the Prize Essay on "Tuberculosis—A Disease of the Masses," which was crowned by the national prize over twenty-five years ago. He is the master of his subject and his talk, illustrated by various methods of taking care of oneself, very much interested all the students.

He dwelled upon the fact that tuberculosis is a disease of indoor workers and therefore tailors are very much subject to it. He gave also the methods of prevention and possible cure. One of his most important assertions was that home treatment for tuberculosis is just as feasible as sanatorium treatment, and that workers need not go to different climates when they are sick of this disease, as they can be cured at their homes, provided they are under proper care and know what to do.

This Friday, December 28th, there will be no lecture but instead a social gathering will be held, at which various entertainment features will be shown—dancers, singers, etc., after which a collation will be served. All members of the class are invited.

The first lecture of the new season will be on Friday, January 4th, by Dr. Leland Cofer of the State Department of Labor, on "What the State Does to Protect the Health of the Worker." The lecture will be illustrated by a motion picture and lantern slides.

HALF-PRICE TICKETS TO THE PHILHARMONIC CONCERTS

Our members can obtain a ticket at our Educational Department which will entitle them to two half-price tickets to the special concerts which are given by the Philharmonic Orchestra.

For further information, apply at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

of Tchitcherin for negotiations looking toward the diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia and the heated controversy which arose concerning it in the Senate has made such an exhaustive hearing inevitable.

It is clear that on the two financial points which Coolidge has made as condition precedent to any talk of recognizing Russia, namely, the compensation to American citizens who lost property during the revolution, and the recognition of the debt to America contracted by the Kerensky regime, the Soviets are clearly prepared first to bargain and in the end to settle. It is on the third principal point, the cessation of Communist propaganda by the Third International in the United States, that the breach comes. Moscow denying its participation in such propaganda and Hughes equally firmly alleging it. So far, it can be fairly stated that Hughes has had the best of the argument, and Zinoviev's "military" instructions to the "Workers' Party" of America, published by the State Department, while ludicrous and stupid beyond dispute, bear nevertheless the mark of genuineness perhaps because of their absurdity.

The hearing on Russia, if conducted with a single desire to get down to all obtainable facts and not merely to serve as more propaganda for or against the Soviets, will also throw some light on the true relations between the Komintern and the Soviet Government proper, and will perhaps afford a true light on the rift between the two organizations, as alleged in some quarters, and also on the affirmation heretofore practically unchallenged that the Third International and the Communist Party which rules Russia are a form of an interlocking directorate, to use a familiar term in these parts.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Among the Bonnaz Embroiderers

By MAX M. ESSENFIELD

The generally poor condition in the needle trades did not fail to produce an unfavorable effect upon our trade too. Embroidery, needless to say, depends for its well-being upon the dress and cloak industry, and embroidery shops cannot be busy when dress and cloak shops are idle. And when shops are closed for months, save for a few which have had work for a day or two during the week, one cannot expect much union activity among the workers, either. Our only satisfaction is that, notwithstanding this trade slump, our workers have succeeded in holding down fairly whatever advantages we have gained in the past and preserved our work-conditions intact.

Just now there are signs of improvement slowly making an appearance in the shops, and we are beginning to make ready for the coming season. Our members know how to take advantage of their opportunities, and the next season will require plenty of attention on their part in this respect. There are still a number of non-union shops in the trade and some new places have been opened. These old shops, and the new, must be organized during the next few months; the season is short and nothing that could be done while the iron is hot should be postponed for the next day. To succeed in this important task, we only want a concerted effort by all who are able and willing to help.

In speaking of organizing work, the following suggestion, we believe, is very much in place. In the past this work was carried on in a rather wasteful and uneconomical way. The work was split among too many small committees, each eager to organize its own corner, building or shop, which gave the non-union worker a chance to slip conveniently through this rather loose net. Do not let us repeat this mistake and let us concentrate our work. If conducted by a special committee, which instead of devoting its energies to one particular shop in a building and leaving the rest of the shops in the same place unattended to, would concentrate on one building in one joint effort, and not leave it until it had been fully organized before transferring its activities to another place, it would make things more efficient, would give better results, and correspondingly tend to yield a greater degree of encouragement to our workers.

Our executive committee is now busy discussing several problems which they would bring to the next meeting of the General Executive Board of the International. The first among these is the subject of organizing the hand embroiderers. These workers are a part of the women's garment industry, they do part of the work which goes into the making of dresses and cloaks, and in many shops even work side by side with our union workers, especially in the better grade shops. Why this part of the trade should be regarded by some as unorganizable is difficult to explain. We are told that this work requires no machines and any woman can do it at her home. This would be a good argument, if it were true. The facts, however, are that this work requires a lot of skill, as much as any other branch of the industry, and depends just as much on styles and changes. The cheaper kind of the work, the kind which is being made in the homes, is, as a rule, also given out to contractors who employ groups of seven or eight girls working in a pri-

vate room. But this argument is equally untenable when we consider that more than one of the branches in our trades used to be made "at home" in the good old times until the labor unions put them where they properly ought to be, in the shops and under the control of the organization.

For Local 66 this problem of organizing the ten thousand women hand-embroiders, aside from the principle involved, is a subject of vital importance. While our members earn from \$45 to \$75 weekly, these hand workers are making from \$12 to \$30 a week and work 48 to 50 hours instead of the 44 which we work. When one considers that we work together with them under one roof and for the same firms, half-union and half-slave, one can easily conceive what a detrimental effect this condition has upon our own well-being. Small wonder our members are looking forward with grave interest to the coming meeting of the General Executive Board.

A second equally absorbing subject of interest to us is the question of a union label recently decided upon by the International Board. To us it appears to be the most important matter at the present moment. We have been discussing the introduction of a union label for our own trade for some time past and were even ready to force the adoption of such a label clause in our agreements with them. The enforcement of such a clause, in view of either apathy or lack of support from the other labor bodies, would have been very difficult, however. The carrying out of a plan for a union label on all garments, which would guarantee union-made embroidery as well, would not only help in eliminating the non-union shop from our trade, but would make the bond between the workers in the various branches in our trades closer and would give them a joint practical weapon of offense and defense against the aggression of our employers.

A. F. OF L. TO HELP GERMAN WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

of European countries are at present in a lower economic condition than obtained before the war. Unemployment and actual need is all too general for them to make contribution.

"The American Federation of Labor is undertaking to raise a relief fund for the German trade union movement—to be used only to maintain that organization. If only a skeleton organization is sustained, the vital thing will be kept alive until something of economic order is restored."

"We present to you this dire need of the German trade union movement, confident the cry for assistance will appeal to your judgment and your heart."

"A world crisis confronts labor. We must help or be untrue to our ideals and our convictions. Make checks payable to Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C., who will return receipt for the same. The contributions received will be forwarded promptly to the financial officers of the German Trade Union movement and upon the completion of the purpose of the fund the receipts will be printed in detail and by whom contributed; also the expenditures and the dates when transmitted to Germany."

Boston News

By OBSERVER

A conference with the dress jobbers of Boston was arranged for Thursday, December 27, at 2 p. m., at the Hotel Avery. This conference was called jointly by Local 49 and the Dress Contractors' Association. The following communication was sent to the jobbers:

December 22, 1923.

Gentlemen:

You are hereby invited to participate in a conference to be held by the Dress Jobbers, the Dress Contractors' Association, and the Waist and Dressmakers, Union, Local 49, of Boston, on Thursday, December 27, 1923, at 2 p. m., at Room 203, Hotel Avery, Boston.

This conference is called jointly by the union and the Dress Contractors' Association, for the purpose of discussing ways and means for eliminating certain evils and abuses prevailing at present in the dress industry.

We deem it advisable in the interest of all concerned to consider these problems prior to the beginning of work for the coming spring season.

A thorough exchange of opinions among all parties mentioned above, who are all vitally interested in the progress and prosperity of the dress industry, will lead to peaceful and harmonious relations between them.

In the hope that you will not fail to be present at this very important conference, we are

Yours very truly,

Waist and Dressmakers' Union,
Local 49, I. L. G. W. U.
I. Lewin, Manager.

The purpose of this conference is to try and accomplish peacefully that which otherwise would necessitate strife and possible loss of part of the season to all concerned. Both the union and the Contractors' Association are determined at all costs to rectify the present chaotic conditions in the dress industry. A similar invitation to this conference was also sent to the manufacturers who send work to outside shops.

For the first week in January, the Executive Board of Local 49 contemplate calling into conference the independent manufacturers as well as the Contractors' Association with regard to renewing the agreement which expires February 15 of next year. The Executive Board after due deliberation decided that one of the principal demands shall be the forty-hour week. The New York market has been operating on a forty-hour schedule for the last year, and it is no more than fair that the Boston dressmakers, 90 per cent of whom are women, should work under the same conditions. In connection with this demand it is interesting to note that in 1919, while the New York waist and dressmak-

ers were on strike for the 44-hour week, the Boston employers agreed to grant the shorter hours to their workers. Now that New York has already been operating for a year on the forty-hour work basis, we have no doubt that the Boston manufacturers will follow suit.

It is expected that President Sigman will be here on January 2, and will negotiate the new agreement with our employers.

The Waterproof Garment Manufacturers' Association suddenly called the Raincoat Makers, Local 7, to a conference, which was held on Tuesday, December 18. To the astonishment of the representatives of Local 7, the Association made formal demand for a reduction of 15 per cent in the wages of the workers. They based their arguments on the ground that under present conditions it is impossible for them to compete with the employers who are under contractual relations with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, where working conditions are far below those of the Raincoat Makers, Local 7. The Association representatives at this conference were reminded that there is a difference in the materials and cloth used in raincoat factories and that used in clothing factories. The union flatly rejected the request of the employers for a reduction in the pay of the workers and with that the conference ended.

This being on the eve of the New Year, when election of officers in our unions for the coming term is the order of the day, Local 7 is naturally not immune. Last Thursday elections took place at the office of our union, 21 Essex Street. The proportion of our members participating in this election was very large, considering the fact that outside of the Executive Board there were few contestants for the different offices.

The following is the result of the election: For President, Abe Corman (re-elected); for Vice-president, Morris Rosenthal; for Manager, Fred Mofosson (re-elected); for Treasurer, Abe Rovner (re-elected); for Secretary, Benjamin Berman (re-elected); for Trustees, M. Karnovitz and Harry Segal; for Executive Board members, Louis Goldman, Isadore Grifkin, Louis Hurvitz, Alec Lesovitz, Phillip March, Myer Roß, Isaac Saidor, Charles Segal, Kymon Strull, Morris Slavinsky, and Herman Weiner.

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JUSTICE

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Homes Plenty But Rents High

By JOHN LA RUE

"Yes, we have no houses" would not apply in New York City or in other large communities where the tremendous efforts of American workmen have raised acres and square miles of houses. There are houses, plenty of them, but, although they are plenty, the rents are so high that crowded conditions still prevail. "Yes, we have no low rent," might be a better turn of the phrase. The lowering of rents may come later for with an over-supply of houses the rents must come down.

There has been great agitation for the construction of homes. Since Samuel Untermyer appeared before the State legislature in 1920 and 1921, great things have been accomplished. How tremendous has been the accomplishment can be realized only from a survey of the available figures.

These show that in the five boroughs of New York City alone in twenty-eight months homes have been built for 236,000 families, providing new dwelling places for at least 1,000,000 persons. The shortage at the height of the crisis was estimated to affect only some 400,000. Big inroads

have been made on the housing shortage.

But the problem is not now one of lack of houses. It is one of lack of earning capacity, as is being brought out by the State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning. New houses cannot be built for less than \$15 a room unless it is a perfect mechanical habitation on the style of the "dumbbell" flat of forty years ago. Workers can find homes in frame houses way out in the outskirts and have to fight with each other to get out there every night on the crowded transit lines. And even these places have the disadvantage of excessive cost.

So it is found that the mass of people still huddle together on the East Side, in Harlem, in East New York and Williamsburg, overcrowded, doubling up, taking in lodgers, the same as they used to do, all with the object of making enough over the rent to lay something aside for the inevitable "hard times."

Dr. Frank J. Monaghan, Commissioner of Health, in a recent book survey of the six most congested dis-

tricts in Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn found conditions still dangerous. For this reason he wanted the emergency rent laws kept on the books. The social agencies make the same plea. Said Commissioner Monaghan:

"It is in the cheaper class of apartments that most crowding exists and fewest vacancies appear. The large number of one and two-room apartments in which families still live is appalling. Elimination of the emergency rent laws would work a hardship bordering on a calamity and would throw the gaunt spectre of worry, that greatest health menace, into these homes and result in a health hazard of no inconsiderable amount."

In these districts, although there were plenty of apartments vacant to rent from \$15 a room up, only one out of every 255 apartments was unoccupied. Most of them were in a deplorable condition without any modern conveniences, the old dark, cold-water flat that the workers know so well. Twenty-eight per cent of these houses were overcrowded to a point

where the condition menaced those that lived in them. All had more than one person to a room, including the kitchen.

The East Side is still the worst congested section with 1.44 persons to every room or about three to every two rooms; Harlem had slightly less; Williamsburg was about the same as the East Side; East New York but little better; while lower Bronx was about right, one person to a room including the kitchen. The health officers find a marked increase in children's diseases and respiratory ills where there is more than one person to a room.

The housing problem therefore has broadened. It is no longer a question of an acute shortage. It is a matter of insufficient earnings for a large proportion of workers to pay the rent required for the newer class of homes. Even in the worst Brooklyn sections, the average rent of a vacant apartment was \$7.35 a room per month. Manhattan rents were about \$10, while the Bronx working-class section rented at \$13 a room. That is why workers even in the old flats are crowding together.

All are looking for rent to come down. Apparently it cannot under present conditions.

others, such as that issued by the National Industrial Conference Board, which is an employers' organization. —Facts for Workers.

Wage Theories and Arguments

II.

Changes in the Cost of Living

(NOTE: This is the second article of a series on wage arguments and theories used in negotiations and arbitrations. Others appear in consecutive issues. They are intended to be of practical service to all laborers in wage adjustments.)

During the war and after when retail prices of common necessities were rising rapidly, it was customary to demand increases in wages on the basis of the increased cost of living. When the depression of 1921 arrived and retail prices fell, employers reversed the argument by demanding decreases in wage rates to match the decreased cost of living. At this time unions saw that the argument was an embarrassing one, and a tendency arose to disparage the cost-of-living basis of adjustment.

MONEY WAGES vs. REAL WAGES

In order to understand this question, it is necessary to distinguish between money wages and real wages. The money wage is the number of dollars in the pay envelope. The real wage is what those dollars will buy. When money wages remain the same, real wages may change from time to time because the prices of food, clothing, rent, etc., rise or fall. And, on the other hand, to maintain a given real wage in a period of changing prices, it is necessary to alter the money wage as the prices change.

When unions demand that money wages be raised because the cost of living has gone up, they are not, in reality, asking for a wage increase at all. They are merely asking that real wages be kept up to the former level. If money wages were constantly raised or lowered in accordance with changes in the cost of living, there never would be any changes in real wages. The purchasing power and standard of living of the wage-earners would remain exactly the same year after year, decade after decade, century after century. It is therefore incorrect, in any real sense, to speak of such changes as wage changes at all. The method of adjusting money wages according to changes in the cost of living is a device to keep real wages at a fixed level, wherever they happened to be when the process started. It has no bearing whatever on the question of whether that level is high enough or whether it could, considering everything, be raised.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF PRICES

When considering changes in

prices, or changes in the purchasing power of the dollar, it is important to know what prices we are dealing with. Some series of numbers showing changes refer only to wholesale prices. Others show retail prices. Wholesale prices usually rise faster and further than retail prices, and they also fall faster and further. They may indicate the purchasing power of the wholesale buyer's dollar, but they do not show accurately the purchasing power of the wage-earner's dollar. The wage-earner buys things at retail. In discussing this subject, therefore, it is important to use an index of retail prices, and to use the particular kind of retail price index known as the cost of living index. In case this is not available, the best substitute is an index of retail food prices, since food takes up about 40 per cent of the wage-earners' expenses.

Price indexes are not absolutely accurate. They are merely approximations to the truth, and should not be regarded with as much confidence as are exact weights and measures. All general price indexes are averages, which cover a number of different articles. The cost of living index of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, which is usually the best for wage discussions, covers the prices of many things. The Bureau first priced a list of a large number of articles which wage-earners buy. It also found out what proportion of the family income went for food, what proportion for clothing, what for rent, and so on. Four times a year it gets new increases or decreases together in the given proportions. The result is the new index number. It is clear that the process is open to mistakes or variations. The pricing may not be entirely accurate. One group of articles may go up much faster than another group, and so the proportion of the income actually spent for it may become larger than that used in the calculations. Or the buying habits of wage-earners may change. In spite of these possible variations, however, index numbers do give a very fair idea of the general nature of price changes.

ABUSES OF INDEX NUMBERS

Above all, remember that the cost-of-living index does not show how much it costs to live. It merely shows how much the retail prices of common necessities have changed from the base year. To change

money wages according to changes in the cost of living index does not give any guarantee whatever that the worker is getting a proper living wage. If he was not getting enough when this process began, he will not be getting enough when it finishes, because his real wage or purchasing power remains the same. The cost of living doubled between 1914 and 1920. Suppose you were receiving \$10 a week in 1914. It was not enough, then. Suppose you were raised as much as the cost of living and so received \$20.00 a week in 1920. You would still not be getting enough, for with your \$20 in 1920 you could buy no more than with your \$10 in 1914.

USE OF THE ARGUMENT

It is perfectly sound for unions to demand increases equal to the increase in the cost of living when prices are going up. If they do not do so, the real wages of their members suffer a reduction—and that, too, in a time of prosperity. But it is extremely unsound to make this the only basis of wage adjustment. If a living wage were not being paid, and if the business could afford higher wages money wages ought to be raised faster than the cost of living.

On the other hand, it is equally unsound for employers to demand wage reductions equal to the drop in the cost of living when prices are going down. Such reductions may be necessary in extraordinary cases because of financial inability to do anything else. But there are few cases indeed where real wages are as high as they ought to be when judged on other grounds, such as the amount needed for a decent standard of living, or the profitability of the industry, or the increased productivity of the nation. And it is usually much easier for wage-earners to increase real wages when prices are falling than when they are rising. Money wages have not fallen so much as the cost of living since 1920, and did not need to do so. We shall investigate some of the other arguments bearing on wages in future articles. These arguments may be called in to combat wage decreases based on falling prices.

SOURCES OF MATERIAL

The best index of changes in the cost of living is that published by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. In various cities, which may be obtained from Washington. It is better than



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**ALEXANDER FICHANDLER TO BE
IN PHILADELPHIA ON DE-
CEMBER 28TH AND JAN-
UARY 4TH**

Alexander Fichandler will continue his series of lectures on Social Psychology on Fridays, December 28th and January 4th. The lectures will be given at 1035 Spruce Street. The first lecture was given last week and was most successful. It is expected that even more of our members will attend the remaining two sessions. Admission is free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U.

Our Unity Centers will be reopened Monday, January 7th, and the courses in Economics and the Labor Movement will be continued that week.

Christmas Candy and Candy Girls

Hours are long, wages are low and employment uncertain for women working in the confectionery trade. The months just before Christmas and Easter are the busy ones in this country, yet even then wages are meagre. Full time is not made by even one-half of the women workers. When candy firms such a necessary part of the Christmas festivities, it is well to turn our attention to the condition of those who are working in the candy factories.

The Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor in their recent study of five industries covered 47 per cent of the women employed in the candy factories of the State—some 3,011 women. As all the workers were over 16 years of age, the findings of the Bureau are for women, not children. The data was secured from the employers, who sent in copies of their payrolls and records of the hours worked by their women employees during one week in March. This week, being just before Easter, was during one of the busy seasons. Conditions were probably similar during the Christmas rush.

Even so only 47 per cent of the

women in the candy factories in New York City were working full time, upstate not even one out of every three workers was employed for all her scheduled hours. Overtime was negligible. There is a real loss to the worker when she is not employed full time as one will realize from the findings of this study. Half of the women who were working full time received \$15.25 a week in New York City and \$14.25 upstate. Half of the women who were working overtime received less than \$11.75 in New York City and less than \$10.75 upstate. This difference of \$3.50 a week in wages is about one-third of the median wages of the undertime workers.

The scheduled hours of candy workers are longer than those of the women in the other industries covered by this survey. Less than half (45 per cent) of the women had a week of 48 hours or less, while 12 per cent were scheduled to work 54 hours a week. Hours were found to be shorter in New York City than upstate, where 32 per cent of the women were on 54-hour schedules.

The women workers are working because they must support themselves. Often there are others who

are dependent upon them for financial aid. But with the wages received by these workers in the candy factories, health and a decent standard of living cannot be maintained. The hours are too long to permit the carrying of two jobs in order to increase the income. The cost of living is now 72 per cent higher than in 1914, according to the United States Department of Labor. At that time the Factory Investigating Commission considered \$9 insufficient for a woman to live in New York City. If, however, we accept this figure and raise it in proportion to the increase in the cost of living we find that \$15.50 would be necessary for a woman to support herself. Yet more than half the candy workers in New York City are receiving less than \$17.75 a week, 70 per cent less than \$16 a week. It costs less to live upstate, but still the candy workers are no better off up there. During this busy week during March, 48 per cent of the women in candy factories upstate earned less than \$12 for their week's work, and 79 per cent earned less than \$16. Such wages mean misery for the workers.

Candy is a food, so that it is of interest to the consumer to know of the sanitary conditions in the candy factories. Under the state law workers in candy factories are required to have health examinations, but in the study made in 1919 by the Woman's Bureau it was found that none of the candy factories upstate had health

certificates filed for their women workers. In New York City in 33 out of the 51 establishments covered there were complete files of health certificates for the women. But even where examinations had taken place, they were found to have been made only once a year. This is not often enough to assure the health of the workers.

It is distressing also to know that less than half of the factories were up to the standard in cleanliness and the provision of toilet and washing facilities. This report states that three-fourths of the factories in which conditions were really poor (and poor conditions were found in 21 per cent of the factories covered in this study) were small, employing less than 25 persons. In some of the small factories, however, conditions were excellent, and in a few of the larger factories conditions were distinctly poor.

In 1919 the value of the candy produced in the United States was \$447,726,000 and the industry has been growing rapidly. New York produces more candy than any other State—indeed almost one-fifth of the candy manufacturing of the country is done in this State. Unfortunately none of the candy workers are organized; most of them are young and of foreign birth and these groups are very hard to organize.

—Consumers' League Bulletin.

One More Week

Years ago, streams of immigrants began pouring into America from the countries of Europe where poverty and racial persecution made life unbearable for millions.

They came to America tired from their journey and the struggles in their homeland, yet ambitious to work out a better existence in their new home. They faced bravely the then prevailing prejudices against foreigners and members of their race. They struggled heroically to overcome the handicaps facing the foreign, unorganized worker. They came here with ideals; they faced sordid realities. The inevitable conflict is still being fought but the ideals of the immigrant worker have ever been discernible behind the smoke of the battle with life's realities.

The immigrant workers faced exploitation of their labor by their employers. Their unions are now among the most powerful in industry anywhere in the world. They faced the danger of contracting diseases from working in dark, filthy sweatshops. The shops of the garment industry in which many thousands of these workers are now employed observe the very highest standards of sanitation.

Arriving in America, the immigrants were first at the mercy of the unscrupulous private banker, who took advantage of the foreigner's ignorance of American ways and banking laws and charged them exorbitant rates for service, often defrauding them of their entire savings. When an immigrant worker had saved enough money to bring over his family to America he again paid toll to the private banker who charged exorbitantly for purchasing steamship tickets and arranging passage. But the immigrant worker was at the complete mercy of the private banker. He could not trust the large, awe-inspiring public banking institutions, where the clerks gazed down on him with forbidding, frozen dignity and where he could not make himself understood in his own language.

Then, too, the private banker was the only one who kept hours convenient for the immigrant worker, who spent from 10 to 18 hours a day in his sweatshop. Bankers' hours were not for these foreign sons of toil. The private banker was a man of the im-

migrant's own race and appearance. Often banker and patron were townsmen. Sometimes, the private banker was honest. As often, he was not. But the immigrant worker could deal with none but the private banker.

Then, after the workers had succeeded, after years of struggle, in building up unions, there came the drive of the employers and financiers to break their unions. Through their control of credit the bankers sought to force all employers to line up in a war against the unions. The great unions successfully resisted this onslaught, but they have learned a valuable lesson from the experience.

And so it has come about that the International Union Bank is to start business on January 5, in the building at the southeast corner of Fifth Avenue and 21st Street. The bank will be owned by 200,000 workers, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International Fur Workers' Union, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, the International Pocketbook and Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union and the Forward Association, publishers of the Jewish Daily Forward.

The bank is to be another link in the chain of progress forged by the great mass of industrious, idealistic workers who have come to this country from Europe.

It will give to the workers the large profits generally earned from their money by the commercial bankers. Not only will depositors receive four per cent interest on their savings, but they will share with the stockholders the profits remaining after the first dividend of eight per cent is paid to the stockholders. The stockholders, of course, will be none other than the unions and their members.

The International Union Bank will be a guarantee that the depositors' money is being guarded against loss. The law sets certain rules to be observed by the banks to protect the safety of deposits. The International Union Bank will not only fully observe the banking laws, but will provide additional protective measures.

One of the special departments of the bank will be concerned with the transmission of actual American dollars to Russian and Central European points, to relatives of the bank's

patrons. That is, if a worker wants to send \$100 to a relative in Russia, that relative will receive 100 American dollars.

And most important of all, the bank will be an instrument for the advancement of the workers, owned by the workers. The great conditions participating in the bank have been notably successful in all previous efforts. Their success in this latest venture is assured.

A LABOR BANK IN CINCINNATI

The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks National Bank opened its doors to the public on December 15th. The bank is located in the handsome new seven-story headquarters building erected by the Brotherhood at the northwest corner of Vine and Court streets, in the heart of Cincinnati's business district.

Over twelve thousand people visited the bank on opening day to inspect the beautiful new banking rooms, leaving \$311,000 in deposits. At the end of the day the bank's total assets amounted to \$755,000. It is capitalized at \$200,000 with a surplus of \$50,000. It is expected that the resources will reach a million dollars by the first of the year.

Like its predecessor, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Bank of Cleveland, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks National Bank is cooperative in that shareholders' dividends are limited to 10 per cent, and profits in excess thereof are distributed among savings depositors.

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The following members are to be voted upon for the offices designated at the election which is to take place on Saturday, December 29th, at our office, 877 Sixth Avenue, from 12 to 3 p. m. Members should not fail to come and cast their ballot for their choice for the ensuing term.

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

1923—A RECORD YEAR IN OUR HISTORY

There have been years in the story of the existence of our International which remain unforgettable in the memory of our members, as in these years our Union has made history and its biggest strides forward. Few of us can forget the years 1909 and 1910, the years of the famous first great strikes in the waist and cloak trades respectively; 1916—when the cloak manufacturers made a concerted effort to break up the Union and bring old non-union conditions into the shops. Certainly the year 1919 is fresh in our memory as the year when the week-work system was introduced in the cloak industry, a reform which, for some reasons, has not yet been fully and adequately appreciated by many of our workers; and the year 1921 when the organized employers made another serious attack upon our organization, broke their agreement with us and for a short while felt confident of their ability to defeat us. The result of these campaigns has been invariably the triumph of the workers and the vindication of their cause.

These have been the mileposts of our progress, years when we were put to the test and stood it. We have grown stronger through these contests and our influence has been felt not only in the work-conditions of the men and women employed in our own industry but in all the allied needle trades. Moreover, we have become a real factor in the general life of the community.

Is 1923 destined to remain a landmark of our activity, forever green in the memory of our workers? We do not hesitate to say Yes, if the same criterion of historic value that we have adopted for the significant years enumerated above is to remain applicable for the year 1923 that is about to pass out into history. It is true, this year has seen but comparatively few contests of importance between our Union and the employing interests in our industry, but it is equally true that 1923 has given rise to other no less devastating forces which have threatened the existence of our International. And from this crisis, when put to the test, our Union has emerged equally victorious and unimpaired as in all former struggles and trying crises.

Even a hasty review of the events of 1923 will, we believe, fully bear out this contention. Let us, first, state that in 1923 our workers passed through a period of unusually hard times, long slack, and economic and moral depression which invariably accompany it. When labor is down, the workers would have been demoralized and seriously affected by such hard times, but that strong morale and abiding sense of loyalty of its members which has saved our Union in the past has stood us equally in good stead in 1923. Our unions are approaching their convention in 1924 not a whit weaker, if not stronger, than in 1922.

An honest appraisal of this situation leaves us with a deep feeling of admiration for the masses of our workers and their fealty to their organization. It is really something to be marveled at that, while other seemingly powerful unions have lost tens of thousands of members during these hard times, our men and women clung to their Union as steadfastly as in the "fat" years when belonging to the organization required less devotion and meant, perhaps, a good deal more in "returns."

Moreover, at a critical moment during this year, the leader for many years of our International was compelled to give up his place at the helm in our Union on account of ill health. And many persons who are inclined to measure the strength of an organization by the virility and energy of its leadership, to regard it, so to say, as the embodiment of one-man power, began to have doubts as to its future. The truth, nevertheless, is entirely on the other side. It is invariably the organization that supplies the leader on top with strength and prestige, a fact which is often left out of sight by the majority of observers from below who fail to grasp the effect of this interplay of forces from below upward.

Many, indeed, believed that the resignation of ex-President Schlesinger would be a powerful blow to the International, and this belief shared by so many persons was in itself a factor not to be underestimated. Nevertheless, the International weathered this storm without the slightest effect, proving once again that our Union is strong enough to withstand unharmed the hazard of a change of leadership even in the midst of a surging and dangerous stream. Our General Executive Board fully vindicated at that grave hour the confidence vested in them by our members and their ability to lead the International entrusted to their stewardship.

Then there came upon us, the "league" affliction, an ill-wind fanned into menacing dimensions by the bitter trade slump which has so afflicted our workers during the past year. The demagogues from inside and outside, obviously, having underestimated the abilities and energy of President Sigman, began

a campaign against us with the avowed purpose of splitting our ranks into "right" and "left" factions. Our locals started to seethe with and suffer from insidious intrigues which became even more menacing because these attacks upon our Union were camouflaged by a cloak of "idealism" which succeeded in casting a certain spell and charm upon a considerable element among our workers. Finally President Sigman, together with the entire General Executive Board, came to see that this new pernicious enemy must be challenged and fought to a standstill, with the result that after a decisive encounter these demagogues were driven out of their posts of vantage in the locals and their influence rendered nil. Our International again demonstrated its force, its indomitable will, by putting an end to that pernicious indexing of locals in our Union as "left," "right," "loyal" or "disloyal." The International is again one and indivisible, and its authority stands alone and unchallenged in our organizations.

If the claim for memorable achievements for 1923 were to rest alone upon the epoch-making events cited above, such a claim would have to be seriously considered. But 1923, in the history of our International, has in addition to these so-called negative laurels an imposing positive record to its credit, which must surely be taken into account by the historian of our organization.

Early in 1923, the dressmakers of New York left their shops and, after a short contest, succeeded in winning the 40-hour week divided into five working days. Shortly afterward, the dress and waistmakers of Philadelphia, whose organization was all but smothered in defeat in 1922, came back and fought a winning battle this time against their employers, with the result that now they are again an influential factor in the local industry. The same has happened among the cloakmakers in Boston, Baltimore and in the many other smaller cities where, after a well-prepared organization campaign, a number of new places were organized or old positions rewon.

In 1923 the International waged a wonderful strike in San Francisco which we are sincerely convinced has helped a great deal in making a breach into the open-shop front which has entrenched itself so firmly in that city. Right now, the International is conducting a similar fight in Los Angeles and Camden, with excellent prospects. These contests, while they have put a severe strain upon the resources of our organization, have served the only purpose to make secure our position in these places but to even bring about constant new gains.

In 1923, a very important piece of reorganization work was consummated in our New York organization which is bound to have a deep effect upon the future growth of our Union. We have in mind the consolidation, first of Locals 22 and 23 into one dressmakers' union; then the uniting of the two presser locals, 60 and 35, into one local, and finally the amalgamation of the two Joint Boards, the Cloak and Waist and Dress, into one powerful Joint Board. Today, after these consolidations are accomplished facts, there are few left who fail to see their vital importance, but required an immense amount of energy and persuasion to carry this proposition into effect, the credit for which belongs, in an overwhelmingly large measure, to President Sigman.

The organization work carried on by the Eastern and Western Departments of our International must not be left out of account either. Numerous non-union shops of the "run-away" type which opened in the vicinity of such garment-making centers as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago and Cleveland, have been organized and their owners made to comply with the law. In Chicago, the union had to contend against drastic injunctions to which was added a very bitter fight against the "league" adventure. Today the Chicago unions are in fine shape, and the result of the strenuous organizing campaign that is being conducted there in spite of these obstacles is bound to yield fruit in the near future.

And last but not least, let us record here two other very important accomplishments during this year of stress and storm: first, the formation of our own bank, the International Union Bank, in New York City. We have commented upon this project more than once in these columns and pointed out its special significance. The launching of this plan once more attests to that feeling of competence and the belief in its resources which our International possesses in an unimpaired degree today. Behind this bank stand not only our members of our International but the influence and prestige of the enlightened labor movement of this city. The bank will open for business on January 5, 1924, but the credit for its being brought to life and for its future success belongs entirely to 1923.

The other outstanding achievement of this record-making year of 1923 is undoubtedly the remarkable and all-embracing reform adopted by the General Executive Board and now ratified in its entirety by the New York Joint Board and the other Joint Boards everywhere.

These ten points in the program we know will not be an easy matter to accomplish, but our International is accustomed to difficult fighting. Today, when it is clear beyond doubt and cavil that no substantial improvement in the condition of our workers can be had until the jobber is brought completely under the control of the union, the 40-hour week established in the shops, and some guarantee of the annual length of employment together with a system of unemployment insurance is won, the Union will fight harder than ever for the adoption of this program and for writing it into the life of our industry.

If 1919 has become an epoch-making year in the cloak trade through the introduction of the week-work, 1923 will be put down in gold letters as the story of our International because, during that year, these "ten commandments" were decided upon to put

Gompers and The Immigration Question

(With reference to one of his articles in the New York Sunday World.)

By HARRY LANG

The fourth in the series of articles by Samuel Gompers which have been recently appearing in the New York Sunday World, which deals with the problem of immigration, is curiously one that both antagonists and protagonists of a more liberal immigration policy by the United States may lean upon for support. It is, perhaps, this aspect of it that makes this article of particular interest to us.

It would seem, at first glance, that nothing new could be said on the subject of Gompers' attitude towards immigration. The position of the A. F. of L. on this question is too well known and the stand of Gompers is commonly known to be the stand of the Federation. How is it, nevertheless, that a friend of liberal immigration might derive satisfaction from what Gompers has to say about immigration in his New York World article? The answer is that Gompers did say something new in his contribution to the discussion of this problem, something which can by no means be read in or inferred from the official declarations and resolutions on the subject of immigration adopted by the American Federation of Labor.

Gompers says quite definitely: The Labor movement is not opposed to every sort of immigration. With these words Gompers starts off the twenty-fifth paragraph of his article and he proceeds at once to elucidate what kind of immigration the labor movement is not opposed to. He cites, as an example, the kind of immigration which results from political oppression and religious persecution, but he obviously does not limit himself to only this group, leaving room for inference that the Labor movement may not be unalterably opposed to immigration other than of a political or religious-persecution nature. We have already had occasion to remark that Gompers as a publicist is consistently and inseparably linked with Gompers as the president of the A. F. of L. and his discussion of this particular phase of the immigration problem—namely, the sort of immigration the labor movement is hostile to regard without disfavor—is haltingly and not very clearly developed. Nevertheless, he says enough in this respect to entitle every friend of liberal and humane immigration laws to claim him as their friend.

The only grievance that the friends of liberal immigration laws may have against Gompers is that he would not follow a similar line of action in the American Federation of Labor, and that when committees of the Federation appear publicly at hearings or issue statements to the press on this subject, the impression invariably is created that the A. F. of L. works hand in hand with the worst immigration-baiters in the land, an impres-

sion which Gompers objects to and, it seems to us, rightly so.

Now let us see what is the underlying thought in Gompers' article. In brief it is as follows:

It is a foregone conclusion that the United States will never again become an absolutely free center for absorbing immigration. Time was when the development of this country demanded that it be such a free center for the immigration-influx from the European continent, and practically, during the entire nineteenth century, it seemed as if this stream of immigration from these countries to America would never cease. Well, these days will never return, that much is certain. Surely, America can still absorb a good many immigrants and the desire among the masses of the people in the various European countries to come to America has not yet abated. But America will not keep its doors widely open to an untempered stream of immigration any longer. The same, therefore, as Gompers puts it, is not free immigration against no immigration whatever, but free immigration versus restricted immigration. The question resolves itself to the measure of restriction and the manner in which it is to be enforced.

Gompers is of the opinion that the present quotas should be maintained but that the administration of this law should be improved. He proposes that immigrants be appraised beforehand whether they would be admitted into this country or rejected. A machinery should be established at each port of embarkation, consisting of our consular officers and of the foreign authorities affected, to determine at each of these ports how many immigrants and which of them the United States will receive, in a manner the tragedies of those men, women and children who are compelled to turn back after making the journey will have been avoided. Instead of having "islands of tears" at our own shores, we might transfer the task of sifting immigration to the starting points, and while Gompers, from a humanitarian point of view, would much rather see these stations of sorrow entirely abolished, he assumes to deal with the immigration problem primarily from a pragmatic point of view. Gompers' line of reasoning is probably this: If sentiment, if the consideration of the sufferings of those who are compelled to wander, is to be the sole determining factor in dealing with the immigration problem, why saddle the burden of absorbing European immigration solely upon America? We presume this to be his chief point as we observe that in his article he speaks plaintively of the nations who fail to coordinate their national economy on a large enough basis to make emigration unnecessary.

Whether such calculations can bear

scientific analysis or whether they are motivated by true humanity is an entirely different proposition. In his defense of the higher American standards of living Gompers is not inclined to dally with figures that might or might not prove to him the correctness of this or that point of his; neither does he stop to consider whether his policies are running counter to general humanitarian conceptions. Gompers sees in unrestricted immigration a menace to American living standards and that is why he is unequivocally opposed to it.

Is, then, unrestricted immigration a real menace to the higher living standards of America?

Gompers replies to this in the affirmative. He is not content with the well-established fact that immigrants create a larger demand for products in the consuming home market and therefore do not take away jobs from the older residents. That may be true, he says, but it is equally true that a flood of immigrant labor sharpens competition between workers and reduces wages. Reduced wages result in a decline of the purchasing ability of the workers and that in turn serves to lower the living standards of the working population of the land. Gompers denies that there ever was a shortage of labor in this country, and proves that America is still a long way off from such a shortage and from ever becoming a nation that could not handle with its own population resources the demands of its national economy.

Gompers also points to the following: In the year 1921-22, a bad year in America, the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe sent in only about 46 per cent of their allotted quotas. In 1922-23 they filled out their quotas before the expiration of the year, as in that year industrial conditions improved considerably in America, which proves conclusively that the slackening or the speeding up of the immigrant flux to this country depends largely upon industrial conditions here. In other words, the immigration problem is purely an economic question tainted to a certain extent with the color of egotism. And if the immigrants may be guided by egoistic motives in their coming to America, why may not American workers be guided by similar motives in attempting to resist such immigration?

Gompers does not ask these questions directly but these inferences fairly burge out from his lines. In a word, in this article Gompers puts the attitude of the A. F. of L. towards the problem of immigration in such a light that one cannot accuse it of being either reactionary or jingoistic, as its enemies would have it. The reader, however, has reason to ask why the American Federation of Labor has failed to give this problem

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By M. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

It is reported from Cleveland that, although the strike of the cloak-makers had to be given up after nineteen weeks, the locals are in a very good condition. Not only have the old locals survived but new ones are in the process of formation. The Hungarians and Bohemian cloak-makers have formed new units and sent for charters to the International office.

According to the decision of the New York Joint Board, a conference was held which was attended by the district managers, — Brothers Sigman, Metz, Grossman, Wisniewsky, Chairman Halperin of the Joint Board, and Meyer London. The conference decided to send a notice to all manufacturers whose shops have been found unsafe and unsanitary, to improve them before the coming season.

The strike in the Sileps shop in Philadelphia is in good shape. A double rate of strike benefit is distributed to the workers. The chances of breaching this firm, in terms, after it had locked out all its workers because they would belong to the union, are very excellent.

REVISED OUTLINE OF DR. CARMAN'S COURSE ON AMERICAN HISTORY

The Educational Department is extremely gratified to inform our members that the revised outlines of the course given by Dr. Carman at the Workers' University for the last two years have been printed in pamphlet form and are now available to all.

We are particularly proud of this publication. It is the first in the series which we plan to issue from time to time. It is but natural that this first publication should deal with the social history of our country. We cannot recommend it too highly. Although a comparatively brief pamphlet of forty-seven pages, it contains a clear and concise presentation of the social forces which have molded and shaped the history of our country. It also contains the names of books of reference in connection with the topics discussed.

much more attention and an all-embracing inquiry that would justify it in subsequently making its stand clear and familiar to the whole world.

The immigration problem is not a spontaneous issue; it is a permanent domestic question. And while immigration may, perhaps, be a specific American problem, emigration and the wandering of the masses is essentially a world problem. The American Federation of Labor would render the world at large a great service if it undertook such a task, and Gompers' treatment of this subject justifies such an assumption.

working conditions in the cloak and dress industry in the United States on a more sane and wholesome basis.

And as we take all these things into account, bad as the outgoing year has been to a great many of our workers, we are not inclined to send a curse after it ere it departs, for, while it has given us worry, pain and suffering, it has also served to demonstrate to friend and foe alike that our organization is built not on sand, but that it knows its course and has infinite faith in its own future.

AN INSTALLATION MEETING AFTER OUR OWN HEART

During the several years that we have been connected with this International Union, we have been present at many an installation meeting. Such meetings are usually run along lines which make it difficult to distinguish one from the other. Yet, we confess, we saw something at the last installation meeting of the New York Cutters, Local 10, which impressed us as entirely different and which has made us wonder why our other locals

are not conducting installation meetings in a similar manner.

Such meetings, we assert, if they are to be held at all, should be as impressive and solemn as possible. Frankly we say, if the chief officers of the Union are invited to such affairs it is not sufficient that these ceremonies for inducing the officers of a local body into office for an ensuing term be held before a handful of persons, which makes the whole ceremony rather small and insignificant. It is only when the entire membership of the local is present at such a meeting that the affair takes on a meaning and a significance which is due it.

The installation meeting of Local 10 at Arlington Hall Saturday a week ago, which was attended by a large number of its members, was a genuine festive union gathering, the equal of which we have not witnessed in a long, long while. We congratulate the elected officers of this local and we hope that, with the aid of the members, they will make good at the posts for which they were chosen. And we advise the other local unions to follow suit and make such installation meetings not private little affairs but real open demonstrations of good-will and cooperation between the rank and file and the officers-elect.

IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

A Novel View of Fascism

(From a Review of Odon Por's New Book, in *American Federationist*, November, 1933.)

The Labour Publishing Company, Limited, of London has just brought out in England Odon Por's most recent book on Fascism, presenting what is undoubtedly the most detailed analysis of that movement yet made available to the English-speaking world. The book is to be published in the United States this fall.

It should be said at the outset that Odon Por has been in the thick of the Italian labor movement for twenty years and that he is a pronounced radical but an anti-Fascist. The author's conviction is that some good will come out of Fascism and he presents in great detail a constructive side of the movement of which little has been heard in America.

Mussolini as the dominant figure of the Fascist movement has talked and acted like a thorough-going reactionary and it is only a close analysis of what lies behind his movements and of what is written into the Fascist program and philosophy that reveals the constructive side of the movement that now governs Italy. For example the author says:

A detailed examination of what is going on just now in Italy brings to light the birth of a new functional democracy, clearing, unlike political democracy, to serve and not to exploit the state, which will be a new engine for driving ahead, constructively and collectively, and will establish an equilibrium of a new kind, not static, but dynamic.

As a matter of fact the book gives much emphasis to the development in Italy of a new kind of state—an industrial state—to replace the political state which was in a deplorable condition of demoralization when the black-shirted hosts made their march on Rome.

"This idea," says Por, "has taken form in the 'Groups of Competence,' which are intended as a sort of prelude to Vocational Communities, as Mussolini pointed out in a statement which appeared May 7, 1923."

Quoting from this address the following is illustrative of its purport:

... All this is nothing short of an attempt to foster the organic growth of the state of the future, which we must suppress but will select its parliamentary assemblies and will entrust to them all questions of general politics, and especially foreign politics, while it will continue, for the solution of other problems, technical councils of a novel character, elected by professional associations.

Por's own aid help seeing that the purely political problems which agitated society during the last century are now thrown into the shade, and to a great extent superseded by economic and technical problems which can not well be settled by an interchange of opinion. For their solution, individual knowledge and capacity are needed, not oratory and a crowd.

Thus the crucial and urgent questions of our public life at the present day do not turn on political rights which no one wants to trample on, so long as they are accompanied by duties and responsibilities, but on railways, ports, agriculture, industry and commerce, and all those other concrete functions on which the existence of the nation really depends.

One begins to understand that a new road in the south of Italy, a new quay in a port, a kilometre of railway, an improvement in agriculture, or the equipment of a laboratory, might be much more important than a whole session of parliament.

One cannot escape the conviction after reading the book that if the political franchise is for the moment a somewhat innocuous institution, there is in the process of development an industrial franchise which with the promised revival of the po-

litical franchise will give the Italian people a voice in the conduct of their daily affairs which they have never enjoyed before.

Surely political Italy was in an amazing state of disorganization prior to the Fascist revolution. Perhaps Americans find it difficult to comprehend a political situation such as that which existed in Italy where the parliamentary system had become little more than a joke so far as the masses of the people were concerned and merely the means to a more or less precarious livelihood so far as the politicians were concerned.

The Fascist movement is intensely national and perhaps its first principle is that national unity is essential. It has been said freely by critics of the Fascist, and not without reason, that the movement has had a strong and bitter anti-labor bias. The author denies. He says the Fascist understands fully that the government can be permanent that is in opposition to the proletariat, "just as it would be out of the question to sacrifice completely the bourgeoisie or the propertied classes."

"Fascism," says Por, "is revolutionary, not because it seized power by illegal means, but because by means of its dictatorship it is constructing a functional democracy." He continues to say:

Political democracy is not sufficiently robust to effect its own transformation into functional democracy. Hence the antipathy of Fascism for the parliamentarism of today, an antipathy which is often interpreted as a tendency to absolutism, whereas it is, in fact, nothing but the effort to discover a form of government more suited to modern needs, just as the dictatorship is merely an expedient for fostering the development of a functional democracy.

The idea of dictatorship is neither thrust into the background nor apologized for by the Fascist. Nor does the author seek to minimize that feature of Fascist rule. We find him saying:

Fascism insists on the necessity for a dictatorship; it refuses to try again any of the traditional political systems which have, undoubtedly, failed to withstand the supreme test. It considers that the party system is a thing of the past. It has been well said that "Fascism is not merely a change of the mode of rule, it is a change of the end of an epoch." It is a time of crisis for all parties. The world is moving on; Fascism has nothing in common with the progressiveness of the past.

Whatever else may be said about the Italy of the Fascists it is at least, if we are to believe the author of this book, an Italy that is at work rapidly constructing a nation, of collaborating units of usefulness.

The author says, and not without much truth:

Parliamentary rule, as we know it, based on universal suffrage, is democratic in theory only; the method in which it is carried out is undemocratic and especially the way in which the government is appointed pays no heed to the ideas, the functions, or the needs of the electors. It is a special group and special interests that get the upper hand in parliament.

Parliamentary rule really makes democracy a fraud. It destroys any consciousness of responsibility in the citizens, and makes them think of the state as something to be desired and exploited. Political democracy can not get to the bottom of things because it has to pretend to be everyone's ally; it can not discriminate between the various complex functions, choosing out those men and those functions that are indispensable for the creation of a truly and effectively democratic society. Political democracy

must not be confused with that democratic sentiment which should control all human relations, but is a quite different harmony with a system of functional authority (generals).

As to labor, it may in Italy, the author says:

Understate anything in a constructive way. Fascism has declared that it wishes to make Labor the center of the social order, well knowing that, having achieved this, it will have created functionally the social structure. But it is not blinded by theory; it sees reality, and therefore recognizes that Labor is not synonymous with proletariat. It does not wish to organize society on a preconceived idea that there are in existence two classes—proletariat and bourgeoisie, and the proletariat—and that they are antagonistic, but on the idea that there are various classes which can exist together coordinated in a functional hierarchy.

By means of professional organizations in every branch of production and exchange in the social order, and in the social order will be included—Fascism aims at creating a social order of a higher and more vital quality. It is not obsessed with the idea of keeping the classes in their place, but of bringing them into close relation with the state for public ends.

It is perhaps, as the author points out, the Fascist idea of economics and not its idea of social and economic conditions which explains Fascist policies. We find that in its statesmanship and in its work of reorganization Fascism "does not consider the bourgeoisie or the proletariat and their special interests, but recognizes producers and production, and throws open the state, not to classes, but to functions, assigning social duties to capital and labor, and in consequence imposing limits on them."

It should not be inferred that the Fascist in any sense favor a super-state which is to take unto itself all the functions of industry and production. The contrary is the case. Mussolini in one of his most recent speeches is quoted as saying:

I think that the state ought to resign its economic functions, especially those of a monopolistic character, for it can never adequately administer them. I hold that a government which desires to relieve the population from the post-war crisis ought to allow private enterprise free play, and give up all interfering and hampering legislation, which would be the language of the left, but, as experience is proving, eventually becomes absolutely fatal to national interests and economic development.

What comes of Italy as the result of the Fascist revolution is of course for the time being a matter of conjecture. Whether sound, constructive civilization can be built upon such a foundation as the Fascist have laid will of course be a subject of debate until it is settled by time and action. Whether democracy can be built and given permanent character upon a foundation of autocracy remains to be seen. The historical tendency of autocracy is always to perpetuate and enlarge its existing powers.

So far as the trade unions are concerned, the organizations that existed prior to the Fascist revolution have been undergoing a rapid process of dissolution. The trade unions organized under the aegis of the Fascist are said now to outnumber the old organizations almost two to one. Side by side there is being erected in Italy a structure of trade union organizations and of corporations, as they are known in Italy and elsewhere on the continent. There is a prospect of something akin to compulsory trade unionism, the meaning of which will be, it is apparent, that each person who is occupied in a productive capacity must belong to an organization of fellow workers in that occupation. This is logical because if there is to be erected a structure of industrial democracy it can not come into being without thorough and complete organization of all who are engaged in productive effort. The grand council of the Fascist has appointed a special committee for the study of this problem.

Legal recognition of the trade unions apparently is intended but it is

equally apparent that it is not intended that trade unions shall be anything beyond subordinate parts of the industrial state.

The whole concept apparently is that their function must be to assist in production while they must never be permitted to intrude into Italian life the threat of purely class action.

Some attention is given by the author to the violence indulged in by the Fascist prior to the march on Rome and immediately thereafter. If we are to believe his account, a great deal of the violence was the result of inability to discipline the Fascist military organization and also to personal and group animosities within the Fascist organization toward communist and other radical groups within the then existing trade union movement.

The famous "censor oil cure" which for a brief time was used as a punishment immediately after the march on Rome is now, we are told, a crime punishable by ninety days' imprisonment.

The book, all in all, is a studious effort to portray the background and the philosophy and purposes of the Fascist.

Whatever may be the opinion about the Fascist movement, and there can be in the American trade union movement but one opinion of autocracy and dictatorship, the book deserves a wide reading for the sake of the illumination which it casts over the entire development and for the sake of its wealth of detail concerning the Fascist philosophy and the outlook for the future under Fascism. Certainly the promise of the industrial democracy in Italy, pledged in declarations and phrases which might easily enough have been taken from the mouths of American trade unionists, makes the book one of tremendous and exciting interest.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

GERMANY

INCREASE OF EMIGRATION FROM GERMANY.

Of late increasing numbers of German workers are leaving Germany in order to escape the distressing conditions in their own country. All the countries bordering on Germany announce a growing stream of German immigration. In most of these countries it is necessary to have a special permit for entry, but many Germans manage to cross the frontiers secretly. Yugo-Slavia, Roumania and Portugal also report an increase in the number of immigrant Germans.

Emigration overseas has also increased. Everyone who can by any possibility amass the necessary amount of money emigrates. The number of German emigrants leaving German and Dutch ports during the first half-year of 1923 was 40,872—23,910 of whom were male and 16,962 female. In June of this year the emigration reached higher figures than any since the beginning of the nineties of last century. Most German emigrants go to South America, but emigration to the United States has also increased recently. American newspapers note the growing numbers of German immigrants, who are often helped to defray the costs of the journey by relatives living in the States. In many cases, also, German families send over some young member of the family, in order that he may help to maintain the rest of the family, and pay for their subsequent removal to the States.

The quota of German immigrants to the United States is now exhausted and no new immigrants will be admitted before the end of June, 1924.

THE "UNITED FRONT."

The Berlin District Branch of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany has published an open letter declining the invitation of the Communist Party to unite with it in forming a committee of action. The Branch declares that this invitation is part of a plot to win over from the Social Democratic Party the wide masses of the Proletariat. In support of this contention, the letter contains various quotations from writings of Sinowjew in the "Pravda" of Moscow, in which Sinowjew asserts the necessity of securing, in case of a revolutionary outbreak in Germany, complete control both of the Social Democratic Party and of the "free" trade unions, in order "to clear the way for the victory of the workers." The Social Democratic Party announces that, before it can accept any invitation, the Communist Party must declare that it will no longer obey the dictates of the Moscow Executive, but is willing to "accept proletarian discipline and proletarian comradeship in the common struggle."

HELP FOR THE GERMAN TRADE UNIONS.

The appeal of the Management Committee of the I. F. T. U. for aid for the German trade unions has met with prompt response from many countries. The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions has recently appealed to the affiliated unions to make a levy for the benefit of the German workers' organizations of 50 centimes per member.

YUGO-SLAVIA

CONFISCATION OF LABOR PAMPHLETS.

The Yugo-Slavia authorities appear to be in much fear of the publications of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

The "Nasa Snaga" publishing office of Zagreb gave an order for the pamphlet on "The Position of the Working Class in Germany" (not in Yugo-Slavia). The pamphlet was confiscated. A like fate befell the pamphlet "A Survey of the Past and Future of the Russian Trade Union Movement," although this latter, after the fulfillment of numerous formalities, was eventually released. Moreover, for 3 months past a parcel has been lying at the Customs Office, awaiting release and as usual, neither the customs nor the police authorities took the trouble to notify the "Nasa Snaga" that they had confiscated the parcel; it was only through private information that the publishing office discovered that the parcel had been thrown into the waste-paper basket. A complaint having been made, the parcel was fetched from the Customs Office by the police, opened, and found to contain some copies of the pamphlet "War Against War," "The Protection of Young Workers," "The International Federation of Trade Unions," and a few of other publications of the I. F. T. U.

SWEDEN

THE TRADE UNIONS IN 1922.

The Swedish Federation of Trade Unions has just published its report for 1922. By way of introduction it is pointed out that in that year trade unions were still suffering from the unparalleled industrial depression, which reached its climax during the first half of the year. In February, 1922, there were as many as 165,000 unemployed.

The section dealing with wages shows that 106,625 persons continue to secure summer holidays, while 4,337 persons have enjoyed them for the first time. Another section is exclusively devoted to the relations between the Swedish Federation and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the activities of the International Labor Office.

The total budget of the Federation amounts to 1,824,033 kronen. Details of the membership have already been given in an earlier press report.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE DEMANDS OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

The Czech trade union federation has submitted to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Social Welfare demands which embody important social reforms. These demands are as follows:

1. The Introduction of Social Insurance.
2. A Law for the Recognition of Collective Agreements.
3. A Law for the Establishment of Labor Exchanges.
4. The Amendment of the Civil Code, in respect of the giving of notice, and dismissal.
5. The practical execution of the Act establishing

DOMESTIC ITEMS

EMPLOYERS HELD LIABLE.

The United States supreme court has held that under workmen's compensation laws employers are liable for injury or death of employees while enroute to and from work.

The fact that such injury may take place a few minutes before or after the fixed hours of employment does not relieve the employer of responsibility, the court said.

The case came from Utah. That supreme court and the Utah industrial commission upheld compensation to the widow of a packing plant employee who was killed while on his way to work. The company contested the award, claiming lack of responsibility on the ground that the employee was killed in a crossing accident, neither the conveyance, the locomotive nor the premises being the property or under the control of the company.

POST OFFICE SERVICE AFFECTED BY LOW WAGE.

The low wage paid government post office clerks and letter carriers is demoralizing the postal service in Detroit, and the Detroit Free Press is alarmed.

"In return for their faithful and intelligent work," says this paper, "the postal employees as a whole receive salaries so meager that they would scarcely attract an unskilled laborer and are distinctly below what are considered a fair living wage. In cities such as Detroit, where costs are high, the post office worker who attempts to support a family on his stipend is close to want most of the time.

"Such a situation as this cannot continue. Either congress must come to the rescue with substantial pay increases or the service is going to suffer serious deterioration."

Postmaster Smith states that for 14 months the Detroit post office has been unable to hold a single civil service examination for carriers and clerks for no other reason than that the salary inducement is so low in comparison with the starting point in other classes of work that few are willing to accept this employment.

ROADS GET LARGE SUMS.

A total of \$501,322,000 has been paid to the railroads under the transportation act provisions which guaranteed railroad earnings for six months after termination of government control, according to the interstate commerce commission in its annual report. All accounts will be adjusted when an additional \$37,677,000 is paid.

This guarantee was in operation for six months after the government relinquished control of the roads. During that time, as now, there was no check on the expenditures of the roads, who were assured a fixed earning return.

Under the existing law the commission is authorized to set rates so that a "fair return rate" will be made by the railroad. The commission has set this rate at 5% per cent, after fixed charges are met.

Chambers of Labor. 6. A Law providing for workers' holidays. 7. The Abolition of the Domestic Servants' Code. 8. A Bill for the Recognition of "Shop Stewards" for concerns employing less than 30 workers, and therefore possessing no Workers' Council. 9. Additional Credits for Unemployment Benefit. 10. Sickness Insurance for Civil Servants. 11. The Extension of the Competence of Industrial Courts, which must be made to include all sections of labor.

SWITZERLAND

THE TRADE UNIONS IN 1922.

The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions has recently published its report for the year 1922. The industrial depression, which continued throughout the year was responsible for a further decline in membership. On October 31, 1921, the trade unions numbered 179,291 members, while on December 31, 1922, their number had fallen to 154,692, thus showing a decrease of 24,699 or 13.7 per cent. All the unions alike shared in this general decline. As compared with the maximum numbers of the years 1919 and 1920, the trade union membership shows a decline of some 30 per cent.

In connection with these figures it must be borne in mind that the number of industrial workers has considerably decreased since 1919. Thus the number of workers coming under the scope of the Factory Act during the period from 1918 to 1922 has declined by 50.15 per cent. It is evident that the process of industrializing Switzerland is not merely not advancing, but is being reversed to a quite considerable extent.

ITALY

THE ITALIAN LABOR FEDERATION.

The General Council of the Italian Federation of Trade Unions has recently held a meeting, at which the representation of Italy at the International Labor Conference was one of the subjects of discussion. The General Council approved the line taken by the Executive, and confirmed the statement that Rosoni, the Labor representative sent by the Fascist trade unions to the Labor Conference, denied the existence of mixed organizations (i. e. organizations admitting both employers and workmen) and that this mandate had been declared valid by the Conference simply and solely because the representative of the Italian Government had declared the Fascist organizations to be composed "exclusively" of workers, although this statement is in absolute contradiction of the real state of things.

At the same meeting, the General Council confirmed the resolution adopted by the Executive of the I. F. T. U. on November 8 on the subject of relations with the Red Trade Union International, and the proposals submitted to the Trade Secretaries concerning organizational relations with the I. F. T. U.

The next Congress of the Italian Federation of Trade Unions will be held at Milan in March, 1924.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

How Teach in Labor Classes?

An interesting incident occurred in our Workers' University recently. In one of the classes the instructor had discussed an important subject. A number of questions were asked. Instead of giving his own opinion, the instructor called upon various members of the class to express theirs. There was a clash of mind against mind. Different points of view were presented. Finally, from among these diverse and different opinions, the truth emerged. The class felt satisfied that they got an important point, clearly and decisively.

At the end of the period, one of the students approached the instructor. He apologized for presuming to criticize him, but stated very definitely that he felt much of his time had been wasted during the hour.

"I want to tell you frankly, Professor," said he, "that I come here because I want to hear your opinions on the subject. I am not interested in the opinions of the other members of the class. They know very little. I want to profit by what authorities on the subject can tell me."

If this were the only time such a thing occurred we would merely smile and pass on. But unfortunately, there are a few others who feel the same way. For their benefit let us get this matter thrashed out.

When a person of authority delivers a single lecture, he wants to tell his audience what he thinks or knows about a certain subject. On such an occasion the audience comes for inspiration or information.

A class in a course is entirely different. It is true, students come to such classes to learn. But the object of the teacher is also to make the students think and think for themselves. For true education consists in developing in a student the power to solve his own problems, thinking for himself and being able to stand on his own feet intellectually.

This cannot be accomplished by merely talking to people. There is only one way to do it, and that is to make the student participate in the lesson by solving problems raised by the teacher or by one of his fellows.

One of the greatest teachers that the world has ever seen was Socrates. His students and he spent hours discussing important political, social, ethical and other problems. His method was very simple. A student would ask a question. Socrates would ask him for his own answer. If the an-

swer did not agree with what Socrates had in mind, he proceeded to ask further questions. The student would present his point of view, but Socrates would manage to make the student himself answer his own question, so as to either justify or contradict his original statement.

The result was twofold. First, the student acquired information, and, secondly, he was trained to analyze his own problems and to use his own experience and ideas in solving these problems.

Another thought should be kept in mind, and that is, the democracy of the Socratic method. Those of us who have faith in democracy and are opposed to arbitrary authority should realize that the presentation of diverse points of view does not merely clarify a subject but is the only democratic way of getting at the truth.

But like everything else, this method has its limitations. It is absurd to permit people who do not know anything about a subject to express opinions for which they have no basis. It is equally absurd to spend an undue proportion of the time in debating something which is a question of fact and not of opinion. It is clearly a waste of time to have stump speeches delivered from the floor instead of brief, concise and pointed remarks. It is also wrong to permit students to wander from the subject and discuss something that has nothing to do with the point at issue.

If these are permitted the instructor is in error. But with intelligent, skillful and experienced teachers, such as we have in our Workers' University, the Socratic method should not only be permitted, but encouraged and demanded.

True, it takes a great deal of time and less ground is covered. But no matter how much information is given in the form of a lecture, a comparatively small portion of it is absorbed. Most of it is forgotten. But when a point is discussed, when different opinions are expressed, when the student participates in an analysis of that particular point, it remains for a long time.

Let us keep this truth in mind. The salvation of the world will depend upon the ability of workers to think for themselves. They should not permit others to think for them. And the ability to think for themselves can be developed best in classes where the students are given an opportunity to do so.

PROFESSOR CARMAN AND EUROPEAN HISTORY

Our members who attended the courses given by Professor Carman in the Workers' University for the past two and one-half years will welcome this announcement, that on Sunday, January 6th, at 11:30, Dr. Carman will commence a new series of discussions. It will deal with the general subject of the underlying forces which have shaped Europe to its present condition.

The present European situation is confusing, unless one has a clear notion of the important epochs and developments in Europe in the last few hundred years. It is practically impossible to understand the nationalistic and commercial developments of Europe unless one knows what happened in the great struggles for self-expression on the part of the European peoples.

Those who attend this course

PROFESSOR OVERSTREET'S COURSE IN THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Professor Overstreet will continue with his course on Foundations of Modern Civilization on Sunday, January 6, at 10:30 a. m. Our members who attend this course have expressed their appreciation of the brilliant presentation of the subject.

In the remaining lectures, Professor Overstreet will complete the study of such social institutions as family, church, trade union, army, school, etc., which have evolved to satisfy definite human needs, and which seem to be destined to play a continually important part in social evolution.

will undoubtedly find it as valuable as Dr. Carman's course on the Social History of America. They will gain a clear insight into the dramatic events which are convulsing the world today.

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Saturday, December 29

I. L. G. W. U. Building

3 West 16th Street

1:30 p. m. N. B. Fagin—The Philosophy of Anatole France.

2:30 p. m. Otto S. Beyer, Jr.—The Railroads and the Workers.

Saturday, January 5

Washington Irving High School

1614 Street and Irving Place—Room 529

1:30 p. m. H. W. Smith—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—Modern Tendencies in Social Criticism.

2:30 p. m. David J. Saposs—American Labor in Modern Civilization.

Sunday, January 6

10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Foundations of Modern Civilization.

UNITY CENTERS

Closed next week on account of Christmas Holidays. Will re-open January 7.

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Saturday, December 29 and January 5

Local 9—228 Second Avenue

1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Modern Economic Institutions.

Sunday, December 30

Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx.

10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The American Labor Movement.

Clinton Hall—151 Clinton Street

12:00 M. H. Rogoff—American Civilization.

ENGLISH

Thursday, January 3

Local 17—Reefer Makers' Educational Center

142 Second Avenue

6:00 to 8:00 p. m. Mr. Goldberg will instruct in the English language.

I. L. G. W. U. Building—3 West 16th Street.

8:00 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Appreciation of Music.

Sunday, January 6

Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

11:00 a. m. Alexander Fichandler—Social Psychology.

Friday, December 28 and January 4

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

BALTIMORE

YIDDISH

Tuesday, January 8

Office of Joint Board, 201 Aisquith Street.

8:00 p. m. N. B. Fagin—How to Understand the Social and Economic History of the United States.

BOSTON

Monday, January 7

Office of Local 49—919 Washington Street.

6:00 p. m. David Vaughn—Social Psychology.

Wednesday, January 9

Office of Local 7—21 Essex Street.

6:00 p. m. Niles Carpenter—Employment Exchanges.

CLEVELAND

Monday, December 31

Office of Joint Board, 203 Superior Building.

8:00 p. m. H. A. Aikins—Applied Psychology.

Thursday, January 3

8:00 p. m.—Aims, Problems and Tactics of the American Trade Union Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.

PHILADELPHIA

Friday, January 4

1035 Spruce Street.

7:45 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Social Psychology.

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.

A New Course in Literature

The students of our Workers' University will be interested to know that a new course in literature will be commenced on Saturday, January 6, at 1:30 p. m., in the Washington Irving High School. This course will be given by Dr. Herbert W. Smith, professor of English in the Ethical Culture School.

It will deal with literature as reflecting different attitudes towards life. Dr. Smith will discuss first those writers who criticize the weaknesses of men and society without offering any cure. In the second place he will take up the propagandists, those who urge some particular course of action. He will then deal with the artists who are merely concerned with presenting men and women as they actu-

ally live, without a desire to illustrate a theory or urge a reform. He will then discuss those writers who attempt to escape from the realities of life into some sort of romance, and lastly the mystics, those who attempt to comfort humanity through irrational methods of approach.

APPRECIATION OF MUSIC

A Lecture by Alexander Fichandler

Alexander Fichandler will lecture on the Appreciation of Music on Thursday, January 3rd, at 8 p. m., in the auditorium of the I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th Street. Admission free to the members of the International.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISL

Before a gathering of nearly seven hundred members, the newly elected officers of Local 10 were installed on Saturday, December 22nd, in Arlington Hall, by and in the presence of prominent officers of the International Union and the Joint Board.

What was probably the most interesting aspect of the installation was the address of Morris Sigman, president of the International. It was not a mere cut-and-dried installation, at which the officers would be installed and the meeting adjourned. Nearly seven-eighths of the time was given over to a discussion of the present problems of the industry and the plans for their alleviation. The splendid gathering of the members was largely due to the expectation of hearing Brother Sigman, as president, speak for the first time at Local 10. In this the cutters were not disappointed as the president appeared promptly upon the opening of the meeting, as did also Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff, S. Yanofsky, editor of "Justice," and Israel Feinberg, manager of the Joint Board.

Philip Ancel, president of the cutters, very modestly gave up his gavel to Manager Dubinsky, with the remark that his office as president for the present term has expired and that not until he is obligated for the new term will he assume his duties. Dubinsky took hold of the gavel as though the instrument were by no means a new one to him.

In introducing Brother Feinberg he recalled to the members the changes that have taken place within the organization during the past four years and the time when the local was not affiliated with the Joint Board. He brought to the minds of the cutters those days when the large manufacturing shops existed and when Local 10 had its own staff of business agents with its own machinery for the enforcement of union conditions and their control. But since then, he said, a change has taken place for the worse, the larger shops, jobbing houses and, in the place of large cutting rooms, almost as many contracting shops as there were cutters.

It was Feinberg, the manager said, who then, as president of the Joint Board, in the company of Morris Sigman, then manager of the same organization, appeared before the Executive Board of the cutters and urged upon them proper affiliation. These officers then prophesied the change which has come over the industry today and pointed out to the board that the continued isolation would spell suicide. These prophecies more than justified the subsequent action by the local for proper affiliation. Today more than ever, Dubinsky pointed out, is the cutter dependent upon the word of the manufacturer. "There is no such creature in the industry manifested by the members concerning the affiliation. The cutters feel that their problems are interwoven with those of the workers of the other crafts and that their salvation lies in unified action.

Manager Feinberg, after being warmly greeted, immediately launched into a discussion of the conditions and problems touched upon by the manager of the local. "I have often looked," said Feinberg, "upon the isolation of the cutters and their being dubbed 'aristocrats' as an empty phrase and without any foundation or meaning." The speaker stated that any man or woman being subject to uncertain periods of employment in a particular industry must of necessity be dependent upon another, no matter what his or her craft may be.

He touched upon the problems which face the industry today and said that the coming months are going to be very trying ones for the great mass of members in the cloak and dress industries. He said that the workers of these industries are living in a day when the question of a bare living is also becoming a meaningless phrase. The uncertain periods of employment make the living wage a starvation wage. The workers' standard is gradually being raised and the resultant earnings in a seasonal industry fall much short of the needs of today. In short, the speaker pointed out that the earnings of the workers in the garment trades must so be arranged as to cover the unemployment periods. He concluded his address by calling upon the members to try to realize the situation and be ready for the emergency that is facing them.

In introducing President Sigman, Dubinsky attributed to him many reforms instituted in the locals of the International, the latest of which is the doing away with elections in unions conducted by groups instead of by the locals. For Local 10 alone, the chairman said, this reform was the utilization of at least two months of energy for constructive purposes.

The latest program adopted by the General Executive Board for reconstructing the industry was in a large degree advocated by President Sigman.

The applause that greeted President Sigman as he rose to speak showed plainly the anxiety with which the members have waited to hear him. In his opening remarks he congratulated the local upon the manner in which it had conducted its recent election. "This election was, as I understand it," the head of the International said, "an election of and conducted by the union. Those groups, I was gratified to learn, which attempted to force their decisions and desires upon the membership were absent. And the members were given an opportunity to decide for themselves as to who their officers for the next year should be. He congratulated the local upon its democratic conduct of the election and expressed the hope that the example would be followed by the other locals.

The President plainly showed his desire for the cutters to forget politics and buckle down to the problems with which they are faced by going at once into a talk on the problems facing the entire union. The President dwelt at some length on the change that has taken place in the industry which has already been described here. One particular point which he emphasized was the mistake which is being made by the unions and the employers in ascribing the term "jobber" to a class who are in the purest sense of the word manufacturers. "There is no such creature in the industry today as may be called 'jobber.' Yes, jobbers existed some years ago and these were jobbers in the real sense of the word. These men would go from shop to shop and collect such garments as were to be found in the shops at the tail end of the season, and which were returned as a result of cancellation because of untimely deliveries." The men in the garment industry of today who are called "jobbers," Brother Sigman pointed out, are really manufacturers. They invest their capital, supply materials, and place their orders. These are placed in the hands of contractors who fill them for the so-called "jobber." The contractors are but foremen who settle prices and manage the shop of the manufacturers.

President Sigman pointed out that

as a result of this situation in the industry the workers are placed entirely at the mercy of the big men—the manufacturers. They may and do, by the withdrawal of an order or by giving the order out to another contractor who underbids the first, discharge an entire set of workers. The workers thus left without work have no redress whatever. They cannot come to the union and say that they were discharged. The union is always met with the argument that the contractor gave up business.

It is this problem that confronts the industry, the head of the International stated. How are the workers of a particular contractor to have their jobs secured? By the main fact that a jobber can stop giving work to one contractor and give it to another he in this manner accomplishes something which has been made very difficult for the contractor, and that is the wholesale discharge of workers.

The General Executive Board, in an attempt to solve this problem, adopted a program which is called the "ten commandments" by the editor of the International organ. One of these is the limitation of the number of contractors to each jobber on, as he should be called, "manufacturer." The right in this way will be taken away from the real manufacturer to discharge an entire shop of workers. The union, Brother Sigman pointed out, must no longer tolerate shops of four or six machines, the employers of which in the great majority of cases do their own cutting. Those shops, the workers of which tolerate a condition of this sort, Sigman said, are scabs. Another important point embodied in the "ten commandments" deals with the time period of employment. The intent of this point is to place squarely upon the industry the right of the worker to a decent wage. This the International proposes to do by means of determining the average time of employment and adding to the weekly wages a certain percentage which is to be placed in a trust fund.

In the event that the workers did not secure the minimum of employment the amount would be taken out of this fund to make up the shortage. This accumulated fund will also act as a security for the faithful performance of the agreement. President Sigman concluded by saying that the International proposes to demand the forty-hour week also for the cloak industry. Cries of "Right" greeted the President's assertion that if he were offered the forty-hour week in lieu of the limitation of contractors and the guarantee fund he would be dumb if he would accept the compromise. The address, which was more of a lecture, was finished with wishes of success to the newly-elected staff and hope that the members would cooperate with the officers to the end that success would crown the efforts of the organization.

Brother S. Yanofsky, in his opening remarks, expressed his gratification at the splendid showing which the members made at the installation and stated that it was customary for him to address installation meetings at which only the elected officers were present. His address mainly consisted of urging the members to display a spirit of brotherhood and cooperation, which, he said, was very often sadly lacking in unions.

In giving his reasons for having captioned the General Executive Board's program for re-constructing the industry as the "ten commandments," he stated he did so because he really believed that they were commandments. Just as he said, if the Ten Commandments given on Sinai were adopted and made the law, there would be a better place to live in, so if the International were to succeed in having its ten points adopted would the union be placed on a sounder basis.

Brother Abraham Baroff, secretary-treasurer of the International, who in his introductory remarks was characterized by Manager Dubinsky as the soul of the union in spite of his incessant demands of the local secretaries for their dues, made a few short fitting remarks concerning the officers of Local 10 and the election, after which he proceeded to confer the oath of obligation upon them.

The one single order of business before the members was the voting on the next convention city. The cutters by a unanimous vote chose Boston. Manager Dubinsky, of course, expressed satisfaction to the members on their choice because, he said, the next gathering of the International Union is a jubilee convention to which all ex-officers of the International will be asked as guests. Among them will be one of Local 10's oldest members, Brother McCauley, who was the first President of the International.

The full complement of the Executive Board, as it will be constituted with the appointments made by President Ancel together with the newly-appointed Examination Board, will be given in these columns in the next issue of this publication.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

REGULAR MEETING Monday, January 14, 1926

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING . . . Monday, January 21, 1926

REGULAR MEETING Monday, January 28, 1926

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place