

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION

WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VI, No. 4.

New York, Friday, Jan

Price 2 Cents

Living and Making a Living

What a vast difference between the two, what a chasm! Most everyone "makes a living," bad or good. Very few "live."

To make it easier for himself to "make a living," a wage worker must combine with his fellow workers, he must form a union. But in order to "live," he will have to cease being a wage-worker and become just a worker.

For the difference between living and making a living is about as great as the difference between workers and wage-workers. To the wage-worker his work is toil, drudgery and travail, the very expression of life—while to the free worker his work is the expression of life.

Work of love, labor of choice, unimposed and uncoerced, arduous as it may appear to an outside observer, is, nevertheless, a process of joy. Such work combines physical effort with the harmonious cooperation of the soul, heart and mind. It is when one has to sell his labor to another for a living in the knowledge that from this hired labor the purchaser will derive for himself luxuries and idleness, that work becomes galling and unbearable. It is this damning process so inseparable from labor today which plunges the worker most and as a result of which he does not live but makes a living.

The free worker, not the one hired for a wage, lives his best when at work. The wage-worker only sighs the borderline of life when he is through with his daily task. While at work he does not belong to himself. His "I" then is submerged and he is at best but part of the machine which he serves.

The time-worn adage concerning the "sweetness" of labor is piffle and humbug when applied to hired labor. It may have a meaning and substance when it is the expression of man's free will, when it is not sold and bought. Labor for a wage is stunting, dulling, and makes life anything but "sweet." Labor for a wage helps men to continue existing, but not living; it is the denial of the human will and of the human spirit.

In our present scheme of living, most things are ugly and bad because most of what we produce is the result of wage-labor, of compulsion. There is little in it that savors of love, of culture, and of what we usually term civilization. Over it all is the deadening spell of the machine, of a hired, industrialized life.

In the houses in which we live, in the clothes we wear, in the cinema we watch, in the theatres we visit, in the magazines and books that are printed for our use—there may be everything but the touch of the truly beautiful, of the individualistic, of the different, of what expresses a free, creative spirit. It is all dull wage labor.

Man will begin to live when labor for wages will become non-compulsory, free labor. Then the age of real civilization will set in. The civilization we have today is but the result of the efforts of a handful of free spirits. Even these are free only in a limited sense, for most of them are eventually vanquished by forces they cannot resist. They too, for the most part, become hired artisans; their creative wings too are shorn off as soon as they begin making soulless things to order. The civilization to which they contribute thereafter is but that of making a living, but not the civilization of Life.

The paleness, monotony, and spiritlessness of our civilization will disappear only when man will get for his labor not merely a pay envelope but when in his free work he will find the joy of life and the expression of his unharnessed individuality.

The labor union aids the worker in making a living, and then in making his life somewhat less burdensome and more attractive. This is the immediate and first aim of every trade union. The higher purpose of a workers' organization, however, is to bring about a social order where the workers will not only be able to make a living, but where the workers of the world will finally be able to live. The highest, ay, the very ultimate aim of the labor movement is to create such social conditions as will do away entirely with work for wages and make room for free labor, so that men and women shall live a full human life not only after they cease work but while engaged in the processes of creative labor.

S. Y.

In The Week's News

Another day, another day, and Labor will be conducting the "King's" government in Great Britain. Ramsay MacDonald, ostracized and driven from the platform by frenzied "pay-riots" only a few years ago during the mad days of the war, now dominates Parliament and is ready tooust the Tories who are clearing the road for a retreat.

What a colossal task MacDonald and his comrades have before them! What they achieve? Will they succeed in wresting some form of co-operation from unwilling Liberal hands for any length of time or will they be treacherously sabotaged by the crafty hand of Lloyd George, and forced to dissolve Parliament and "go to the country" in another election demanding a majority?

Labor, political and non-political, in every nook and corner of the globe is watching with bated breath and eyes focussed on the "light little island" where a minority of labor men is daring to shoulder government responsibility years before expected and, perhaps, hoped for. Her English labor knows that it is bound to rule, that it must get itself accustomed to the business of running the government, and is willing to take the risk.

"Eventually, why not now?"

Ours is, indeed a country of breath-cutting surprises. Take, for instance, Philadelphia. Here we have been living right close to it for so many years, never even suspecting that it was a regular Sodom and Gomorrah, a cesspool of every sin catalogued and unlabeled. And now the old city got itself a new Mayor, who in turn borrowed for the city a new Chief of Police from the marines, and for over a week we have been fairly robbed of sleep by the nightmare of an endless exodus of gamblers, confidence artists, bootleggers, burglars, prostitutes, all headed straightaway across the ferry to New York, driven by the fiery hand of the avenging Brigadier-General.

Moreover, we hear this contagious wave of Virtue has already struck as if by lightning, like everything else in this quick-moving land, the communities of Boston, Newark, Baltimore, and a number of other cities. It has even brushed by New York where thirty-three police inspectors were of a sudden called on the carpet to answer charges of laxity—perish the idea!—in enforcing certain well-known Volstead regulations.

We reckon that at this rate, in the course of some two or three weeks, bootlegging, burglaries, highway robberies, arson, and prostitution will be a matter of the necessary past of this union of communities, provided, of course, there is enough of a supply of marine generals to go round.

Anyway this has been a fine week for brigadier-generals. General Dawes, chairman of the experts' committee, ostensibly an unofficial American graciously loaned by this country to Polanco's Reparations Commission to help find out how much money German financiers had hidden in foreign countries and how much money Germany can pay France at once before it releases its hold on the German throat, thundered right out in first month that he was not going to do anything of the kind but that, before the derelict could be made to pay, he must be put on his feet again.

Just what the liberal, Socialist and labor world has been insisting on for many and long months! No wonder the newspapers report that the French politicians felt "dazed" after this hard-shelled talk and one elct about it that for a while they lost their general balance. If this brigadier-general has started off at such a gait, what will prevent him from telling the French in short order that their 132 billion gold marks are "way above the German capacity, and that they must get out of the Ruhr if they expect any payments at all!"

The Associated Industries of the State of New York, an organization of 2,500 employers and representing an investment of more than two billion dollars, of a sudden burst out into publicity by making a demand upon Governor Smith of New York to investigate the State Labor Department, charging that it has "broken down" and that it is honeycombed with politics.

The Associated Industries are quite well known to the workers of New York as the group of employers who have steadily and relentlessly fought every law favorable to labor and to woman and child welfare measure proposed in recent years in the New York legislature. So without taking up cudgels on behalf of the Labor Department, one can easily see through that move a crafty piece of lobbying to the friends of labor legislation at this session.

The demand will probably bring a sharp retort from the Labor Department. It would not be such a bad idea if someone moved to investigate the Associated Industries.

The Johnson Immigration Bill, as a substitute for the present three per cent. quota law, is riding fast to a finish, having already been adopted in committee.

In practical results the new law will probably not differ much from the present one. But in switching the quota basis from 1910 to 1890, the law will make it impossible, save for a handful, for immigrants to come here from countries located in south-western Europe while opening the doors much wider to "Anglo-Saxon" immigrants. Thus in one fell swoop, America becomes of, by, and for Anglo-Saxons, a "selective" country, if you will, of "superior" stock.

It is this pernicious, Ku-Klux-Klan feature of the Johnson bill that is most revolting. Will President Coolidge dare to veto it?

Did you read the story of the philanthropic Brooklyn highwaymen who declined to rob two charity officers of a bag containing fifteen thousand dollars of charity money, after one of the officers had waited to them for five minutes on the street? Selflessness of charity, and instead tossed a ten-dollar bill into the car and ran away?

What is this ancient and highly lucrative profession of burgling coming to anyway if such sentimental slush can interfere with its unabridged practice? Or perhaps you are inclined to doubt the whole story, even though it appeared in the "New York Times"?

M. D. D.

All Union and Trade News on Page Two

Have You Already Opened an Account in the International Union Bank? If You Are a Depositor in Any Other Bank, You Have Only to Bring Your Bankbook to Our Bank. We Will Do the Rest.

INTERNATIONAL GIVES \$5000 FOR THE GERMAN LABOR MOVEMENT

G. E. B. Adopts Many Other Important Decisions

The seventh quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. is coming to end this week after eight days of continuous work in Philadelphia.

The entire agenda of the meeting, including discussions of its principal points, will be given in the columns of JUSTICE next week. We shall meanwhile give only a few of the most important decisions already adopted.

After President Sigman and Secretary Baroff and all the vice-presidents in charge of active work in the International had rendered their reports, several committees which appeared before the Board with requests and appeals were given a hearing. Later the G. E. B. discussed the situation of the cloakmakers in Canada and instructed the General Office to proceed with its work of ef-

fecting a collective agreement with the cloak employers in Toronto, and of organizing the remainder of the unorganized shops.

The Board also adopted a decision with reference to Los Angeles, instructing the General Office to continue supporting the strike for a union shop which has been going on there for the last three months. Decisions were also adopted with regard to the New York knitgoods workers and the embroidery workers of New York and New Jersey. The embroidery locals requested the G. E. B. to introduce a label in their trade as a means of strengthening union control. As this question, however, is not exclusively an embroidery trade problem but affects the whole ladies' garment industry, the General Exec-

utive Board decided to investigate the label problem thoroughly and to prepare a complete report concerning it for the next convention of the International in May, 1924.

The question of the affiliation of the knitters with our International was also turned over after a discussion to a special committee. The knitters in New York City are making both women's garments, such as dresses and suits, and sweaters. So while the sweater knitters would have to fall under the jurisdiction of the United Textile Workers, there has been a strong demand from the knitters of women's garments to become affiliated with the International, and President Thomas McMahon of the Textile Workers, who visited the G. E. B. meeting, was inclined to

agree with them. As it, however, involves an entirely new trade and consequently new problems, the G. E. B. decided first to investigate the matter very carefully before taking in the knitters.

A report on the educational activities of our International was read by Vice-president Pannia M. Cohn at the Monday session of the Board. On the same day the Board decided to unify the Philadelphia dressmakers and cloakmakers in one joint board.

On Tuesday, the Board, among other things, decided to aid the German labor movement and voted to send them \$5,000 for that purpose. It will be remembered that President Sigman and Secretary Baroff took part in the conference recently held in New York City under the chairmanship of President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, summoned for the purpose of aiding the trade union movement in Germany. President Sigman is a member of the National Committee selected by President Gompers to organize this relief.

LOCAL 25 CALLS ON TUCKERS IN WAIST TRADE TO ORGANIZE

Mass Meeting Will Be Held Next Thursday, January 24

The Waistmakers' Union, Local 25, with the aid of the International, is now conducting an organizing drive to enroll the workers of the trade into the union. Shop meetings, educational literature and personal talks are the means used by the active workers in the local to persuade the non-union workers to join the organization. President Sigman has recently appointed Brother Abraham Tuvim as special organizer for the waist trade to help Local 25.

On Thursday next, January 24,

right after work, Brother Tuvim will address a mass meeting of the tuckers in the waist trade which will be held in the office building of Local 25, 16 West 21st street. The tuckers more than any other workers in the trade are suffering from the unorganized conditions in the shops. They now have the opportunity to get into the local, and the union will do its best to help them raise their work standards as it has helped the workers in the other branches of the women's wear industry.

Connecticut District Council Meets

In New Haven at the Hotel Garder a week ago there was held the first meeting of ladies' garment trade council of the eight locals of our International in Connecticut.

The establishment of this council was quite a worthwhile achievement for the district. Until now, each of these locals had been working for itself despite the fact that their interests were closely interwoven and they all belonged to the same parent organization. The Trade Council will now bind them together and there is little doubt that when they know of each other's activities and coordinate them, they will accomplish better results all around. The Council was formed by the Eastern Organization Office of which Vice-president Halperin is manager.

The first meeting of the Council was attended by two delegates of each of the Connecticut locals. A program was agreed upon, and officers were elected, including a permanent chairman and secretary. Secretary Baroff of the International came to this first meeting, and in addition to him there were present Vice-president

Halperin, Organizer Bernard Shub, Brother Ornburn, secretary of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, and Brother Sullivan representing the labor unions of Bridgeport, Conn. These visitors delivered interesting talks extending the greetings of the organized workers of Connecticut to the new labor body.

It was decided that the Council meet once a month at least, and that at these meetings the conditions of each local be reported and steps for joint action with regard to the locals be decided upon. Some of the good work which the individual locals are now doing could be carried on on a larger scale and for the benefit of all the locals in the state. The general sentiment of the delegates was that the Council will fill a long-felt want among the garment workers of Connecticut and, with the aid of the International, will perform a highly useful function.

Local 22 to Install Officers

This Saturday afternoon, January 19, the Executive Board of Local 22, the Dressmakers' Union of New York, will take place at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street.

As reported already in these columns, the election for twenty (20) additional members of the Executive Board of Local 22 took place on Tuesday, January 8. Before the nominations were made, the same element in the local which had been endeavoring to undermine its existence for the last two or three years, started a campaign to sabotage this election and, by means of fake stories and lies, to "boycott" it. They even went to the extent of calling a "protest" meeting in the name of the dressmakers.

Notwithstanding all these tricks and underhand attacks, the election was carried out on a bigger and more impressive scale than ever before in the history of the local. The boycott and the protest availed them nothing and many hundreds of members of Local 22 came to vote and discharged their duty in a peaceful and civilized manner. Many of the

electd candidates drew as high as \$25 votes,—quite an unparalleled record when compared with former elections in this local. Following are the elected members of the Executive Board:

Simon Farber, Samuel Atkin, Isidore Buskin, David Becker, Sarah Kaplan, Hyman Greenberg, Nathan Margolis, Joseph Rabinowitz, Benjamin Katz, Max Fine, Charles Margolis, Anna Somovskiy, Alter Liss, Meyer Fine, Isaac Kanan, Jack Kent, Rose Solkin, Aaron Klein, Isidore Farblash, and David Weidberg.

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FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By OBSERVER

During President Sigman's short stay in Boston, in addition to conferring daily with the dress manufacturers, he made it his particular business to meet with the Executive Boards of all the locals. Every local is confronted with different problems and each was anxious to make use of Brother Sigman's visit here, to get his advice and counsel. It required a lot of vitality and energy to go through all these conferences and meetings from early morning until late at night. And even then when Brother Sigman, after a hard day's work, was ready to return to his room in the hotel, there was sure to be someone to accompany him so as to have a few more words with him.

One of the most interesting meetings was that of the three committees of five members each from the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, Dressmakers Local 49, and Waterproof Garment Workers' Local 7. The meeting was held at the headquarters of Local 7, at 21 Essex street. Instead of the scheduled fifteen, almost the entire membership of the different executive boards was present. It looked almost like a regular mass meeting. A free-for-all debate took place for hours. And the subject was again, as at many similar meetings before, the establishment of one Joint Board in Boston. Although the entire matter was thoroughly thrashed out during the time when the committee of the General Executive Board was here, still there were some of the opponents of the one joint board who thought this a good opportunity to rehash all their arguments in the presence of President Sigman. In answer to all these claims Brother Sigman made it very plain that no individual group within a local nor even an entire local will be permitted to stand in the way of progress for the organization. And so he advised all present to have their respective locals send five delegates each to the next meeting of the Joint Board. In the matter of finances, President Sigman urged the adoption of the New York system. Should this system be found not to work well, it can be changed any time the locals so desired.

A special meeting of the Executive Board of Waterproof Garment Workers' Local 7, was held with Brother Sigman, as a result of which the raincoat makers decided, in spite of the fact that their trade is not similar in any way to cloaks or dresses, to affiliate with the Joint Board. Vice-president Fred Monosson, manager of the local, assisted the President in convincing the Executive Board that it would work for the common good to have Local 7 as a part of the Joint Board.

Dressmakers' Local 49 decided at a regular member meeting to call a special meeting, through circulars, for Tuesday, January 15 at Palm Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton street, for the purpose of acquainting our members with the new form of organization and the election of five delegates to the Joint Board.

At this mass meeting a report will also be rendered by the officers of the Union on the progress of our negotiations with our employers for a renewal of the agreement which expires February 15, and our demands for a forty-hour working week.

The Joint Board will officially begin to function Thursday evening, February 16, when the first joint meeting will take place at 17 Essex street.

The Joint Board of Cloakmakers, upon reading that the next convention of the International of the Union on the progress of our negotiations with our employers for a renewal of the agreement which expires February 15, and our demands for a forty-hour working week.

This is just a reminder that the annual Ball and Exposition of Dressmakers' Local 49, will be held Friday evening, February 1 at Paul Revere Hall, Huntington avenue. The members of Local 49 are each taxed with one ticket at 55 cents. The Arrangement Committee is making all necessary preparations to provide a real good time for our members and their friends.

As is the custom every year, many of the shops are making up dresses of the latest styles as their contribution to the Exposition, which we expect will this year surpass any held in previous years.

Local 89 To Have Dance

As in former years, the Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Union, Local 89, is giving its annual dance on the evening of February 22, Washington's Birthday, this year at the Park Palace, 3 West 116th street.

Secretary Antonini has forwarded a circular letter to all the shop chairmen and chairladies in the shops where Italian workers predominate, calling upon them to make a special effort to make this entertainment a success. The entertainment committee has decided this year to eliminate speech-making, so as to afford members of the union who speak any other language than Italian to have a good time. As the well-travelled New York City is working on a five-day basis, and Saturday is a complete day of rest, the committee was thoughtful in selecting a Friday night for the dance so that no one need worry about getting up on time the following morning.

The dances of Local 89 have always been very popular and well-attended, and owing to the circumstances referred to, it is expected that this year it will be an overwhelming success. Tickets can be had at the office of the union at 8 West 21st street and also at any of the branch offices.

A GIFT FOR A SHOP CHAIRMAN

We, the workers of L. Rentner's shop, 145 West 28th street, at a meeting presided over by Business Agent Abraham Skauls, have decided to present Brother H. Gelloh, our shop chairman, with a silver set of 55 pieces as a token of our recognition of his faithful service for the workers of the shop. We hope that he will continue his loyal work for the men and women of our shop and for the union as a whole.

H. STEINHORN,
ARMA GAINOR,
LENA LANGLOTTI,
KATHERINE WARD,
Committee.

In Local 38

By B. DRASIN, Secretary

In looking over the last few numbers of JUSTICE I find that one thing predominates—notice of elections.

The reason for my not having reported our elections up to the present was probably the fact that our elections passed so quietly that no one, I presume, thought them worth while mentioning. After reconsidering the matter I decided to give the proper attention to our elections, which were held on Saturday, December 29, 1923.

It seems to me that the quietness with which our elections passed is of significance and importance. There was and still is a good deal of noise in connection with the elections in the locals. The present officers or groups of members, in order to be victorious, had to rely on inside or outside forces; to look for support and even help from either the so-called radical or reactionary element of which the unions are now usually composed, although, in point of fact, quite often the ones who call themselves radical are quite reactionary in their actions and vice versa. But I want to say that in our local we have managed to prepare and finish our election of officers for the next term in an orderly fashion.

A surprisingly large number of members participated in the elections, which were held in our own office. It was surprising to some to see so many interested in the election as there was only one secretary on the ballot, and it is rivalry for the highest office that usually draws a crowd. This is the dull season. Our elections took place on Saturday afternoon, and members now working had to come to vote especially from their home, many residing a great distance from the office.

The installation meeting took place on Thursday evening, January 3, 1924, at the office of our Union. In spite of the fact that it was decided not to make a public installation but only to invite the old Executive Board and Committees, some active members came to pay tribute to the old and new Executive Boards and Committees. Speeches were delivered by most of those present. There were expressions of thanks to old Executive Board members for their devotion to our Union's cause, and hopes were expressed that the incoming Executive Board will be of still more benefit to the organization. The writer of this article, your old and new secretary, gave a brief report of the growth of our organization since the separation from Local No. 3, and proved that we have grown both financially and materially.

Our local meetings as in the past will take place every first and third Tuesday of the month at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street at 8:00 p. m. All are asked to attend them.

The following were elected for officers for the year 1924:

B. Drasin, Secretary; D. Wisniewsky, Chairman of Local; Nathaig Wilks, Vice-chairman; Joseph Zack, Recording Secretary; Trustees, M. Abramowitz, John Romeo, Don Wisniewsky; Sick Committee: M. Abramowitz, Sam Cohen, John Romeo.

Executive Board (Italian Branch): A. Corletto, R. Fasani, F. Interdonati, J. Riemel, D. Paladino.

(Jewish Branch): M. Abramowitz, N. Abramowitz, G. Beregovy, J. Banach, S. Cohen, S. Drenzinski, H. Karp, M. Resnikoff, G. Shuchman, D. Wisniewsky.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday afternoon, January 19, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss "Philippine Independence."

at his Current Events Class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

At 3:15 p. m. on Saturday, January 19, the Saturday Afternoon Cameraderie will meet for tea and talk in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, until four o'clock, when Ernest Gruening, formerly of "The Nation," will speak on "The Counter-Revolution in Mexico," and Rothschild Francis from the Virgin Islands, will speak on conditions there.

On Wednesday evening, January 23, Professor A. A. Goldenweiser is speaking on "Psycho-analysis after Freud at the Rand School."

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 7148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFKY, Editor. A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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

Vol. VI, No. 4. Friday, January 18, 1924.

Entered as Second Class Matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 22, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1106, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

News Item
BANK AT CLINTON AND RIVINGTON STREETS CLOSES
DOORS; DIRECTORS IN A PANIC
 Officials of the State Banking Department closed late yesterday afternoon the private bank at Clinton and Rivington streets. Lines of depositors have since been crowding the front entrance of the defunct bank clamoring in panic and rage for their hard-earned savings . . .



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Child Labor in Tenements

By JOHN LA RUE

Gradually the evil of child labor in tenements has been wiped out but that there is still a problem although it is far less serious than it was ten years ago, is evident from the recent investigation conducted by the Child Welfare Commission of New York State. Total abolition of contract work in tenements, so that by law manufacturers will be prevented from sending garments into homes to be finished, or having heading, embroidery, crocheting, stuffing of dolls or any other kind of work done there, is proposed as a remedy. An alternative is more rigid inspection and the argument against inspection is that it will require an army of inspectors to do the job, prove to be tremendously expensive to the taxpayers and be inefficient in the end.

How important has been the labor organization in wiping out the practice of home work was not stressed at the hearing. But only 500 cases of child labor were discovered by the commission in a six months survey conducted by the State Department of Labor and this for the entire state. One flagrant case of home work was discovered in Suffern, N. Y., not far from Tuxedo, and where sixty-two American mothers were found letting their children work on garments that had been sent out of New York City to escape the union.

Marie B. MacDonald, appearing as the representative of Bonas Embroiders Union No. 66, said that sub-contracting of embroidery work makes it impossible for the state to detect or to place the responsibility for work given out at night to be

worked on by families until the early hours of the morning. She gave an instance in which 200 dresses, with many hours of work required on each dress were completed over night and returned by contractors to the factory the next morning ready for a rush order. She resented the "sob stuff" of Jacob de Young, appearing as the spokesman for the Associated Home Industries, to the effect that mothers and widows needed this work so they could earn a living. It was revealed that the earnings of an entire family by home work were not more than \$300 a year on the average. It was pointed out that if the mother could go to the factory she would earn much more than at home. The problem of what to do with little children would still have to be solved. But the labor view which was also that of the welfare organization, was that the contractors were pitilessly exploiting the home workers, discriminating against fair employers, undermining union labor and thus were in effect parasites on industry.

How small were these earnings witnesses at the hearing revealed. Mrs. Luisa Duchon, mother of seven children, supporting an invalid husband, made at the most \$10 a week, embroidering dresses at home. The most she could earn in two days was \$3. June roses, made in homes by little children brought but 20 cents a gross; pajama frogs, 35 cents a gross; embroidering cloaks on silk-socks and stockings to be sold on Fifth avenue, \$3.50 to \$4.50 a dozen pairs.

That maintaining an inspection system to watch 15,000 licensed tenements where such work could be carried on with a minimum menace to the health of the community was folly, all the charitable and welfare agencies agreed. They denounced also the false plea that little children liked to work on the pretty things made in the so-called home industries. That children were forced to work by the command of poverty-stricken parents was the rule, they said. Some of the more remarkable cases brought to the attention of the commission, now drafting an amendment to the tenement house law, follow:

Miss Margaret A. McGroarty, a visiting teacher in East Harlem, saw a little child three years old working on flowers. The little fingers were employed to put paste in the June rose and then they turned the rose over to the older children to finish. The mother's fingers were too large for this work.

Miss Marion W. Willoughby, investigator for the National Child Labor Committee saw children stop pasting stems on artificial leaves for a moment, run over to one that was ill in bed with measles, put the patient's head on a cushion and resume pasting the leaves.

Miss Emma V. Haggerty, principal of Public School 102 in Harlem, saw a mother and six children all suffering from "scabies" working silk frogs for expensive men's pajamas sold in Fifth Avenue shops.

Alexander Bell, inspector for the Labor Department, saw one baby sitting in a grandmother's lap helping or at least trying to string tags. Mrs. Jean Herr, an investigator for the National Child Welfare Commission, reported that on the upper East Side she had found one baby

wagging "pulling petals apart for the manufacture of artificial flowers."

"In one instance we found a man and his wife engaged in making men's garments and both suffering from a communicable disease," she said.

"In another instance I found a girl of ten seated on the sidewalk cutting lace heaped around her. She told me she received 25 cents for 100 yards of this work and if she worked hard she could cut 50 yards an hour."

The curious inequality of the law is that boys and girls in New York State are not permitted to work in any industry until they are sixteen years of age and have received their working papers, which are issued only when the Health Department records show they are of that age. But they may work in the house and there is no law to stop them. This should be remedied, all persons interested agree. There is opposition and bitter hostility on the part of the manufacturers against abolishing home work. But the commission itself is reluctant to forbid homework, thinking it might bring additional hardship upon some mothers and dependent families. A bill to take all points is still to be worked out and will be debated by the new legislature.

The school problem is important in connection with child labor for it was found that boys and girls who worked were sometimes too tired to learn quickly and lost as much as two years in school as a result. One teacher described children rushing home during the noon hour to work and then grabbing a piece of bread to eat on the street on their way back to school. The unsanitary conditions resulting from congested homes were also brought out at the hearing.

Do Union Railroads Pay?

A PROOF OF UNION EFFICIENCY

By O. S. B.

"Baltimore and Ohio Shows Huge Gains," reads a recent headline in the New York Times. Railroad men and financial experts everywhere are commenting on the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio stands out from most of the roads of the county, not merely in improved financial conditions, but also in the improved condition of its equipment and its service. This is a double victory, for the money spent to improve equipment rapidly would normally reduce the net earnings.

The Baltimore and Ohio was a leader in the settlement of the shop strike of 1922 and not only accords full recognition to the organized shopmen, but has recently entered into an agreement with them for constructive cooperation.

In order to apply the test of facts and figures to the efficiency produced by such a policy, we have prepared a statistical comparison between the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania. This comparison should be particularly illuminating. Both roads run through approximately the same territory. The Pennsylvania has adopted an anti-union policy with regard to the shop-crafts, substituting for the genuine unions an "employee representation plan," which, according to the road's officials, enables them to economize by getting rid of union working rules, introducing piece work, etc., etc. The comparison cannot be unfair to the Pennsylvania, since it is a larger road and for years has been financially stronger than the Baltimore and Ohio.

FINANCIAL RESULTS

As is well known, the Baltimore and Ohio has recently received payment of its regular five per cent dividend on its common stock, besides

making large appropriations for future retirement of bond issues. This it has been enabled to do because of the growth of its net operating income. The first eight months of 1923 show a net return \$15,799,000 greater than for the same period of 1922, and \$15,318,000 greater than the "standard return" for the same months of the pre-war years on which government compensation was based. The difference in percentage for the first eight months of 1923 is 64,036,000 greater than for the same period of 1922, and only \$7,738,000 larger than the "standard return" for the first eight months of pre-war years.

These facts take on added significance when we remember that the entire net operating income of the Baltimore and Ohio is normally not more than half that of the larger Pennsylvania System, and consequently the difference in percentage increase is even larger than the difference in dollars. The net of the Baltimore and Ohio more than doubled between 1922 and 1923, while the net of the Pennsylvania increased less than 12 per cent.

For the first nine months of 1923 the Baltimore and Ohio shows the enormous excess of \$22,441,674 above a year ago. The Pennsylvania shows a gain only \$6,650,648.

LOCOMOTIVE CONDITION

Of course, a road might temporarily increase its profits by cutting down expenses in such a way as not to keep its equipment in repair. Such a course would lead to trouble later. The Baltimore and Ohio has done just the opposite—it has markedly improved its equipment condition while making the above financial record. This means that a lot of work was done at a low cost—in other

words, the shop forces were remarkably efficient.

One of the best tests of shopwork is locomotive condition. For the month of July, 1923, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Baltimore and Ohio had only 14.1 per cent of freight locomotive unserviceable against 19.5 per cent for the Pennsylvania and 21.9 per cent for the Eastern District. More remarkable still is the improvement over last year. The Baltimore and Ohio percentage dropped from the high figure of 50.6 in July, 1922, while the Pennsylvania's percentage was reduced only from 33.2. Both roads showed a marked decrease in percentage of freight cars unserviceable, the Baltimore and Ohio falling from 14.7 per cent in July, 1922, to 3.6 per cent in July, 1923, while the Pennsylvania fell slightly less, from 14.3 per cent to 3.9 per cent, and the Eastern District from 15.6 per cent to 7.5 per cent.

According to the American Railway Association, on September 15 this year the Pennsylvania had fewer serviceable locomotives stored than on the same date last year, the figure falling from 191 to 153, while the Baltimore and Ohio had more, the figure rising from 10 to 88. The total number for the Allegheny District fell from 471 to 401.

Now comes a very curious and interesting comparison. We have seen that in improvement of locomotive conditions the Baltimore and Ohio did far better than the Pennsylvania. We have seen that in spite of this fact it did not spend so large a proportion of its income. How did this happen? One explanation may be discovered from the statistics of locomotives going through the shops. According to the American Railway Association, in two weeks ending September 15, the Baltimore and Ohio turned out of shop 614 locomotives out of a total of 2,481 on the line, or a little less than a quarter, while the Pennsylvania turned out of shop 3,319 out of 7,320, or almost

half. Thus trips to the shop are much more frequent on the Pennsylvania than on the Baltimore and Ohio.

TRAIN PERFORMANCE

There might be one remaining explanation for defenders of the Pennsylvania. They might say that the above figures do not show the true condition because the equipment on the Baltimore and Ohio had been allowed to remain in use longer without repair. If that were true, it ought to show up in decreased efficiency of operation. It does not. This comparison also is favorable to the union road.

For the seven months ending July of each year the increase on the Pennsylvania was from 22,487 million ton-miles to 31,253 million, or 39 per cent, while the increase on the Baltimore and Ohio was from 8,536 million to 15,046 million, or 53 per cent.

Car-miles per car-day is another measure of operating efficiency. This technical term means the average number of miles travelled by each car on the road each day. It therefore indicates how well the equipment is used in transporting freight. It naturally rises in period of heavy traffic, but if it rises more on one road than another in the same period, the chances are strong that the first road is operating more efficiently than the other.

CAR SHORTAGE

And finally, the Pennsylvania turned up on September 15 with a net car shortage of 523, while the Baltimore and Ohio had a net surplus of one car. This record was undoubtedly affected by the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio added 9,001 new freight cars in 1922, and 2,949 in 9 months of 1923, while the Pennsylvania added only 100 in 1922. But this fact merely adds to the achievement of the Baltimore and Ohio in making such a good financial showing while spending so much for new equipment.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 2148
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A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager
MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor
Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year

Vol. VI, No. 4. Friday, January 18, 1934.

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

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 26, 1919.

EDITORIALS

SIGNS OF MARKED IMPROVEMENT

The result of the election for twenty members of the executive board of Local 22 is gratifying in every sense. To begin with, as far as we are aware, the election was carried out in a spirit of scrupulous fairness. What were formerly regarded as "necessary" campaign evils, such as "slates" of candidates, and personal vilifications and attacks, have been entirely eliminated during this contest. That was due to the fact that the committee appointed by the General Executive Board to supervise the election had done its utmost to guard the voting against unsavory and degrading methods of electioneering.

Let us frankly state here that we do not and cannot consider it as a sign of health for a local when it becomes imperative that the General Office take a hand in its internal affairs. The cornerstone of our labor movement in America is local autonomy, the right of independent, self-determining action in all matters pertaining to the life of the local as such. This principle of local autonomy is also the principle of our International, and President Sigman together with the entire General Executive Board are fully in accord on that. And when the General Executive Board decided to intervene in the affairs of Local 22, it was plainly because it considered the situation as of extreme emergency involving not only the welfare of Local 22 but that of the entire International Union.

Owing to unscrupulous and unfair tactics at former elections, Local 22 had fallen into the hands of persons who subordinated the interests of the local to the interests of an outside body entirely alien to our organization. To have left the local to be dominated by that group would mean to doom it to extinction, which in turn would mean damage and injury to our organization as a whole. The "internal" affairs of Local 22 became the immediate concern and affair of the entire International, and the General Executive Board, first of all, in the discharge of its duty saw fit to free Local 22 from that portion of its executive board which brought it well-nigh to the brink of a precipice. Secondly, the General Executive Board took steps that a fair and honest election be held in order to minimize the chance of any shady characters worming their way into the executive board of the local by means of trickery, falsehood, and chicanery.

It stands to reason that the union-smashers and demagogues, inside and outside the local, have meanwhile done their best to cripple the election. At first they carried on a campaign of slander urging an early election, and when Local 22, under the auspices of the committee of the General Executive Board finally arranged the election, they began a campaign for boycotting the election. And let it be recorded here with a feeling of sincere delight that this campaign of the enemies of the union has not had the slightest effect. The number of votes cast in this election was about twice the number cast in any other former election for officers in the local,—over thirteen hundred.

Of course, even this number of votes, when considering the size of the local, is far from desirable. It is still clear that the majority of the members of the local take scant interest in the affairs of the organization. Yet, it appears certain, when compared with former elections, that the members of Local 22 are beginning to wake up. And to us this sign is of the greatest importance. As long as the members of this local remained indifferent and apathetic, even a small group equipped with enough effrontery to carry them through could become the masters of the local. But when a considerable number of the members of a local are aroused sufficiently to take a part in its affairs, the chances for these brazen birds "capturing" unions are next to nil.

We have a right now to expect that the members of Local 22 will begin to take a greater interest in their union. The dress-makers, we hope, are intelligent enough to understand that the interests of their local and of themselves, as workers in the shops, are identical. The stronger the union, the better it is able to protect them in the factory, and vice versa. This simple truth has, nevertheless, been made obscure to them by the demagogues who would twist and turn their heads by matters which should not concern them in the least, and who had poisoned their minds against their own union.

The aid extended to Local 22 could have never been more timely and salutary. It pulled it out of the pool of intrigues, calumny, and out of the deadening apathy which permeated every nook and corner of the organization. Local 22 is again on the right road, and we feel confident that after all its recent sad experiences, it will not so soon deviate from the direct and effective path of the trade union movement and will not make it

necessary again for the International to interfere in its internal affairs, being able to take good care of them.

As regards the newly elected members of the executive board, many of whom we know in person, we desire to say that the members of Local 22 could not have elected a better and abler set of workers for the post. We are inclined to believe that Local 22 has today an ideal executive committee. Of one thing we are firmly convinced: This executive committee of the local will not stoop to take orders from any outside body. It will act according to its own best judgment, not with an eye towards "politics," but with its mind centered upon the immediate interests of the members of the big local.

Local 22 deserves to be congratulated upon the personnel of its new executive committee and the new board should be felicitated upon the confidence vested in them by the local. The committee of the General Executive Board which supervised the election deserves similarly to be congratulated, not because its task was so difficult, but because it was rather unpleasant inasmuch as it involved interference with the internal affairs of a local and the violation, though temporary, of the principle of local autonomy in which we all strongly believe.

PEACE TIMES IN OUR UNION

Like every other big body of labor we have times of storm and stress and times of peace. Thus things appear on the surface, but as a matter of irrefutable fact we never have truly peaceful times, times of complete rest.

Take, for instance, a single paragraph from the report of Secretary Langer to the New York Joint Board of January 14. He states there, among other things, that in the dress trade alone there are in New York nine shops on strike involving 120 persons. Now, of course, this amounts only to a ripple in an organization such as the New York Joint Board. But it is an interesting fact just the same, and it discloses the continued necessity of controlling and disciplining such employers in the trade as are ready to break away from union conditions at the first temptation. Besides, these small strikes are, as a rule, very costly and they consume a great amount of time and energy.

These small chronic strikes are not "news" and they draw no attention from the outside world. They are not commented upon in the general or even our own press and are recorded only in the reports of the union secretaries. It is part of the day's work in the union, and it proves too, that it is idle to talk of periods of complete "rest" in an organization like ours. The fight of the exploited against the exploiters goes on everlastingly, it is the normal, the everyday, the regular state of affairs.

Nevertheless, we frankly cannot understand our employers. Is it possible that they learn nothing from experience, that at this late day they do not know that they are dealing with human material that would not be stepped upon? Has not the lesson been brought home to them by this time and after all their unsuccessful attempts, that our workers and their union know how to fight and how to defend their rights? Why bring affairs to the point of strikes when they know that they would have to lose in the end? We frankly fail to understand some of them, though we do not profess to be able to change them in any way. It is probably the nature of the employer to take a chance, win or lose, every once in a while at paring down something from his workers.

There is another characteristic feature of our employers. Practically in each of the reports of the district managers we find a record of "back pay" recovered by the union in favor of the workers. These figures often mount to thousands of dollars, and it indicates a strong tendency on the part of our employers to cut down whenever possible some of their workers' earnings, even though in the end they are compelled to return them after the union has interfered.

And the fact that the employer is able from time to time to "put it over" in such a manner upon the workers indirectly, throws a bad light upon the workers too. It must be stated candidly that in many cases the employers could not make these "cuts" from their workers' wages, if the workers had not silently consented to it. In such cases the workers enter into a conspiracy, at it were, with the employer against the union. Such aid on behalf of the individual workers generously extended to the employer is, to say the least, deplorable and, of course, entirely unbecoming union men and women, even if it is done with the thought that eventually the union will learn of it and collect this "back pay" for them.

Union Health Center News

Last Friday, Dr. J. F. Warbanse gave a talk before the Union Health Center class on "Cooperative Administration of Health." He described the cooperative experiment of health matters in England, Hague and other cities and countries. He also dealt with the necessity of such cooperation on the part of the workers and praised the Union Health Center, which is practically the only cooperative movement among workers in the country.

The coming Friday, Dr. William Bierman of the New York City Department of Health, will speak to

men only on "Social Hygiene."

The Tuesday night lectures by Dr. La Salle Stevens have been very well attended and have aroused the interest of the Health Class. Dr. Stevens is not only a master of her subject but prodded the question of Foods and Dietetics in a very masterly way. Dr. Stevens is especially interesting in spreading education on food matters among workers. She is to give four additional talks on the same subject in March.

Next Tuesday, January 22, a talk on "Pyorrhea of the Teeth," is to be given by Dr. Barnett M. Warren to the Health Class.

The Upheaval in English Parliamentarism

5. The Labor Party, Its Election Victory, and Its Spiritual Evolution

By Leon Chasnovich

The last elections opened a new chapter in English parliamentarism in as much as they have placed the English working class in the forefront of English political life.

Simultaneously the result of these elections has put on the party of the English workers a tremendous responsibility and an arduous political test. Heretofore, as in America, England has for generations been governed by a two-party system, and in obedience to the command of the historic moment the English Government would at one period be in the hands of the Conservatives, the party of the big landlords par excellence, and at another in the hands of the Liberal Party, led and directed largely by the predominant commercial and industrial groups in the British Isles.

The election system of England was unfavorable to and worked hardships upon the smaller parties, and it happened not infrequently that one of the ruling parties would obtain a majority of mandates though its vote amounted to a minority of the general vote cast through the country. This occurred, for instance, in the elections held only two years ago, after the Conservatives had succeeded in smashing the Lloyd George Coalition. In the elections just held the Conservatives did not expect to get a majority of the total number of votes cast; they even expected to lose some of their mandates, though they hoped to get a majority anyhow.

But the Tories suffered a defeat unparalleled in the annals of English parliamentary history. The two-party system in England of a sudden breathed its last at the last elections, which gave no party not only a majority of the electoral vote, but not even a majority of mandates and which so strengthened the position of the Labor Party that it is being regarded in line for the taking over of the Government. The Tories who in the last Parliament had a majority of 77 deputies are now in a minority of 101. The Labor Party is now the strongest after the Conservatives, having increased its number to 192. The relative strength of the parties in the House of Commons today is:

Conservatives	146
Labor Party	192
Liberals	117
Wild	8
Total	616

In the new Parliament:

Conservatives	256
Labor Party	192
Liberals	107
Wild	7
Vacant	2

Total 614

The Conservative Party which unhorsed Lloyd George on account of his failures in the foreign policy of the government, committed even graver blunders than the Liberals. It has done nothing to alleviate the great economic crises and, when it offered a protective tariff as a palliative to the English voters in these last run elections, it was soundly repudiated by an overwhelming majority of the electorate.

What will be the next move of the Labor Party, upon which this last election has saddled such a great responsibility? How will it handle this problem of power which it is now confronting, a problem which today is not only an English dilemma, but belongs to the burning questions of International Socialism? In order to understand this better, it would be worthwhile to cast a backward glance upon the inner evolution of the British Labor Party and the historic development of the political consciousness of the British workers.

Of the three factors of the modern Labor Party, the political, trade union and cooperative, the last two were the oldest in England, while the political factor is among the youngest. In the trade union and cooperative field, the English workers were the teachers of the international proletariat, while politically it remained a long while behind the workers in the other countries. A few generations ago, the Socialist and revolutionary idea flared up among the workers of England only to die out for a number of decades to come. In 1833-34, the agitation conducted by the social utopian and philanthropist, Robert Owen, who aimed to abolish the capitalist system in England through a system of craft cooperatives, aroused enthusiasm in a section of the English mill and factory workers. Later, during the period from 1839 to 1848, the heroic though rather naive Chartist movement, that believed that the gaining of general suffrage meant the inevitable death of capitalism, had shaken to their very depths the ranks of the British working classes. After the suppression of Chartism, the English workers became politically more passive, choosing to follow blindly the Liberal parties and their policy of non-interference by the government in the industrial life of the country and allowing free play to the economic forces of England. The leadership of the English workers devoted its efforts entirely since that time to the industrial organization of labor.

In 1871 the British Trade Union Congress was first formed. It was a political alliance of trade unions though without political aims and without a political program. What they aimed at was to seek relief for the workers and minor legislative changes by personal appeal to Cabinet members and by "lobbying" in the halls of Parliament. The conception in the English labor leaders had of politics at that time is shown in the remarkable fact that, as late as in 1882 and 1883, the Trade Union Congress was big majority defeated resolutions for general suffrage.

Only in 1895 did this Congress decide to form an independent political organization under the name of the Labor Representation Committee. Out of this committee, which was formed only five years later, grew the British Labor Party, as an aggregation of a number of independent political and industrial groups. In practical politics this Labor Party put forth a program of immediate demands for the improvement of the conditions of the working class, though in the realm of theory the party came upon the political arena without its own ideology and even without a program of ultimate aims. Nevertheless, its formation was a great step forward, the beginning of the spiritual emancipation of the English workers.

The English proletariat has passed through a process of experience entirely reversed from the experience of other working masses on the European continent. While the Continental labor parties arrived at their present methods of practical struggle from an already adopted set of Socialist convictions, the British Labor Party came to its Socialistic ideology by the long and tortuous road of actual practical experience. That explains the peculiar phenomenon that, while the very recent historic period of European Socialism appears to us as a period of spiritual and moral decline, it represents a period of spiritual rise among English workers. As late as in 1907, the Belfast Congress of the Labor Party rejected the ultimate aim of Socialism. In 1910, the English Labor Party came out as an independent political force and elected 41 members to the House of Commons. It, nevertheless, remained under the

into crude prose; of unabridged self-expression that has been put on the shelf of a chain store. Time was when the longer one smoked his cigar the more he enjoyed it, the more poetry did he extract from it. How different today! The cigar store is shrieking for volume, for quantity, it is raging for profits, for greater dividends.

The big city killed Smoke. Culture has made a habit of the poetical joy of Smoking, a bad habit. People smoke with nervous rapidity, in haste and bustle, cigar in the corner of the mouth, telephone receiver at the ear, and fountain-pen in hand.

Smoke went upon the city high-roads of Rush, directly opposite from where it logically was destined. The smokers of an earlier day were servants of a poetic impulse, for poetry is the bedfellow of indolence, for the rhythmic motion of Life can be sensed best only in leisure, back prone upon the grass and face towards the sky basking in a cloud of blue

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Wrist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 25, forwards demands to employers, among which are: recognition of the Union, weekly wage for cutters of \$23, piece-work on the basis of 36 cents an hour, a 56-hour work-week, equal division of work, right of the workers to elect a shop chairman, and the arbitration of disputes arising between employers and workers.

Of the 1628 cloak shops investigated by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, it was able to award sanitary certificates to only 218 shops of whom 122 belonged to the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Protective Association and 197 to independent owners.

In Cincinnati the pressers left the Operators' Local 63 and formed a local of their own, Pressers' Local 98 of Cincinnati, with an initial membership of 112.

strong spiritual influence of the Liberal Party, and for many years later it still tried to offer as little competition as possible to the Liberals during election campaigns. It had no scruples in allowing one of its prominent leaders, John Burns, to enter a Liberal cabinet.

During the war the Labor Party not only voted for war credit, but also took a lively part in recruiting and mobilizing the national strength of the country to the utmost of its ability. Only towards the end of the war and in the years after the war, we notice a swing leftward in the Labor Party. The depressing political and economic results of the war, ostensibly waged under demagogic and fake promises and slogans as the "fight against Prussian militarism," and for "universal peace," served greatly to sober up the Labor Party, having passed through the same illusions from which every other class in the land had suffered, decided to capitalize the consequences of this nationwide disappointment.

The Versailles Peace Treaty found the forces of the Labor Party sharply ranged against it. The Labor Party energetically fought the blockade and intervention in Russia; it opposed aid for Poland in the Russian-Polish war; it supported a policy of reconciliation towards Ireland; and the same party which was formerly the adherent of the Socialist International without being a fervent adherent of it, has now begun to work earnestly for its reconstruction. If one could, with a degree of right, have accused the Eng-

(Continued on Page 11)

A Jubilee of Smoke

By A. LEBEDIGER

Jubilees, all of them do not last; they vanish quickly into thin vapor. Soon, however, we shall be called upon to celebrate the jubilee of Smoke itself.

The 125th anniversary since mankind took to smoking the bitter weed is in the offing, and to this jubilee we shall devote these few lines.

I look with favor upon smoking though I myself smoke not. Smoking is comparatively an infantile enterprise, barely in its swaddling clothes as compared, for instance, with Drink. The Bible has it that at that time Uncle Noah was already a powerful imbibler while Smoke is barely over a century old.

Smoking is the very opposite of Drinking. Drink leads a man out of his moral state while Smoke brings him into himself. Drink is poetry

which ends up in prose, frequently very ugly prose, while Smoke is poetry from beginning to end—even if it gives one a tobacco-beat.

Smoking must have been invented by a very indolent, poetic soul, a man who had enough leisure to watch dreamily the horizon quietly rejoicing at the ringlets of Smoke with which he was obscuring his skyline.

Man began drinking from lack of cheer, from sheer ennui, as Noah must have felt after the Deluge.

Smoking requires ease of mind, a consummate peace, and ecstatic inhalation. But, prey, who can afford such a luxury today? Who in this busy world of ours has the time for it?

The Jubilee of Smoke is the celebration of a spoiled art, of a branch of poetry that has been converted

ings of the divine smoke.

The smoker of today is the servant of the tobacco industry. The sole survival of the poetic past of Smoke is the Pipe. The pipe in the mouth of a backwoods farmer still savors of poetry, of nature, and of leisure.

Yet, I bow to the greatness of the cigar upon this 125th anniversary of the Cigar.

Smoking symbolizes, if you please, the life of man, his achievements, his dreams, and his hope. The rings of smoke, ah, these are the unrealities of our existence. Watch a man in an easy chair, absorbed in the ringlets of smoke that roll out of his mouth, does he not feel that he is all but a partner to Creation, to the effervescent smoke-ring of our existence?

Life is Smoke, it is unreal, but we love it. We cannot detain it or capture it, it filters through our fingers, but it is good, isn't it?

To live—is to smoke.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



We Seek New Gods

A Preface to Life. By Edwin Justus Mayer. Boni & Liverlight. New York, 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Edwin Justus Mayer's finely chiseled pages hold the mirror up to America's younger generations. As we read, there emerges a full-length portrait of the composite "us." Like most splendidly individual experiences, Mr. Mayer's experience is an epitome of an age. And because Mr. Mayer is a young man, his experience epitomizes the age that is just dawning.

There is something of the essence of youth in this attempt of a young American, twenty-five years old, to take stock, as he stands up to America's younger generations. As we read, there emerges a full-length portrait of the composite "us." Like most splendidly individual experiences, Mr. Mayer's experience is an epitome of an age. And because Mr. Mayer is a young man, his experience epitomizes the age that is just dawning.

Thus it is that *A Preface to Life* judged solely as another book is

really a preface to Mr. Mayer's life. The story is yet to be written. But this "Preface to Life" is more than a mirror and as a mirror it possesses the greatest importance. For in it another book. It is, as has been said, are reflected the outlines, not only of the rising generations of America, so different from those that have gone before, but also of the new America that is making them.

For me, the outstanding characteristic of Mr. Mayer's Preface is the conventionality of his external experience. He had contact with every one of our traditional, and most prized institutions. The public school, the factory, Wall Street, public advertising, politics, and even Hollywood. Could the most standardized specimen of American manhood present better credentials for entry into the Rotary Club? External experience pounded upon the plastic material of Mr. Mayer's boyhood to produce another model of the traditional design. But they pounded to no purpose. Some inner resistance, something that Mr. Mayer himself calls a "laughing intransigence"—but which appeared to me a creative incompatibility rather than one merely rebellious—make him impervious.

I call this a creative incompatibility because we of the younger generations are no longer satisfied with merely "being against the old order." We do not drain off our energies into mere muckraking. We turn from the old ideals of the passing Amer-

ica and seek out new ones which are better adapted to the rising American reality. We have passed beyond iconoclasm. We seek new gods.

Why do the best of America's young turn from the activities that satisfied their fathers so completely? Why did Mr. Mayer seek refuge from factory in the public library, from Wall Street in William Blake, from Harlem in Greenwich Village, from Hollywood in New York solitude? Some psychoanalyst, reading Mr. Mayer's pages, will maybe a harrowing sex experience turned the fifteen-year-old boy to Byron and escape through the poets. But like most one-track minds, he will have missed both the finer shadings and the larger significance. Mr. Mayer is only one of those who seek new gods. Many of us have been spared harrowing sex experiences. But being young we share the skepticism and unrest of the young in an age which is toppling the old beliefs.

If Mr. Mayer had lived fifty years before his day, I think it at least probable that business would have caught him. For business in those days was a glamorous thing, a creative activity, the building of a world. If he had lived a century ago, he might have been drawn by the thrill of pioneering. But, living today, he can find no outlet in these old ideals. With the frontier gone, pioneering is no longer even an argument. Occasionally some rich and comfortable New Yorker murmurs, "Go West, young man, go West." But his murmurs are drowned out in the roar of the census figures. Mortgaged farms, owned lands and natural resources, dense settlement, urban concentration do not belong to a virgin country. Similarly business is a settled established thing. The new men, or at least the overwhelming majority of them, must become either clerks or "hands." Routine, not creation. Our material world is set; there is little room in it anywhere for pioneering.

Consequently, the young turn from without inward. The external world

is set, nothing to do; stand off and look at it, criticize it, attack it; plough men's hearts and minds and souls. Thus art is being born—among us,—and philosophy and revolt. Thus the generations as they pass are producing, not Daniel Boone and Henry Clay, not Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln, but Eugene O'Neill and Zora Gale and Sinclair Lewis and Sherwood Anderson and Edwin Justus Mayer—and the labor movement.

It is significant that all of our new artists and critics and philosophers feel the tug of the mass movement seething underneath them. A strong labor movement also can grow only from a set capitalist environment; the attack against that environment creates the mass movement and the individual expression. Mr. Mayer became a Socialist and worked on the Call and dreamed of new and better worlds.

In the end he turned away from the labor movement. In itself this fact does not matter. The old Socialism of the pre-war America was itself a transitional product; and even our organized labor movement is undergoing a process of reconstruction and transformation. Perhaps neither the Mayers nor the unions have much to give each other—just yet. On the other hand, I feel in Mr. Mayer's pages a current of conventional Bohemianism which to me, at least, seems to present a real danger to his future achievement. Important literature arises from a great—often solitary—figure, brooding over his life and its deepest yearnings. Bohemianism, by its very nature, fixes a man's soul into a rigorous mould of "freedom," removes him from the common experience, and draws off his energies in "uniqueness" and elusiveness. Yet the man who fought the "Overseers" and the gospel of success in their strongholds will probably discover the fallacy in Bohemianism.

Meanwhile we close Mr. Mayer's book well content to await the pages that will follow his preface, and continue our search for new gods.

Mr. Mellon's Tax Proposal

Mr. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury, has stirred up no little commotion by his recent proposal to reduce taxation. Let us try to get at the present situation of the government treasury, and see just what this proposal means from the point of view of the workers.

Unfortunately the government does not keep its accounts in a way which gives any clear picture of the true financial situation. The accounting system has come down from the days of Hamilton, and while it is excellent from the standpoint of determining whether or not the executive departments are keeping within the appropriations voted to them by Congress, it is of very little use in giving an inquiring citizen any comprehension of where the government actually stands.

Before the war, the government was spending about a billion dollars a year—nearly 70 per cent of which went to cover military expenses, including army, navy, and pensions and so forth. The total debt of the government was less than a billion. Income taxes were unknown, and the bulk of the revenue came from the tariff and various internal taxes. There was usually an annual surplus.

During the war, the government spent between twenty and thirty billions in the space of three years—the bulk of the money coming not from taxation but from the sale of Liberty and Victory Bonds. Income taxes and various other new taxes were introduced and produced a revenue of some five billions or more.

The debt jumped from one billion to over twenty billions.

After the war period was passed, the Republicans under Mr. Harding made a great to-do about "normalcy," and attempted to get back to somewhere near the pre-war level of expenditures—but with little success. To begin with, a billion dollars—or as much as the whole government cost before the war—had to be paid out for interest on war bonds alone.

These loans now amount to about 22 billions, of which 18 billions are Liberty Bonds at fairly low rates of interest (around 4 per cent.), and 4 billions are Certificates of Indebtedness at high rates of interest. If the rate averages 4½ per cent. the interest comes to nearly a billion a year on a principal of 22 billions. In addition the government must set aside a sinking fund to retire this principal. If the debt is to be retired over the next 50 years, the sinking fund must be about 500 millions a year. If the debt is to be retired over the next 30 years, the sinking fund must be about 700 millions a year.

What with interest, sinking funds, increases in the price level, and new government activities which have grown out of the war, it now costs—in spite of all the talk about normalcy—over three and one-half billions a year to run the government, or three and one-half times as much as it did before the war. (And this does not include as much for a sinking fund as it should.) Of the total expendi-

tures, over 90 per cent is on account of war, past and future.

The Revenue of the Government

Where do these three and one-half billions come from? From the income tax, from the tariff, from sundry internal taxes, and from earnings of government departments. During the last three or four years, furthermore the government has been meeting its annual expenses, to the extent of half a billion dollars, from the sale of old war supplies—blankets, ships, shoes; all sorts of things it bought in anticipation of a long war.

Let us look more closely at each kind of revenue.

Revenue from the tariff comes from putting a tax on articles imported into the country. These articles are bought by the American people and the importer shifts the tax to them, so that they pay the whole tariff tax, plus "pyramiding" of profits on the increased cost which importers, jobbers, wholesalers and retailers, in turn, are able to impose.

Revenue from income taxes comes from corporations and individuals. In the case of corporations, it is not possible as a rule to shift this tax to the consumer by adding it to the price of articles which the corporation sells. Economists are agreed that income taxes cannot be shifted except in the case of air-tight monopolies. The income tax, therefore, does not tend to increase the cost of living. In the case of the tax on individual incomes (which, of course, cannot affect the price level and the cost of living) the present arrangement calls for a tax of some 4 per cent. on moderate incomes, with higher rates up to 50 per cent. for larger incomes.

Furthermore it provides that individuals who receive income from certain state and municipal bonds which they own, need not pay any tax at all on such income. These bonds are known as "tax-exempt" securities. Because of this feature individuals have been buying tax-exempt securities heavily in recent years. This means that the states and the municipalities have had unusually good chances of selling their bonds and raising money for improvements.

Finally, the revenue from the sales of war supplies is about to cease. Salable supplies are nearly all gone, and the government cannot count on this half billion a year any longer.

Now what does Mr. Mellon propose? First of all he admits that it is going to cost at least three and one-half billions a year to run the government in the immediate future. He then proposes that:

1. Income tax rates on moderate incomes be reduced. (This pleases the middle class.)
2. Income tax rates (super taxes) on high incomes be reduced. (This pleases the millionaires.)
3. Taxes on amusements—movie and theatre admissions—be abolished. (This pleases the workers.)
4. Tax exempt securities be made no longer exempt. (This pleases private corporations and displeases the states and the municipalities.)

The Net Effect

The net effect of all these proposals, as calculated by Mr. Mellon, will be to reduce revenue some 500 millions a year.

The first question to be raised is where is he going to get enough ... (Continued on Page 11)



FOREIGN ITEMS

GERMANY

THE SUBSISTENCE MINIMUM OF A BERLIN FAMILY.

In his "Bulletin of Financial Politics," Dr. Kuczyński, the well-known German financial statistician, makes the following statement: In Greater Berlin the cost of the subsistence minimum was last November 150 times as high as in October, about 45,000 times as high as in September, nearly 1,200,000 times as high as in August, quite 1,200,000,000 times as high as in November, 1922, and 40,000,000,000 times as in November, 1921.

The minimum wage per day absolutely necessary to support life in November, 1923, was the following: 1,675,000,000 marks for a single man; 2,571,000,000 marks for a childless married couple; 2,346,000,000 marks for a married couple with two children between 6 and 10 years of age.

THE MISERIES OF WAGES ON A GOLD BASIS.

The projected gradual transition to wages on a gold basis merely means, so far as German workers are concerned, the exchange of one evil for another. The Government is leading the way by paying salaries on a gold basis to civil servants, who, as food prices have doubled, are getting less than half their former salaries. Other employers are pointing to this example, so that wages in general will undoubtedly suffer from the reduction in civil servants' salaries. Large commercial firms, although they are raking in very considerable profits, are not willing to pay more than about 60 per cent of the standard rates fixed by the Ministry of Labor.

Efforts are meanwhile being made by the employers to standardize the general reduction of wages. The German Employers' Association has recently issued general advice to its members. We quote two of these admonitions: "Wages, when placed on a gold basis, must be brought down below the peace-time level;" and "To make wages dependent upon the cost of living index would inevitably lead to catastrophe." This is only saying in other words that the workers must go hungry. The excuse for the low wages is, as usual, the necessity for cheapening production in order to compete in the world market. As a matter of fact, the present German export prices are really above world prices, despite the fact that the workers' wages, when measured by their purchasing power, are continually declining. What becomes of the money, then? Well, most of it has been safely deposited with banks in Holland and Switzerland and this is the reason why German workers must produce more cheaply, and why, although food-prices have gone up so enormously, wages must be kept below the peace-time level.

GERMAN EMPLOYERS OPPOSE BUILDING GUILDS.

Even before the founding of the first Building Guild in Germany, the employers took up the cudgels against the movement. They are well aware that price-rises cannot be formed when once the building guilds enter the lists to compete with them. They therefore spare no effort to destroy the guilds. But despite all their endeavors, despite the boycott by building material merchants, despite the competition of employers who, in order to cut them out, quote special prices which barely cover their costs, the guilds are not only alive, but are in many cases able to conclude contracts at prices 50 per cent lower than those of private builders.

The statistics which we give below concerning the work of the guilds are drawn from their journal "Socialized Building." The 128 existing building guilds have now completed 14,126 building contracts, of which 87 per cent came from public or corporate bodies, and 13 per cent from private persons, 74 per cent of the total number of contracts obtained have been for the building of small dwellings. In all, 22,567 small dwellings have, with the aid of grants, been either wholly or partially constructed. 712 dwellings only have been erected for private persons.

Results such as these afford convincing proof of the high value to the community of the work done by the German building guilds.

HOLLAND

WORKERS' SHARE IN CONTROL IN HOLLAND.

The trade unions and the Socialist Party of Holland have long been devoting serious attention to the question of Works' Councils. A joint commission, which has instituted research in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Great Britain, is now publishing the results in "Het Volk," the Socialist organ. Both the proposals and the grounds upon which they are based are so interesting that it is matter for regret that they are issued only in the Dutch language, especially as they present some entirely new points of view, which have never yet been brought forward for discussion. The proposals and documentary evidence are shortly to be published in pamphlet form.

SPAIN

THE SPANISH DIRECTORATE AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

Hitherto the Spanish Directorate has, like its predecessors, treated the Spanish Trade Union Congress, which is affiliated with Amsterdam, as the general representative of Spanish labor; and the Spanish labor delegate to the International Labor Conference has also been elected from that body.

This organization, the Union General de Trabajadores, has recently received an invitation to send a delegate to a commission which is to examine and draw up commercial agreements. But the wording of the invitation makes it clear that a similar invitation has been sent to the Catholic Federation of Trade Unions in Spain. The Executive of the "Union General de Trabajadores" is of opinion that the Catholic organization is not genuinely representative of working-class interests but is dependent upon the Church and the employers, and has always more harmed than helped the working-class cause in Spain.

For this reason the Federation has decided not to accept the invitation, for it considers that it would be derogatory to its own dignity to collaborate with such spurious representatives of the Labor Movement.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

PENSION BAN REMOVED.

Secretary of the Interior Work has removed the ban on widows of war veterans receiving the pension that the veteran drew. Under certain conditions the pension can now be paid to the widow.

PACKERS PAY DIVIDENDS.

The Cudahy Packing Company announces a profit the last fiscal year of \$2,010,198. Back dividends will be paid.

UNIONS LESSEN HOURS, FEDERAL STUDY SHOWS.

A study of the 48-hour week by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics is an answer to any "doubting Thomas" on the value of trade unionism.

During the last few years the eight-hour day has spread so rapidly that there is now scarcely an industry or trade which has not, to a greater or less extent, adopted either the 48 or 44-hour week, it is stated.

"This is particularly true of trades that are thoroughly organized.

"A recent survey of union scales of wages and hours of labor showed that of 860,000 union members, 89 per cent had agreements providing for an eight-hour day, and 68 per cent worked 44 hours or less per week."

STANDARD OIL VALUES JUMP \$779,000,000.

This is a happy new year for upwards of 100,000 shareholders in 16 leading Standard Oil Companies whose market price has increased 25 per cent over the lowest selling price of 1923.

These increases total \$779,473,200. One-half of this gain is represented by increased value in three stocks, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Indiana and California, with a total gain of more than \$404,000,000.

JAPAN

TRADE UNIONS TO FORM PARTY.

According to Japanese newspaper reports, it would appear that the Japanese trade unions, which have hitherto been opposed to the idea of parliamentary methods, are now about to form a political Labor Party.

FRANCE

GOVERNMENT PROHIBITS FRENCH RELIEF FOR GERMAN CHILDREN.

The International Labor Relief has been seeking to arrange for France to give hospitality for several weeks to some 500 under-nourished German children. The children were to be received into French working-class families, and the preliminary arrangements had already been made. The French Government has now prohibited this action. The comment of "L'Humanité" is the following: "We shall take pains to bring this savage cruelty to the knowledge of the whole world. There is much talk in France of anti-French feeling abroad. This decision of the French Government will do more to injure France in the eyes of all those who judge a nation by the acts of its official leaders than anything that its hitherless foes could do." The paper declares that a question will be asked in the Chamber on the subject of prohibition.

THE ANTI-WAR SLOGAN IS SEDITION.

We have already related how a certain municipality in the Department of Yonne in France, which had inscribed the words "War against War" on a war memorial, was ordered by the higher authorities to erase the inscription within a week. The Mayor has consequently been prosecuted, and at his trial a few days ago he was sentenced to a fine, and a new order was issued for the erasure of the offending inscription. The French Government evidently regards the words "War against War" as highly seditious. But only last Sunday, in the presence of Millerand and Poincaré, its highest representatives, a government official, speaking "amid an impressive stillness" at the unveiling of a war memorial in honor of the fallen scholars of the "Ecole Normale," used these words: "We will strive to maintain the purity, the high destiny, and the splendid qualities of our sublime France."

After hearing his sentence, the Mayor of Gy l'Ecluse made the following declaration: "I am convinced that 'War against War' is not a seditious inscription. I protest against the order for the erasure of these words. Many a war memorial bears the sign of the Cross, and no one has yet given orders to erase the cross."

Press Bureau, International Federation of Trade Unions

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EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the
UNITY CENTERS
of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Season 1922-1923

(Conclusion)

LESSON 8—The Social Challenge to the Present System.

1. Our survey of the workings of the present economic system enables us now to take a bird's-eye view of the whole mechanism; to test it by those social and economic criteria which we have found to be fundamental; to add up its credit and debit columns and see on what side of the ledger the balance lies.

2. We have already noted how the war marks a turning point in the life of the present order. Before the war many and various criticisms could be hurled against its workings; but at least the system could always claim that it did survive "acres of slums and thousands of beggars, long crises of unemployment and years of scarcity"; that "in spite of all this, it did produce the goods. Populations survived and multiplied, and on the whole, the general level of comfort and education tended to rise." Since the war, capitalism can no longer urge this plea. Starvation, disease, stagnation, war, rules the land. Whole nations have lapsed into a slum existence and the "submerged tenth" has become the submerged half of Europe. Capitalism must, therefore, now prove not only that it can make the world once more a possible home for mankind, but also that it can do this better than any other system. (H. N. Brailsford—"After the Peace"—Introduction.)

Coordination of English Labor Education

(Extracted from the "Press Reports" of the International Federation of Trades Unions)

"The Education Sub-Committee appointed the previous year submitted to the Trades Union Congress of 1922 a recommendation that the Congress should be empowered to take over Ruskin College, the Labor College, and the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee (an organization set up by the Iron and Steel Trades Federation and now supported also by the Post Office Workers, the Railway Clerks, and the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen) as soon as satisfactory financial and other conditions could be agreed upon.

"The Joint Committee appointed to follow up this resolution has just held joint meetings with the various bodies concerned, and has envisaged the possibilities of a great national scheme of working-class education, but in view of the fact that the taking over of the two resident colleges would mean a capital charge of nearly £25,000, and a net yearly subsidy of £4,700 (for the maintenance of the 90

scholarships at present existing), it was decided by the Trade Union Congress of 1923 that the time is not yet opportune for such action, but that the General Council should call a conference of representatives of affiliated unions which have provided or contemplate providing educational facilities for their members, with a view to developing a common purpose and a common policy. It was also decided that consideration should be given to special educational facilities for women."

It is encouraging to note that at least the grade union movement of England is making an effort to solve the problem of workers' education in that country. It is good to note that their ultimate aim is that the workers' educational activities should be under their supervision. The committee has not forgotten to recommend that special consideration be given for the education of women.

Concert and Lecture in Philadelphia

The Joint Educational Committee of our Philadelphia locals has arranged a very interesting evening for our members for Friday, January 18.

An interesting concert will be given, followed by a lecture. Miss Gertrude Traubel will sing a number of American songs, including Negro spirituals and songs by Walt Whitman. Following the concert, Prof. Wm. I. Hall of Swarthmore College will lecture on "Peace Plans That

RADIO LECTURE AND DEMONSTRATION FOR OUR MEMBERS

A very interesting afternoon has been arranged for the members of the Russian-Polish Branch of the Cloakmakers' Union for Sunday, January 27 at 2 p. m. On this occasion a radio demonstration and a lecture will be given in the auditorium of our

Have Proved They Can Work." Our members and their families are urged to attend this very interesting concert which will be held at 1035 Spruce street.

HALF-PRICE TICKETS TO CONCERTS

We have made special arrangements with the Philharmonic and State Symphony Orchestras by which our members may obtain tickets at half price to their concerts.

Coupons entitling them to this privilege may be obtained at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

own building, 3 West 16th street.

This subject is so interesting that members of other locals are cordially invited to attend with their families.

Weekly Calendar

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

Room 529

Saturday, January 19

1:30 p. m. H. W. Smith—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—Modern Tendencies in Social Criticism.
2:30 p. m. David J. Sapoz—American Labor in Modern Civilization.

Sunday, January 20

10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Foundations of Modern Civilization.
11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—European History.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, January 21

Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171
103d Street near Fifth Avenue, Room 406
8:30 p. m. Margaret Daniels—Trade Unionism in the United States.
Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43

Brown Place and 135th Street, Room 305
8:30 p. m. Max Levin—History of the American Labor Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.

Tuesday, January 22

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61
Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Room 511
8:45 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement.

Wednesday, January 23

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 62
4th Street near 1st Avenue, Room 404
9:00 p. m. A. L. Wubert—Modern Economic Institutions.

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

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Friday, January 18

Club Rooms, Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue
8:00 p. m. Sh. Nieger—The Writer and the Reader.

POLISH

Russian-Polish Branch—315 E. 10th Street
8:00 p. m. P. Julius—Labor Movement in Europe.

YIDDISH

Saturday, January 19 and 26

1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Modern Economic Institutions.
Sunday, January 20
Club Rooms—Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The American Labor Movement.
Clinton Hall—151 Clinton Street, Room 47
12:00 M. H. Rogoff—American Civilization.

ENGLISH

Thursday, January 24

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

RUSSIAN

Sunday, January 27

I. L. G. W. U. Building—3 West 16th Street.
2:00 p. m. Radio Lecture and Demonstration.

Fridays, January 18 and 25

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 22

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

BOSTON

Wednesday, January 23

Local 7, 21 Essex Street.
6:00 p. m. Dr. Miles Carpenter—Preventing Unemployment.

CLEVELAND

Monday, January 21

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

PHILADELPHIA

1035 Spruce Street.

Friday, January 18

7:45 p. m. Prof. W. Hall—"Peace Plans That Have Proved They Can Work."
Monday, January 21

Office of Local 50, 1018 Cherry Street.

7:30 p. m. Mr. Glasberg—Social and Trade Union History.
Friday, January 25

7:45 p. m. A. J. Muste—Lecture to be announced.
ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.

Mr. Mellon's Tax Proposal

(Continued from page 8)

money to run the government? There has been no large surplus in the past. Now he wants to reduce revenue by 300 millions, and on top of that 500 millions is going to be lost because there are no more war supplies to sell. This means a total reduction of some 800 millions. Meanwhile expenses go galloping along at three or four half billions as heretofore. Ofhand, one would say that the only way to make up for this loss would be to boost tariff rates (which are too high now), and thus boost the cost of living. If this is done, everything you say by paying the government less money on your income tax will be more than eaten up by the higher prices you will have to pay for the goods you buy.

The second question is what will be the effect of this tax reduction program on the future? If we are just barely going to balance our budget, it means that very little can be set aside in a sinking fund to pay off the huge war debt. This, in turn, means that the present political administration is going to get a lot of credit for low taxes, but that future administrations are going to have a very serious time swinging the debt burden. Why is it not sound policy to cut into that debt now when we have prosperity and the money, rather than pile the burden onto the uncertain future? Mr. Mellon presumably follows a tradition in inquiring "what has posterity done for us?" This is all right for a politician who sees his term of office ending, but it is hardly a broad statesmanlike point of view. And it may cost us bitterly in the years to come.

The third question is, how about the super-taxes? The people with moderate incomes are so pleased with the prospect of paying lower income taxes and lower movie admissions, that they forget that under the cover

of their enthusiasm the millionaire's super-taxes are coming down from 50 per cent. to 25 per cent. Mr. Mellon is thus throwing out a smoke-screen behind which he is advancing to the relief of the wealthy—and in doing so he is trying to break down the only important move the government ever took in the direction of equalizing the distribution of wealth in this country. Super-taxes did something towards mitigating the injustice of present methods of income distribution. Mr. Mellon has devised a very clever way of returning to normalcy while we throw up our hats in approval at the "window dressing." Do you remember how the rich man's government at Rome used to throw corn to the street mobs to keep them quiet?

The fourth question is what will be the effect on the working man of abolishing tax-exempt securities? While it is true that the national government has lost revenue because individuals have been investing in tax-exempt securities, it by no means follows that wage-earners are the worse off at that account. Where do those investments go? They go into state and municipal bond issues for the purpose of building schools, roads, water works, sewers, gas plants, hospitals, street railways and public buildings of all kinds. Such investments add to public wealth and public facilities, and at the same time provide a great deal of manual employment. Had the money gone into private business, we would have seen some construction to be sure, but we would also have seen more advertising, more sales organizations, more competitive wrangling, and vastly less public service from the broad point of view.

On the whole it appears that Mr. Mellon is laudably engaged in selling us a beautiful, shiny gold brick.

—Facts for Workers, Jan. 1924

The English Upheaval

(Continued from page 7)

lish workers in past years of "insular" psychology, they can no longer be charged with indifference to the interests of workers in other countries. The English Labor Party has in the last few years sent a number of investigating commissions to many of the European countries; it now has a definite program for the revision of the many infeasible peace agreements concluded at the end of the war, it has formulated a definite policy which, if carried out, would, while not bringing about Socialism, be a momentous advance over the state of present social conditions in England and Europe.

It would be perhaps inaccurate to speak of the "revolutionism" of the English Labor Party. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that this party has during the last few years been entirely rejuvenated and is now led by the men who formed the nucleus of the old independent Labor Party—men who have, more than any of the other leaders of Labor in England, remained true to the principles of international Socialism. The very fact that the closest associate of Keir Hardie, MacDonald, hated and persecuted during the war for his anti-militarist propaganda, is now a leader of the Labor forces in Parliament, symbolizes the deep evolution of the state of mind of the English workers. The chance of MacDonald's becoming in the near future the Premier of England, is one of the most interesting ironies of history. MacDonald's personality, inasmuch as it can be said for one person, is a guar-

antee that the Labor Party of England will not fall short in the great task of assuming and handling the national affairs of England on the threshold of which it finds itself today.



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1106 17TH AVENUE
BETWEEN 17TH AND 18TH STREETS
BROOKLYN

D. BARNETT & BECKER
OPTOMETRIST OPTICIAN

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОДЕЛ

В пятницу, 11-го января, в Народном Доме, 315 10-го яра, состоялось очередное собрание отдела.

В порядке был прочитан протокол от 25-го декабря очередного собрания и Иск. Ком. от 7-го января, в котором говорилось, что в Иск. Ком. образовались два отделения: Службистский и Бюджетный с просьбой, переименовать в соответствующий его в мастерскую Л. Байнштейна, второй просил оказать помощь в получении членской книжки, так как он не платил членских взносов за 17 месяцев, а членский лонал 35 не принимает его как старого члена.

Для расследования жалоб первого товарища, была избрана комиссия из тов. Котляка, Левинского и Волча. Второго решили послать в членскую комиссию лон. 35.

Была выдана в Иск. Ком. тов. Красовский, который выразился непереносимыми словами на очередном собрании. Тов. Красовский заявил, что он действительно выразился словами, но не по адресу, отсюда, а в разговор, касаясь личности тов. Котляка. Председатель Иск. Ком. тов. Фелькс, объявил, что на собрании не разрешается произносить непереносимых слов, за что тов. Красовский извинился, обещая больше не повторять. Дбы не давать повода другим мажоритариям.

Далее в протоколе говорилось, что Специализированная Комиссия заявила о том, что тов. Калеский и Бузюнский были в ком., которая решила поместить их имена на избирательный лист. Тов. Калеский заявил, что тов. Шевченко, кандидат на должность секр.-орг., проявил злые умыслы и его будет на избирательном листе.

Вместе с этим кандидатом говорилось, что Шевченко был выдвинут в Иск. Ком. для объяснения слухов, тогда Шевченко является участником Универсальной Комиссии жалоб прорабов, обманных рабочих. Тов. Шевченко явился в Иск. Ком. и заявил, что в компании участвовал его брат, но он лично был против этой кандидатуры. Иск. Комитет принял к сведению его заявления и решил поместить его имя на избирательный лист. Что же касается его честности в интернациональной работе, то Иск. Ком. очень мало знает о Шевченко, и поэтому, при самой работе, лучше будет позвать Арута Арута.

Иск. Ком. назначила для выборов на субботу, 19-го января, для чего сит за в Народном Доме, 315 10-го яра. Голосование начнется с 12 часов утра и будет продолжаться до 6 часов вечера, о чем решено известить всех членом-председателем явот.

В протоколе также говорилось по поводу делений. Секр. Сагути представил список делений, в также явился делитель на текущей сессии, который был выпущен совместно с Народным Университетом.

Иск. Ком. решил устроить лекцию к пятницу, 18-го января, на польском языке, которая будет прочитана Н. Юзефом на тему: "Рабочее движение в Европе".

Протокол очередного собрания и Иск. Ком. были приняты.

Секр. заявил, что в последнее время масса польских рабочих обращалась к нему с просьбой помочь им вступить в Юнион и приступить как либо работать в друтовском производстве. Секретарь заявил, что всех их приходится направлять в лонды, соответственно их профессии, а что касается рекомендаций, то таковых выдается в исключительных случаях, прав по нуждаемости, так как в последние годы масса старых членов уходит из работы и не может ее получить.

Далее секретарь заявил, что один член лон. 25, по имени Русак, работавший в мастерской Нью Йорк Блук Юнион был удален из мастерской. Прислал письмо, что Юнион заперты фн не впустил его пре-мембры, после чего он на машина была снята и в лонду по ра-

ботах пришлось оставить мастерскую. Юнион заявил, что Русак не является настоящим польским рабочим, высказывая второй, в итоге предположил ему оставить мастерскую.

Когда секретарь Сагути заявил, что издалека справки в историю Сагути и предложил комитет бросить прораб лонду этих джур работников и за что лонду придется оставить мастерскую, то так и быть сект., — комитет не согласился с этим предложением, заявив, что для того чтобы оставить Русака работать в мастерской, нужно чтобы он мог так же хорошо работать, как и второй рабочий, которого комитет согласился оставить.

Тов. Русак заявил, что он может так же хорошо работать, как и другой. Он соглашается подвергнуться тщательному испытанию.

Отот вопрос вызвал горячие дебаты, после которых решено избрать комиссию для дальнейшего расследования этой жалобы. В комиссию вошли тов. Пекче и Мартиневич.

Была поднята вопрос о том, что много мастерских работает на котормх женщина. Отот вопрос вызвал дискуссию. Некоторые говорили о том, что по их мнению представительница женщины не хорошо знает, что такое в мастерской, поэтому в комитет женщины и тамеи джур могут оказаться под влиянием лонды. Другие высказывались о честности. После дискуссии были заданы вопросы секр. Сагути, каково его мнение в каких мере предпринять, чтобы наше представительство было честнее относиться к своим обязательствам.

Секретарь, отвечая, сказал, что прежде чем говорить о честности джур, нужно быть самому честным не только к джур, но и к своим братьям, не нужно думать что все честным. Нужно не говорить прав, а вклясть что нечестный, и бояться, скрывать за воротник и вон с организации. Что касается того, что представители заходят в комитет к лонду, то без отот нехотелось обещать, так как непременно необходимо провести этих джур. Поэтому не стоит думать, что тот кто из представительств заходит в комитет лонды, предает рабочие. Честность человека заключается в том, что нужно делать нех и вклясть, да только необходимо, но быть мерным своим принципам и службой своему классу. Можно и не заходить к лонду предать рабочих.

Тот, кто хочет продать свой товар, всегда рынок лонду. Поэтому лонду старые скажи и вклясь за организацию работников, в тогда им войдем не только чужими налет страданий, но найдем путь для устранения их. Каждый не только должен принадлежать к организации, но посещать собрания не раз в год, а каждые из них и стараться разбираться в вопросах правды.

Отот секретарь был принят всеми, комитет остался доволен.

На отот собрании закрылось.

ВЫБОРЫ!

В субботу, 19-го января, состоится ВЫБОРЫ в Русско-Польском Отделе юнион кауторжистов.

Отдел просит всех своих членов принять самое активное участие в выборах кандидатов на все должности в отделе на 1924 год.

Голосование начнется с 12 часов утра и будет продолжаться до 6 часов яра, в Народном Доме, 315 10-го яра, Нью Йорк.

Каждый член должен иметь при себе членскую книжку.

ЛЕКЦИЯ.

В пятницу, 18-го января, в Народном Доме, 315 10-го яра, состоится ЛЕКЦИЯ Русско-Польского Отдела.

Лекция устраивается на польском языке на тему: "Рабочее движение в Европе".

Лектор, П. Юзеф.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

The most impressive meeting that the cutters have held in a long time was held on Monday, January 14. This also happened to be the first meeting of the year under the new constitutional provision, that the membership meetings take place the second and fourth Mondays of every month. This meeting, although not a special one, nevertheless bore all the resemblances to a special meeting as the question of the punishment to be meted out to a few members of our organization for belonging to the Trade Union Educational League came up for consideration.

After the reading of the minutes of the previous meetings, the reports of the Executive Board came up for consideration, many of which were accepted, until the secretary came to the part pertaining to the decision of the Executive Board in the case of Brothers Falk Cooper, Morris Steinberg and Saul Hirschowitz. As our readers will recall, the General Executive Board sent in a decision to our organization as well as to all the locals affiliated with the International, reading that any member who fails to discontinue his activities in the Trade Union Educational League or any other "League" is to be expelled from the union.

This question at one time came up for discussion and there was a dispute as to the ruling of our President, Brother Philip Ansel. Subsequently advice was solicited from the General Office and again a special meeting was called for the purpose of discussing this question. After due deliberation the body, by a large majority of about 1000 to about 26, decided in favor of the recommendation of the General Executive Board.

Our Executive Board then began to summons members of our organization who were suspected of being members of the "League," approximately 15 in number. Of this entire number all with the exception of the three above named stated to the Executive Board that they are ready to sever all connections with the League and to discontinue their activities in behalf of it. The Executive Board then decided that these brothers are to remain members of our organization. Should they, however, fail to live up to their decision the Executive Board would be at liberty to take action against these men.

In the case of Brothers Falk Cooper, Morris Steinberg, and Saul Hirschowitz, the Executive Board, in view of the arrogant stand taken by these members in refusing to comply with the decision of the General Executive Board, and also of our own body, decided that these brothers are suspended from all rights and privileges of membership in this organization for a period of two years. This action on the part of the Board was taken in view of the fact that these brothers stated definitely to the Executive Board that they are neither ready nor willing to sever their relations with the Trade Union Educational League. This decision of the Executive Board came up for discussion on Monday night, and the three brothers involved were asked to appear so as to give them an opportunity to state their case before the members present.

Brother Falk Cooper was the first to take the floor and after trying a few times to go into the question of the Trade Union Educational League itself, he was stopped by President Philip Ansel and the chairman explained that the discussion on the Trade Union Educational League cannot take place at this meeting, as this matter was disposed of by the members some time ago, and that the only thing he can take up at this meeting is whether or not the deci-

sion of the Executive Board is just in its recommendation in his case. Brother Cooper, not being able to keep himself within the limits as specified by the chairman, was then told that, if he could not speak on the question proper, he would not be permitted to participate in any further discussion on this subject.

Brother Saul Hirschowitz was the next one to take the floor. After describing his activities as a member of Local 73 in Boston, as well as his activities as a Joint Board delegate in that city, he proceeded to explain to the members that he has always stood for principle in all matters, sometimes even to the extent of going out against his own flesh and blood, and that it was not right on the part of the Executive Board to punish him for a thing which is a matter of conviction with him.

Brother Steinberg, the last of the defendants, was then given the floor and simply told the members that he has no defense to offer as he does not feel guilty of committing any crime against the organization.

Brother Harry Berlin took the floor in behalf of these brothers, claiming that the punishment is a very severe one and that, due to the good records of these men as members of this organization and as union men, they should be given at least another thirty days in which to consider the proposition of their affiliation with the Trade Union Educational League.

Brother Samuel Perlmuter reminded the members of the American Benevolent Association that was organized some time ago, and of the stand this organization took with members belonging to that Association. Brother Isidore Nagler then recalled to the membership the Workers' Council in the waist and dress industry, and the stand that the organization took towards members belonging to that council, to the extent of being ready to expel any member who was not ready to resign from it.

Brother Joseph Fish defended the stand of the Executive Board, as he considers it fair and just in view of the fact that the Executive Board at the present time is very strict in its dealings with members who violate rules and by-laws of our organization, and due to the stand taken by other locals in dealing with members belonging to this "League" and going as far as expelling them from membership in their respective organizations. He further stated that he would be in favor of extending them thirty days' grace in which to think the matter over, provided that these brothers had asked and been refused by the Executive Board some time for consideration before giving their final decision to the Executive Board. However, this was not the case, as any member belonging to the "League" who has appeared before the Executive Board and asked for an extension of time, has been granted it.

The last speaker was Brother David Dubinsky. He very ably covered the decision of the Executive Board and also went on further to state that it is not a question of revenge on the part of the administration, for if this were the case the Executive Board would not have been as lenient with them as it was and it would not have "picked" on these three brothers, but would probably have taken action against Brother Tunick, who ran against him as manager, and Brother Lukin, who ran against Philip Ansel as president. Again these two brothers are more active in the organization than the other three and if it were a question of evening up scores the Executive Board would have taken action against the former.

However, this was not so, as these two brothers definitely stated that they were ready to sever their connections with the above-named organization, and no action was taken against them.

Due credit must be given to our worthy president, Brother Philip Ansel, who, although having undergone an operation very recently, nevertheless was able to keep the membership in perfect order during all this discussion. So much so, in fact, that every speaker was given an opportunity to express his opinion and the meeting was conducted in a very efficient manner although it was so overcrowded that members had to stand. And, to quote Brother Louis Langer, secretary of the Joint Board, who happened to come in during the meeting, "The cutters' organization can stand out as an example to all the locals in our International." We believe that the opinion expressed by Brother Langer was due to the fact that the members present, after listening to discussions for quite a period of time, nevertheless conducted its business in an orderly manner, which is a credit to our organization.

After a vote was taken the decision of the Executive Board was accepted with but one dissenting vote.

The writer of these lines has promised the members that he would be constantly reminding them of our coming ball, which is scheduled to take place on Saturday evening, March 29, 1924, at Tammany Hall, 14th street, between Third avenue and Irving place. The Ball Committee held its first session last Saturday and the following brothers were elected as officers for the committee: David Dubinsky, as chairman, and Sam B. Shenker, as secretary. The price of the tickets will be the same as last

year—fifty cents, and seventy-five cents at the door. The committee brought in a recommendation to the body that the members obligate themselves to purchase at least two tickets each. But due to the fact that the meeting lasted quite late on account of discussions taking up considerable time, the recommendation of this committee could not be taken up. However, it will surely be taken up at the next meeting as the Ball Committee is very anxious to make a success of the coming ball and to see that the Relief Fund of our organization is augmented with sufficient funds to relieve all our distressed brothers who apply to the Executive Board for financial assistance.

The committee has also decided that a journal be printed, the same as last year, and that the proceeds of this should also be applied to the Relief Fund. The brothers are therefore urged to go out and secure as many advertisements as possible for what a liberal commission will be paid.

As for the music, those who were present at the last affair undoubtedly recollect Louis Zwierling's Orchestra. We were very much pleased with the way in which these players acquitted themselves last time and the committee has therefore decided to engage this orchestra for this year's affair. Brother Zwierling is quite well known to our members, as, aside from being a musician, he is also a member of our local, and it is a double pleasure for us to have Brother Zwierling and his band with us again on this occasion.

Tickets for the coming affair will be ready in a few days and the members will be approached by the Ball Committee members and the active members of our organization. We are sure that the members will respond as generously as they have in the past.

CUTTERS OF LOCAL 10, ATTENTION!

All cutters working for the same firms as last season are to renew their working cards for the new season.

All cutters who are working on new jobs must secure working cards no later than one day after they start in to work.

For failing to comply with these instructions, members will be summoned before the Executive Board.

DAVID DUBINSKY, Manager.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, January 21, 1924

REGULAR MEETING Monday, January 28, 1924

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place