

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' UNION

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

Vol. VI, No. 6.

New York, Friday, February 27, 1923

Price 2 Cents

Two Revolutions

Week's News

Everything is subordinate to the laws of Change.

Customs change, habits and conceptions mutate, and forms of human co-living alternate. Nature itself is on the move. The soil, climate, the vast watery aggregations, and the animal world—among them man—are equally subject to constant mutation. "Nothing is as definite as change," is a truth irrefutable.

True, changes arrive slowly, and often are barely perceptible or palpable. We call such changes steps in Evolution. But there are times when changes become visible to the naked eye—and we then call them Revolution.

Only not so long ago the term Revolution was inseparably bound up in the general mind with barricades, bloodshed and guillotines. One could not visualize a peaceful revolution, a social upheaval without lightning and storm. Most thinking persons today are beginning to see things from a different angle. A revolution can be a violent upheaval, but it must not necessarily be so. There is such a thing as a peaceful and bloodless revolution. And many are coming to believe that a revolution by violence is of less substance and worth to mankind than a so-called peaceful revolution.

We have before us two revolutions: the Bolshevik revolution of Russia and the Labor-Socialist of England. The Bolshevik revolution has cost hundreds of thousands of lives, and in the bloody orgy that accompanied it whatever civilization there was in Russia was destroyed. The life-blood of the best children of the Russian people had been spent in a devastating civil war which swallowed untold victims.

Last week the outstanding figure of the Russian revolution, Nikolai Lenin, died, unquestionably the victim of that horrible internecine strife. Could he, at least, while on his deathbed, see, even from afar, the Promised Land of freedom and true brotherhood of man? Far from it. If he saw anything at all, he must have seen how everything he had striven to build up was tottering into dismal failure. He must have surely observed that even the little he accomplished could not endure. It surely could not escape his vision that he had been building on sand, for his was a revolution of sheer despair, of naked passion, and therefore an inevitable failure.

Undeniably, in this revolution there too was a great deal of self-sacrifice, of heroism, and beauty, and its historian will not fail to give due admiration to some of its actors for their achievements, their courage and altruism. But at the same time he will find in this revolution more hysteria than wisdom, more empty phrases than words of deep content which leave their stamp upon human progress. For the entire Russian revolution, painful as it is for us to say it, is nothing else but an abortive child.

There is another revolution before us, the recent upheaval in the great British Empire. It was ushered in without the loss of a drop of blood. It was a peaceful transition—and yet is beyond cavil the greatest revolution in the memory of man. The class which stood at the very bottom of the social scale has mounted to its highest rung. The working class is now the ruling class in Great Britain.

The change took place without much trumpeting. Yet, he is hopelessly blind who cannot perceive that it is truly the revolution, that it means nothing less than a different social order founded upon other bases than the order that preceded it.

True, the fears of the English bourgeoisie for the present moment are premature and silly. For some few years to come they need not fear the effects of this great change. But he who can see farther than his nose cannot fail to observe that the taking over of the reins of Government by the organized working class of England—no matter whether for a long or short term this time—spells the doom of the bourgeois social order.

And just as great as is the difference between these two revolutions, so are its leaders and spokesmen far apart. Lenin, the principal figure of the Russian revolution, is perhaps more spectacular. He is, and of course must be, the hero of the younger mind which is so easily enflamed by the tempestuous and the emotional appeal. Ramsay MacDonald is the leader among the leaders of the English revolution. Though a great tribune, he works quietly, without fireworks and undue ostentation. His words are reassuring, as if he would lull the bourgeoisie into a sweet sleep and in its sleep cut off its locks of strength. Watch him. How firmly and determinedly he proceeds to his goal!

"Special counsel of high rank" will look into the oil-lease scandals and report to our mildly aroused citizenry whether Secretary Danahy is to be pried loose from his toasted-to-brown seat in the Cabinet by a crowbar or by gentle bipartisan persuasion.

The reassurance that the investigating counsel is from "both political parties" is doubly heartening. It will have the face of an honest-to-goodness housecleaning, on the one hand, and it will guarantee against excessive muckraking, on the other. Dishing up too much dirt ten months before a Presidential election is not healthy business for either of the "two political parties," and an evenly divided committee of "special high counsel" of Democrats and Republicans should be in a position to render a wholesome, restrained, spot-padded report that will mollify a supposedly wrathful electorate without doing too much damage.

The principal thing—the country must be given a chance to forget the whole business in as short a time as possible. And no one will deny that as a nation we are the champion forgetters of the universe.

The strangulation of the Evening Mail, like the slaughter of the Globe, by Frank Munsey is commented upon in some quarters with grave brow-raising and ominous head-shaking. Some are even prone to regard this rapid elimination of the weaker metropolitan dailies as a sure-as-death sign of the coming monopolization of the press.

Somewhat these apprehensions fail to mortify us. Newspaper property and newspaper management have become so much of a business pure and simple that we cannot bring ourselves to draw a distinction between a cigar store chain system, a country-wide gasoline pump-station net, and a chain of dailies under the management of a "Napoleon of the press." Each of them "strives to satisfy," each has something to sell, and in a matter-of-fact world like ours the keeping alive of such an anemic little sister as the Mail was neither good charity nor good business.

Even the Globe, a liberal newspaper, appears to have been lately spared and forgotten by its "liberal" clientele. These hundreds of thousands of erstwhile ardent liberal New York readers seem to be getting along famously now with what Fred Memory hands out to them in his other soulless sheets.

Honestly, it was the surprise of our life when we read that the Filipinos celebrated the other day the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Philippine Republic. General Wood, accompanied by Aguinaldo, one-time revolutionary leader, unveiled upon this occasion the cornerstone of a monument to the "Republic," declaring that the desire of the Filipinos for independence was "natural and credible," but that, of course, they must first help establish "conditions precedent to independence."

So the Philippine Islands ARE a republic. Of course, it is somewhat difficult for a non-military mind to grasp why a "republic" needs to be governed by a military dictatorship instead of by the "sovereign will" of its people, as we were taught in the public-school text books. But thereby hangs another rather technical tale. In a quarter of a century there has been poured into that "republic" so much good American money, sound capitalist enrichment, that it would be a pity for our Government to let the whole archipelago go loose and imperil excellent and sacred dividends from these investments.

Why, indeed, hurry independence? For the while the Filipinos ought to be contented with their "republic."

Of the more than sixty associates of Premier MacDonald holding ministerial rank, about thirty are heads of the biggest trade unions in England. We only wonder how such a drain of leadership, the departure of persons like Hodges, Thomas, Gosling, Bondfield, O'Grady, will affect the industrial organizations of the English workers.

Meanwhile the recognition of Russia by the Labor Cabinet which was supposed to have been carried out with lightning rapidity has struck somewhat of a snag. It is stated that Britain will not recognize Moscow until it is assured that the Third Internationale will cease propaganda and plotting on the borders of India, particularly Afghanistan. The Labor Government, however, it little worried about Communist agitation in England proper, nor will it insist upon the acknowledgment of pre-war Russian debts. It only wants Zinoviev and his associates to mind their own business if they have any.

Familiar talk—where did we hear that before?

The eight-hour day in the steel industry has raised steel costs ten per cent, Chairman Gary told President Coolidge a week ago, adding that the industry hoped to offset this increase in due time "through plant improvements and better labor efficiency."

For fully five days we were left in the dark as to who was losing this ten per cent additional cost. Is it possible that the Steel Octopus has turned steel? Then came the relieving news that "United States Steel" has had the best half-year of its existence during the last six months, that dividends were the highest in its history, everything else being just as perfect and agreeable.

Now it is all so simple again. Along with the news of record-breaking dividends the Steel Trust spokesman says: "We cannot have good conditions in industry unless the consumer pays the price. The consumer should consider this, and make sacrifices willing."

The consumer does. We are not quite sure about his cheerfulness in doing it, but he does it just the same.

M. D. D.

All Union and Trade News on Page Two

BOUND VOLUMES OF "JUSTICE"

The management of our Publication Department has had a number of complete sets of "Justice" for 1923 bound and ready for sale.

As the number of these books is limited, secretaries of locals and individual readers who desire to obtain a 1923 volume for a very moderate price, will at once get in touch with the office at 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

INTERNATIONAL TO TAKE PART IN A.F.L. CONFERENCES ON PRISON LABOR AND WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

During the sessions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which will take place in Washington in the middle of February, two special conferences will be held, one on prison labor and the other on the condition of women in industry, to which our International

Union has been invited to send delegates.

President Samuel Gompers forwarded a communication to President Sigman of our International, notifying him of these conferences and asking that our International be represented owing to the fact that our union

is specifically interested in these problems, inasmuch as garment-making is an important item of prison labor, and on account of the very large number of women workers employed in our industry. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor desires the aid of all the international unions affected by the conditions in which products are manufactured in American prisons, for the formulation of a nation-wide policy to be adopted in this matter. The condition of women in industry, their hours, earnings, the effect of their economic status on male labor, and remedial legislation enacted by many States regulating their work conditions, is another subject of vital interest to an organization like ours and the tens of thousands of women workers in its ranks.

Unable to be present at this conference on account of his contemplated Western trip, President Sigman has requested Secretary Baroff and Vice-presidents Cohn and Ninfo, to attend this conference on behalf of our union.

Gleason Memorial Meeting Tomorrow

Friends of the late Arthur Gleason, who died on December 30, 1923, will hold a memorial service and meeting at the Parish House of the Church of the Ascension, 12 West 11th Street, next Saturday, February 2, at 4 p. m.

Arthur Gleason, a well-known author on labor and social problems, and a journalist of high standing, was known to our members through his lectures on the English Labor movement. His untimely death attracted wide attention.

His death is mourned by all who knew him in the different walks of life. At this memorial meeting a number of his personal friends will, in short talks, tell of Arthur Gleason as the "poet and artist," as "newspaper reporter and writer," as "editor and magazine journalist," as "lover of the outdoors," as "pioneer in the workers' education movement," as "believer in industrial democracy," as "interpreter of the workers' mission," as "interpreter of British Labor," as "labor investigator," and as "class-mate and lifelong friend."

International Greet Convention of United Mine Workers

The United Mine Workers of America are now holding their biennial convention in Indianapolis, Ind.

On this occasion early last week, President Sigman and Secretary Baroff forwarded to them a message on behalf of our members. The telegram was very warmly received by the miners' convention which forwarded at once a reply to our Union.

The telegram sent by the International reads as follows:

January 24, 1924.

John L. Lewis, President,
United Mine Workers of America,
Convention Hall,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America conveys sincere fraternal greetings to the United Mine Workers in convention assembled. The organized workers in our industry feel keenly the bond of working class brotherhood which exists between our members and the great army of organized coal miners over which you preside. Accept our sincere wishes for unbroken advancement all along the line, bearing in mind that the Ladies' Garment Workers are your true friends. It may be of interest for you to know that our union too has made substantial progress this year, in addition to having opened a big financial institution, the International Union Bank of New York City.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

Two days later the general office received the following telegram from the miners' convention:

Morris Sigman, President.
Abraham Baroff, Secretary.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,

3 West 16th Street,
New York.

By direction of the delegates at attendance at the Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, I am officially transmitting to you their deep appreciation of your greetings of fraternity and friendship conveyed in your message. The delegates manifested their feelings of gratification when I reported the splendid financial and moral support the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union had given the United Mine Workers of America during the mine workers' strike in 1922. You can rest assured that the United Mine Workers will ever remember the great service you rendered during that historic struggle. The United Mine Workers' organization is truly your friend and can be relied upon to assist you in every way possible whenever the occasion should arise. We congratulate you upon the success of your undertakings, the organization of your bank, and wish for you prosperity and continued success in all your endeavors.

WILLIAM GREEN,
International Secretary-Treasurer,
UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Raincoat Makers, Local 20, Elect Officers This Saturday

This Saturday, February 2, the raincoat makers of New York, members of Local 20, will hold an election for officers for the year 1924. The voting will take place in the office of the local, 150 East 25th street, from 10 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon.

The election of officers in Local 20 has suffered a delay this year on account of the Wexler affair. Now that this case is at an end, the local ordered an election for a new administration to take place this Saturday. It is to be hoped that this election will not suffer from the tumult and confusion which the Wexler affair has brought into the local. It appears

that some of the more naive members of the locals have been misled by Wexler into the belief that he was "framed," and that without him the local could not exist. Of course, the big majority of the members of the local will pay no attention to these vague vapors.

Members of the locals are called upon to take part in the election without fail and to elect the best and ablest men on the ticket. Just because of this attempt to disrupt and split the local, it is the duty of every faithful and local worker belonging to it to close ranks and with united efforts to repel every attack directed against it from within and without.

Designers Urged to Join Local 45

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the United Designers' Union, Local 45, I. L. G. W. U., held on January 13, 1924:

Whereas, the cloak, suit, skirt and dress designer is an important factor in the industry, because he is the one who produces the style of the garment; and

Whereas, the designer, although he is so important in the industry, nevertheless works under bad conditions;

Whereas, the designer, due to the bad conditions under which he works, is compelled to join an organization to protect him in overcoming these conditions;

Be it therefore resolved—That all designers who have not as yet joined

the Union be requested to do so, for the reason that the agreements in the cloak and dress trade will expire in a short time and the designer will then have an opportunity to demand better conditions through his affiliation with the Joint Board of the Cloak, Skirt, Dress and Refectory Makers' Unions. And

Be it further resolved, that designers who have not as yet joined the Union shall be admitted into the Union at the old initiation fee from Thursday, January 31, until Monday, February 4.

A meeting is being arranged for Monday, February 4, in the Oak Room of the Hotel Marlborough, Broadway and 32d street, where an exhibit of models will be held.

President Sigman Visits Boston and Chicago

Last week President Sigman visited Boston again to confer with the local dress manufacturers regarding the renewal of the trade agreement between the union and the employers which expires on February 15.

As yet no settlement in this matter has been reached. This week another conference between both parties is expected to take place, and it now remains to be seen what final results will be accomplished. There are pretty good prospects, however, that the agreement will be renewed without a break.

This Friday, President Sigman will leave for Chicago to take stock of the organizing drive conducted in that city among the dressmakers. As known, the Chicago dressmakers have been making earnest preparations for quite some time for a general strike in order to organize the trade 100 per

cent and to introduce union standards in the dress shops. While in Chicago President Sigman will make an effort to bring both sides together and to reach a settlement, if at all possible, without a fight.

Meanwhile the agitation carried on among the dressmakers under the guidance of Vice-president Ferstien goes on apace. The Chicago Dressmakers' organization is leaving nothing undone to fortify its ranks and to get itself ready for any emergency. It is constantly issuing appeals to the workers in the trade to join the union and is gaining many new recruits each day.

While in Chicago President Sigman will attend the meetings of the Joint Board and of the executive boards of the locals to familiarize himself with present conditions in the local organization.

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FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

In Local 17

By JACOB HELLER

The firm of Louis Weinstein, one of the oldest and most influential firms in the cloak industry of New York, went into bankruptcy two weeks ago. This firm has survived unscathed the hardest economic crises in the industry and now, at the time generally regarded as prosperous, it was compelled to close its doors. Why?

We believe the Weinstein firm paid the price of its ill-calculated step in having, a year and a half ago, given up its old-established factory and become jobbers. The trouble with this firm, like many another "fast-stepping" firm in the trade, is that they have lost sight of the real source upon which their business and past prosperity were founded. Present-day jobbing in the "Wall Street" of the cloak trade, it is gambling pure and simple. And the reason why so many of our manufacturers took to it is that they are essentially not solid, staid business men. Unlike the manufacturer who thinks in terms of permanency and stability, they make faces about the difficulties of dealing with "labor." They are so quickly apt to imitate the one exception who managed to make some money out of jobbing in the hope that somehow or other they will be carried along and emulate the prosperous exception.

In the first couple of years some jobbers in the trade did make money. They made it contrary to their own belief, not through jobbing pure and simple, but because in the gambling atmosphere of those years, when piece-goods and materials were bobbing up and down, they managed to be on the winning side. It did not require any particular brains to make money by this method and some of the successful jobbers must have come to the honest conviction at that time that they were real Napoleons of industry.

Today, however, the pendulum has swung. Jobbing has become a precarious sort of business for the solid business man—in which the cloak industry, we must say, does not abound. The jobber mainly relies on chance

for his big profits. He gambles on the sub-manufacturer making up his garments for little more than a song and he takes a long chance on the general condition of the market, long before there is a possibility of determining its status.

For a time this business did work. The contractors were fleeced as the mulkijs were by the city merchants in old-time Russia. Today, however, the "sub" is demurring in very loud tones, and wants to make a living. He wants a standardized price and other guarantees. And from day to day it is becoming obvious that the jobber is after all not such a miracle-performer as he was "drummed up" to be.

That jobbing is gambling pure and simple can hardly be denied. It amounts to accumulating stocks to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars and watching out for the "right" sort of buyer. In the good old times, a big stock was a distinct advantage in the cloak industry. Today, however, in an atmosphere of fast-changing prices, being caught with a big stock on hand is often worth all of a firm's standing in business.

That is exactly what happened to the Weinstein firm and what only a few weeks ago overtook the Majestic Cloak Company and many others which we do not think it necessary to mention. The Weinstein incident should by all the dictates of common-sense serve as a sobering up lesson for many another manufacturer who still has a hankering for the jobbers' paradise. Jobbing is not a safe and sensible business for a cloak manufacturer. The inside factory, the shop, is the only place for him if he is to stay in the business for good.

Those of our members who want to learn the English language have an excellent opportunity at hand now. The local has engaged a trained and experienced public school teacher and has organized a school for that purpose. Lessons are given in our office hall every Thursday evening for all those who wish to enroll.

New Jersey District Council Meets

On Wednesday, January 16, the first meeting of the district council in the State of New Jersey was held at Newark in the Eagles' House. Every one of the nine International locals in the State was represented at the meeting.

The council was formed for the purpose of bringing the locals closer together to facilitate their organizing work among the unorganized ladies' garment workers of the State. Each local was represented by two delegates. A permanent chairman and secretary of the council were elected and a committee was appointed to work out a program of activity for the council.

The meeting was attended, among other delegates, by Brother Max Bruck, manager of the Newark office; Brother Abraham Rosenberg of the New Jersey City office; Organizers Philip Gretskey and M. Schneider; and by Brother Henry F. Hiffers, representing the New Jersey Federation of Labor.

The meeting of the General Executive Board, which was being held in Philadelphia at that time, prevented Secretary Baroff and Vice-president Halperin from attending the meeting of the Council. Instead they sent a wire to the delegates wishing them

success in their enterprise and promising to be present at the next meeting. It was decided by the Council that they meet regularly each month in a different city in New Jersey, so as to give the locals an opportunity to bring up their individual problems while the council was meeting in their home town, and to encourage the local workers to do better and more thorough work among the unorganized.

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In Local 38

By B. DRASIN, Secretary

In my last report I spoke about the elections of our local which took place on December 29, 1923, and the installation meeting which took place on January 3, 1924. I emphasized the active interest the members took in it with their marked seriousness and quietness. I took this as a good sign that our local is paving the way for solidarity and cooperation between our ranks. The more we succeed in this line, the more certain we can be that our local will grow in size and strength, and be of benefit to the workers in our trade.

Since that time a few meetings of our newly elected Executive Board took place. Not going into the details of what transpired, I only wish to say that judging from the accurate attendance of the Board and committee members, and from the way the meetings are conducted, I am inclined to believe that we are really on the road to recovery from what was left of the ill feelings between some of the active elements in our trade. An understanding was reached or reached as to whether should be the policy of our Union in all the complicated matters we are confronted with as a labor organization.

All our committees are at work and our members should not hesitate to trouble the Union with whatever trouble they meet in the shops, or in the trade in general. They may be sure that their grievances or complaints will be met with close attention by the office staff and by the members of the different committees.

We are now in our dull season and as usual this is the time when some of the employers are trying to give trouble to the Union by either interfering with the system of equal division of work between their tailors or trying to do away altogether with some of them under all kinds of pretenses. Their calculation is that the Union cannot protect the individual member in the dull time as well as in the season, and that by the time the season arrives everything is forgotten and forgiven by the Union. But I must say that these employers are greatly mistaken. It is not so nowadays. Records of employers who have misbehaved are kept in the office and special care is taken that the employer gets what is coming to him when the opportune time arrives. Some of our employers have had the chance to convince themselves of the truth of my statement.

On Friday, January 18, right after the General Executive Board meeting of the International which was held in Philadelphia, a conference of all managers of the separate locals of our International in Greater New York not belonging to the Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union, was called by President Sigman and held at the International. Having worked out an idea of uniting all the locals into one council for organization purposes as

a start, Brother Sigman delivered a talk on this matter. He touched the question of the common interests in building up such a body of both the International and the local unions. He brought out clearly the benefit which can be derived from having established such a council, and suggested that no delay should take place in bringing it about. After an exchange of opinions on this matter by the managers of the locals present, it was decided to accept the suggestions made by President Sigman. Those present constituted themselves into a temporary General Council and the President appointed a sub-committee of five from among those present in order to work out a definite plan as to how to bring about the council, what shall be the basis upon which the locals should unite, and about the functions of the future Council when constituted. All this was referred to the temporary Council for approval and then to be referred for further consideration to a joint meeting of all the Executive Boards of all the local unions in question.

The next step will be the meeting of the Executive Boards which is to be held Thursday, January 21, 1924, at 8:00 p. m., in the Council room of our International. Vice-president Lefkowitz was appointed by Brother Sigman to arrange all the plans. Brother Sigman himself will take an active part in the meeting.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

After a whole year of striking in the Sharplip shop, Boston cloakmakers score a clean-cut victory. This firm had "run away" from the Union to Turnville, Conn., brought charges against the organization for conspiracy. This, however, availed it nothing, as it was in the city of Boston to come back to Boston and settle with the Union.

New York Cloak Joint Board decides to begin organizing work among the cloak workers in Jersey City, N. J. The chief officers are instructed to begin this work, and a series of meetings are held in the cities of Newark, Passaic, Hoboken, Union Hill, and several others in New Jersey.

The Joint Board of New York begins the publication of an Italian weekly for the Italian members of our Union under the name "La Lotta Di Classe," with Arturo Carutti as editor.

Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union advises in the labor press for a secretary-organizer, one who at the same time is a member of one of our trades. (They don't have to do these things nowadays any longer.)

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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

Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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Prosperity and Hard Times

By AUGUST CLAESSENS

II. Our Greatest National Sport

Electing Presidents and then "cussin'" them; lauding them with extravagant praise; if good times prevail during their terms of office, and razzing them with bitter blame if a panic or an industrial depression comes instead—that's our greatest national sport.

Our fool public sweetly ignores the fact that hard times have come with in the terms of intelligent Presidents and good times have smiled upon us under mediocre and dull ones. Furthermore, they forget that periods of prosperity and depressions follow each other with a regularity almost as certain as the phases of the moon. Between 1819 and 1923 eight financial crises and industrial depressions visited us. History records 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1894, 1907, 1913 and 1920 as years of economic panic, chaos and misery.

These eight periods of hard times came in intervals of an average of twelve and a half years. Since 1884 they have come at considerably shorter intervals—approximately eight and a half years. If we continue at this rate of progress the inevitable phases of business boom and blow-up will be upon us so frequently that every sensible person will be compelled to challenge the further existence of capitalism and its doubtful blessing.

Let us briefly review the history of business conditions in this country during the last 34 years. During this spell we were favored with four fine economic smash-ups—and they came within the terms of four more or less popular Presidents.

PERSPARATION

We begin our survey with a period

of good times. Popular opinion names this seemingly happy condition Prosperity. In behalf of the working people it should be called Perspiration! When times are good the workers perspire. "Produce more! Speed up! Turn out more goods! Increase production—that's our only salvation!" shout our grand chorus of Babbitts from their Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers' Associations, and their Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs. Statesmen and politicians, press and pulpit join in the din. The mad frenzy of boom times hypnotizes the multitudes into a fever of business activity and speculation. Farmers and wage-earners are caught in the tornado and whirled along in the excitement. The lure of good prices and high wages entice them into hard work and long hours. And they sweat and sweat, and then some. Suddenly an ominous calm intrudes.

A sickening stillness in the air and a weakening in the voices of the boomers spread the suspicion that the prosperity is nearing its end. Then follows the grand collapse, the shutdown of industries, the lay-off of millions of toilers and the conclusion of their period of perspiration. "Yes, We Have No Jobs," "Your Services Are No Longer Required," "Part Time and Low Wages or No Time and No Wages"—become the popular lyrics of the day.

In 1889 there existed fairly good times, and they continued into 1890. Then followed a sudden stillness and business crept along on all fours through 1891 and 1892. In 1893 it approached the precipice and fell over, and in 1894 it landed in the bottom of the chasm of general bank-

ruptcy. Explanations, charges and counter-charges, howls of rage and unlimited "cussin'" rent the air. Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party, then at the helm of the ship, were blamed for piloting it upon the rocks. The indignant public cursed this crew and swore for revenge. They voted the "Jackass Party" into retirement and installed the great "Elephant" into power.

Our economic illness dragged on through 1895. Convalescence in '96. Fresh start again in '97. Up and at them in '98 and once again boom times. Of course, the Spanish-American War helped. War generally does.

When slaughtering of human beings and vast destruction of property stalk in on our humdrum existence, business picks up like a balloon and soars toward heavenly heights. Hurrah for War! Three cheers for Prosperity! To the Devil with peace, brotherliness, love and cooperation! These are rotten conditions for gross speculation and large scale profiteering!

Good times raced on through '99 and 1900. In 1901 and '02 came a slowing down. Then we rambled along at a cautious gait in 1903 and '04, and eventually struck another queer snag in 1905.

Came that awful calm in 1906, and then over the brink and down into the abyss in a glorious smash-up in 1907. Once more the angry multitude split the air with accusations and curses. This time the target of their abuse was no less a man than the strenuous Theodore Roosevelt, captain of the ship of State with the Republican Party and its budding progressives on board. But this crew had the same unfortunate luck as had Cleveland and the Democrats in 1893 and '94.

Political panic followed economic chaos and in the elections of 1908 safe, sane and fat Wm. H. Taft crowded into the Presidential chair. Business conditions recovered in

1909, and without great excitement they rambled along at a fair pace through 1910 and '11. But it was painfully slow going and over flat and unstimulating country. In 1912 came the yearning for the "New Freedom" and Woodrow Wilson mounted the national rostrum. Immediately the bat began to rock and roll and presently it floundered on the shallow shores of 1913 and '14. Almost complete business stagnation followed and vast hordes of unemployed aggravated the general hopelessness and despair.

THE WAR AND GOOD TIMES

In the middle of 1914, hell broke loose in Europe. That helped. "In the latter part of 1915 we began to get its backwash and then the boom commenced. With heated ardor our Knights of the Golden Broom waded in to clean up. The political campaign for "Preparedness" and peace was shamelessly eclipsed by the propaganda of our eager profit-mongers for a season of unparalleled prosperity. Huge plunder was in sight and every wheel of industry was geared for action. Wages went sky high and prices climbed above the clouds. The mad scramble increased in fury. In 1917 we were plunged into the European blood-bath and its agony, death and devastation became our financial harvest. New millionaires bloomed like a field of daisies and business prosperity gorged itself to bursting in 1918. In the following year it burst.

Then back to "Normalcy." Warren G. Harding and the Republican Party once more. No sooner had the genial soul of Marion, Ohio, taken the steering wheel than the overloaded and overstrained ship caved and sank. Again during 1920 and '21 mutterings were heard throughout the land, and before the protesting hordes could give vent to their desire for political revenge our ill-fated President died. And now it appears as if

(Continued on Page 11)

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Fifteen Months of Out-of-Town Campaigning

(A Report Submitted to the Seventh Quarterly Meeting of the General Executive Board.)

By JACOB HALPERIN
Manager, Eastern Organization Dept.

I submit herewith a report of the activities of the Out-of-Town department for the period of fifteen months from August, 1922, to January 1, 1924.

I assumed charge of the department in August, 1922, but several months had to be spent in a preliminary survey, which included looking over the territory, the selection of suitable headquarters for the different territories, and the engagement of organizers to cover them. This survey revealed hundreds of ladies' garment shops in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut, as well as Maryland.

Because the financial standing of the International at that time would not permit our organization to work in all these territories at once, we limited our activities to the towns near New York in order to assist the cloak and dress Joint Boards and the various locals in New York to go on with their daily struggles with their employers. In addition to conducting organization campaigns, we called strikes in places where work for New York firms was being done by seabs.

Among the many difficulties with which we had to contend, one of the most trying, in addition to the opposition of the employers themselves, was the hostile attitude of the employees who regarded the union organizers as their enemies. This hostility was due in many cases to the fact that organizing campaigns were carried on usually only when there was a strike in New York, and that the conclusion of the strike marked also the conclusion of the organizing campaign in that town, where whatever progress had been made was lost to the organization as well as to the workers.

We have had to contend as well with the parents of these workers, who thought we had come to take away from their children their only means of livelihood—the factory. The inhabitants of a town considered it a sign of prosperity to have a manufacturer settle there, and our organizers were therefore considered trouble-makers who came when there was trouble and disappeared when it was over. We had considerable difficulty in convincing them of the falseness of this attitude.

I am glad to say that we have now removed many of these difficulties, and have demonstrated our sincerity and our desire to establish permanent organizations in their towns, and to assist them to obtain better wages and more humane conditions in line with the rest of organized labor everywhere. We are now commanding respect, and are securing the cooperation not only of labor unions in the various localities but in many cases of the community and its broad-minded citizens in general. We have succeeded in organizing twenty-four locals in the various territories.

In this period of fifteen months, we have received 475 complaints, which were attended to as speedily as possible. One hundred and twenty-five shops have gone out of business. We have signed agreements with 85 manufacturers, half of them with cloak manufacturers and half with dress manufacturers. Our Out-of-Town Department numbers 1,949 members, which, together with about 1,000 New York members who work in out-of-town shops, totals 2,949

members. The treasury of the twenty-four locals totals \$6,100.

During this time we have had 55 strikes and 15 injunctions. These strikes cost the International a considerable sum of money, not to mention the energy consumed and the suffering they entailed. We have been faced with framed-up charges and with arrests many times, as in the cases of West Hoboken, New Britain, and Camden, N. J. In the last-named city a shop-strike has been going on for the past six months, in which there is not one striker who has not been arrested from ten to fifteen times and brought to court on false charges. But the strikers have shown an indomitable spirit and most of the cases have been settled in our favor.

The department consists of the following persons who are engaged directly by the International: Philip Oretsky, Bernard Shub, Marco Durante and Louis Maggio. We receive the cooperation of Brothers Rosenberg, Bruck, Schneid and Cirrione who are employed by the Joint Board.

The work is divided as much as possible into territories.

Louis Maggio takes care of the territory in Westchester County, having as his headquarters Local 113, 35 S. 4th avenue, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. He is in charge of 13 union shops which employ about 580 people, 350 of whom are members of Local 113 and the others members of other locals. He takes care of the districts of Tuckahoe, N. Y., New Rochelle, N. Y., and other localities nearby. With a number of shops in each town, one can readily see the difficulty of one person's supervising these scattered districts, and I am therefore satisfied that we have made good progress in that territory. Of course there is a vast amount of work to be done in the remaining 35 non-union shops, which would however require added facilities.

Brother Bernard Shub takes care of 9 locals and 18 union shops, totaling 750 members. These are Local 128, Spring Valley, N. Y.; Local 127, Stamford, Conn.; Local 141, So. Norwalk, Conn.; Local 138, Colchester, Conn.; Local 43, Waterbury, Conn.; Local 30, Greenwich and Stamford, Conn. in addition to the three Bridgeport locals 35, 34 and 137.

Local 128, the Spring Valley Garment Workers' Union, had a membership of 190 about a year ago, but because of the conditions in the industry suffered a considerable loss in members owing to lack of work. The members now total 60, with a treasury of \$200.

Local 127, the Stamford cloakmakers, is now in good shape in spite of the hard times it has experienced. It has 99 members in good standing and a treasury of \$700.

Local 141, the South Norwalk garment workers, still is comparatively small but the prospects of enlarging it are good.

Bridgeport has three locals—Local 34, the Corset Cutters; Local 33, the Corset Workers, and Local 137, the Garment Workers. Local 33 has 300 members and a treasury of \$300.

Local 43, the Waterbury garment workers, is still new, and has 40 members with a treasury of \$100. The workers here are only 40 per cent organized, but there is a good chance to organize them all.

The Colchester local, 138, has 90

members, and \$400 in the treasury. Local 30 of Stamford has just recently been organized.

Local 138, the Jefferson County workers in Adams, N. Y., has 30 members, and \$300 in the treasury. At the time of this writing, every attempt is being made to organize a district council of these locals to promote close cooperation between the Connecticut locals to increase organizing activity. All these locals in Connecticut have been very active and the Bridgeport Local 33, while not yet recognized by its firms, has rendered considerable service to the International. At the time of this writing, every attempt is being made to organize a district council of these locals to promote close cooperation between the Connecticut locals to increase organizing activity. All these locals in Connecticut have been very active and the Bridgeport Local 33, while not yet recognized by its firms, has rendered considerable service to the International. At the time of this writing, every attempt is being made to organize a district council of these locals to promote close cooperation between the Connecticut locals to increase organizing activity. All these locals in Connecticut have been very active and the Bridgeport Local 33, while not yet recognized by its firms, has rendered considerable service to the International.

We have not touched the territory in New Haven and Hartford, where there is a large number of ladies' garment workers.

Long Island and a part of New Jersey are under the supervision of Brothers Oretsky and Durante, who take care of 28 union shops and have seven locals in their territory. These include a membership of 450, in addition to 450 members of New York locals who work in out-of-town shops. This includes Local 107 of Woodhaven, L. I., Local 57 of Jamaica and Local 77 of Corona.

In Corona, Long Island, there are 12 shops which we are trying to organize, and of which we have succeeded in settling five. Four are on strike. This was difficult territory to organize owing to opposition from

local authorities and other interference as well, which went as far as prohibiting the distribution of circulars, forbade our talking to the workers in front of the shops, and causing the arrest of those of our organizers who attempted to do so. But we have succeeded in convincing the local authorities of the sincerity of our purpose, and these obstacles have now been removed.

Local 107 in Woodhaven has a membership of 150, a treasury of \$800, and we are fortunate in the fact that it is a very active local. At present it has 7 union shops, one union cloak factory, in which are employed 150 workers belonging to New York locals. In the three non-union shops, two dress factories and one cloak, about 50 workers are employed. Separate meetings are held in each shop and once a month general meetings are held. The spirit of the workers is excellent, and they are trying to make the local a strong part of the International.

Local 57 of Jamaica has been newly organized, being only three months' old. Its members total 40 and its treasury \$150. It has four union cloak shops and two union dress factories in which 100 members of New York locals are working. Although my last report mentioned that four cloak factories had gone out of business because of the activities of the Out-of-Town Department, in the past month three new dress factories opened up in Jamaica, which will take much organization work. Some workers in the latter firm have already applied for membership in the local, and we expect that we will soon be able to report that the local has doubled its size.

(To Be Concluded in the Next Issue)

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

This evening at 8:40 p. m., Prof. Horace Kallen of the New School for Social Research and editor of *Advance*, is beginning a four-lecture course on "The Religious Character of Social Programs," at the Rand School, 7 East 13th Street.

On Saturday, February 2, Prof. H. M. Barzun of Lehigh University, a member of the Socialist Party of France, who is sailing in order to stand as candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in the next elections, will speak at the Rand School on the topic "French Socialism and the European Crisis."

On Saturday afternoon, February 2, at 3:15 p. m., the Saturday Cameraderie will meet for the tea and talk to be followed at 4:00 by the first lecture in a series of four on Current Drama, by Prof. H. W. L. Dana. Prof. Dana will discuss "Saint Joan" in relation to other plays by Shaw, and other plays about Jeanne d'Arc.

On Tuesday evening, February 5, at 7:00 p. m., Miss Margaret Daniels is beginning a twelve lecture course on "Elements of Psychology."

On Wednesday evening, February 6, at 8:40 p. m., Clement Wood is beginning a six-lecture course on "What's Right with Modern Poetry."

REVISED OUTLINE OF DR. CAR- MAN'S COURSE

An outline on "Social and Political History of the United States" given in the Workers' University, I. L. G. W. U., 48 pages, price 10 cents, can be obtained at the office of the Educational Department.

COOPERATION CHANGES DANISH HOME LIFE

Mr. Chris L. Christensen, of the United States Department of Agriculture, who spent two years in Denmark, writes on "How Cooperation Has Changed Danish Home Life" in *Farm and Fireside* for October, 1923. "Forty years ago farm women in Denmark did men's work in the field."

Today it is very unusual for a Danish woman to do any field work. I seldom saw one of them milking cows." Cooperation has helped to make the Danish farmers so prosperous that women no longer think of doing this work. "Clothes are sent to the cooperative community laundry. Cooperative bakeries relieve the cooks of part of their daily tasks." Houses are becoming more comfortable and beautiful. There are many community clubs. "Group singing is a regular feature of the neighborhood meetings. Music and art are regular subjects in the schools. There are special schools for adults. Education is almost a passion with the Danes. . . . Cooperation has to a large extent ironed out class and social distinctions."

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

SLACK, BUSY AND OVERTIME

According to calculations, the busy season in the cloak trade should have been on at this time in full force. But it is not so, and according to Vice-president Feinberg, the manager of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board, not only are there a number of cloakmakers out of work, but there are many of them without places and therefore without hope that they might ever start to work when the "season" arrives.

It is needless to say that under such circumstances the cloakmakers feel anything but cheerful about the outlook in the trade. They feel dismayed and it is only too well known that a feeling akin to despair among the workers is an ally and a valuable aid to the employers. The chase after the little work that finally appears in the shop becomes keen and sharp. The workers are inclined to overlook and even disregard union work terms and regulations, and, without noticing it themselves, are making up the garments under very much more inferior conditions than they could command in real "busy" times, when the garments are snatched from under their hands.

It is perhaps the newest method adopted by our employers, jobbers and manufacturers alike, in dealing with their workers. We used to have in our trade slack and busy periods, times when there was no work at all and times when there was too much of it, much more than the worker could produce during regular work-hours. It stands to reason that the workers would take advantage of these busy periods and earn good wages. The employers, needing the product, were willy-nilly compelled to accept the terms of their men, and as a result the earnings of the busy season somehow contrived to make up for the losses of the idle period and enabled the workers to make ends meet.

In recent seasons, so it would appear, our employers have become "wiser." They are attempting to eliminate entirely the busy period and are managing to make up their work in a state of chronic "slack" and, of course, under terms entirely favorable to themselves.

It is a bad situation, and the Union is fully aware of it. The Union intends to do all in its power to check this new policy of the employers. The new program which our International has adopted for the cloak industry aims, indeed, at the complete abolition of these unfair tactics of production. But this program of reforms, as we stated on a previous occasion, can only be made effective and workable if our men and women will themselves realize its importance and take a hand in carrying it out. Therein lies the gist of the whole story.

For the best of programs, if poorly understood and improperly applied, cannot and will not bring the desired results. That's why week-work did not bring all the benefits which were justly expected of it. The fault was not in week-work but in the failure of the workers to properly utilize it. Week-work, as most of the workers have understood and have been applying it, remained essentially but another form of piece-work. It would therefore be wrong to assume that week-work was a false hope for the simple reason that week-work as such has hardly been tried out in the cloak industry. The strongest efforts of the Union were brought to naught by the deeply-rooted predilection in favor of piece-work among the workers themselves.

Week-work, in order to bring real results, has still to be given a chance in the cloak industry, and this can only come, as we wrote on many occasions before, when the Union will establish a minimum scale of wages, and will leave the question of adjusting wages above this minimum entirely to the individual worker and his employer without pledging its support for the protection of such adjustments.

Of course, even such a new regulation with regard to the minimum and above-the-minimum wage scales can be misused in their daily application in the factory. There is nothing under the sun that is perfect and not subject to abuse. It is quite possible that eventually the Union might go as far as prohibiting any wages above the minimum scale for any worker. Then we shall have real week-work in our trades, and only then will its benefits to the workers as well as to the entire industry become obvious and real. Under the circumstances, however, the demand for a single minimum scale to be protected by the Union is the best we can expect and, given loyal support, understanding and cooperation on the part of our workers, this measure when adopted will mark a substantial step ahead towards the improvement of conditions in the shops.

The reason why there has been so much idleness in the cloak trade of late and so little of what we used to call "busy" periods, is not because there are less women's garments produced in New York now than before; quite to the contrary, the cloak and the

dress trade are yearly increasing their output. Nor can it be ascribed to the present simplicity of styles and the allegation that it takes half the time now to make up a woman's garment that it used to. Even if there is a particle of truth in this assumption, it certainly cannot explain the fact of practically chronic "slack" in the factories.

The true reason is that most of the work in our shops is now slowly being made up during the period which used to be classed as the "slack" time of the year. In itself this fact would not be regrettable at all, for have not we at all times hoped and worked for the gradual abolition of the "slack" and "busy" seasons and for the distribution as equally as possible of the work all year round in our trade? But the trouble is that our workers do not as yet appear to have grasped the significance of the change that is taking place in our trade. They seem to be still under the impression that we have definite "busy" and "slack" seasons, with the result that, as in the past, they are willing and ready to produce the work in the "slack" periods under conditions more favorable for the employer than during the "busy" season. It is in this sense, we assert, that the workers are making up during an ostensibly "slack" season the work which in former years they used to make up at the time of industrial rush.

We may be not entirely correct in this assumption, but we, nevertheless, maintain that such is the case. At any rate, it would be well that our workers free themselves as far as possible from the notion of "busy" and "slack" seasons which makes them content to work during these alleged or real "slack" seasons for much less, in the hope that they would recompense themselves for it in the "busy" season.

Of course, all these things are not done with the consent of the Union, but it is a fact, nevertheless, and the individual workers in the shops are often not inclined to act on their own account in times of a slump and thus make matters much worse for themselves.

The same is true of overtime. The Union does not like overtime and in its agreement with the employers it limits overtime to a few hours and exacts time-and-a-half pay for it. The Union discourages overtime because it believes that a worker is entitled to make a fair living during his regular work-hours. Overtime is only permitted during the very height of the season, and certainly now, when there is little work in the shops, there can be no question of overtime. Yet, despite the fact that there are still a number of workers in the trade without jobs, we hear that in some shops overtime work is being done. This is, to say the least, an outrage. It is a denial of union principles and of the union spirit of mutual aid. It is the lack of this spirit that makes things so hard for our workers in the shops and which plays so directly into the hands of the employers.

The Union, true, has the power to discipline the workers for such a gross violation of union ethics; but it cannot do it effectively when the workers involved in this unfair business are doing their hardest to "fool" the organization for the sake of some petty momentary gain, which in the end only works to their own detriment and their own injury.

It becomes, therefore, the duty of every true and loyal man and woman in our shops to do all in their power to bring to a quick end this mean business of working overtime while there are jobless and idle workers in the trade. If a warning and admonition is not enough, it is their duty to report this practice to the local office or to the Joint Board for further action. As long as there are unemployed and jobless in the trade, the work in the industry should be distributed as equally as possible among the cloakmakers, and certainly there can be no question of sanctioning overtime under such conditions.

THE UNION HEALTH CENTER

Among the various institutions which our Union has built up during the last decade, the Union Health Center is certainly entitled to a place of honor.

Health is one of the great essentials in the life of a worker, —yet in the rush to earn even a precarious living, the worker is often compelled to ignore the primary requisites of health. He is only reminded of it when the breakdown caused by overexertion finally comes; then he begins to appreciate how precious an asset is health.

The Union Health Center is already four years old and is doing highly useful work. We frankly admit that during these years, the Center has received less appreciation and encouragement from us than it rightly deserved. It did not even get the full measure of publicity in our columns to which it was entitled. Perhaps, the Center requires no abundance of publicity; its own work is its best advertiser. Yet, that does not ease our own conscience and we openly admit our neglect in this respect.

The Union Health Center is not a hospital. It is an institution formed for the purpose of keeping our workers out of the hospitals as far as possible. Its task is to conserve the health of the workers, to safeguard them from grave illnesses, and this work the Center has been doing in a very successful manner. In the last year only, according to the report of Dr. George M. Price, the director of the Center, 17,805 examinations were made in its clinics, which means that many persons were advised and helped to prevent complication of disease. Such examinations cost only one dollar at the Center, while the cost of private medical treatment is too well known to require comparison.

Very few physicians have the equipment necessary to make a thorough and conscientious examination of patients. The Health Center, on the other hand, is in possession of the best and most modern machinery for such purposes; it has a splendid X-Ray department, electric baking rooms, and has at its disposal

Three Months' Work of Our International

By S. YANOFKY

II.

At the meetings of the General Executive Board, we become familiar not only with the affairs of our International and all that affects it, but with many an event in the labor movement in general which in any degree comes in touch with our union.

To the meetings of the General Executive Board there often come committees from outside organizations requesting financial aid or cooperation in some worthwhile cause, occasionally even appealing to become affiliated with the International. At these meetings one feels as if not only our own subdivisions but the outside labor world were knocking at the door, pressing for admission and seeking aid in solving their difficulties and problems.

There is a sanitarium for consumptive workers in Los Angeles. Its inmates are largely former cloakmakers, dressmakers and tailors, and men and women of other crafts. The Los Angeles Sanitarium has no wealthy patients and it naturally depends for its existence on the contributions of workers and their organizations. Our International has in the past given its share of support to this institution and rarely does a meeting of the General Executive Board pass without the Los Angeles Sanitarium coming to it with a request for assistance. This time they asked the Board to allow them to make a drive for funds in our shops, with the assurance that their agents will receive no commission from the money thus raised. The General Executive Board, of course, could not refuse the request of the Los Angeles Institution but, knowing that the Denver Sanitarium, for consumptives, a similar institution, would demand the same privilege for itself, it decided that this drive be made jointly for both sanitariums on the same day.

Secretary Baroff read a communication from President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, in which he requested our International to send a delegation to a conference in Washington on February 13 to discuss prison labor in United States jails. Prison labor converts the prisoner into a competitor of the free worker, since the prisoner is paid so little for his labor that it amounts practically to nothing. Prisoners produce shirts, clothing, furniture and household goods, and it is not natural that prisoners produce articles should outbid anything in their line in the market for the simple reason that the labor cost in their making is negligible. The labor movement is deeply interested in the matter, not so much for the unfortunate prisoner himself, as for its own interests. It would be heartless and cruel to demand that every laborer be absolutely enslaved. After all, labor is, perhaps, the one factor that makes life in the prison endurable. On the other hand, it would be idle to demand that the prisoners get as much for their labor as free workers. It might serve as an inducement for many a free worker to enter the prison for a term, perhaps during the "slack" season, in the hope of

getting proper returns for his labor. It is for the solution of this problem that President Gompers wants our International to come to a national conference of labor representatives, so that a jointly agreed upon policy might be adopted in this matter.

A committee asking help for Carlo Tresca appeared before the Board. Mrs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn told the members of the Board that Tresca had attacked Mussolini and his Fascist adherents in a weekly paper which he publishes, and that the Italian Fascist dictator as a result had instructed his agents in America to do all that they could to make Tresca harmless for the Fascist movement at home. As it was deemed inadvisable and politically inexpedient to attack Tresca on account of his anti-Fascist propaganda, he was indicted for a two-line advertisement of a birth-control book which appeared in his weekly, and a Federal judge sentenced him for it to a year and a day in prison. Ordinarily such an "offense," even if proved against a person nowadays, is punishable merely by a small fine. The birth control movement has come out of the cellar already and is discussing its principles in the open at mass meetings, conferences and in fast-growing literature. Tresca obviously was sentenced to go to jail because the Italian dictator willed it so, and his long-reaching arm has been able to effect it. Our union will do all it can to help Tresca appeal his case and reverse the verdict. The vengeful hand of Mussolini must not be permitted to rob men of liberty and subject them perhaps to deportation from this country.

After the Tresca committee, Arturo Giovannitti appeared on behalf of the Anti-Fascist Alliance, asking for substantial help for the checking of the pestiferous Fascist movement in America. According to Giovannitti, the Italian workers must have their own paper to check and counteract the influence of the Fascist. As one listened to Giovannitti's eloquent plea, one could not escape the oddity of the situation in which we find ourselves. On the one hand, the labor movement in America is compelled to wage a fight against the "Red" menace, while on the other it must throw its strength against the encroachment of the "Blacks." It is menaced by prison labor from the jail, it is being attacked by the well-meaning Germans, but nevertheless harmful propaganda of our "revolutionists," it is confronted with the Fascist movement and in the rear it has to contend against the manipulations of spies and provocateurs planted by employers. Surely a hectic, if not a desperate, state of affairs!

But that is not all. The outside world is still knocking at our door. Assistant Cable and other German well-known men in the Socialist movement, appeared before the Board asking aid for the German Workers and particularly for the German Socialist Party. Of course, the International Union can not forget its German fellow-workers in time of stress, and it will do everything possible to help

them. Afterwards came a committee from the Socialist party asking for aid in organizing the coming Presidential campaign. Who indeed would aid the Socialist party if not our labor unions? And thus one after another causes, movements and parties come, place their requests before the Board, and as a rule receive generous treatment, for our big family of 100,000 men and women cannot disregard the other labor interests with which it is bound by countless ties and which have a right to depend upon it and call for its assistance whenever in dire straits or need.

After the outside committees were disposed of, our own committees made an appearance. Some came for aid, others for the solution of jurisdictional problems and still others wanted to be helped out in organizing work.

The situation of the cloakmakers in Philadelphia has been very bad of late. There is no work in that city and the cloakmakers are depressed. And in thinking of improving their condition they hit upon the brand new plan of bringing piece-work back into their shops. The Philadelphia chess Board asked a committee to the General Executive Board with such a request, asking that they be permitted to return to piece-work.

How piece-work would improve their situation, the committee itself could not explain. The impression gained from their plea was that they themselves do not know how that miracle could be worked, except that their situation is bad and they are looking for some sort of remedy. But clutching at a straw will not help a person who is in danger and, while the Board strongly sympathized with them, it could not consent to this proposal. How indeed could piece-work cure unemployment in Philadelphia, or for that matter anywhere else? It could possibly be done if the cloakmakers would consent to work so short hours that they could compete with their fellow-workers in New York and thus take the bread out of the mouths of the latter. But the International, which represents both the Philadelphia and New York cloakmakers, surely could not consent that the Philadelphia cloakmakers be given a chance to underbid and compete against their New York brothers. And even were the International to consent to such an arrangement, it stands to reason that the New York workers would not stand idly by and watch their work drift out to another city; they too would begin working for lower wages and longer hours and eventually would outbid the Philadelphia workers.

The General Executive Board is convinced that the bad conditions in Philadelphia are not due to weak work but to entirely different reasons, just as conditions in New York cannot be ascribed to the weak-work system. The General Executive Board has adopted a well-thought-out system of eliminating the evil that produce such conditions in Philadelphia as well

as in New York and will not allow the change of the work system from week-work to piece-work in any city, knowing in advance that it will not improve the situation in the least.

The Philadelphia Joint Board also asked the General Executive Board to place the dressmakers' union of that city, Local 50, in the same Joint Board as the cloakmakers. Max Amur, the manager of the Joint Board, made a strong appeal for this proposal, and pointed out the advantages that would be derived from such a consolidation by both parties. But this plan met with definite opposition on the part of Local 50 and its manager, Vice-president Reibauer, who asserted that it would be impracticable and unnecessary. The General Executive Board was very much impressed by Brother Amur's argument, but, of course, it would not attempt to force Local 50 into this arrangement against its will, and it appointed a committee consisting of Vice-presidents Ninfo, Wander and Halperin to argue this matter out with Local 50 and try to prove to them the benefits of such an amalgamation. This committee will report to the next meeting of the General Executive Board.

And while we are on the subject of Philadelphia, we might as well mention the fact that there is in that city a small local of private dressmakers which has had very little influence in the local trade despite the fact that it employs thousands of women workers. Some months ago this little local asked the International for assistance in its organization work, and the International appointed a special woman organizer, Miss Ruth Gordon, who has been doing her level best to gain new recruits for the local, but with very little success, despite her strenuous efforts. The General Executive Board decided that, under the present circumstances, it would be best for the local to dissolve and have its members placed under Local 50, the special organizer to be withdrawn from the work.

Among the other committees that appeared before the Board was one from the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, requesting the International to hurry into the production of the union label into the women's wear industry, to forbid the manufacturers to send work into contractors' and tenement shops and to inaugurate a campaign in the cloak and dress shops for the use of union embroidery work exclusively on cloaks and dresses.

In this connection it is worthwhile noting that the label committee which was appointed at the last meeting of the General Executive Board delivered a detailed report containing many interesting items. In substance the committee agreed that a large sum of money is needed in order to bring the label in the market. A special label department would have to be organized and a large fund assigned for the publicity and advertising work. The entire matter was left to the next convention for definite decision.

A committee of the Knit Goods Workers' Union, accompanied by Hugh Frayne, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor in New York City, and President Thomas McMahon of the United Textile Work-

(Continued on Page 9)

the latest scientific means of diagnosing disease. No wonder that, with its small charges, the Health Center is constantly busy and its work is outgrowing the limits and ramifications which it originally set out to reach.

Last Thursday, the Board of Directors of the Center, with Vice-president Wander in the chair, in the presence of President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and a number of other leading officers of the Union as well as the staff of the Center headed by Director Dr. Price, made a report of its activities for the past year, at the annual dinner of the Center at the Aldine Club. The Board has every reason to feel proud of what was accomplished in 1923 and of the growing importance of the Center to our workers.

But the achievements of the Center for the last year do not begin to measure up to its possibilities. Let us state here that the Union Health Center is not as yet participated in jointly by all our locals in New York City. There is no valid reason, so it

seems to us, why the other locals should not take a hand in its affairs. The truth is that the Center takes care of all our members, whether their local belongs to the Center or not. In our Union it has been the time-honored custom that those who share in any of the benefits of our organization should equally share in its burdens. All our New York locals, without exception, should join the Center and contribute to its maintenance and development.

We are proud of our Union Health Center and of what it is doing for our men and women. We are particularly proud of it, because in this field of social medicine the Center and its unions have also done the work of pioneers and have blazed a way for others to follow, as they have done in the field of labor education which has since become a model for the labor movement the country over.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



A Workers' Problem

Cycles of Unemployment in the United States. 1903-1922. By William A. Berridge, Ph.D. Number Four of the Pollak Publications. Houghton Mifflin Co: Boston and New York. 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Out of work! In the terror of that phrase Europe's millions storm the gates of sheltered authority or sink into sodden despair. To be a worker is to know the misery of asking for the right to toil, to march wearily from factory to factory, to go home blankly to a family that greets you with one pointed question: "Did you get something?" Only during war times do governments tell their workers: Work or jail. During normal periods too many of us still must beg for the "right to alive."

Above all else unemployment is a workers' problem. More than low wages, more than bad conditions, more than long hours, this insecurity of the job menaces workers' lives. Miners earn \$7.00 a day and starve, for they lose from two to three months' work every year. Clothing workers watch nervously the ever approaching "end of the season." Workers in England look to their first Labor Government primarily for one thing: Remedy unemployment. The right to work or assured maintenance. This challenge workers everywhere are hurling ever more forcibly against the capitalist system. And by its success or failure to meet this challenge, the continued existence of this crazy system from which men must beg for the opportunity to work, which gives men water but refuses them food, by this challenge the system must stand or fall.

A workers' problem. But only a workers' problem. Perhaps that is

why so splendid a study as that of Dr. Berridge is continually handicapped by the paucity of reliable statistics on unemployment. Perhaps that is why "when the President's Conference on Unemployment met during the recent period of business depression, the first difficulty encountered was the meagerness of the available data concerning the exact nature and extent of the evils with which the Conference was concerned." There is no stimulus to measure a workers' problem. One gets nothing from it. Only pressure from the workers themselves (e.g. as in England) forces serious attention to it. As I read the facts of the slight material available, I thought back upon the moans which I had spent working for the Federal Reserve Bank. Plenty of facts and figures there. Bank clearings, pig-iron production, wage rates, business conditions, charts, graphs, trends, forecasts.

Dr. Berridge's highly expert, technical study shows what might be done. It does more than point a way. It opens possibilities and outlines methods. Assuming the continued existence of the capitalist system in America for many years to come, it suggests the foundations upon which unions may press demands for unemployment relief and devise unemployment remedies. It is a manual which should grace the "research" desks of all our union organizations.

In every science there are three major developmental stages: One out-

lines the problems; gathers, analyzes, and measures the pertinent facts, and formulates conclusions, generalizations and laws from them. For a hundred decades economists had reversed the order of these stages. Too often the economist began with the formulation of laws and postulates and gathered facts to fit his prejudices. The recent emphasis upon measurement in economics is a sign of a new health in the "science" of status quo apologetics.

There is nothing new in the statistical methods which Dr. Berridge suggests for the measurement and forecast of unemployment cycles. Yet their application to unemployment data yields results which well merit the "prize" granted it by the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research. Dr. Berridge divides the period from 1903 to 1922 into two parts, cut one from the other by the war. For the first period he uses the unemployment data gathered by three important industrial states: New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. For the post-war period there was additional evidence available in the employment figures gathered monthly by Federal agencies, e.g. the United States Bureau of Census and Statistics and the United States Employment Service, as well as new state records (e.g. Wisconsin).

These records are largely given as monthly figures. Dr. Berridge reduces the figures in each to employment indices. To obtain these a complicated statistical treatment is necessary: The long-time (secular) trend showing increases due to the normal development of industry with its ever larger working-class must be eliminated from the crude data. The rather marked seasonal variation of employment must next be eliminated. The figures remaining from this treatment represent pure cycles of employment. Dr. Berridge has plotted them about a line representing normal employment in terms of percentage deviations and statistical deviations. The standard deviation curves are correlated one with the other, yielding a high degree of correlation. The

curves are then compared with business curves, e.g. pig-iron production, purchases, and Professors Day and Person's analyses of business conditions. Save for comprehensible differences in amplitude the curves reveal a close correspondence. Dr. Berridge gives an illuminating interpretation of the results of his statistical treatment.

To most workers this brief statement of mathematical statistical treatment will sound like so much Greek. Link-relatives and chain-relatives and secular trend and weights and inverting and correlation sound like the symbols on a doctor's prescription. And in a way, that is just what they are. Easily decipherable by the expert, they must be taken on faith by the layman. And once taken, they promise cure—or at least remedy. Let Dr. Berridge's brief statement of conclusions testify to this:

A current index of employment that will be at once reliable, comparable, representative, and prompt may be constructed from the figures of the Bureau of Labor and the New York Industrial Commission. This index may be useful not only as a guide to the labor market and to the course of industrial activity but also to fluctuations in buying power and to the cycle of social welfare. Fluctuations in employment will be forecasted from the fluctuations of other economic indexes by an interval of approximately six months. Therefore, all who are interested in employment fluctuations should keep in touch with current employment measurements and with the business forecasts of reputable business agencies. "Economic pessimism" shall achieve control over some of the more harmful phases of the business cycle. But until this is done, the possibility of tracing the current fluctuations of employment and of forecasting its future fluctuations several months in advance may go far to alleviate the evils due to the intimate relation between unemployment and business cycles in the United States during the last twenty years."

There Professor Berridge stops. From there the workers must go on.

"Gompersism"

By HARRY LANG

In "radical" parlance the term "Gompersism" comes to mean scorn and contumely. To call any "Gompersist" is tantamount to depriving him of "revolutionary" lustre, than which none is more alluring and detectable in the sphere of wordy baricades.

But not alone in "radical" circles, or Communist, has this term come to denote something akin to disdain. Even among "conservative" Socialists a "Gompersist" is aimed for scanty honors. It would seem that all advanced political groups, regardless of nomenclature, have come to agree on one point—to wit: that "Gompersism" is a garb in which no regular adherent of the faith dare show himself in public.

This article is not written for the purpose of arguing over this vulgarized conception of the American Labor movement prevailing in certain quarters. Samuel Gompers, as the creator, builder, and for a half century leader of the American Federation of Labor, has surely earned the right to have the ideology of that movement identified with his name. And the cheap levity with which the so-called radicals treat American trade unionism will quite likely receive its proper appraisal at the hands of history—as a matter of fact, some of them have already got their deserts for the pitifully futile warfare which, so disastrous to them, they continually have waged and are still waging against the regular Labor movement of the country.

I purport here merely to lay before the readers a few more thoughts which come to me upon reading the articles in the Sunday World, which we touched upon already in a previous issue of this journal. These articles, when put together, give a general idea of what is commonly referred to as "Gompersism," and outline his distinct point of view and philosophy of the American labor movement. It is Gompersism through the mouth of Gompers himself, an authoritative credo of the aims and purposes of the "Gompersist" labor movement.

The heads of these articles are already indicative of their content. One bears the title—"Samuel Gompers Seeks Self-Government for Industry"—in other words, as little interference by the State as possible in the industrial life of the country insofar as it affects the conflict of the various classes or interests engaged in it. This he would rather leave to the parties directly concerned—Capital and Labor—to decide, either through combat or by adopting a modus operandi and the joint sharing of burdens and rights.

But Gompers would extend this self-government beyond the limits of the class struggle. Industry must "govern itself" in every phase and field of endeavor. But what is Labor's ultimate aim, what is the final goal of this clash of industrial classes? The title of the second article in question fairly epitomizes the answer: "Industrial Democracy Must Come and Surely Will Come."

The article quotes the declaration in the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the last convention in Portland and authenticates the view of Gompers as representative of the whole trend of the movement. We are usually prone to consider the American labor union as a bread-and-butter movement, narrow, without breadth and vision, imbued with hand-to-mouth philosophy only. "A fair day's work for a fair day's wages" to most of us is the Alpha and Omega of the American labor union, even to the more earnest of its critics. But this declaration of the Federation's Council, as well as Gompers' articles in the World, flatly deny these attributes. They state that trade unionism in America strives for greater states, demands more, and fights for more.

Trade unionism, in the words of Gompers, has a greater message, a wider purpose, and a much deeper meaning. The labor union strives not merely for temporary gains and improvements of living conditions for this or that group of people. The labor movement lives and strives for industry to be carried on not for the profit of the few but for the use of society as a whole. It purports to place the destiny of industry, its development, and its success in the hands of those who serve it and who give their all to it. The unions seek self-government for industry, not in an individualistic out a social sense.

This is the mainspring in the whole series of Gompers' articles and is predominant throughout them. In brief it amounts to the following: While political democracy has gained its ascendancy among practically all civilized peoples, the last war has proved

abundantly that it cannot guarantee justice to the masses of mankind and that industrial democracy must come to take most of its functions. The labor unions, more than any other organized groups in society, carry this tremendous cause into life.

It may, of course, be argued that this idea is not of Gompers' creation, but it is nevertheless part of the Gompers faith, and in the light of it the hackneyed "radical" definition of "Gompersism" as narrow, conservative and retrograde is neither correct nor honest. As embodied in these articles, "Gompersism" is a compromise of several theories and slogans centered about the axiomatic truth that, when theories and mottoes come in conflict with the realities of life, it is the theories that are likely to prove false and in need of revision rather than the stern facts of existence.

Gompers' theory of "self-government" in industry bears the unmistakable color of syndicalism and anarchism, while his emphasis of economic necessity and of economic gains as driving levers for a better world in which to live has no doubt an element of Socialism in it. Gompers maintains that the economic urge is the most powerful of all other factors, but that a better economic order cannot be had until industry is governed not by the political state but "by itself," through the participation only of the elements directly engaged therein. As an example of how such a program of self-government can be carried out Gompers points to the following facts:

In the United States more than eleven hundred big national industrial employers' organi-

(Continued on page 9)



DOMESTIC ITEMS

HIGH WAGES TURN WHEELS OF INDUSTRY.

In its business review for January the Fourth Federal Reserve bank says one of the "decidedly important factors" for widespread confidence in the future is "the legitimate demands of a prosperous and well-employed people."

In its last annual report the Federal Reserve Board expressed similar views: That increased earnings of factory workers and larger incomes of farmers "furnished the buying power to absorb the year's increased output of goods."

These sentiments should be recalled by so-called "molders of public opinion" who exult at the prospect of every wage reduction.

They ignore the A B C's of sound economics: That the purchasing power of a people creates employment, and only well-paid workers possess purchasing power.

ROADS MUST DIVIDE PROFITS.

The section of the Transportation Act which requires a railroad that earns profits in excess of 6 per cent to turn one-half of this amount into the United States treasury has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. This section is known as "the recapture clause."

No surprise was created in inner railroad circles because the supreme court upheld the recapture clause of the transportation act.

Some of the officials secretly favor the clause and hoped that the court would sustain the act. While the officials publicly took the opposite position, they privately expressed the belief that with the recapture clause in effect the Interstate Commerce Commission would be more liberal with allowing rates for all the railroads if there was a check upon the earnings of the stronger roads.

LOST FARM CONTROL DURING BOOM PERIOD.

More than 8 1/4 per cent of the farmers who owned land in 1920 and more than 7 per cent of the tenant farmers in 15 corn and wheat producing states have lost their property with or without legal processes, due to purchase during the boom period, unwise investments or other causes, according to the Department of Agriculture.

This indicated, it was said, that out of a total of 2,239,000 owner and tenant farmers in the section considered, more than 108,000 lost their farms or other property through foreclosure or bankruptcy, more than 122,000 lost their holdings through legal proceedings and nearly 373,000 retained their property only because of the leniency of creditors.

ENORMOUS WAGE LOSSES ARE LAID TO ACCIDENTS.

Wage losses of \$2,500,000,000 a year are traceable to industrial accidents and occupational sickness, declared Richard E. Kropf, chief official of a fraternal insurance organization, at a safety conference in Chicago. Another loss of more than \$2,000,000,000 is sustained by manufacturers in decreased production for the same causes, he said.

"Approximately 500,000 workers are injured so badly each year that either they are maimed for life or lose more than a month's time in recovery," the official pointed out. "This is a heavier toll of injured than the world war exacted in the 19 months of American participation. The woeful commentary on these amazing figures is that surveys show 60 per cent of these accidents are preventable."

"Gompersism"

(Continued from page 3)

zations. These associations have their rules and ethics, and the members of these organizations will at all times rather follow the rules and ethics laid down by them than the ethics and laws formulated by the political institutions of the country. And the reason for this is very simple: the code of behavior laid down by these organizations for their members is the expression of their economic interests and is the result of their practice and experience. Gompers points to the Oil and Steel Trusts in particular, showing that, although a national anti-merger law had been adopted many years ago, in accordance with which terms these trusts are non-existent any longer, it is nevertheless common knowledge that these trusts exist and flourish, and the State seems to be helpless to control or destroy them. Only the industrial organization of the workers together with the industrial combines of the employers, says Gompers, is in a position to direct the development of industry and coordinate its welfare.

But what about the other sides of social activity, not directly industrial? Can industry govern there, too, without the aid of the political state? Well, Gompers reaches the conclusion that the political organization has its functions but these functions must be defined and controlled by industrial agencies, and these industrial factors cannot be determined by one side in industry only. In other words a complete industrial democracy.

All told—Gompers' array of ideas, as mirrored in these articles, leads one to believe that "Gompersism" is by far not a "reactionary" viewpoint; that the character of the American trade unionism is by no means narrow, but that it is in America the most effective driving power for true progress.

Gompersism, in this light, can only be condemned or attacked by bourgeois commentators. It is a revelation and something worth while giving serious thought to by those who think honestly and are sincerely watching the spiritual development of American Labor.

WANT STATE TO AID CONVICTS' FAMILIES.

Greenville county legislators announce that they will ask the South Carolina state legislature to provide for the families of state criminals. A system of compensation for relatives of convicted men to prevent them from becoming wards of the state or objects of charity will be advanced.

Advocates of the plan point out that in many cases children of a convicted man become lawbreakers after making a grim fight for existence under their handicaps.

ALIEN LAW AIDS COUNTRY.

Immigration laws are no longer designed to benefit the immigrant, but the first thought in their making is "America first," said W. W. Hubbard, commissioner general of immigration, in a speech at the Lawyer's club, in New York City.

Without legal restriction the tremendous influx of immigrants would only be limited by the inability of the transportation lines to carry them and the inability of relatives already here to send them money, the commissioner said.

OPPOSE CONVICT LABOR.

Organized iron molders are up in arms against the proposal to spend \$75,000 on the Maryland penitentiary foundry. The molders declare that this will continue "the present vicious contract system, which exploits the convicts and wrongs the free molder by flooding the market with prison-made castings, thereby causing unemployment and distress."

BREAD TRUST FORMED.

The Ward Baking Company and the United Bakeries Corporation merger will be a bread trust in the full meaning of the term. The former firm is now warring on organized bakers in an attempt to establish the anti-union shop.

"The ever-expanding system of machinery has paved the way for bread production upon a gigantic scale and has furnished to the accumulated surplus capital of employers new sources for additional wealth," says the Bakers' Journal.

STEEL TRUST'S GAINS REVEALED TO WORKERS.

Trade unionists who are directing the steel organizing campaign are putting the steel trust on the defensive by an educational campaign among these workers.

Leaflets written in a readable, snappy style, and with interesting cartoons, are being distributed in large numbers throughout the various steel sections. Especial attention is paid to the steel trust's enormous profits, which have been increased by wage reductions when the eight-hour day was partially established.

Under the caption, "Juggling With Your Wages," one leaflet states:

"Labor in the steel industry has recently been receiving 40 cents an hour for a 12-hour day. That means \$4.80. Families can not live decently on that.

"Now the eight-hour day comes in. Workers have long wanted it. They struck for it in 1919 and before.

"The steel bosses now say they will pay 50 cents on hours for an eight-hour day. At first that sounds good. It sounds like a raise in wages.

"But when you get your pay envelope you find that there is only \$4 a day in it, instead of \$4.80. Eight times 50 cents is \$4. Your wages are reduced 80 cents a day. The same principle applies to tonnage men.

"Your wages have been reduced. Four dollars a day is not enough. Labor should receive 60 cents an hour to make \$4.80 a day, and others in proportion."

ACCIDENTS INCREASE.

Workers are killed and injured in the mines, mills and factories of Pennsylvania in increasing numbers. The record for 1923 is one of slaughter. There were 206,435 accidents, or 54,186 more than in 1922. Fatal accidents jumped from 1,890 to 2,412 during this period.

Three Months' Work of Our International

(Continued from page 7)

ers of America, appeared before the Board asking that those knitted goods workers who are now making ladies' garments be taken into the International. This question had been taken up for discussion at a previous meeting of the Board, and was left over to the next convention. But the committee of the Knit Goods Workers' again asked that the General Executive Board take up the question. As delay and postponement were hurting their organization very much. As a matter of fact, Brother Leaderman, the manager of the Knit Goods Workers'

Union, admitted to the General Executive Board that their only hope for progress lay in becoming eventually a local of the International Union. But, flustering at this statement may have been to the General Executive Board, it could not change its decision. It is a big responsibility for our International to take into its midst a trade which still has to be organized. Such a step could not be taken hastily. A committee was elected to investigate the matter thoroughly and to report to the next meeting of the Board.



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

LESSON 8—Continued.

7. There is the challenge of concentrated control created by banking development. The 18 financial institutions who, by interlocking directorates, control 134 corporations; the "inner group" of 5 New York houses which controls 112, do not by this means control only our banking system, transportation, public utilities and trading and producing corporations. Their control of industry allows them to control also in many ways our government, schools, newspapers, foreign affairs and lives as workers. There are continuous counter-currents and cross currents, it is true, but the significant control of these "vested interests" over our lives has been recognized by such diverse thinkers, journalists and students, as Veblen, Brailsford, Beard, Anatole France, LaFollette, Borah and many others.
8. There is the challenge of routine human happiness. The world created by the present system has been termed a repressive environment. Long hours of monotonous toil, small wages, marriages delayed and postponed by economic causes, the indecent crowding of slums and tenements have forced men today to repress the normal desires of their basic human nature. Increased nervousness, social problems and labor unrest all testify to the balking in the masses of the population of the instincts of sex, self-assertion, competition, rounded physical exertion, workmanship, curiosity, etc., etc. It may be that many of these effects flow from machine industry, but on the other hand, we have the word of such engineers as Walter Polakow that machine industry, socially managed, could reduce the necessary individual labor to four and maybe two hours a day, leaving the others to be devoted to substitute activities. The problems flowing from unequal wealth distribution, of course, are entirely separate from the workings of machine industry. (cf. Carlton Parker—"The Casual Labor and Other Essays, chapters 1 and 4. W. F. Ogburn, Social Change, parts 4 and 5.)
9. There is the challenge issued by the post-war world. Thus far capitalism has not been able to launch a program of world reconstruction adequate to meet the needs of its war-ravaged world. But unless it gives Europe the food, clothes and homes which men need, it loses its most potent pre-war justification.
10. There is, finally, the challenge of war. Apparently the same seeds from which the Great War grew still remain in capitalist soil. Imperialist, competitive industrial rivalries still menace the world. Even today two new wars shadow Europe, one in the Ruhr, one in the Near East. And war becomes increasingly a more terrible business. A bureau of statisticians in neutral Denmark has estimated the loss of lives due to the war at 40,000,000. With the development of chemical, ray, bacterian, air, submarine, etc., warfare, the next war promises to be a more ghastly affair than even this. Any system which carries such a danger in its womb must offer very convincing arguments indeed for its continued existence. (Will Irwin, "The Next War.")
11. Such, then, is the social challenge to the present system, and it is here that Labor comes in. For, labor has the necessary numerical strength, world-wide organization, selfish interest and determined will to push society through to order. Using the engineers and intellectuals, it can construct a new system in which lies man's promise of escape from starvation, routine inefficiency, misery, industrial autocracy with all its implications, unrest and war.

(The End)

Professor Calhoun in Workers' University

Our members will be interested and gratified to know that Professor Calhoun, who is at present associated with the Brookwood School, will begin a course of "Social Institutions" in our Workers' University on Sunday morning. The first lecture will be given on Sunday, February 3, at 10:30 a. m., in Room 529, Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 17th street. This course is highly recommended to all of our members who want to understand the structure, psychology and function of existing social institutions.

Professor Calhoun will analyze such institutions as the church, state, family, school, business, unions, etc.,

and will, in each case, show how they are growths, habits, parts of our environment, ideals, brakes, challenges and promises.

Those of our members who were present at Professor Calhoun's lecture in December will know how valuable this course will be. All of our members are urged to be present at the first lesson.

Following Professor Calhoun's lesson, Professor Carman will continue at 11:30 with his course on Modern European History. Those who have missed the first few lectures of this course can join now, because Professor Carman takes up at each session a topic which is a unit in itself.

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 529

Saturday, February 2

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

Sunday, February 3

- 10:30 a. m. A. Calhoun—Social Institutions.
11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Development of Modern Europe.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, February 4

- Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171
1034 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, February 5

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

Wednesday, February 6

- East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63
4th Street near 1st Avenue, Room 404
9:00 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions.

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

EXTENSION DIVISION YIDDISH

Saturdays, February 2 and 9

Local 9—228 Second Avenue.

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

Sunday, February 3

- Club Rooms, Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The American Labor Movement.
Clinton Hall—161 Clinton Street, Room 47
12:00 M. H. Rogoff—Civilization in America.

ENGLISH

Thursday, February 7

Local 17—Reefer Makers' Educational Center
142 Second Avenue

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

YIDDISH

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

Lecture for Shop Chairmen and Executive Members, Local 91.

- 6:00 p. m. Max Levin—Aims and Problems of the American Trade Union Movement.

RUSSIAN

Friday, February 15

Russian-Polish Branch—315 E. 10th Street.

- 8:00 p. m. K. M. Oberuchoff—Trade Unionism in the United States and Europe.

Friday, February 1 and 8

Labor Lyceum, 219 Sakman Street, Brooklyn

- 8:00 p. m. Echeurs I. L. G. W. U. Chorus. Members of the International are invited.

OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES BALTIMORE

YIDDISH

Tuesdays, February 5 and 12

Office of Joint Board, 201 Ansinth Street.

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

BOSTON

Wednesday, February 13

Local 7, 21 Essex Street.

- 6:00 p. m. Lawrence G. Brooks—Labor Banking.

CLEVELAND

Monday, February 4

Office of Joint Board, 203 Superior Building.

- 8:00 p. m. H. A. Atkins—Applied Psychology.

PHILADELPHIA

Monday, February 4

Office of Local 20, 1018 Cherry Street.

- 7:30 p. m. Mr. Glassberg—Social and Trade Union History.

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.



Prosperity and Hard Times

(Continued from Page 4)

prosperity is about to kiss this fair land once more. But how long it will linger with us no one can tell.

Four financial panics and industrial depressions occurred within the last 24 years. Two came under Democratic and two under Republican administrations. We contend and will attempt to prove that our Presidents and their political cohorts are responsible for hard times only inasmuch as they and their policies maintain and encourage the insane economic system that gives rise to these recurrent cataclysms.

The economic cycles that have

wheeled and whirled us around since 1819 have affected all other capitalist nations, and their panics have come almost simultaneously with ours. Here, then, we are confronted with an international disease. Its eruptions appear on our political skin, but the cause of it is within. Before we could begin our diagnosis and propose a treatment and remedy for the ills we had to expose these surface indications which inspire our greatest of national sports—electing Presidents and then "cussin" them when misfortune lays a bad egg in their nests.

LOCAL 91 SHOP CHAIRMEN AND EXECUTIVE MEMBERS DISCUSS LABOR PROBLEMS

"Aims and Problems of the American Labor Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U." will be discussed by Max Levin with the shop chairmen and executive members of Local 91, this Thursday evening, February 7, at 6 p. m., in the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street. This is the third lesson of a course of six lessons. The session last week was most inspiring. The shop chairmen who assembled appreciate the importance of being versed in the problems of their union in particular and of the Labor movement in general. They realize that shop chairmen are called upon from time to time to solve problems and also that they are looked up to by their fellow-workers in the shop as representatives of the union, and are expected to be in a position to enlighten them on many things concerning the Labor movement.

These sessions will be continued on Thursday evenings from 6 to 7 p. m. in the I. L. G. W. U. building.

We hope that many more locals of our International will follow the example of the Children and House Dressmakers' Union, Local 91.

DR. J. H. M. LYON STARTS COURSE IN LITERATURE IN OUR WORKERS' UNIVERSITY, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9

Our members will be gratified to know that Dr. Lyon, who gave a course on "Social Forces in Contemporary Literature" last year, will again be with us this season. He will give his first lecture on Saturday, February 9, at 1:30 p. m., in the Washington Irving High School, Room 529.

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CONCERT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHORUS IN TOWN HALL

The chorus of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which is composed of a number of men and women members of our International Union, is preparing for a great event, their concert on March 2 in the Town Hall.

Their participation in the concert that was given by the Jewish Singing Society established a reputation for them. To make it more attractive, the chorus will be assisted by Bronislaw Huberman, the famous violinist.

The proceeds of this concert will go to meet the expenses of the chorus.

Tickets can be obtained at our Educational Department for \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00 and \$2.50.

LECTURE BY H. ROGOFF THIS SUNDAY

H. Rogoff will continue his course on "Civilization in America" this Sunday morning at 12 o'clock in the Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street.

In his discussion of the social and economic forces that made America and shaped its institutions, our members are getting a valuable knowledge of the country in which they live and in which they are eager to make the necessary changes to meet the new conditions.

The questions asked by the audience are most interesting. This course will be continued throughout the season in the same place and at the same time, and members of our union who live in the neighborhood are advised to visit one of the lectures to decide whether they want to join the class.



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РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ.

На состоявшемся в среду, 23-го января, обыкновенном собрании старого и новообразованного И. Ком. Русско-Польского Отдела Кауцкеевской в порядке дня была сделана передача дел и работы старым Исполнительным Комитетом — новому.

На собрании присутствовали Пис-Президент старого и нового Исполнительных Комитетов Р.-П. Отдела тов. Г. Финский.

После открытия заседания товарищ Зверзковский, один из старейших членов как Русско-Польского отдела, так и И. Ком., сказал речь, в которой он обрисовал труды посмертных старым И. Ком. и высказал надежду, что и новый И. Ком. будет также старательно работать для пользы отдела. Далее он высказал сожаление, что благодаря ряду обстоятельств, что он был кандидатом в секретари-организаторы, он автоматически выбыл из члена Исполнительного Комитета Русско-Польского Отдела.

Благодаря деятельности секретари-организатора А. Сауца на протяжении года тов. Зверзковский частично обрисовал полезную деятельность тов. Сауца, упомянул ту смелость, которую он проявлял исполняя возложенные на него особые поручения. Заключая свою речь, тов. Зверзковский отметил то, что как самого лучшего секретаря отдела либо бывшего в Русско-Польском отделе.

Товарищ Финский, в продолжительной речи высказал благодарность старому Исполнительному Комитету за усердную и плодотворную работу прошедшего года и пригласил нового Исполнительного Комитета такой же усердной в продуктивной работе.

Товарищ Сауца, новообразованный председатель Русско-Польского Отдела, в своей речи отметил все сделанное старым Исполнительным Комитетом по делу организации Русско-Польского Отдела и пригласил, как членов И. Ком., так и всех членов Отдела к дружной работе, высказывая уверенность, что при совместном старании всех товарищей неслучно то время, когда у нас будет свой журнал.

Тов. Малецкий в своей речи пространно говорил о достоинствах тов. Сауца и сказал несколько обобщающих слов по адресу новообразованного секретаря, заключая, что было бы очень жаль было если бы тов. Сауца в начале своего секретарского поприща не сдвинул и не переломил отчаяние. Далее тов. Малецкий предложил И. Ком. Отдела предложить рекомендацию в Лейбт Борк дать Сауца был дан лугульственный отклик с оптимистическим желанием. В ответ на это предложение тов. Сауца просил лугульственный рекомендацию не давать, высказывая уверенность, что если существует такой журнал, то для него не будет сделано исключение, выдающегося в то же время, что и приписки ой против такой отсылки.

Следующим оратором был товарищ Котский, старый Председатель Русско-Польского Отдела и новообразованный Лейбт Борк от отдела. В своей речи тов. Котский высказал благодарность всем членам отдела за хорошие отношения и пожелал во время собрания на все время его представительствовать и выразил пожелание успеха новому Исполнительному Комитету в новой секретарской.

Далее было решено посетить заседание одного из ближайших собраний Исполнительного Комитета на обсуждение организационной работы на организации Русско-Польского Отдела.

В порядке дня была избрана Редакционная Комиссия, в которую вошли товарищи: Болтон, Кауцки и Морос.

Заключив Русско-Польский Отдел был рекомендован тов. А. Аннон-ский.

Также была избрана Комиссия для посещения докладов по поводу организации на конгрессе. Избранные тов. Петровский и Натанов.

На состоявшемся в субботу, 26-го января заседании Комиссии, таковой в основном удовлетворительно Комиссия в большинстве оказалась и потому поручила, во исключительных обстоятельствах, что во всех случаях товарищам Петровским и Ефремов, а две кандидатуры на работу у неизвестного товарища, но обязательно выразил уверенность, что книга будет написана.

Открытие собрания отдела состоялось в пятницу, 25-го января. К собранию обратился большой толпкой по имени Сесаря с просьбой помочь ему. Был сделан значительный сбор: 2 дол. 70 центов, каковая сумма и была вручена Сесарю.

Далее разобрались просьба тов. Соколова, члена отдела 35, членская книжка № 5140, который вследствие болезни и безработицы не платил членских взносов 15 месяцев в просит Отдел ходатайствовать перед "Мемориальным Комитетом" о списании. Разобрав просьбу тов. Соколова, собрание поручило секретарю послать в "Мемориальный Комитет" рекомендацию о списании к нему.

В порядке дня были прочитаны и приняты без поправки предложения очередного собрания и собрания Исполнительного Комитета Русско-Польского Отдела, также были приняты без поправки докладов докладов в докладе 1 и 35 и утверждена доклад деловая Комиссия в "Резюме Комитета". Тов. Мартынович дополнил в том, что один преемщик был отправлен на 99 дол. 89 центов за то, что он работал в субботу после обеда.

И. П. Шевченко, Секретарь.

Лейбт Киселера Михайловского, о Гармо, выехала была в Боскерессе, 27-го января, в 2 часа дня, в авто "Интер-нейшнэл", 3 Вост 16 ул., к большому собранию Русско-Польского Отдела кауцкеевской, не состоялась вследствие болезни лектора. От г. Михайловского в Боскерессе, в 5 часов вечера, был получен телеграмма с уведомлением, что причиной его болезни была неожиданная болезнь.

Л Е Н Ц И Я .

В пятницу, 1-го февраля, Р.-П. О. К. устраивает ЛЕКЦИЮ, в Русском Народном Доме, 315 10-й ул., на тему "Что такое трех-минутник".

Простите известный русский колосник доктор Н. М. Оберуев. Началось в 8 ч. вечера.

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The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

The Fourteenth Annual Ball which our organization is going to give on Saturday, March 29, 1924, in Tammany Hall, was given added momentum at the last regular meeting by the acceptance of the recommendation of the Ball Committee that the members obligate themselves to purchase at least two tickets for this affair. When this proposition was taken to a vote, the recommendation was carried unanimously. The reason for the Ball Committee bringing in this recommendation is that they are anxious to make the affair a tremendous success, so that the Relief Fund, for the benefit of which this affair is being conducted, will be so enlarged that the Executive Board may find itself in a position to be more liberal to members in need than they have been able to be heretofore. It was especially unpleasant for the Executive Board to have the secretary inform them about the middle of the year that the treasury of the Relief Fund was rather depleted and that they would have to be very careful in meeting out donations. We hope that this affair will be such a great success that this curtailment will no longer be necessary.

Upon the acceptance of the above report, Manager Dubinsky rendered a report on the activities of the office. At the last regular meeting of the membership on Monday, January 14, the manager reported that the cutters are dissatisfied with the wages they are at present receiving, and that in a number of shops in which the cutters are getting \$50.00 a week they have submitted a request to the firm for a wage-increase of \$5.00. Brother Dubinsky explained to the membership that they are doing it on their own initiative. However, a number of shops have requested increases and in all such instances their requests were granted.

Among the cloak shops which have granted the increase are Wilkins & Adler, employing twenty-five cutters, Davidow, and others. In the dress industry are Brambr & Hendricks, Duke, Payson & Co., and a number of others.

Among the Protective Association houses the cutters of Max Rubel as well as of Ben Gerschel requested a wage increase, and when it was denied, called a shop meeting. The cutters of Max Rubel were informed the same day that an increase would be granted them, and immediately returned to work, whereas the cutters of Ben Gerschel are still holding their shop meeting. We believe that they will not have to do so much longer as we are sure that the firm will realize that the request of the cutters is a just one and will grant it.

Below we are giving the quarterly reports as submitted by Brother Dubinsky, for the cloak and suit as well as the waist and dress divisions. In the next issue will be given the 1923 yearly reports for both divisions.

QUARTERLY REPORT—OCTOBER 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1923

CLOAK AND SUIT DIVISION COMPLAINTS

(1) Boss is doing the cutting. No Cutter employed.	
Unfounded—cutters were found working	108
Cutters were placed to work ..	15
Firm paid fine and cutters were placed to work	15
Firm paid fine	33
No work in shop	95
Shop on strike	2
Non-union shops	4
Receive cut work	13
Do not work on stock—make models only	1

Store; alterations only	1
Shop burned down	1
Out of business	21
Pending; newly settled shops ..	2

Total

(2) Boss is helping cutter at table.	
Unfounded	1
Instructed	4
Firm paid fine	1

Total

(3) Non-union cutter employed.	
In favor of union	11
Unfounded	4
No work in shop	4
On strike	2
Out of business	1

Total

(4) Cutters were not properly paid for overtime.	
Pending, Total	1

(5) Firm refuses to pay wages due cutter.	
In favor of union	4
Pending	1

Total

(6) Firm refuses to pay cutter the minimum scale of wages.	
In favor of union	1
Pending	1

Total

(7) Firm offers to pay less than agreed upon.	
In favor of union, Total	1

(8) Firm deducted for mistake.	
In favor of union, Total	1

(9) Cutters were discharged.	
In favor of union	4

Impartial chairman decided that cutter is to stay out	1
---	---

Complaint dropped; complainant not justified	1
--	---

Total

(10) Equal division of work.	
In favor of union	11

Withdrawn—Cutters requested same	2
--	---

Total

(11) Cutter is member of firm.	
Unfounded	3
Pending	1

Total

(12) Firm sends its work to a non-union shop.	
Firm was fined \$75.00. Total ..	1

(13) Firm receives cut work from a non-union jobber.	
No work in shop, Total	1

(14) Cutters violating union rules.	
In favor of union	9

Unfounded	5
-----------------	---

Cutter summoned before Board (Case held for investigation) ..	1
---	---

Total

(15) Cutters to be stopped off from work for failing to take out their union books.	
In favor of union	14

Cutter is out of shop	4
-----------------------------	---

No work	5
---------------	---

Out of business	1
-----------------------	---

Total

(16) Cutters to be stopped off from work for failing to pay fines imposed upon them by Executive Board.	
In favor of union	6

Cutter is out of shop	6
-----------------------------	---

Out of business	1
-----------------------	---

Shop moved—address unknown ..	1
-------------------------------	---

Pending	1
---------------	---

Total

Total complaints filed from October 1 to December 31, 1923 ..	426
---	-----

October 1 to December 31, ..	419
------------------------------	-----

1923	419
------------	-----

Complaints still pending, October, November, December, 1923 ..	1
Filed in October	2
Filed in November	2
Filed in December	3

Total

Complaints filed from January, 1923, to March 31	310
--	-----

Complaints filed from April 1 to June 30	303
--	-----

Complaints filed from July 1 to September 30	406
--	-----

Complaints filed from October 1 to December 31	426
--	-----

Total complaints filed to December 31, 1923	1,345
---	-------

Complaints adjusted from January, 1923, to March 31, 1923 ..	310
--	-----

Complaints adjusted from April 1 to June 30, 1923	196
---	-----

April, May and June complaints adjusted July 1 to September 30, 1923	7
--	---

Complaints adjusted from July 1 to September 30, 1923	370
---	-----

July, August and September complaints adjusted October 1 to December 31, 1923	36
---	----

Complaints adjusted from October 1 to December 31, 1923 ..	419
--	-----

Total complaints adjusted to December 31, 1923	1,338
--	-------

Complaints filed to December 31, 1923	1,245
---	-------

Complaints adjusted to December 31, 1923	1,338
--	-------

Total complaints pending to December 31, 1923	7
---	---

WAIST AND DRESS DIVISION	
--------------------------	--

QUARTERLY REPORT—OCTOBER 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1923	
---	--

COMPLAINTS	
------------	--

Boss is doing cutting—No cutter employed.	
---	--

Unfounded—cutters were found working	27
--	----

Cutters were placed to work ..	22
No work in shop—being followed up	107
Firm paid fine	10
Instructed	2
Firm is a bundle contractor ..	1
Withdrawn—no evidence	3
Open shop	2
Out of business	10
Pending	11

Total

Boss is helping cutter at table.	
----------------------------------	--

In favor of union, Total	2
--------------------------------	---

Cutters discharged.	
---------------------	--

Reinstated	4
------------------	---

Compensation in lieu of discharge ..	2
--------------------------------------	---

Cutters left shop	2
-------------------------	---

Strike	1
--------------	---

Pending	1
---------------	---

Total

Equal division of work.	
-------------------------	--

In favor of union	7
-------------------------	---

Unfounded	1
-----------------	---

No work	1
---------------	---

Cutter received compensation and left shop	1
--	---

Pending	2
---------------	---

Total

Non-union cutters employed.	
-----------------------------	--

In favor of union	23
-------------------------	----

Unfounded	5
-----------------	---

Pending	1
---------------	---

Total

Cutters have no working cards.	
--------------------------------	--

In favor of union	8
-------------------------	---

Cutters out of shops	4
----------------------------	---

Total

Cutters violating union rules.	
--------------------------------	--

In favor of union	3
-------------------------	---

Withdrawn (no evidence)	1
-------------------------------	---

Total

(End next week)

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, February 18, 1924

REGULAR MEETING Monday, February 25, 1924

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place