

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARNET WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VI, No. 7.

New York, Friday, February 8, 1920

Price 2 Cents

The Labor Problem

Ours is an age of problems. We have so many of them that one finds it next to the impossible to catalogue them all. It is enough to point out some of the most prominent—the woman problem, the Jewish problem, the problem of evolving an ideal social order where a maximum of human freedom would be compatible with the greatest measure of security of life, and its enjoyment, the problem of world peace; and some of the relatively minor problems such as the sex question, the educational problem, and so on.

These problems all involve sore spots in our scheme of co-living, which often make life miserable and repulsive and provoke the old burrowing question: Is life after all worthwhile living?"

Until men will find the right answer to these problems life will continue to be more of a burden than a joy to most thinking and deeply-feeling persons. Until then murder and suicide and other ugly forms of crime and destruction will continue to be normal phenomena in our daily existence, the natural outcroppings of a distorted, silly and wasteful social system.

But important as all these problems are, the labor problem towers above them all in portent and significance. It is quite possible, of course, that even after the labor problem had been solved some of these subordinate questions will still be waiting for an answer. Yet one thing is certain: Until the labor problem is properly settled none of these problems can receive their adequate solution. The labor problem is the problem of all problems.

How otherwise could it be indeed? Is not labor the very basis of our life? Can human life upon this earth be imagined without labor? As long as the soil yields only after hard toil the means of human subsistence; as long as our species must fight and incessantly grapple with nature that it may live, labor will remain the mainspring of life. The labor problem will therefore perforce continue to occupy the forefront of human interest.

Most of the movements for the betterment and improvement of our existence aim to remove this or that obstacle from the path that retards our progress. The labor movement, however, is paramount to all of them because it purports to remove not a single evil but the very root of all evil.

It is the immensity of this problem that makes so many fearful of it. They are ready to affiliate with any of the minor movements, they ally themselves with this or that secondary reform, but they are timid and diffident in the face of the labor problem.

The men and women who have the courage and strength to cast their lot unreservedly with labor are few and far between. Small wonder that the labor movement is essentially therefore a "class" movement. It is no accident that only those who are themselves vitally interested in it form its mainstay and bulwark.

And yet—not even all the workers who have been drawn into the labor movement by the sheer dictates of their daily interests are quite clear about their part and role in it. Often, quite unconsciously, they themselves hinder its regular and quick progress. And that is the reason why the labor movement is not everywhere as influential and as powerful as it might and ought to be.

For the strength of the labor movement lies not in its size, or the number of persons that directly participate in it. For that matter all the workers are part and parcel of the labor movement, whether they like it or not, whether they are organized or not. But the force and the influence of the movement of the workers, its power to create the new and to remove the old and worn-out, is centered in its clarity of purpose and the knowledge of its own aims.

The clearer the labor movement is of what it wants and what it strives to achieve, the more the workers understand the great historic mission of their cause, the faster will be the march of the labor problem towards its final solution through the instrumentality of the labor movement.

S. Y.

Week's News

Is slipping.
Such a Polaire is now bent upon becoming dictator of France in order to better the legs of the French. Once given full power to his Frenchmen.

Not more tax. say mean that a great flock of the present members of the Bloc National, Polaire's mainstay, will be asked by French voters in the approaching elections to remain at home and go to work. And this being a rather crude prospect, Polaire's "boys" are now in open rebellion.

That may not be such bad news on the face of it, though, frankly, we are inclined to doubt the outcome. The better bet is that Polaire will get what he wants. The day of the dictator is not yet over in Europe. If Mussolini can still run things serenely in Italy; if Horthy can still terrorize the Hungarians; if Rivera is still riding roughshod over Spain, and the Zinovief-Kamenef-Stalin triumvirate is still the whole works in Soviet Russia—we fall to see why France could not stomach a dictator, surely as good a boss as the rest of them.

Did you read what Lloyd George had to say about Woodrow Wilson? Among other things the "Little Welshman" declares: "Yes, Woodrow Wilson was a very good fellow, and I shall mourn his passing. . . . He was a very great man, and like all great men had his defects. . . . True he was a failure, but a glorious failure. . . . Criticism cut him like a knife. . . . Had he been a lifelong politician he would have overthrown these attacks. Thirty years or so of political life make one invulnerable. I know."

Which strikes us as the rarest bit of vulgarity of which even this arch wheedler of British politics ever was capable. If Wilson was a "glorious failure"—who on the face of this earth was more responsible for it than George and his fellow-bureaucrats, the "Tiger" of France? The principal actor in the game of "selling" the Versailles Treaty to Wilson as a "democracy-saving" gold brick should have held his tongue at least on this occasion.

Wilson's heart was broken after the country repudiated his Paris arrangement with Lloyd George and Clemenceau. For Wilson, George says, "was made of fine stuff and he was immensely sensitive." Not so the "little attorney" from Wales. After England had kicked him with a thud out of office, he proved to be far less vulnerable than Wilson. He did try to "come back," true, without much success, but with all the brasseries and the stout-heartedness of a "lifelong politician,"

Ask George—he knows.

1924 will beyond cavil go down in American political history as the great Oil Year.

At first we thought it was going to be Prohibition that would make our unmake a president this leap year. Then along came the Klan and with its hundreds in the Middle West it was beginning to look as if the hooded order would evolve as the crux of the national situation. . . . But by this time Oil has outdistanced every other entrant as being as the deciding factor. It will be a race away from Oil, and whichever party gets farther off from the oily field will have the better chance.

There for it is an even break. It is just as hard to put a finger upon a Republican prospect without discovering Oil as it is on a Democratic aspirant. To think only what perfect havoc a meagre quarter-of-a-million legal fee from Oil will wrought with the blooming candidity of Brother William McAdoo! It just fished him by the neck, but all, and threw him bodily out of the ring.

What a great opportunity for a third party, if only the leading groups in the movement for independent political action could get their wits together and organize a real nationwide movement—without back-biting, hind-thinking, sectarian blindness, and silly, puerile mirages!

We are at rest again. The storm is over.

For several weeks the country has held its breath in expectation of the announcement of the winner of the Bok peace prize. Not that we cared a terrible lot about the plan and its practical consequences, but as excitable young folks this huge publicity stunt of the Philadelphia publisher did not go on edge.

Dr. Levermore of Brooklyn, the winner, is a former college professor, sixty-eight years old, and, if further details are wanted, a father of five healthy children, and lives in Brooklyn. He has been interested in peace work for years, and, according to himself, while before the war he would knock the "tar" out of militarism, in the course of it he was read to put the "tar" into every pacifist. A regular, level-headed, back-foot-on-the-ground gentleman, as you may observe.

Dr. Levermore's plan already belongs to history—we nearly said ancient history. The folks are ready for other plans, something that would tingle again and stir our jaded nerves. Neither are we particular whether the award will come from a publisher, a hardware merchant, or a still-pickle preserver, as long as it is big enough to start a race.

By the way, we see by the papers that Dr. Levermore is besieged by an army of bond salesmen who are showering upon him advice with regard to the second investment of his newly-found fortune. We only hope that through some slip he does not invest in munition factory bonds.

A new parliament in Europe!

With "democracy" and democratic institutions on the toboggan these days, does not this news sound rather strange and outlandish? Believe it or not, but there it is! The Soviet Congress sitting in Moscow, sitting through its hand-picked Executive, "supposedly" a Parliament for Russia—regular fashion, no houses, upper and lower, strictly Communist, and with all other accoutrements and regalia.

This new coincided with the announcement from London that England recognized Russia. It means that the prospects for a foreign loan for the Communist Party in Russia are becoming brighter and it also means that the art of window-dressing is not the monopoly of American retail shop keepers, either.

M. D. D.

All Union and Trade News on Page Two

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

PRESIDENT SIGMAN IN CHICAGO; BAROFF, NINRO AND MISS COHN LEAVE FOR WASHINGTON

Last Sunday President Morris Sigman left for Chicago to acquaint himself with the local dressmaker situation and to take stock of the preparatory organizing work conducted in that trade for the past half year in anticipation of a general walkout for the purpose of unionizing the industry and putting it under union work-standards and union control of labor conditions.

This work has been conducted under the management of Vice-president Meyer Perlshtein, the representative of the International in the Middle West. It was quite a difficult task and has been greatly hampered by the obstructive tactics of union-smashers and demagogues from within, disciples of local "revolutionary" politicians. Nevertheless, the activity to unionize the dress trade went on and in the last few months with pronounced success, so much so that at present the prospects for a successful general strike appear to be unusually bright.

President Sigman while in Chicago will gauge the situation expertly, and if he finds that the local workers are

in earnest and seriously want to put the dressmaking trade of Chicago in the union column, he might recommend the sanctioning of it, provided, of course, it would be impossible to come to terms with the dress manufacturers and jobbers of Chicago without a fight.

As reported last week, our International has been invited by President Gumpers of the A. F. of L. to attend two conferences called by the

Executive Council of the Federation which meets next week in Washington on the problems of prison labor and prison manufactured goods and as the subject of the state of women in American industry. The conference will take place on February 12 and 15 respectively.

The committee representing the International at these conferences consists of Secretary Baroff, and Vice-presidents Fannia Cohn and Salvatore Ninfo.

International Calls Upon Locals to Help Workers of Germany

In conformity with the recent decision of the General Executive Board of our Union at the Philadelphia meeting to extend aid to the German workers in their present plight and the critical condition in which their trade unions find themselves, the chief officers of the International forwarded this week the following statement to all our locals.

Greeting:

The General Executive Board at its last meeting in Philadelphia has voted to donate \$5,000 to the German labor movement which finds itself today in the most critical period of its history owing to the general economic and financial breakdown in that country. This action was taken upon the appeal issued by the American Federation of Labor to all its affiliated International Unions to help the German trade unions from going under in this great crisis.

Prior to this appeal, as you probably know, our own International has forwarded \$1,000 to our German sister organization, and now our International Union, through President Sigman, is participating in the National Committee organized by the American labor movement to collect money all over the country for the German trade unions.

We desire to attract your attention specifically to the fact that the only legitimate and dependable agency for the collection of such aid for the German workers is the committee organized by the legitimate labor movement in America. All other self-appointed committees or groups who pretend to collect money for the German unions for

Union Officers Meet to Help Health Center

The officers of all the locals affiliated with the Cloak and Dress Makers' Joint Board will meet today, Friday, February 8, at 30 Lexington avenue, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

The purpose of the meeting is to help make the first annual dance arranged by the Union Health Center and its clinics a striking success. It will be remembered that these clinics are the property of the locals and are cooperatively managed by them. These clinics have staffs composed of some of the best medical experts in New York who examine and treat our workers for a nominal fee.

In order to offset the increasing deficit which this institution, which is highly valuable to our workers, incurs annually, the board of directors of the Union Health Center has hired the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th street and 4th avenue, for a dance on Saturday evening, March 29. To make this affair a colossal success in a material and moral sense, the Union Health Center is endeavoring to enlist the cooperation of all the officers of cloak and dress locals and there is no question but that they will heartily respond to this call.

partisan purposes should be disregarded and ignored by our workers.

The \$5,000 voted by the General Executive Board will be distributed, on a proportional basis, among all our locals and your local will receive shortly a bill for its share of this highly desirable and worthwhile donation. If any collections or individual contributions will come from your members or from your shops for the German workers, you will kindly remit same to the International and you will receive additional credit for it.

Hoping to receive your immediate action and cooperation in this matter.

Fraternally yours,
M. SIGMAN,
President.

ABRAHAM BAROFF,
Secretary-Treasurer.

New York Waist Trade Stirred by Union Activity

Things are beginning to move rapidly in the waist trade of New York. Union agitation is on the march and the time is fast approaching when a strong and influential organization in the industry will become a real, living fact.

The trade is "busy," and as the shops hum with activity the workers are beginning to realize more and more keenly that the conditions under which they are employed are intolerable and that they can and must be remedied. Local 25, the waist makers' local, reports that workers from hitherto "hard-boiled" shops are streaming into the Union daily and that the cry for immediate relief is becoming louder and louder in every shop in the trade.

For next week Local 25 has arranged several mass meetings of the various branches of the workers in the industry. On Monday evening, at 8 o'clock, in the auditorium of the International Building, there will take

place a meeting of tuckers, hemstitchers and pleaters under the auspices of the Eastern Organization Department of the International which will be addressed by Vice-president Jacob Halperin, Miss Pauline Morgenstern, the manager of Local 25, and J. Goldstein, organizer of the International in the ladies' tailoring trade.

On Thursday, February 14, another mass meeting has been called to begin at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at the big Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th street. It is expected that President Morris Sigman, who by that time will have returned from his western trip, will address the meeting, together with Vice-president Israel Feinberg and General Organizer Arturo Giovannitti.

The organization meeting of the more active workers of the local has also been called for Tuesday after work hours at the office of the Union, 16 West 21st street.

The New Local 50 at Work

Like many other cities, Philadelphia, too, had to have a share of the excitement which culminated in the reorganization of Local 15 into Local 50. The forces from without which are continually trying to inject poison within the unions, stand indicted by the mass of members' opinion.

We have at this time enrolled into the newly formed local, almost the entire membership connected with Local 15. This is despite the fact that the season seems to be not a prosperous one. The most significant and encouraging fact is the wonderful attendance we have had at each members' meeting held so far. There are no disturbances, no hard feelings nor bitter remarks, but just honest and animated discussions which tend to vivify and strengthen our organization.

The organization committee, composed of those who volunteered their services at the members' meeting, are attending to their work. The workers from the delinquent shops are brought to meetings and organized in such a manner that their employers will not retard the signing of the new agreement with the Union. While it is true that no new demands are being formally put to our manufacturers with

the renewal of agreements this year, the management of the Union is doing everything possible to better the conditions in the shops.

The members' meeting unanimously adopted the decision of the General Executive Board, which for the first time in the life of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union in Philadelphia, provides for the affiliation of Local 50 with the Custom Dressmakers, Local 76. It has been decided that the installation meetings be held on Thursday, February 7, 1924. Brother Abraham Baroff, secretary-treasurer of the International and Vice-president Reinberg will act in their official capacity to properly install this Joint Board which will again solidify the ranks of the Philadelphia workers engaged in waist and dress production.

It is felt by the members of both locals, that taking into consideration the activity displayed in the educational work conducted by the International locals here in Philadelphia and all the other activities in connection with the Union, nothing must be left undone to rid this city of Brotherly Love of the "scab town" stigma with which unionists brand some other cities.

A. BLOOMFIELD, Secretary.

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FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By OBSERVER

In the last two weeks a number of dress-manufacturers organized themselves into an association. The first act of the Boston Dress Manufacturers' Association, this new organization was to invite the Union to a conference on the renewal of the agreement, which expires February 15, 1924.

The first conference took place on Tuesday, January 22. It began at two in the afternoon and ended about twelve midnight. The Union presented officially its demand for a forty-hour week in place of the present forty-four-hour week. All the other demands of the Union were temporarily laid aside until the major demand will have been settled. But at the end of the conference both sides seemed to be as far apart as they were when they began conferring. And, as is usual in such cases, it was decided to hold another conference. Again both sides met on Saturday, January 26.

The committee from the Union was headed by President Sigman, who made a special trip from New York

for this purpose. Again no conclusion was reached. The manufacturers kept arguing that the dress industry cannot stand a reduction in hours. The fact that the biggest dress market in the country is and has been operating for the last year on the forty-hour basis did not seem to matter to them. The manufacturers simply refused to listen to reason and logic. The Conference Committee of the Union contended that the New York workers were earning much bigger wages in forty hours than the Boston workers did in forty-four hours. But all arguments were of avail, and the conference was deadlocked.

It was then suggested by the manufacturers that another conference be held on Tuesday evening, January 29. The Union agreed, and we met again. At the very start of this third and last conference, the Union representatives made it very plain to the manufacturers that under no consideration will the Union drop the demand for a forty-hour week, and unless the manufacturers are prepared to grant it,

it is useless to waste any more time in conference. In answer to this the manufacturers proposed to extend the same agreement for either six months or a year. This proposal was rejected by the Union. In order to be able to appeal to public sentiment, the manufacturers proposed to arbitrate the demand of the Union for a forty-hour week, knowing full well that the Union never arbitrated the question of shorter hours. Hours of labor were always either granted or disagreed upon around the conference table and were not subject to arbitration.

Just before breaking up the conference, the Union in its desire for continued peace, in the industry, proposed to compromise on the number of legal holidays that we have in the present agreement. We also proposed to start the forty-hour week the first week in April. This compromise having been rejected by the manufacturers, the conference ended in a deadlock.

The following letter was sent the next morning, through registered mail, to each and every manufacturer as well as to the Contractors' Association:

Gentlemen:

In accordance with clause 26 of the present agreement between our Un-

ion and your firm, you are hereby notified that we have decided to terminate said agreement upon its expiration, February 15, 1924.

Within the next few days we will be ready to submit to you a new agreement, for your consideration and approval; and we trust that our friendly relations will be continued in the future as they have in the past.

Truly yours,
WAIST, DRESS-AND PETTICOAT WORKERS' UNION, Local 49, I. L. G. W. U.

I. LEWIN, Manager.

The annual ball and industrial exhibit of Local 49 was a tremendous success, Friday evening, February 1. It exceeded by far the expectations of the arrangement committee. Paul Revere Hall, where the ball took place, was crowded to capacity and at about 10 o'clock, the sale of tickets at the door had to be stopped for lack of space. Quite a number of people were turned back and to those the committee expresses its regrets and apology. The number of guests at this ball justified the hiring of a much bigger hall. The Union will in all probability engage either Mechanics Hall or Symphony Hall for our next year's ball.

The Physical Examination of Fifty Thousand Garment Workers

By GEORGE M. PRICE, M.D.

Director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and the Union, Health Center, New York City.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1911 a number of intensive and extensive examinations of the physical condition of workers in various trades have been made. The most notable are: (1) the examinations made by the United States Public Health Service in the Cloak and Suit Industry with the cooperation of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control during the summer of 1914; (2) the examinations made by the Life Extension Institute; and (3) the examinations made by the United States Government in the draft during the war. Although all the data gained from these examinations have not as yet been fully correlated and evaluated, there is no doubt that they are of great value and may serve as a foundation for further studies of the physical condition of the working population. A preliminary report on the general results obtained during the last eleven years in the examination of members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York City may therefore be of interest.

THE UNION HEALTH CENTER

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control was created in 1910 under a protocol between organized employers and organized workers in the Cloak and Suit Industry. The protocol, which is still in force, arranged for joint supervision and control of the sanitary conditions in all the workshops in the industry. This control extends from 3,500 to 3,600 workshops and factories located in New York City and engaged in the manufacture of cloaks, suits, skirts, reefers, dresses, and waists.

In 1912, in cooperation with the New York State Factory Commission, the Board introduced physical examinations for workers in the cloak and suit industry. It continued these examinations until 1919, when its medical work was transferred to the Union Health Center.

The Union Health Center is an off-spring of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control organized by the workers themselves for the purpose of taking care of the health of the 65,000 persons in the industry. Since 1920, all

the work of the Union Health Center has been conducted in a separate building owned by the union and specially equipped for the purpose. The Center maintains one of the largest industrial clinics in New York City. This clinic is unique in that it is operated by workers on a self-supporting, cooperative plan. Each member of the union pays the nominal fee of \$1 for each examination and treatment received at the clinic. The clinic is well equipped, having a good laboratory, a fluoroscope connected with the examination rooms, and a large

X-ray room is another part of the building. In addition to the general clinic there are eye, ear, nose and throat, gynecological, gastro-intestinal, surgical, physiotherapeutic, orthopedic, skin, nerve, and X-ray clinics. The clinics were developed after the Union Health Center took over the medical work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. The physicians connected with the Union Health Center are practitioners of at least ten years' experience and are paid \$7.50 for each period of one and one-half hours.

Local	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	Total
35	992	1,444	898	1,895	491	639	2,010	402	709	548	9,538
29	4	372	807	585	432	709	2,921	666	1,192	936	8,620
4	...	...	546	1,922	457	951	1,969	611	845	729	7,960
2	...	...	...	...	...	156	2,797	238	996	815	5,193
66	...	...	...	...	...	9	185	159	365	329	1,066
18	...	...	...	...	...	7	518	425	529	56	1,526
Other	...	...	...	...	...	...	807	364	412	403	2,007
Total	992	1,816	2,251	4,202	1,280	2,483	11,055	3,090	5,112	2,868	36,510

PERSONS EXAMINED

The persons examined belong to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, an organization having a total membership of 150,000 workers and a membership of about 65,000 in New York City. They were employed as cutters, pressers, operators, finishers, reeler makers, skirt makers, dress and waist makers, etc., in the women's garment industry. About 15 per cent were Italians, 5 per cent were Russian and Polish Slavs, and a small percentage were Negroes and Americans. The majority, however, were Jews. Eighteen percent of the persons examined were women between the ages of 20 and 30, and 82 percent were men between the ages of 20 and 65, with an average of about 40 years.

COMPULSORY EXAMINATIONS

Examinations for Admission to the Union.—In 1913 Local 35, the pressers, established a rule that all applicants for admission to membership must undergo a physical examination. Their example was followed by the skirt makers, Local 29, the finishers, Local 9, and, later, others. The plan of physical examinations for appli-

cants was adopted to exclude persons with communicable diseases and sickly workers who would be entitled to the tuberculosis and sick benefits which were established by the locals for their members.

Applicants for admission to the union constitute the bulk of persons who have undergone physical examination. The majority of these were former members who had dropped out for some reason and had to be re-admitted to membership. Table 1 shows the number of examinations of applicants by locals and by years. The

36,510 applicants examined have undergone 40,435 examinations. In 3,925 cases the candidates were given a temporary card for a subsequent re-examination and confirmatory diagnosis in from two to four weeks. This was notably the case when persons were suffering from bronchitis or influenza and final admission had to be postponed.

Of the 36,510 applicants, 3,299, or 9 per cent, were accepted as members of the union but were not entitled to the tuberculosis or sick benefits given by each local to its sick members. Non-benefit recommendations were made in the cases of all candidates for admission to the union who were more than 60 years of age; who were suffering from a chronic cardiac defect, rheumatic affections, pronounced hernia, and hemorrhoids; or who showed signs of inactive, quiescent, or arrested pulmonary tuberculosis. Five hundred and fifty-six persons were refused sick-benefit privileges because of cardiac affections; 955, because of pulmonary affections; 340, because of advanced age; and 1,448, for all other reasons.

Of the 36,510 candidates for membership in the union only 45 were rejected. We were always careful about rejecting candidates, for rejection bars the person rejected from employment in the trade. Nearly all the candidates rejected were suffering from active pulmonary tuberculosis or active infectious syphilis. The number rejected for tuberculosis was 40, and the number rejected for active infectious syphilis or gonorrhea, 5. Candidates suffering from trachoma, ringworm, and other skin affections were directed to various specialists for treatment and cure, after which they were admitted to the union.

(To Be Concluded in the Next Issue)

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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Stock-Yard Radicalism

By Z. W.

Radicalism, in the last few years, has had quite a fling in these parts, we admit. Not that it has been, to any extent, noticeable the land over—the country at large has been wallowing in a spirit that was anything but radical—but in spots evidences of it have been rather plentiful.

Chronologically, the beginnings of its flourish may be laid to the year when Woodrow Wilson was first elected president, and it owed its growth, so some cynics say, to a feeling of keen disappointment. If we are to believe the same cynics, some naive progressive spirits put into their heads at that time the idea that a college president, having become the President of these United States, would surround himself with persons of his own ilk; would appoint professors as members of his cabinet and as ambassadors, as, for instance, Ramsay MacDonald of England had done upon becoming the premier of Great Britain by picking Labor men and women as members of his official family. Wilson, however, all but ignored his college colleagues. Not only did he not appoint any of them as his counselors and aides but, as if to prick and spite them, he designated a statesman like Mitchell Palmer as his chief legal officer.

Since then, so the legend goes, radicalism received a tremendous boost in our midst and found its tongue in a number of periodicals. And as one reads most of these publications, one cannot escape the impression that the gentlemen who are responsible for these journals are dissatisfied with one thing or another, not infrequently rising to heights of real anger, though it is not often easy to find out what they are angry about.

It is understood that radicals, es-

pecially radicals in a social-political sense, are supposed to have a distinct physiognomy and to know what they want. But the angry spirits of the radical journal rarely, if ever tell what they want. They make horrible faces at America; they look down upon the American labor movement, and they find fault with practically everything under the domestic sky. Conspicuous in their antipathy, they derive their only warmth from the distant fires of the Russian Soviet regime.

Introduce a similar system here? Oh, no! That far they would not go. They are only eager to inform the world, as sadly and as eloquently they are able, that we are absolutely worthless here, while in the land of the Soviets everything is serenely wonderful.

Well, one of these weeklies, "The Freeman," now announces that it will cease publication early in March, after exactly four years of existence.

Under normal circumstances the expected demise of such a weekly would have brought forth a flood of tearful ante-mortems. It would have been cited for the millionth time as the most conclusive proof of our wretched good-for-nothingness. As it happens, together with the announcement of its expected death, there was also made public the story of how "The Freeman" came into existence, its genealogy, as it were, and the meat on which it fed during its lifetime. This, we fear, will cause somewhat of a dam in the flow of the laudatory post-mortems. There is, or was, so the report goes, in Chicago a huge packing yard known as the Swift Packing Company which employs tens of thousands of workers.

A daughter of the president of this company, it is stated, was left a widow about ten years ago with a burden of some forty million dollars on her hands. She was later married to Mr. Francis Neilson, an English publicist and former member of Parliament. It was this Mr. Neilson who founded "The Freeman" and became one of its editors. His wife, Mrs. Helen Swift Neilson, had promised to subsidize the publication for three years, and when this term passed and "The Freeman" was still losing money, Mrs. Neilson agreed to carry it for another year—until now by mutual consent it is to stop.

Of course, the fact that a wealthy patroness of radicalism had spent a couple of hundred thousands of dollars on a radical weekly need rob no one of sleep. But we remember having read some few years ago Upton Sinclair's "Jungle," an epic of stock-yard misery, filth and abysmal brutality of man to man, and it occurred to us that if Mrs. Neilson's thousands of dollars had been spent in an attempt to organize these men and women to fight for a better life, the world at large and even its own few readers might have been induced to forego "The Freeman" with its neither-fish-nor-fowl radical program.

It would seem, after all, that salvation will have to come to America by a different route. The effervescent intelligentsia with its Macenases will

not deliver us, we are afraid. This will be the job of the stockyard workers, of the miners, of the garment makers and of all the other "makers" in America, the perennial faultfinding of the radicals to the contrary notwithstanding.

DEMAND UNION-MADE BREAD

One of the outstanding fights for Labor was fought by the Bakers' Union; on the one hand it has shortened hours, raised wages and established sanitary workshops, and on the other it has enhanced production to the point where the Union Bakeshop has become the symbol of life and plenty.

This condition is being threatened by powerful corporations who are fighting the Union and are exponents of the open shop cry. Among these are: The American Baking Corp. (Certified Bread); The Cushman Baking Co.; The General Baking Co.; The Ward Baking Co.—all companies unfair to labor.

The General Council of the American Labor party, appreciating the courageous fight waged by the Bakers' Union, recommends to all progressive groups to support the Union in this fight by demanding Union-made bread.

AN APPRECIATION FOR GOOD WORK

The workers of the Jacobi Waist Co., 146 W. 28th street, presented to their former shop chairlady, Lillie Kimbrick, as a gift, a set of twenty-one books. This is a token of their appreciation for the devoted and unselfish way she performed her duties as shop chairlady, and they expressed a hope that she will continue her good work for the union in the future.

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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.

(Concluded from last week)

Local 140 of Plainfield has a membership of 99 and a treasury of \$200, having grown in two months from a membership of 20. We succeeded in organizing a large dress shop employing about 150 workers, but a week after it was organized, it burned down, together with a neighboring shop, throwing all the employees out of work. Only about 70 of these workers have joined the union. The employers of the burned factories, to intimidate the workers, caused a rumor to spread that they would not be reopened. In view of this, the Plainfield workers were forced to go to work in children's dress, underwear and shirt shops. But they kept up membership in the union and paid their dues. In their new places of employment, they tried to get their employers to join the union and in some cases were discharged for their union activities. Both burned shops are to be reopened, however, on January 1 and there will be employment again for all the workers. I think this local will be one of the most active in our out-of-town territory.

We are making every effort to organize a district council in this territory.

Brother Oretsky, in addition to his activities in Long Island, has worked with Brothers Durante and Rosenberg in the organization of Local 139, Lynhurst, L. I., and Local 136 of Jersey City. The Lynhurst local has 40 members and \$90 in the treasury. We have two union shops, one dress and one cloak factory. Because the workers of these shops have not been working for a long time, there is not much in the treasury, but better times have begun and good results are expected. We are trying to unionize a dress factory in Rutherford, N. J., which has for some time baffled us, but we are confident that we shall soon succeed in securing these workers as members of the Lynhurst local.

Local 136 of Jersey City has 29 members and \$326. Although it had many more members previously, the slack period in their shops caused them to drop out and return to New York, where the New York locals request them to transfer their membership. Some of them have found employment in other trades.

Local 93 of Long Branch, N. J., which was organized by Brother Schneider, is composed of two shops, one in Long Branch and the other in Asbury Park, totalling 46 members with \$500 in their treasury. The treasury would have amounted to \$1,090 if there were not the long dull season through which they passed recently. Before the local was organized, six non-union shops went out of business because of our activities. The only important non-union shop there is the Star Skirt Company, which has been there since 1910, but on which no organizing work can be done because of local and political conditions.

Local 134 of Hackensack, N. J., originally had 200 members but due to mismanagement and unsuccessful strikes it has dwindled enormously in size. We have decided, after talking with Brother Rosenberg, to place a man there who shall be under the authority of Brother Rosenberg.

Brothers Rosenberg, Ciricione and Schneider are supervising 15 union shops numbering 219 workers, and the Jersey City local is taking care of

the financial affairs of the New Jersey locals.

Brother Max Bruck is taking care of 17 union shops in addition to his Newark local, of which the dues-paying membership totals 202. There are also about 200 members of New York locals who work in the shops under his supervision. The treasury has \$500 and the local is in good condition.

Local 115, the Newark Dress and Whitegoods workers, has 54 members and \$78.75. Local 31 of Rahway, N. J., a union of dressmakers, has 28 members and \$112.89 in the treasury. There are in Rahway two unorganized shops, one of which I expect to sign up as soon as work begins.

Local 51 of Passaic, the Waist and Whitegoods Workers, has a membership of 31 of which 19 have made part payments for union books but cannot pay the balance because they have not been working. The local has \$25.90.

All these locals that I have mentioned—21, 115, 51 and 31—are under the supervision of Brother Bruck.

At the time of this writing, the Out-of-Town Department is conducting eight strikes, seven of which will be settled in the near future. The strike in the Left Shop in Camden, N. J., is still on, and has so far involved over 100 arrests. Every striker has had as many as ten charges made against her, ranging from assault to contempt of court, while many are being held before the Grand Jury. Some have received jail sentences of six months. The factory is now absolutely empty, and there are prospects that the shop will soon be closed down entirely.

You will see from this report that we have done whatever was possible to establish permanent organizations wherever possible, and am sure that, given proper attention, these localities will grow to be an important part of our organization. The Out-of-Town Department question is not settled as yet, but I can safely say, as far as the cloak situation is concerned, that the out-of-town shops have ceased to be a menace to the New York cloak unions, since 99 per cent of the shops where cloaks are being made are union shops. This does not imply, however, that during a struggle the manufacturers cannot escape to small towns, for there are facilities and equipped factories everywhere to receive them, but I do say that, having a well organized local union, we shall be in a position to meet whatever situations may confront us.

It is difficult in the course of a brief report to state what concrete improvements we have secured for the workers in the numerous localities where we have conducted organization work. Suffice it to say that we have found practically all these non-union shops working hours as long as those which used to prevail in our trades ten years ago, with wages correspondingly low. You can also readily imagine what treatment these workers, mostly girls, received in these shops, where the employer is considered a benefactor to the town, and was practically fond of all he surveyed within the confines of the factory, holding the key to the job only the workers could ob-

tain in this line in the given locality. We have succeeded in bringing down the work hours wherever we signed agreements with the employers to the standard prevailing in the big unionized centers, have raised wages, established a shop-chairman system, and on the whole brought some cheer and light into the hearts of these hard-driven workers.

There still remain many waist, dress and white goods workers to organize. We hope that the Board will make a suitable recommendation to the next convention to extend the work of the Department to other branches outside of cloaks, enabling us thereby to do some organization work in the Eastern states that we have not yet approached.

During this period, the Out-of-Town Department on many occasions

assisted various local unions in New York, as in the case of Local 50. We were ordered by the New York Board to transfer our entire staff to the headquarters of Local 50 during their general strike, and we assisted them for about four weeks. We assisted the White Goods Workers of New York as well during their strike. I personally had charge of the organization campaign in Baltimore and spent many weeks there prior to the calling of the strike, during the strike and after the settlement was reached.

I have during this time had the cooperation and assistance of all the officers of the Joint Board, and of its Jobbing Department in particular. All the organizers have shown a splendid spirit and devotion, and have done everything possible to insure the success of their undertakings.

OUT-OF-TOWN LOCALS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1924

Local No.	Name	No. of Members	Treasury
112...	Mt. Vernon (N. Y.) Ladies Garment Workers'	250	\$425.00
118...	Springs Valley (N. Y.) Ladies Garment Workers'	600	200.00
127...	Stoned (Conn.) Ladies Garment Workers'	30	75.00
141...	No. Newark (Conn.) Ladies Garment Workers'	30	75.00
23...	Corset Workers' Union (Bridgeport, Conn.)	300	500.00
34...	Corset Cutters' Union (Bridgeport, Conn.)	40	550.00
137...	Waterbury (Conn.) Ladies Garment Workers'	60	200.00
45...	Waterbury (Conn.) Ladies Garment Workers'	40	100.00
138...	Colechester (Conn.) Ladies Garment Workers'	90	400.00
30...	Shamford (Conn.) Ladies Tailors'	30	(New local)
127...	Stoned County (N. Y.) Ladies Garment Workers'	30	150.00
107...	Woodhaven (L. I.) Ladies Garment Workers'	150	800.00
87...	Jamaica (L. I.) Ladies Garment Workers'	40	150.00
77...	Corona (L. I.) Ladies Garment Workers'	50	150.00
140...	Stoned County (N. Y.) Ladies Garment Workers'	40	100.00
139...	Lynhurst (L. I.) Ladies Garment Workers'	40	100.00
25...	Jersey City (N. J.) Ladies Garment Workers'	50	350.00
21...	Ladies' Garment Union of Newark, N. J.	202	600.00
115...	Newark Dress and Whitegoods Workers'	54	78.75
31...	Rahway (N. J.) Ladies Garment Workers'	28	112.89
51...	Passaic (N. J.) Waist, Dress and Whitegoods Workers'	19	25.90
93...	Cloakmakers' Union of Long Branch, N. J.	46	500.00
134...	Hackensack (N. J.) Dress and Whitegoods Workers'	125	500.00
123...	Paterson (N. J.) Ladies Garment Workers'	35	200.00

Unemployment Insurance in England

The past two and one half years have put to a severe test the unemployment insurance plan of Great Britain. The Index (New York Trust Company) for December, 1923, quotes from the report of the Ministry of Labor showing that during that period 170,000,000 separate payments of benefits were made to unemployed persons, and these payments amounted to \$128,000,000. The British unemployment insurance fund is made up as follows: 38.7 per cent contributed by employers, 35.9 per cent by employees, 25.4 by the government.

Compulsory unemployment insurance became effective in Great Britain in 1912 and it then covered chiefly the employees in the building, engineering, and ship building industries. In 1920 it was extended to cover practically all manual workers and non-manual workers earning not more than £250 per year. At the present time approximately 11,750,000 workers are covered by the fund.

The report shows that in June, 1921, 2,044,656 persons were registered as wholly unemployed and 776,986 on part time, though not all of them were entitled to benefits. By the end of October, 1923, the number of persons registered as unemployed was 1,296,050. The strain of the long continued unemployment made it impossible for many to keep up their contributions to the fund and so they were not eligible for benefits. However, in many instances they were assisted by "discretionary allowances" which were an additional tax upon the fund. Benefits were paid at the rate of 15 shillings per week for men, 12 shillings for women and half rate for minors.

Commenting upon the results obtained during this period of testing the Ministry of Labor says: "This experience has shown that compulsory insurance against unemployment is entirely practicable. The extended scheme of insurance has successfully passed through the crucial test imposed by an immense amount of unemployment, unprecedented both in intensity and duration. . . . The Un-

employment fund has provided benefits vastly greater than those originally contemplated. It has done so, it is true, at the expense of largely increased contributions and of a considerable debt; but . . . the financial stability of the scheme is not open to serious question."

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

This evening at 8:40 p. m., Dr. Horace Kallen will lecture on "Religious Belief and Other Forms of Belief," at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street; while Dr. Scott Nearing is beginning two twelve-lecture courses, on "Methods in Sociology" at 7:30 p. m. and "Applied Sociology" at 8:40 p. m., the same evening.

Also at the Rand School, on Saturday, February 9, Scott Nearing is beginning two new courses, one on "Social Values" at 11 a. m., and one on "Social Revolution," at 3:15 p. m., while at 1:30 p. m. he will discuss "The Oil Scandal," in his Current Events Lecture.

The Saturday Afternoon Cameraderies will meet at 3:15 p. m. for tea and talk to be followed at 4 o'clock by Prof. H. W. L. Dana's lecture on "The Pirandello Plays."

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A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

THE MINERS' CONVENTION

The miners' convention, which closed last Saturday in Indianapolis, is an event in the labor movement which we cannot dismiss with but a few words.

The United Mine Workers are, to begin with, a labor organization, the problems of which are to a great extent similar to our own problems. The Miners' Union, for instance, is face to face with a problem of a surplusage of workers in their industry, which is essentially a problem of too long work-hours, a serious question in our trades too. The Miners' Union is also afflicted with some undesirable elements, from Ku Klux Klansmen down to a variety of "reds," a condition which has not escaped our Union. Similarly the Miners' Union, like ourselves, has been successful in gaining excellent work conditions under an agreement in the mines which it is able to control. But it is confronted with the same danger that, while the union workers may have a good agreement, the coal market might be flooded with coal mined by non-union labor in non-union fields.

In addition, in the last few years, there has grown up between the United Mine Workers and our International a strong bond of friendship. The events that transpired at the miners' convention have, therefore, a particular interest to us and we believe that a review of what occurred there will be of profound interest to our readers.

The principal question at the convention was the working out of a program for the approaching negotiations with the mine owners and for the renewal of the agreement on April 1. It was by far not an easy task. It must be borne in mind that the convention of the miners looked more like a mass meeting than a convention with its 900 delegates, and that the United Mine Workers, like every other labor union, has for years been plagued with factional politics which only added to the tumult, excitement, and at times irregularity of the proceedings. And while the sessions were very stormy and some of the rulings from the chair not entirely in accord with what passes for parliamentary procedure, these were largely incidental affairs despite the efforts on the part of the daily press to exaggerate molehills into mountains and to create the impression that the Miners' Union is on the verge of splitting up and forming two rival camps.

To us all these sensations have had but a passing interest and, as we watched the miners' convention from day to day, we became even more convinced that the overwhelming majority of its delegates knew what they wanted and that their leaders were able and upright men even though the way they acted on occasion did not entirely suit our own tastes.

Leaving therefore the untoward occurrences which took place at Indianapolis to those who crave sensations, we shall only dwell upon what we consider the most important acts of that convention which, in our opinion, are of moment to many other labor unions. This convention had one of its stormiest sessions on the method and policy of appointing organizers and other active union workers. Heretofore the practice in the Miners' Union has been for the president to appoint such organizers. A considerable section of the delegates demanded that this policy be changed and that, instead of having the president appoint them, they be elected by ballot and file. The "rebels," as the capitalist press termed them, won on the first vote. Upon a roll-call vote, however, they were defeated and the right of the president to appoint union organizers and union officers was upheld. In the vote on this question, the delegates were divided practically in half.

The opponents of the old policy availed themselves liberally, in the course of their attack, of such epithets as "dictator," "machine" and such other parlance as is familiar in our own parts. This, however, is of small importance. What matters is whether the opponents of this policy, whether right or wrong, whether discriminate in their argumentation or otherwise, should, on account of their opposition to such a policy, be treated as an "undesirable" element in the union.

In our own opinion, they had an absolute right to demand the abolition of the old policy without being branded for their opinion as "rebels" or "reds." It is by no means sacred trade-union gospel that the president of a labor organization should have the unbridled right to appoint officers. On the other hand, it is equally false that such a right to appoint organizers given to a president is in any way a violation of democracy. From the viewpoint of impartiality, it is only a question as to which

of the two policies is best and of better effect for the labor union as such.

In our union, too, there was a time when most of the business agents and organizers would be appointed by the managers of the joint boards. Was our union then less democratic? Or is it now, when these workers and organizers are elected directly by the members, more democratic? We believe not. To us it always was a question whether or not, through this or the other method, the union is able to obtain better men and able workers as officers and organizers. When organizers are appointed by a president or manager, they are at all times aware that they are responsible to him for all they do or fail to do. They know that he has the right to demand a strict accounting from them. They have to do their work well, if they are to keep their posts. If they fail to come up to their duty, they may have to leave their job before their term expires.

It surely is of great importance for any labor union that its officers give their best to its service. When a union officer, however, is not appointed by his superior, if he is elected for a certain term, he will, as a rule, stay in office until his term expires whether good or bad,—a situation which often involves great difficulties, if not danger for the union. And when one considers that many other motives aside from fitness are often responsible for the election of this or that officer, the unqualified advocacy of the election of officers and organizers is not an easy one to defend. We must say that, while it is certain that our union would return to the old policy if the managers of the union organizers and business agents by joint board managers, we are equally certain that this democratic method has not improved the quality of our organizing staffs.

There is another factor that must be considered if one wants to be quite impartial in this question. In order that elections bring the best possible results, it is highly essential that the voters be intelligent, truly loyal to their union and its interests. Such a type of voter is still to be born, and in our weak and sinful midst, he is a rare specimen. Moreover, the majority of our electors seem to be entirely indifferent to the whole business. Only a limited number of persons take part in the voting. These elections are therefore quite often but a parody on the term "democracy."

Nevertheless, we cannot agree with those who believe that the policy of appointing union organizers by the manager or the president is such an ideal arrangement that it cannot be criticized. We must not remain blind to the fact that the power of individual appoint officers is frequently being badly abused. Such power gives the opportunity to one person to build up a machine which would keep the membership in complete submission. Let us only remember the Brindell abomination with his staff of organizers completely under his thumb, with the aid of which he converted the building trades unions of New York into a tool to achieve base and contemptible gains for himself and a handful of so-called union officers.

We are not surprised, therefore, that on this question the convention of the Miners divided practically into two equal parts. It does not necessarily mean that those who voted for the new policy consisted of "rebels" or of inveterate opponents of the present administration. Quite to the contrary, on other important questions, the convention showed its complete confidence in the leadership of the president. The time delegates are the judgment of the leaders of the union what conditions they might demand from the mine-owners in the coming negotiations. The convention would not for a moment regard these leaders as untrustworthy, as men who could not represent them properly in a crucial hour. There is no doubt that the delegates who voted for the election of officers instead of appointment by the president desired to make the Miners' Union more democratic in the management of its affairs. For this they should not be blamed, and we believe that sooner or later the old policy will be changed. To us it is clear that in voicing this demand, the opponents of the old policy reflected the opinion of the masses of the members who would not yield this right even to the president of their union regardless of the amount of confidence they had in him. We regard this as a healthy sign, a sign that the workers are becoming more conscious of themselves, more self-reliant, which means that their union is becoming a stronger and more virile organization.

The other debate at this conference that we should like to touch upon is the discussion on the anti-strike policy which was adopted in such clearly-defined terms by the time delegates. The adoption of this policy must not mislead any one into believing that the leaders of the miners are in principle against strikes. It would be a false assumption and, in the light of the fact that all that the miners have gained heretofore they have achieved through fight and struggle, an historically erroneous one. The miners have not become of a sudden industrial "pacifists." They believe today in the strike as they believed in it a year ago. But they do not believe in strikes for the sake of strikes, in strikes that can be avoided when the same results can be achieved through peaceful negotiations.

In addition, there exists in the mining industry another strong motive for the adoption of such a policy. Many coal fields are being mined now by workers who do not belong to the union. These non-union miners are a great menace to the union and they must be organized and the mines in which they work must be unionized. This difficult job cannot be carried out effectively if the Miners' Union is to conduct prolonged strikes every year involving hundreds of thousands of men and the loss of untold millions in treasure. These strikes are a terrific drain on the material resources of the men and the union. The convention therefore decided that the agreement which they are to renew in their industry be concluded for four years. Four years of peace

Labor Against Labor

By HARRY LANG

In Indianapolis, Indiana, last week, the national convention of the United Mine Workers adjourned after a duration of two weeks. At this convention the miners discussed a number of matters of importance not only to themselves, but to the labor movement in general. Of these debates by far the outstanding one, particularly during the last days of the convention, was the discussion of a number of charges made by many delegates against the Locomotive Engineers.

Prem reports have given an account of a lengthy and acrimonious debate on the floor of the Miners' convention, directed at the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. This brotherhood was charged with lack of solidarity towards the miners when the latter were involved in their last great fight against the mine owners. It was stated that the Miners' Union had appealed to the Locomotive Engineers' Bank in Cleveland for a loan and that the bank had sidetracked this request in a rather unbecoming manner. The story of the strike of the miners in some West Virginia coal mines which belong to the Brotherhood also was retold with bitterness, and the alleged refusal of the Brotherhood to deal with a representative of the Miners' Union looking to a termination of this strike was strongly emphasized. It was reported that to this day the Brotherhood, while compelled to unionize its mines in West Virginia, still has non-union mines in eastern Kentucky. To make the picture still more repulsive, it was asserted during this debate that these acts on the part of the Brotherhood were not the result of ignorance of facts or lack of familiarity with the situation, but the consequence of a definite policy on the part of the officers of the Brotherhood, a policy which would ignore union morals and trample labor ethics under foot, as long as the particular business undertaken by the Brotherhood was profitable and successful.

It would, of course, require more than a mere one-sided allegation to say that these charges are true. It must be borne in mind that, while the above-mentioned charges constitute a formidable indictment against

the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, this Brotherhood is one of the most forward-looking labor organizations in the country. It is growing in power and prestige and is a pioneer, in a practical sense, of ideals which are of paramount importance to the working class in this country. Warren S. Stone, the president of the Brotherhood, is generally regarded as a model labor leader, and, if we are to judge his organization by the official organ of the Brotherhood, the Locomotive Engineers are abreast of all that is progressive in our labor movement.

On the other hand, these charges were not made by irresponsible persons, nor were they uttered behind anyone's back and in a whisper. These charges were made in open session at a convention of the biggest labor union in the country. One of the men who made these accusations is Fred Mooney, the leader of the West Virginia miners, a person who, if he is to be judged by his past activity and reputation in the labor movement, should not be swayed by passion or given vent to irresponsible talk. True, the two chief executives of the miners, John Lewis and William Green, did not, according to newspaper reports, take part in this discussion. It would even appear that they were not entirely absent to have this debate. But, though they did not actively help in carrying it on, it was obvious that, were it not for the fact that they did not deem it "tactful" enough, they would have themselves come forth with these charges. It was reported that, when a question concerning the Brotherhood was directed to General Secretary Green, he replied:

"Let us not talk about it. It will do no good anyhow."

"This remark by Secretary Green in itself is a tacit confirmation of what the inquirer purported to draw from him. Green is one of the best-known men in the American Labor movement, a leader of labor in the finest sense of the term. Green would not allow himself to be drawn into a bitter attack on the Locomotive Engineers' organization. A conflict between the Miners' Union and the Engineers would be nothing short of a conflict between brother and brother,

and Green knows well that the labor movement has enough enemies without converting the differences between one labor union and another into a street brawl. In refusing to "throw his hat in the ring" against the Brotherhood, Green acted in a spirit of true fraternity. But this does not in any way detract from the fact that the Miners have serious grievances against the Brotherhood, and that these grievances are being advanced by well-known persons in the Miners' Union and that they cannot be waived aside as inconsequential.

The next word rests with the Engineers. In point of fact the miners charges against the Brotherhood are not entirely new. When the above-mentioned strike in the West Virginia mines belonging to the Brotherhood took place last year, the world of labor was fully apprized of its occurrence. It is only its details that were lacking at that time, as well as the fact that the bank belonging to the Brotherhood refused a loan to the Miners' Union when it was in a general strike in 1922, a loan which was subsequently advanced to it by a private bank. The Brotherhood is therefore, no doubt, bound to come forth with a full statement regarding these charges, even if only for the sake of its own prestige and standing in the labor movement.

Let us further state here that these lines are not being written for the sake of either sermonizing or calling upon any organization to do what is generally termed as its duty. Nor must one become hysterical at the happenings of even such an event as a strike of the members of one union against another labor union. No public or social institution, even such as are led and managed by progressive and organized workers, can be absolutely sure that no strike of its employees may ever occur. We have known cases of cooperative bakeries managed by progressive workers where the bakers were on strike. Strikes have also been threatened and at times carried out in labor publications. And jurisdictional wars which occur so frequently in our movement are sufficient indication that there is lacking among us a great measure of that simple and every-day solidarity

between worker and worker without which our movement is meaningless. The Miners-Engineers conflict, however, is a thing entirely apart and has a menacing and sinister aspect distinctly of its own.

In the last few years a large number of labor organizations have "gone into business"—have formed financial institutions, industrial enterprises, and are investing money as fast as they can accumulate it in order to safeguard the existence of their funds. It is a new tendency in the labor movement, and as yet it is rather difficult to say whether it leads. It is, nevertheless, becoming clear that, in addition to this turning towards business activity, our labor unions should acquire a tendency of treating with scant regard the fundamental ethics of the labor movement, such a policy would eventually irreparable spiritual damage to the trade unions involved. What the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers may do today, another organization is likely to imitate tomorrow, and there is no telling what, in following this example, the Miners' Union itself might be tempted to perpetrate later upon the Locomotive Engineers.

Therein lies the menace, the danger of a war to the hilt, throughout the length and breadth of the labor movement. Only a few years ago, the Miners and the Railway unions talked of an alliance. It was at that time brought out that even an occasional demonstration of unity between the transport workers and the coal diggers in an industrial country like this could dictate labor conditions. Yet, when a voice was raised for a similar rapprochement between the miners and the railway workers at the Indianapolis convention last week, it found little support. For this no doubt responsibility can be traced to that bitter feeling which the Miners entertain towards the Brotherhood on the ground of the above-alleged charges.

These outbreaks of enmity between the Miners and the Engineers, which are likely to involve both organizations into a fratricidal war, must be brought to as speedy an end as possible. If the Miners are angry at the Engineers and believe that they have good cause for it, it is quite likely that the Engineers are just as wrought up against the Miners—and they too can make out a reasonably sound case. It would be best for both unions to nip this conflict in the bud.

will make it possible for the union to carry out the necessary organizing and constructive work which is impossible if the union is compelled to remain in a state of permanent warfare.

And lastly the point concerning the work-day in the mining industry. At their last convention, the miners adopted a decision to demand a six-hour day, but at Indianapolis this demand was put aside. It would, nevertheless, be wrong to interpret this as a sign of weakness and reaction—some of the delegates have heatedly expressed themselves. The real reason why the convention shelved this demand is contained in the following facts. The coal mines in the United States are still far from being fully organized, the miners in some sections of the country were able to enforce this demand for a six-hour day, would naturally send up considerably the price of coal mined in those sections. That would give a still greater opportunity for the non-union mine-owners to flood the market with non-union coal at a much lower price than the price demanded for union coal. As a result, the union workers who might obtain the six-hour work day would be forced into idleness and made to suffer. The convention therefore deemed it wiser not to put forth this demand and likewise left the wage question to the judgment of the Scale Committee without insisting upon an increase of from 10 to 25 per cent as some demanded. Of course, that does not mean that the Scale Committee will not advance this demand. It is very possible that it will decide that these demands are so vital that it is worthwhile fighting for them. What is important, however, is that the convention did not hesitate to take a step which might in some quarters be interpreted as a move backward when it realized that this step was timely and necessary.

And because this convention is of such great significance, and because during its sessions the utility of lack of influence of the perennial traders in high-sounding phrases was shown more clearly than ever before, we cannot fail to record our regret that at certain moments the convention did not succeed in rising to a true spirit of tolerance. We have in mind the Howat incident, which ended in a fist-fight, something which has surely added little lustre to the convention.

As we understand it, Alexander Howat came to Indianapolis in a repentant mood. He asked to be taken back into the union so that he might again engage in organization and agitation activity, his life work. Why was he not given a chance? Admitting that he had sinned heavily and that he had thrown in his lot with the forces that opposed the regular organization in Kansas, it still seems to us from a distance, that a little more tolerance and a little more forgiveness would hardly have hurt the Miners' Union in this instance. The least the Convention could have done would have been to give him a hearing and a chance to explain his point of view. We sincerely regret that the miners' convention did not rise to the same height as, for instance, the convention of the American Federation of Labor rose in Portland, by giving the floor to the lone Communist delegate, William F. Dunne, to pour out his gall upon the Federation and its leaders.

That act of tolerance was one of the finest incidents at the Portland Convention and we fail to see why the miners' convention could not have afforded to act in a similar spirit, which would have, beyond doubt, prevented the ugly scenes amidst which the convention was closed. We are sure that President Lewis could have controlled the situation had he wanted to do so. He certainly could have afforded himself the pleasure of allowing an antagonist to have his say, and we genuinely regret that the president of the Miners' Union did not in this case act as big a part as he might have done.

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.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



The Labor Press for January

Labor's journals greet the new year. In every one of them is sounded the query:

Will the year that is coming be merely a carbon copy of the year that has past? For most of our workers this would be little short of misfortune. In the reviews of 1923 which our union officials present in their journals there was little record of unexpected joys and benefits falling upon the workers. Instead there are dreary and dismal accounts of wage cuts, bitterly contested yet lost fights, the imposition of new and bad conditions or at best of "just about holding our own." Yet in spite of the gloom behind, most of our officials look forward to brighter and more successful days for 1924.

HAPPY NEW YEAR

The American Federationist gives over the major part of its issue to such greetings from various unions and representatives of the American Labor World. "It has been a pretty poor 1923, but may 1924 bring us a happy New Year." Extended to Labor this wish has a peculiarly profound significance.

To the mass of workers such greetings mean the gathering in of life's simplest but most momentous gifts.

"The year 1923 industrially was not a year of prosperity for the ladies' garment workers in this country," says our president, Morris Sigman in the Federationist. "Notwithstanding this, 1923 has been a year of steady and unflinching progress on the part of the organization of the ladies' garment workers. . . . we made the first step towards the introduction of the 40-hour week in our trades. . . . we also made the first serious attempt towards checking the long periods of unemployment in our trade by coming out squarely for guaranteed employment periods during the year, and for a system of unemployment insurance. . . . we also organized our own bank. . . ."

"The year 1923 has been one of almost unparalleled lowness in the shoe trade," says Collis Loveley, General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. "Yet, so far as our organization is concerned, the year has been one of notable achievements." These achievements include "nearly a complete restoration of the moderate wage readjustments downward. . . . by peaceful negotiation. . . . the frustration of a conspiracy to destroy our union in Brockton [by] Foster and other advocates of communism. . . . the upholding of our union stamp contract by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts."

The Bakery Workers and the Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers have spent the best part of the past year in battle—the former with the Ward Bakery Company, the latter in the general strike of railroad shopmen. The other railroad unions have been "recovering from the vicious attacks made upon organized railroad labor in 1921 and 1922. However, the United States Railroad Labor Board denied the wage increase of approximately 50 per cent asked by the signalmen. And thus similarly all the other labor unions balance past accounts as they face the new year. I have tabulated the 1923 experience of twelve representative unions, as recorded in the journals. While all point to some achievements and look forward hopefully to the coming year, only five of them regard the year as dominantly successful and prosperous. While two feel that they had "just

about held their own" and ten put the past months in the category of difficult and perilous experience.

THE INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

Surely, then, we do not want 1924 to be a carbon copy of 1923. Labor has stepped out determinedly in the first lap of the new year. The framework of the results is the same; for after all Labor's interests will remain always centered upon industrial and economic affairs, labor-management and world affairs. During January the industrial struggle found labor's forces again engaged on every front—the court, the strike, Congress, and Government agencies.

The American Fiat remarks upon the injunction issued against our union in Chicago. "Federal Judge George A. Carpenter's record-breaking injunction ordering International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union not to attempt in any way to organize employees of Mitchell Brothers, drew from President Gompers of the A. F. of L. one of the strongest denunciations he has ever made." Addressing a Chicago Federation of Labor meeting, President Gompers said among other things, "I don't know whether there is a garment-worker in this hall tonight, but if there is, and I have the opportunity, I shall advise him not to return to work until he has been organized. . . . the judiciary of the United States, both State and Federal, has gone injunction mad, and it is time for American citizenship to make common cause to put a stop to these invasions of the rights of the common people."

The Typographical Union similarly has been fighting an injunction in Ohio by which Judge Newcomer prohibited striking members from picketing and giving publicity to their strike. The union is preparing to carry the fight to the higher courts.

Some twelve unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and containing women members (among them our own) sent women delegates to President Coolidge to place before him "the viewpoint of the American Federation of Labor in connection with the so-called blanket amendment proposed by the National Women's Party." The amendment seeks to place women on a full legal equality with men and Labor fears one result of such an amendment may be the destruction of all the protective industrial legislation built up through the years for women workers.

The railroad journals in their discussion of industrial affairs, contain frequent references to the Railroad Labor Board. The Signalman's Journal, for instance, calls attention to the Board's decision of September 29 by which it ruled that the railroad employers "have no right to interfere in any way with the selection of the representatives of the workers." This is a body blow to the company union on the roads; but the railroad companies have shown themselves so indifferent to decisions adverse to their interests in the past, that the gain from the decision still remains to be seen. It is amusing to note that the Gulf Line roads sought to ascertain the form of representation desired by the workers through a "secret ballot which required the signature of the voter!" The Journal of the Electrical Workers and Operators reprints three decisions of the Board, all tending to establish the same ruling.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine nevertheless, feels it necessary to is-

sue both a statement by President Robertson and an editorial warning members to "beware of company insurance and company unions." . . . Don't be bunked. Don't fall into an open 'company union' trap. Manage your own private affairs, and do not delegate their control into the hands of parties interested in the destruction of your union and your independence." The Railroad Worker contains a charge that the "crafts betray workers on the New York Central" by "conspiring with the carrier to adopt nerve-racking piece work in spite of the record vote of the employees against it."

In another field, The Carpenter wants its member readers that the building employers of St. Paul and Minneapolis are preparing to launch a new open shop campaign. "Forewarned is forearmed."

The Kelly Bill

It is worth while to take a separate section to call to the attention of our members the Kelly Bill, H. R. 4123. The Union Postal Clerk devotes almost its entire issue to a discussion of this bill which promises much needed and highly deserved relief to postal employees. It divides postal clerks and letter carriers into three primary grades at salaries respectively of \$2,000, \$2,500 and \$2,400 per year and proposes beneficial changes in the promotion system. Special grade clerks are to receive \$2,500 and \$2,600 per year, while substitute and temporary workers will get 80 cents per hour. These scales are certainly not too generous for the service our postal men give us, yet they represent a marked increase over the \$1,400 to \$1,800 scales prevailing now. The postal unions ask our aid in accomplishing the passage of the bill. Write to your Congressman and Senators acquainting them with your approval of the Kelly Bill, H. R. 4123.

Internal Affairs

Internal affairs have been rather crowded to the wall in the January press by the interest in the unfolding of a new year in the industrial struggle and in world affairs. Yet the usual centers of intra-union interest do figure in the Journal pages. Various journals comment on the opening of the International Bank, The Bottle Maker, for instance, "announces the opening of the International Union Bank at 147 Fifth avenue near Twenty-first street, New York." On December 15, report the Brotherhood of Railway Steamship Clerks, Freight

Handlers, Express and Station Employees, our new bank in Cincinnati was formally opened. On September 29, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers opened its cooperative Trust Company Bank at 205-207 West 33d street, New York.

The United Mine Workers' Journal announces the coming sessions of its biennial convention which by this time has passed into history. It will be interesting to read its comment in the February issues upon this tense and significant convention.

The Bakers' Journal discusses its new bonding plans for protecting its union funds from the traitors in the movement. "Too many of our unions have had to make this sad commentary on human nature."

And the World

The January journals were unusually full of discussion on world affairs. Space begins to crowd and so it will be hardly possible to do more than mention some of the outstanding of these discussions. President Gompers contributes a long and meaty article to the American Federationist on "League of Nations or League of Financiers." He sees in America's continued absence from the League of Nations councils, the increasing danger of world domination by international organized finance capital, and adduces many facts attempting to prove his thesis.

Many of the journals come out openly against the Mellon Tax Plan, as a suggested tax revision most kindly to the very rich. For instance, the Leather Workers' Journal, the Railroad Worker, the Electrical Workers' Journal, the Bridgemen's Magazine and the Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine, among others, all take this stand. Similarly various journals discuss the Craig contempt of court case and its importance to labor (e. g., the International Moulders' Journal, the American Federationist, the American Fiat, and the Electrical Workers' Journal). Most agree that Craig missed a chance to win a big principle of American freedom. The journals, finally, condemn their agitation for aid to the embattled German trades unions and the last numbers of the weeklies discuss the first British Labor Government and the death of Nicolai Lenin. Thus Labor's first lap of a new year has ended. February is already on the typewriter of time. May it turn out more than mere carbon copies.

A JOURNALIST.

Hoe Company Fights Machinists

R. Hoe & Company, manufacturers of printing presses, failed to prove any money damages in their case against John J. Keppler and others as individuals and as representatives of the International Association of Machinists, District No. 15, Eureka Lodge 434, according to an opinion handed down by Judge Strong in the Supreme Court of Queens County, Special Term.

The trouble between the company and the men began as early as December, 1922, when two representatives of the union, E. J. Deering and J. J. Connolly, met with Richard Kelly, president of the company, to draw up a wage agreement to take the place of that expiring at the end of the year. Mr. Kelly refused to sign an agreement for the year 1923, according to Mr. Deering and Mr. Connolly, but dictated a memorandum which provides for a three cents an hour increase on January 4 of that year, and a further increase of seven cents an hour on May 1 contingent upon the granting of a similar increase on the part of the Goos and Scott manufacturing, their leading competitors. These increases were granted in accordance with the agreement, thereby restoring the reductions of seven cents and three cents an hour which took

effect in 1920-1921. Under that contract the men worked until July when a new proposal covering both improved working conditions and increased wages, was presented to the firm, which replied that there was "nothing doing" and that there would be no further negotiations. Following the report of Hoe & Company's attitude, the 1,150 men walked out of the plant on August 2.

The striking men were restrained, on December 15, by an injunction from picketing about the plant. At the same time Hoe & Company sued Mr. Keppler and others for damages, alleging conspiracy to break a contract and assault and intimidation of employees caused to fill the places of the men on strike. Judge Strong held that the plaintiff failed to prove by his testimony any money damages.

If you want the Negro workers in your shop to join the Union, to become members in the great army of organized labor, ask them to read—

THE MESSENGER
The Only Trade Union Publication for Negro workers in America

2305 Seventh Avenue
New York City



LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

FINLAND

ATTACKS ON THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

During the last few months the Finnish Government has permitted the employers to make many exemptions from the eight-hour day act. For this reason the Finnish Federation of Trade Unions submitted to the government, a few weeks ago, a referendum protesting against this procedure. It was pointed out that the law itself provides for exemptions in special cases; but as the Government had authorized cases not warranted by these, it must be assumed that it desires to weaken the existing law. The Government was requested not to sanction any further exemptions from the law during the year 1924.

The Government took no notice of this memorandum, but merely issued new decrees granting further exemptions, the effect of which is that in many branches of industry the eight-hour day is no longer in force in Finland. This is the case in the building industry in rural districts, in the repair of railways, docks and bridges, in forestry, the lumber trade and similar work; also for the salaried staff employed on the railways, in post or telegraph offices, in the customs department, in hospitals or in prisons.

The Government has recently modified the law regulating the work of young persons in factories which work continuously, and also the regulations dealing with Sunday work. As elsewhere, the Government has again given flagrant evidence of its sympathy with the employers.

HOLLAND

WORKING HOURS AND PROFITS.

A contract for the delivery of a new mail steamer for the Steamship Company "Nederland" has been placed with a French firm of shipbuilders, to the great indignation of Dutch shipyard workers. This is the first time that a contract for a Dutch ship has been placed in France, the reason being that the French firm has sent in a tender which is no less than a million Dutch guilders lower than that of the Dutch companies. Contrary to the general impression prevailing everywhere but amongst the workers, the Dutch Director-General of Labor has announced that the Dutch shipbuilders based their tenders upon a working week of 53 to 54 hours, which is much less than that of France.

Is it possible that we have before us an example of international intrigue among employers, aiming at the destruction of the 8-hour day?

SWEDEN

SILVER JUBILEE OF FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

In the presence of many fraternal delegates, the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions celebrated on January 1 the 25th anniversary of its foundation. The congress which laid the foundations of the federation was, it is true, held from 5th to 8th of August, 1898, but at that moment various questions were still unsolved, amongst which was the problem of the method of cooperation with the Socialist party. It was only when these points were settled, that is to say, on January 1, 1899, that the Federation really began its work. The founding of the federation was a natural result of the amalgamation of local unions into national unions, a process which had been going on during the period between 1885 and 1895.

At the time of its foundation the Federation comprised 16 unions, 664 branches, and 37,523 members. By 1908 the membership had risen to 186,000. But the great strike of 1909 and the long economic depression of the same year led to a great loss of members, so that, even in June, 1911, the membership did not exceed 80,000, and the earlier maximum was not again attained until 1916. At the end of 1922, the Federation comprised 33 unions, 3,207 branches, and 292, 917 members. To commemorate the jubilee, the Federation has published a history of the movement; this work, which contains 300 pages, also provides appreciations of the work of well-known leaders, such as Hermann Lindqvist, Ernst Söderberg, Erik Lange, E. Johansson, and A. Thorberg, the present president.

JAPAN

UNEMPLOYMENT IN JAPAN.

Some 250,000 persons are unemployed in Tokio, of whom about 112,000 have lost their jobs as a result of the earthquake. Dr. Fukuda, of the University of Commerce, aided by 100 students, is making a survey of the persons who are either unemployed or otherwise in need of assistance, as the total number of refugees in Tokio is estimated at not less than 895,750. The Social Service Bureau will shortly establish about 150 additional Labor Exchanges, and will appoint an Employment Officer to every town of over 20,000 inhabitants; it will also aid intending emigrants to go to South America. It has already given material aid to refugees by establishing temporary labor exchanges and educating apprentices.

SPAIN

COURTS OF ARBITRATION FOR THE SPANISH RAILWAYS.

The Spanish Government has issued a decree for the establishment as soon as possible of Mixed Courts of Arbitration for the Railways. From the ordinary or district court appeal may be made to the Central Court, and from the latter to the government.

Each court will consist of three representatives of the railwaymen, three representatives of the railway companies, two representatives of the government, and one representative of the consumers, the last-named to be nominated by the civil authorities of the province, in conjunction with the Chambers of Commerce and other similar bodies. The courts will be competent to deal with all questions of a general nature, but not with technical questions or questions of discipline. The whole of the costs will be borne by the railway companies.

Press Bureau, International Federation of Trade Unions

DOMESTIC ITEMS

NEW IMMIGRATION LAW IS BEING CONSIDERED.

A House committee is holding hearings on immigration legislation. The 2 per cent law will expire next June.

Chairman Johnson of the Immigration Committee has presented a bill based on a 2 per cent quota of the 1890 census. Outside of this quota, the bill permits the admission of the wives, children, brothers, sisters and parents of naturalized citizens. The admission of another 2 per cent of the wives and minor children of men who have been here two years and who have declared their intention to become citizens is permitted.

MORE POWER TO COURTS OPPOSED BY UNIONISTS.

Organized labor has issued a warning against a proposed constitutional amendment which would increase the power of courts in Missouri.

The amendment creates a judicial council of nine judges who will be vested with unlimited power to regulate or abolish all forms of practice and procedure of the trial courts of the state. They will also have the power to set up new courts and define their territory and their duties.

Trade unionists show that this provision will empower the judicial council to establish industrial courts to regulate workers. The judicial council would also be clothed with power to transfer cases from one court of appeals to another, at will.

LABOR LEGAL BUREAU BEGINS TO FUNCTION.

The first bulletin of the American Federation of Labor legal information bureau has been issued, following action by the Portland and Cincinnati conventions. As director of the bureau, American Federation of Labor Vice-president Matthew Woll announces:

"This bulletin is the first step to be taken in the dissemination of legal information, and it is hoped it will be a guidance and of interest to labor organizations. This bulletin will be issued, not at any stated time, but as circumstances permit or occasion demands.

"It is our hope that, with the growth of the bureau, we may be able to reprint or mimeograph all the extraordinary decisions affecting labor and labor organizations, with such opinions and guidance as may be helpful."

WANT LONGER HOURS FOR WORKING WOMEN.

Big business in Boston is determined to repeal the women's 48-hour law, which applies to textile establishments. Three bills have been filed in the senate by George A. Long, who insists that Massachusetts textile mills are handicapped because of the competition with 55-hour women labor in South Carolina.

These manufacturers ignore the experience and opinions of industrial engineers and employers who declare that shorter hours are more profitable.

One of Mr. Long's bills would permit women and children to work from 6 in the morning until 10 at night. Another bill would permit women and children to work 58 hours every week, or 10 hours a day, but the total must not average more than 54 hours for the entire year. This will permit women and children to be speeded up and then laid off.

OFFER LABOR BILLS.

Bills providing for the creation of a minimum wage board and for the eight-hour work day for women and minors, have been introduced in the New York state legislature. These proposals were recommended by Governor Smith in his message.

In a joint statement the authors of the eight-hour bill said:

"The bill, if enacted into law, will enable the workers of our state to enjoy some of the benefits of modern life, instead of contributing all their time to creating comforts for others. An eight-hour day is no longer a dream, but a crying necessity."

PROFIT OF MILLIONS IN BISCUITS.

The annual report of the National Biscuit Company shows record earnings the past year. Profits were \$12,092,828 after deducting all charges for expenses, taxes and other accounts. Last year the company had a clear profit of \$11,024,980, and the year before \$5,677,461. These profits have been made despite enormous expenditures because of the purchase of bakeries formerly leased, and the replacing of buildings with modern construction.

ALIEN VETERANS WARNED.

Aliens who served in the American army during the world war and who have neglected to take advantage of the special legislation facilitating their naturalization are warned in a circular issued by the commissioner of naturalization that the time limit set by the act of Congress expires March 3, 1924. Such aliens are permitted to file application without cost and to be admitted to citizenship upon presentation of their discharge papers and proof of good character.

PRICES WILL NOT DECLINE.

It is "extremely unlikely" that prices will go back to the pre-war level, at least in this generation, according to John Moody, president of a financial organization, in a speech to bankers, investors and business men in New York.

"The abnormal cost of living," he said, "is becoming the normal. The new generation is growing up and the low cost period to the war are hardly a memory to them. Nowadays people are getting so accustomed to what we used to call the high cost of living that we are beginning to forget that we formerly lived on a different level."



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



An Outline of the Social and Political History of the United States

We call special attention of our members to our Educational Series No. 1, a pamphlet consisting of forty-eight pages. This pamphlet is the result of a two-year course given by Dr. Carman in our Workers' University. The true significance of this outline rests in the process by which it came into being. It began as a syllabus for the class in "Social and Political History of the United States" conducted by the author. For a period of several years the outline was subjected to changes and revisions. A bibliography appears after each lesson which refers the students to more detailed sources of information about the most significant events.

This outline consists of an introduction and seventeen lessons. In the introduction the author has a stimulating message to the working class students which inspires them to study American History.

Among other things he says: "Every man and woman should know how and why our present society and industrial organization in America came to be what it is." And he further continues: "We should endeavor to understand why we have industrial classes; why American capital is centered in the hands of a minority of the population; why we have a railroad problem; why the majority of the people of this country are centered in cities and why many of these are without landed property; why we have great industrial organizations, combinations and protective tariffs; why in recent years there has been a growing tendency in the United States toward industrial democracy and why America has manifested added interest in economic imperialism. These as well as similar questions merit our

study. In other words, it is of primary importance that we explain the present in terms of the past. Once having done this, we shall be in a better position to comprehend the present day political, social and industrial problems, and to do our share in intelligently working out their solution."

The seventeen lessons in the outline consist of the following topics:

- Lesson
- I. How There Came to Be a United States.
- II. The Constitution of the United States and the Origin of Political Parties, 1776-1789.
- III. Jefferson Republicans in Power
- IV. The Industrial Revolution.
- V. The Western Farmer - His Ambitions and Influence.
- VI. The South and the Plantation System.
- VII. The Old Order and the New Democracy.
- VIII. Jackson and the New Democracy.
- IX. The Struggle for the Great West.
- X. Sectionalism and the Civil War.
- XI. The Results of the Civil War.
- XII. The Political and Economic
- XIII. Business Enterprise and the Republican Party.
- XIV. The Republican Party and Big Business.
- XV. Half a Century of Exploitation of Natural Resources.
- XVI. The Era of Criticism and Reform, 1870-1923.
- XVII. America, A World Power.

A description of the main points discussed in every lesson will appear in next week's issue.

Weekly Calendar

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

Room 529

Saturday, February 9

- 1:30 p. m. J. H. H. Lyons—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—The Modern Novel.
2:30 p. m. David J. Sapos—American Labor in Modern Civilization.

Sunday, February 10

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

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, February 11

- Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171
163d Street near Fifth Avenue, Room 406
8:30 p. m. Max Levin—History, Aims and Problems of the American Labor Movement with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.
Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 150
Christopher Avenue and Sackman Street, Room 204
8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement.

Tuesday, February 12

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

Wednesday, February 13

- 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 9 and 16

- Local 9—228 Second Avenue.
1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Modern Economic Institutions.

Sunday, February 10

- Club Rooms, Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The American Labor Movement.
Clinton Hall—151 Clinton Street, Room 47
12:00 M. H. Rogoff—Civilization in America.

ENGLISH

Thursday, February 14

- 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 10th 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.

Wednesday, February 20

- Brownsville-Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street
8:30 p. m. B. C. Vladeck—Rights and Duties of Union Members.

RUSSIAN

Friday, February 15

- Russian-Polish Branch—215 E. 10th Street
8:00 p. m. K. M. Oberucheff—Trade Unionism in the United States and Europe.

Friday, February 8 and 15

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

OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

BOSTON

Wednesday, February 13

- Local 7, 21 Essex Street.
6:00 p. m. Lawrence G. Brooks—Labor Banking.

CLEVELAND

Monday, February 11

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

PHILADELPHIA

Monday, February 11

- Local 50, 1018 Cherry Street
7:30 p. m. B. Glassberg—Social and Trade Union History.
ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.

HALF-RATE TICKETS TO CONCERTS

As previously announced in this paper, our members can procure half-rate tickets to the State Symphony Concerts. Their next Sunday afternoon concert will be given on February 17, at the Metropolitan Opera House with Josef Stransky, director, and Bronislaw Huberman, violin soloist.

Seasonal coupons entitling our members to half-rate tickets to these as well as the Philharmonic concerts may be obtained at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

We wish to call the attention of those of our members who obtained these seasonal cards entitling them to half-rate tickets, either at the office of their local unions or at the office of the Educational Department, that on these coupons is indicated the place where they may exchange them for half-rate tickets.

"LABOR BANKING," LECTURE FOR LOCAL 7, BOSTON

A talk on "Labor Banking" will be given by Mr. Lawrence G. Brooks on Wednesday, February 13, at the office of Local 7, 21 Essex street.

Mr. Brooks will discuss the problems and functions of banking as, for instance, credit, insurance, benefits, banking, profits for labor, labor control of credit, increase and control of industry by labor, its future opportunities.

Members of the other locals of our Union in Boston are invited to this lecture.

The second lecture by Mr. Brooks will be given on February 27.

B. C. VLADECK WILL START A COURSE IN BROWNSVILLE, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20

Mr. B. C. Vladeck will give a course in Yiddish on the "Rights and Duties of Union Members," Wednesday at 8:30, commencing with February 20, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

The object of this course is to acquaint the student with the essential principles of conducting a trade union meeting. An attempt will be made to emphasize the rights, duties and obligations of a member of the union at union meetings. Special attention will be given to the principles of "straight thinking" and to the effective expression of one's thoughts.

Admission free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U.

CONCERT OF THE INTERNATIONAL AL CHORUS IN TOWN HALL

Our International Chorus, directed by Leo Low, will give a concert in the Town Hall on Sunday afternoon, March 2. Bronislaw Huberman, the famous violinist, will appear as soloist. Tickets may be obtained at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

DR. LYON STARTS LITERATURE COURSE IN WORKERS' UNIVERSITY TOMORROW

Dr. J. H. H. Lyon will start his course in literature in our Workers' University tomorrow, Saturday, February 9, at 1:30 p. m., at the Washington Irving High School, Room 529. The course will consist of six lessons.

*Arthur Gleason as the Interpreter
of the Workers' Mission*

By FANNIA M. COHN

He had the trust and respect for the labor movement that comes from a profound mind with a deep, prophetic insight into the future, and from an honest soul with a strong faith in social evolution. He believed that the driving force within the trades union movement should be idealistic, but that the approach be realistic. And he arrived at the conclusion that no outside agency or person not responsible to the labor movement can be helpful to it in any other way than by being ready to serve when requested.

So much may be said about Arthur Gleason, the man and friend; of his kindness, of the flow of human sympathy from his fine and sensitive soul of his modesty, of his passionate earnestness, and his unselfish desire to serve his generation. Those who knew him intimately find it most difficult to express in words their grief over his loss. His memory will be cherished by them forever.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ.

Приходите со знаковици.

О ВЫСТАВКЕ

Секретаря Джеймис Борда, А. Ланге доложил собранию, что он лично в уральский филиал Джеймис Борда Файнберг привез выставку и выложил все самое интересное и рекомендует всем членам сделать тоже. К тому же эти художники являются и членами Женского Наблюдения и многие заслуживают нашей поддержки.

Доводим до сведения всех членов Русско-Польского Отдела Католического в Питтсбурге, 8-го Февраля, в 7:30 часа, в Народном Доме, 215 Нст 10-го, состоится РЕГУЛЯРНОЕ ОБЩЕЕ СОБРАНИЕ членов отдела. Будут рассматриваться важные вопросы. Приходите лично.

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knew."

The assembled paid a silent tribute to Mrs. Arthur Gleason who was a devoted friend and companion and encouraged him in his life work and efforts.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Local 101, of Richmond, Va., declares a strike against the firm of Paul Kemsky of that city.

In the financial report of Local 1 for the final quarter of 1911 the income is given as \$18,426, and expenses as \$14,696. On January 1912, the local's treasury amounted

The workers of S. Rapoport, a close firm at 63 East 84th Street, New York refused to work on garments that the labor price for which had not been settled. The employer hit upon the idea of "tying" the workmen into his inside working: He asked a fellow manufacturer to call up his shop chairman and to impersonate Sigman who at that time was the manager of the district. The call was made over the phone instructions to the workmen to proceed with work on the garments. His friend complied, but the shop chairman suspecting fraud told him about it and discovered that the call of course was a bluff. The laugh on the firm in the end.

In a dues-payment "drive" among the cloak locals in New York City, 165,000 stamps were sold in the course of two weeks.

*English Labor Joins in Tribute
to Memory of Arthur Gleason.*

The Rev. Dr. Percy Stickney Grant presided. Most of the speakers were intimate friends of Arthur Gleason, among them Prof. Hastings Lyon of Columbia University; Walter Richard Eaton; Norman Haggood, editor of *Hearst's International*; Will Irwin; Dr. Harry Laidler, director of the League for Industrial Democracy; Fannie M. Cohn of the I. L. G. W. U.; Spencer Miller, secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau; John Brophy, president of the United Mine Workers District No. 2; S. K. Radcliffe, British lecturer and journalist; and Dr. Richard H. Edward.

The speakers paid high tribute to the memory of Gleason, recording his remarkable gifts, sympathetic and brave heart which always responded to the needs of those who were crushed by our present industrial system. The gathering was one of the most impressive of its kind. Those who came to honor the memory of Arthur Gleason were permeated with deep regret for the untimely death of one who combined a great heart with a profound mind and who was taken away in the midst of creative efforts.

The workers of Great Britain joined in tribute to Mr. Gleason. Two cablegrams were received, one from Ramsay MacDonald, which read as follows:

"I learned with genuine regret of the untimely death of Arthur Gleason. Labor on this side of the Atlantic will wish me in its name to pay a tribute to an able and sincere friend who did as much as any man of our time to interpret to the American people the meaning and the aim of the organized working-class movement here. British Labor sends through me to his wife our sincere sympathy and our hope that she will bear her loss more bravely in the knowledge that we bear her and him in grateful memory."

The other cablegram was signed by the following labor leaders, some of whom are now members of the Labor Cabinet: Arthur Henderson, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Robert Smillie, Margaret Bondfield, Fred Branley, Secretary, British Trade Union Congress, Arthur Greenwood, Will Henderson, Marion Phillips, Herbert Treacy, William Gillies and Jim Middleton, and read:

"As officers and representatives of the British Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, who formed ties of friendship and affection with Arthur Gleason during his visits to this country, we join with his friends and fellow workers in America in the tribute to his memory. His work as a journalist has already borne fruit

a better understanding of the leader of the labor movement and its position on the part of the American people, and we cherish the memory of a brilliant and attractive personality who made friends of all he met here. To his wife we send our sincere sympathy, sharing her sorrow in our affection.

Eyes Examined
with the
Best Modern Instruments

in Dr. Becker's Optical Offices. Don't take any chances! Safety lies only in Dr. Becker's Eye glasses--They are a true help to the eye. They improve the vision and eliminate the eye-strain. All work under the personal supervision of Dr. Becker. Great care is exercised in examinations and

MANHATTAN
131 SECOND AVENUE
233 EAST BROADWAY
Southwest corner 8th Street
141 EAST 13D STREET
Between 13th and 13D Streets
100 LENOX AVENUE
BRONX
982 PROSPECT AVENUE
207 EAST FORDHAM ROAD
BROOKLYN
1700 PITKIN AVENUE

DR. BARNETT L. BECKER
OPTOMETRIST OPTICIAN

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The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

At the early start of this season, the trade witnessed a situation which has not been experienced in the past few years. In former years, it was the usual habit of cutters, at the beginning or in the middle of the season, to try to change their places in order to improve their conditions.

They were always differently situated than the other crafts of the industry—the operators, finishers and pressers, who were more or less attached to their shops and were considered permanent workers of their factories. A cutter was used to the old-time tradition of considering himself a free-lance every Saturday, and trying to jump from one shop to another in order to get more money or a promise as to the time of employment. But he had done it individually, never trying to persuade the other cutters of the shop to adopt a similar attitude. It had really become a general practice.

However, at the beginning of this season, due to the change of styles which required that the lays should be cut on the open, and also since most of the goods which are being used this season are plaids, which require special skill and care in cutting, and which it is sometimes not possible to cut in large quantities in order to be able to match the plaids, a great deal of extra work has been given the cutters, particularly those working on a better line, where more care and skill are required. Consequently, immediately at the beginning of the season the shortage of men was felt all over. The cutters, realizing this, and knowing that they had missed many opportunities to improve their conditions, i. e., to obtain a reasonable wage, instead of acting individually this time acted collectively, grouping themselves by shops. They had an easy task however with the Independent shops.

In the first place, there are very few shops in the industry of standing and importance employing several cutters, where the cutters are not receiving above \$56. In those where the cutters were receiving less than \$56, such as Wilkins & Adler, Zeldensky & Le Kashman, Dorfman & Miller, and one or two others, they succeeded in getting a \$5 increase without difficulty. If there were one or two employers that were stubborn in realizing the situation and in granting their request, the moment the cutters notified the firm that they had succeeded in obtaining different jobs, the firms, knowing the trouble at this time of the year in getting cutters and knowing that the demand is so great that it is even difficult to get men for \$60 a week, settled peacefully with the workers by granting them the desired increase.

Not in the same spirit was this situation handled by some members of the Protective Association. There the situation was quite different. Instead of a handful of shops that are paying less than \$56, the bulk are paying \$50 a week. The cutters, being affected by the spirit dominating the cutters employed in the independent shops, and knowing that the time of employment and the average earnings in these Protective shops are very much inferior, also presented their requests for an increase to some of the employers, with the stipulation that if they did not receive an increase they were provided with different jobs where they could get a much higher wage than that which they were at present receiving. These employers, including such as Max Reubel and Ben Gerschel, were unwilling to grant the just request of the cutters. Seemingly, there must have been a power not known to the cutters that prevented these firms from adjusting the

matter in a peaceful manner, and so these cutters left their jobs.

The firm of Max Reubel, on the first day after the men left the house, informed them that they should come back to work and that they would give them the desired increase of \$5. The men immediately returned and last Saturday already received the \$5 increase.

Ben Gerschel originally told his cutters that if any other employer in the industry would grant the increase he surely would not stay away. He was informed, and it was duly proved to him, that the firm of Aaron Goldstein, who is the president of the Association, and where the cutters got a better run in addition to the overtime they work, is paying its cutters \$55. To this the firm answered that this is no criterion, since the men have been receiving it for the last year and a half. The cutters claimed that they should not be punished for the reason that they did not request an increase at the same time that the cutters of Aaron Goldstein did and because they had patiently waited and waived their claim and worked for a lower wage. On the other hand, they claimed that if the firm realized its mistake, they would have no objection if they would give them back pay for that year and a half.

When the firm refused to take this into consideration and later, when the firm of Max Reubel granted the \$5 increase and this firm refused to take into consideration the other instance, the cutters of the shop realized that something must be behind all this,—the firm going back on its word. The office was not in a position to give them a good explanation of it. The men realized that there was no use in waiting any longer for Ben Gerschel to settle and call the men back, so they went ahead and secured different jobs, some at the rate of \$55, some at \$65, others more, but none at the same rate that they were receiving at Ben Gerschel's.

The Association took this matter to an impartial chairman, the stoppage of the cutters in Ben Gerschel's shop. The union claimed that this was no stoppage, because if it were, the men, in accordance with the agreement, would have returned twenty-four hours after the stoppage. The men simply left their jobs, informed the employer of it and demonstrated it clearly even before the impartial chairman decided that there is a stoppage and the cutters have to return to work. The men all went up to the firm and took their tools down, as they explained, for two reasons: first, because they needed them in the new place in which they had already obtained jobs, and also to prove to the firm, the Union and the Association that they did not declare a stoppage but merely left their jobs, having the opportunity to get better-ones with higher wages. And as such, after the decision of the impartial chairman, the union claimed that they are not in a position to force the men to go back to work for Ben Gerschel. All that the union could do is to inform the men that if they did not return to work within twenty-four hours after the decision, they have abandoned their jobs.

The cutters being fully aware of the meaning of this, all knowing as they did that they did not make a stoppage, did not return to work. On the fifth day after the men left their jobs, the firm realized, as we did, that there was no stoppage, that the men secured and are working on different jobs, and that it could not get different men, that is, that there is a big demand in the industry for cutters and it is difficult to get them for even \$55 and \$60 per week, and then they realized that there is no alternative

but to call their old men back with a promise to grant them their request for an increase of \$5. Even afterwards when it was agreed that the firm is to give them an increase, the office had a difficult job in convincing all the men that they are to return to work for the firm of Ben Gerschel. The office, however, used all its influence, explaining to the men that it would hurt the interests of the organization as well as the interests of the cutters employed in different shops if they would not all return to work. And it was only after much persuasion that they were convinced that they should leave their new jobs and go back to work for their old firm.

And so ended the Ben Gerschel controversy. In spite of the fact that the Association tried to threaten the union and the employers through statements in the Women's Wear, the union maintained the position that it is a pure and simple individual matter which concerns only the workers of that particular shop and for which the union is not responsible. They also maintained that the policy adopted by the Association was more antagonizing than conciliatory, and the moment the Association changed its policy, that matter was adjusted.

While this controversy ended satisfactorily with the shops of Max Reubel and Ben Gerschel, it seems that it does not end fully the matter of the increase for cutters in other Protective shops. It is practically ended, and very satisfactorily, for cutters in the independent shops. The office is constantly busy with men who are employed in large Protective shops complaining about their wages and also about their earnings.

We have received information that the cutters of Blauer Brothers, Jack Rappaport, D. Bloomberg, Maurice Bandler, Levay Brothers, and many other shops, which space does not permit us to name, have informed their employers regarding the situation prevailing in the industry, and that they expect that the employers will realize it and act accordingly.

All that we can say in the matter is that we hope that, having the experience that the industry did in the shops of Max Reubel and Ben Gerschel, these firms as well as the cutters will try to settle in a peaceful manner in order to avoid any further controversy or a recurrence of such disputes.

In the week of New Year's we received information that several members of the Protective Association had laid off their cutters for New Year's Day, which is not one of the legal holidays covered by this agreement. The union therefore considers it an ordinary working day and accordingly filed a number of complaints. The Association for some reason or another dragged out the matter for weeks without adjustment, until finally they were compelled by the organization to submit the matter to an impartial chairman. The following is a copy of the decision rendered by Judge Frederick Spiegelberg, who presided at the Trial Board:

In the matter of the union for pay of the cutters of the firm of Nat. Kessler, Inc., the firm was informed that their head cutters would not work on January 1, and for that reason they did not deem it wise to open the shop on that day. Although the firm acted in good faith there was no excuse for their refusal to pay the cutters, who were willing to work on January 1.

The collective agreement to clear on the subject: New Year's Day is not included among the holidays referred to in Paragraph 6. Therefore it must be considered like any other working day. As the cutters are paid by the week they are obliged to work every day except on the days mentioned in Section 6, and likewise they are to be paid for every day.

The claim of the union is sustained.
(Signed) F. SPIEGELBERG, Chairman.

From the above it is evident that from now on when employers will lay off their cutters in the middle of the week for one reason or another the Association will be obliged to pay the cutters for the full week, as provided for in the agreement.

A DROPPED MEMBER — JACK GROSS, who is very well known to many old-timers in the industry, is at present a non-union man and is working in one of our shops. He is in the habit of changing his place of employment very frequently, in order to avoid the control of the union.

Anyone knowing where he is working is directed to report to the office.

CUTTERS OF LOCAL 10, ATTENTION!

A REGULAR AND SPECIAL MEETING OF LOCAL 10 WILL BE HELD ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1924, IN ARLINGTON HALL, 23 ST. MARK'S PLACE, AT 7:30 P. M.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

REGULAR AND SPECIAL MEETING Monday, February 11, 1924
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