

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."
—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VI, No. 10.

New York, Friday, February 29, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

The Most Important Word

"Which are the six most important words in the English language?"

Several Princeton professors undertook to answer this question a few weeks ago. One advanced the following list: Sanity, humor, truth, yes, no, knowledge. A second gave: Duty, loyalty, honor, self-control, service and sacrifice. A third listed the following: Courage, consistency, self-respect, sportsmanship and tolerance. Another included also the word "humanity."

All these words, beginning with the one which received the highest number of votes—loyalty—and ending with those which obtained the least approval, are beyond doubt fine and well-sounding words. These words are often employed by the orator to impress audiences from the platform. In the hands of the phrasemaker and the pen-wielder, they may become powerful weapons for good or bad.

There was one word, however, in our opinion the most important in our scheme of living, which was entirely lost sight of by the Princeton professors. It is a very simple word, an ordinary word—"Why?"

How, indeed, would man look today if he never had put to himself the question "Why?"! How could he have differentiated between the true and the false—if he were not to seek the truth, if he were not constantly to put to himself the question "Why?"? How could man, for instance, ever have learned that loyalty is a very important word, had he never asked himself the question "Why?"?

Who are the creators of our progress? Are they those who take for granted all that is told them, who swallow as truth the ready formulae that are handed out to them? No. It is those of an inquiring mind, those who have the courage to doubt even things ostensibly axiomatic, who everlastingly ask themselves the question "Why?"? These by their doubts and their probing have brought mankind a step forward.

We are advancing in every realm of life so slowly because only a few of us ask this question. How many workers whose life hardly deserves to be called "life" ask themselves this question? If they only dared to ask, they would have made a substantial step ahead, for he who asks must find an answer—an answer that may not always be the right one, but nevertheless one that spurs him on to seek for a more satisfactory answer in the end. The trouble is that but few bother about asking "Why?".

That is why our labor unions are by far not as strong as they might be. That is why our radicals, persons who, according to the nature of the term will not rest contented unless they get to the root of a problem—are only radicals in name. Even they swallow dogma ready-made; even they have not always the courage to ask the question "Why?".

Yes, it is that unambitious little word "Why" that is responsible for what progress man has made upon the long road of his historic record. The word "Why" was surely the first word which marked man from animal. The oftener he makes use of the word "Why," the more he doubts, the less will he be inclined to take for granted the inherited truisms, the more will he contribute towards his own expansion and towards the advancement of mankind in general.

S. Y.

PRESIDENT SIGMAN WILL LECTURE IN CLUB ROOMS OF LOCAL 1

This Sunday morning, at 10:30, President Morris Sigman will begin a series of three lectures on "The Problems of Our Union."

The lectures and the discussions that will follow will take place in the Club Rooms of Local 1, 1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx.

Members of the union are cordially invited.

In T

The report is that Jim O'Grady, designated by the British Labor Government as Ambassador to Soviet Russia, was also objected to by the Moscow Foreign Office—despite the fact that O'Grady is of proletarian origin and a typical English worker.

We have no difficulty in understanding this. The Moscow triumvirate, in asking for a British diplomat of the old school, want a gentleman of their own ilk. They never could find themselves at home, these Janis intellectuals, with regular workers. Workers may look well on posters and sound well in speeches—but when it comes to doing business, our "proletarian dictators" would much rather have an old-fashioned diplomat or banker to deal with.

That MacDonald is not having all roses strewn in his path is evident from the fact that, in the short few weeks since he has been at the helm, he has had two nationwide strikes on his hands—and only an Englishman can justly appreciate what an amount of embarrassment a railway or a dock strike in the "right little island" is likely to cause a British government. A miners' walkout in England is in the offing, too.

MacDonald's smug attitude towards Poincaré is not making an all-around hit in labor circles either. Henderson, backed by Thomas and a great part of the rank and file, is pressing for a firmer foreign policy, with an outspoken demand for the revision of the Versailles Treaty, an old plan in the platform of English Labor.

The question of "inferior" and "superior" races conjured up by the Johnson Immigration bill would not rest. It, in the opinion of the framers of this discriminatory piece of legislation, a smug Norwegian is "superior" to a Bohemian and a melancholy Dane makes a better American than a cheery Florentinian, the descendants of these Florentinians, Bohemians and Ukrainians in America would like to know the reason why.

The sponsors of Nordic racial hegemony in America may have on their side the Klan, some of the more bigoted Protestant sectarians, and a section of the press ready to run for any straitjacket restrictions upon "turriors." But the great masses of the people in the East and Middle West who for generations have lived side by side with these "immigrants" whose races are now being attacked as "inferior" are feeling sick at heart of this hypocritical business. The Johnson bill with the 1899 quotas shall not pass.

Bill McDougall is growing wings again.

No, at least, he himself told a sympathetic audience of 189 boosters who gathered in Chicago last week to see whether the presidential fences of the former Director General of the Railways, so mercilessly shattered by the Doherty testimony, could be mended. Since then, we have learned that McDougall had been promised by Doherty a round million if he only could "put it over" for the oil boys in Mexico. And according to Jim Reed, the "bad boy" from Missouri, that same cringing gentleman who quit a Cabinet job to practice "sun-in-law" has received retainers not only from all magnates but also from the Morse interests who had got in wrong with the law and who were casting covetous eyes toward some suspicious boats owned by the United States Shipping Corporation.

And among the other pretty discoveries of the week, one has been kind of "buried" by the press, is the charge by Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania that Mitchell Palmer had in 1924, by failing to prosecute, given away to the Southern Pacific Railway five hundred million dollars worth of government oil lands. Remember Mitch Palmer, he of undying with-holding, "red"-crucifying fame, a patriot of parts, and the intrepid leader of the American Cheka?

Keep your eye on France.

Poincaré got his semi-dictatorial powers from the Chamber despite free prediction to the contrary. This gives him a strong hand for the coming elections. True, these powers apply to tax-raising only, but in the hands of such a deft politician as Poincaré they can be made to yield maximum results.

To arrest the swing to the left, the spectre of which is haunting the imperialist gang which is now running the Republic, it is reported that the Comité des Forges, the union of the great French ironmasters, has again made an entry upon the political scene by suggesting that "France can only emerge from the threatening industrial crisis by suspending the Constitution and establishing a dictatorship in the Italian manner." Their first measure would be to retard again the French elections until the Germans have had theirs.

The ring of the ironmasters is an all-powerful combination in France. Since the war it has had practically unchecked sway and there is no telling what it is likely to resort to now in order to stave off the surging tide of anti-Poincaré sentiment. Personal optimists take notice, please.

It was altogether too bad.

We mean that William Randolph Hearst's application for appointment on the Officers' Reserve Corps should have been turned down on account of the age limit. Major Hearst, or Colonel Bill Hearst, to us would have sounded eminently distinguished. We have always been wondering how, through all these years of war and travail, Hearst escaped without at least a captaincy,—when every department-store owner or traction magnate could have a colonelcy for the asking.

A case of rotten luck we call it—pure and simple.

And while the top-knots in Washington are abetting and the gushing of oil is drowning out every competing sound from the proverbial Maine woods to the waves of the Golden Gate—the steady, systematic and efficient slaughter of Filipino "fanatics" by General Wood's constabulary is proceeding with admirable precision.

Last month the total of these victims reached 800. This week the number of these helpless victims, slain ruthlessly by the Wood gendarmes, is already above 2,000. Why is this wholesale carnage necessary? Has a voice been lifted in Congress to find out who decreed these lives away?

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.

GENERAL DRESSMAKERS' STRIKE BEGINS IN CHICAGO

On Wednesday, February 27, the strike in the dress shops of Chicago has finally taken place. In response of a strike call distributed in the district in front of every shop by committees from the Union headquarters, thousands of men and women workers left their places at the machines and the entire trade literally came to a standstill.

According to telegraphic information, the walkout is a huge success. Practically every shop in the city, union or non-union is affected. The employers are dumbfounded at this

remarkable display of solidarity on the part of the workers. Particularly are shocked those who have been solidly working on the workers' strike, away from the strike and who have forced them by means of "contracts" and pledges to promise that they would not join the strike. But the great movement of the Chicago dressmakers to organize their trade and once for all to put it under union conditions has overcome all obstacles in its way and the strike of the workers is general in every sense of the word.

The management of the dress strike is in able and experienced hands. The leader of the strike committee is Vice-president Perlstein who has at his disposal a capable group of men and women, the pick of the Chicago locals. The Chicago dress manufacturers will very soon realize that in this strike they are dealing not only with the few thousand dressmakers in their employ but with the whole membership of the International and the entire organized labor movement of Chicago. President Sigman and Secretary Baroff upon learning of the walkout

sent the following telegram to the Chicago strikers:

"The great news has reached us that the dressmakers of Chicago, many thousand strong, have declared a general strike against their oppressors, determined not to go back to their shops until they had won union standards in their industry and a powerful organization to permanently protect their interests. Convey to the strikers our heartfelt sympathy and a promise of unbroken moral and material support until they will have gained their aims and achieved their right cause.

MORRIS SIGMAN,
President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF,
Secretary-Treasurer."

Locals Have Until First Week In April To Elect Delegates

With the sending out of the convention call to all locals and joint boards, the work of preparing for the Seventeenth Convention of our International which will begin in Boston, Mass., on Monday, May 5, begins in earnest. Next week, Secretary Baroff will send to each local as many credentials and duplicates as it is entitled to.

Elections for convention delegates will now begin in all the locals. The locals will have more than a month

to complete their selection of representatives, as the General Office expects to have all returns in by the end of the first week in April.

The subcommittee of the General Executive Board on Convention Arrangements has announced that Convention Hall has been hired in Boston for the holding of our convention. It is the same hall used by our International for its Boston Convention in 1918, and it offers all accommodations and conveniences required for a meeting of this kind.

Baltimore Cloakmakers Raise Emergency Fund

The organization of the Baltimore cloakmakers is again showing signs of healthy activity. Shop meetings are held frequently, the members are paying up their old obligations to the local, and the members are displaying greater interest in trade questions.

Last Friday, the Baltimore cloakmakers celebrated Washington's Birthday with a dance and concert. The proceeds of this affair will go towards strengthening the treasury of the organization. But this is not all.

The members of Local 4 are beginning to realize that a union without funds is at best a weak body. So at one of their last meetings they decided to create an emergency fund by taxing the earnings of each worker 10 per cent for three weeks and turning the tax over to the union.

It is, of course, now entirely up to the workers. If they mean to stand by their decision and the tax is collected, a foundation will be laid for a strong union of cloakmakers in Baltimore.

General Sessions Court Quashes Old Charges Against President Morris Sigman

Older members of our Union doubtless still remember the celebrated cloakmakers' murder trials of 1914-1915. President Morris Sigman was at that time an officer of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board, and he was the central figure in that group of cloak officials against whom this "frame-up" had been directed. He was one of those who had been charged with homicide for killing a man in time of a strike.

The jury has acquitted every one of our men against whom the net of the Sulzaker strikebreaking agency was spread out; but some indictments for minor offenses had still been left in the courts since that time

—among these five indictments against Morris Sigman.

When nine years ago Sigman, Halperin, Lefkowitz, Wander and several others were placed under charges, it created a stir through the entire labor world. As stated above, these charges had been instigated by a group of provocateurs led by one Sulzaker, a professional strikebreaker and spy, who organized a group of scabs into an "opposition union," by naming it officially "The International Industrial Ladies' Garment Workers' of the World." It was among this nest of spies that the murder charges against Sigman and his co-leaders first originated and when these charges collapsed they succeeded in connecting other charges against them.

These indictments hung over the head of Sigman for years without ever being brought to trial. District attorneys in the County of New York came and went but these charges slumbered on. At one time District Attorney Swan was inclined to dismiss them, but he met with powerful opposition from a group of labor-hating attorneys from the City Club who accused Swan of partiality to Labor on this account and were even

threatening to impeach him. And while these indictments never directly interfered with the activity of the Union or its leaders, they nevertheless served to annoy the indicted men personally in more than one way.

Last week finally the cases came up before Judge Collins in the Court of General Sessions. It was brought out with unmistakable clarity that the judgments against Sigman were the result of a spiteful conspiracy and that it would be a shame to let them hang over the heads of the indicted an hour longer. Judge Collins dismissed these charges as having no validity whatever and expressed his satisfaction that President Sigman's name has now been fully cleared of every accusation ever brought against him.

Boston Dress Strike Proceeds in Fine Shape

The general strike of the Boston dressmakers continues in excellent condition.

Last Monday morning, the strikers arranged for an impressive demonstration in front of the strike-bound shops. The factories remain as idle as on the morning the workers left them, and their owners have not been able to procure a single strikebreaker as yet.

If the Boston dress manufacturers make up their minds that they wish to make dresses in their plants, they will have to concede the just demands of their workers. The shops are well picketed and everything is going on in a peaceful and satisfactory way. Everyone seems confident that the strike will be won and no one is hysterical.

In a word—all is well in the Boston dress trenches!

Concert of International Chorus This Sunday

Bronislaw Huberman, violinist, and Joseph Winogradoff, baritone, will be the soloists at the concert of the International Chorus on Sunday afternoon, March 2, at 2:30. The Chorus, which originally numbered eighty but now includes over a hundred men and women, has been doing considerable work under the able direction of Leo Law, in preparation for this appearance.

Tickets ranging in price from \$1.00 to \$2.50 can be secured at the Town Hall, 434 street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues, where the concert will be given, or at any of the following offices: the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union, 100 East 25th street; the Educational Department of the International, 3 West 16th street; or at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Room 405.

The lectures will be continued for the next five weeks in the same place and at the same time.

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

"THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF A TRADE UNION MEMBER," LECTURE BY B. C. VLADECK

B. C. Vladeck will continue his lecture on "The Rights and Duties of a Trade Union Member," on Wednesday, March 5, at 8 p. m., in the

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FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

In the Chicago Joint Board

By M. RAPAPORT

At the meeting of the Board of Directors held on February 6, Brother M. Goldstein was elected secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board until July, 1924.

Brother Blais reported that the outlook in the cloak industry was not as bright as expected. There are still a number of workers unemployed, whom the office will try to place as soon as it can. The larger shops downtown have been operating for the last few weeks; the small shops, however, together with those on the northwest side have not yet started to operate. In the dress industry there is very little work at present, which is probably due to the fact that the manufacturers are afraid of the coming strike, and for that reason they are undecided as to their business. The work in that industry as a result is duller than usual.

The strike situation in Kenosha he reported to be the same as it has been in the past. There is hardly any work there, or else there would be a probability of a settlement. He urged upon the Joint Board that this strike must be kept up until the end because if we were to give up the strike now, Kenosha would be lost for the future. Secretary Rapaport, in speaking of the mass meeting on February 5 at Schoenhofen's Hall, said that, in spite of the terrible weather, the crowd was unusually large, and the workers were attentive and listened enthusiastically to the speeches of President Sigman, Vice-presidents M. Perlstein and S. Seidman, and Agnes Nestor, president of the Women's Trade Union League. The workers showed a determination to have the dress industry organized, and were guaranteed by President Sigman that the International will do all in its power if a strike should be necessary. The Union will use all efforts possible to avert a strike, and if they fail in these efforts, the workers will have to be ready for the call.

A resolution was then submitted by the Executive Board of Local 100, which was unanimously accepted at this meeting. The following is the resolution, copies of which were given to the press for publication:

"Whereas the wages of the workers in the Chicago dress industry are very low, and the working and sanitary conditions are very bad,

"Be it therefore resolved that we, the members of the Dressmakers' Union, of Local 100, I. L. G. W. U., assembled in mass meeting, Tuesday, February 5, 1924, at Schoenhofen's Hall, herewith authorizing the Joint Board of the Chicago locals, and the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to immediately begin negotiations with our employers in order to secure the betterments that are essential to the life and well-being of the workers.

"Be it further resolved that the Joint Board of the Chicago locals, and the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are instructed, in negotiating with our employers, to do their utmost to settle matters in a peaceful manner, and

"Be it further resolved that should the manufacturers in the dress industry refuse to consider the just and reasonable demands of the workers, that the Joint Board and the officers of the I. L. G. W. U. are herewith authorized to order a general strike in the dress industry, the strike order to be issued at the time they may deem it most advisable."

Branch meetings of pressers, finishers, drapers and cutters were held the same week at which the individual branches of the trade discussed their demands. The Union has opened settlement headquarters at the Atlantic Hotel, Room 116, wherein conferences will be held with the manufacturers' association as well as with individuals in signing the new agreements. A conference will be held with the manufacturers' association in the industry, the results of which will be reported.

Since Brother Morris Sigman, president of our International, was present at the session of the Joint Board, the chairman called upon him for a few remarks.

Brother Sigman reminded the Joint Board that they would have to obligate themselves to do all in their power to help make the coming strike of the dressmakers a success. He remarked that he had become a frequent visitor to Chicago in the past two years, and whenever he came here he found sufficient cause for criticism in the lack of cooperation among the delegates of the Joint Board. He is happy to say that now the situation has changed for the better, and that the cloakmakers have taken an interest in the dressmakers. He hopes that the spirit which he has found at this time will prevail in the future.

Brother Sigman mentioned the question of the expelled members, saying that a committee of members of Local 100 and 5 had spoken to him about bringing these expelled members back into the Union. He told them under what condition they could come back—that they sever their connections with the League. He believes that the members in question who have been expelled are not sincere, and that they want to play the role of martyrs. He is sorry for the attitude that these people are taking, but the Union cannot bow to the dictates of fanatics. On the average, Chicago is the only fighting field on this particular issue, he said. In the other cities this question has practically been settled.

Local 38 News

By B. DRASIN, Sec'y

The members of Local 38, the Ladies Tailors' Union, are called to a meeting of the local to be held on March 4, at 8:00 p. m., in the Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 106th street, at which the main subject of discussion will be the proposed council of all locals in New York City which are not affiliated with the Joint Board.

Secretary Drasin will, in addition, present the financial report and will bring up for discussion and decision pressing trade questions of considera-

ble importance to the members of the local.

Emphasis is again laid on the recent decision of Local 38 which prohibits any overtime work in those shops where there is sufficient work to warrant the employment of more men than are at present employed. This measure was passed in an effort to find room for some of the unemployed members of the local, and our members who are working, knowing its necessity, will not fail to observe it.

In Local 35

By JOS. BRESLAW

It is a long time since we have made an appearance in these columns—and some of our members have been asking us the reason why. The true cause of it is that there is lots to write, but things have been rather busy in our organization. Have in mind that our family has grown of late—our local has increased its membership by at least a thousand.

In theory "amalgamation" and "one big union" sounds quite nice, but things are entirely different when it comes to practical everyday application of these beautiful terms. Nevertheless, we need not complain, though the addition of a thousand new persons, the dress pressers—all of a trade that is barely 40 per cent organized and who come from "shops" where only one or two pressers are found—is not such an easy matter to digest or assimilate.

The first thing we had to worry about was unemployment. True, our accomplishment in this direction was not one-hundred per cent because the dress season still seems to be slow in arriving. Nevertheless we have done something, and when the season is stabilized we expect to do more. We looked over the field and we noticed that in many of these small dress shops only one presser is employed where in point of fact there is room for two. But as they work by the piece and each of them is eager to "grab" all he can, they are inclined to forget often that they are union people and that there are other union men who are entitled to a living. They also conveniently "forget" and work overtime or a few hours more than the prescribed work hours. And when the presser in such a dress shop finds in the end that he cannot help himself, he takes another man—but not on terms of equality with himself, to work together and divide up whatever work there is. No, he takes the other fellow to "make a job" for a few days, after which he is sent off again! A week later, if hard pressed, he performs the same operation and keeps the newcomer for as many days as he cannot get along without him.

We could not tolerate this business, of course, and we decided that in such cases pressers were to be supplied by the union. We are now making a survey of all dress shops and we are calling the pressers of each shop to the office to find out what can be done in each and every place individually. As a result, quite a number of pressers have been put to work and others will be given jobs in the near future. It is not an easy business, but we are doing the best we can. Brother President of the independent dress department of the Joint Board, as well as Brother Horowitz of the Association Department and their business agents, are doing their best to help us. Much to our regret, we must admit, many of the pressers, instead of helping us,

are hindering us to the best of their ability. The work, however, must and will go on.

We call upon all dress pressers to inform us, if they know of any such shops where, in place of two pressers, only one is employed, and we shall take care of it quickly.

We desire to call the attention of our members to a few very important matters and we hope that they will respond to them, as they always do, in a real fraternal spirit.

First, our Union Health Center. This Center, where our own members as well as other union members are taken care of, has taken a great armory for a dance on March 29. This clinic is arranging the ball in order to meet the deficit which it has to face in covering its expenses. Our local is interested in this Health Center perhaps more than any other local. Not only has our local a consumptive fund but it also carries many benefit funds well known to our members. A large percentage of these whom the clinic of the Health Center is taking care of are the members of our local. If this clinic is not to be made financially secure, the members of the Pressers' Union will suffer more than any other of our members.

The money which the locals are paying for the maintenance of the Health Center is not sufficient. It is absolutely necessary to raise a fund for the clinics to cover the deficit and also to have a few dollars left over for additional improvements. These are the reasons which prompted the Board of Directors to arrange for the dance at the 71st Regiment Armory. It depends upon us now to make it a success. Our members are urged to come to the office and buy tickets. They must not forget about the great and useful work of the Union Health Center.

Another thing. Our local has engaged Thomashefsky's National Theatre for Saturday afternoon, April 5, for a theatre benefit for several needy members. The local has already done for them all it could, but it appears that we must do some more. It is hardly necessary to mention their names to our members, as most of them know who the sufferers are. We are confident that our members will respond to this call and fill the theatre on that day to help their brothers who are broken down by illness.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

Saturday afternoon, March 1, at 1:30 p. m., Prof. Scott Nearing will discuss "The Economic Conquest of Canada," in his Current Events Lecture at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

On Wednesday, March 5, at 8:40 p. m., Mr. Morris Hillquit will speak at the Rand School on the topic "The Third-Party Movement in the United States."

JUSTICE

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The St. Louis Conference and Further

By NORMAN THOMAS

Only a few weeks ago we thought that the St. Louis meeting of the National Conference for Progressive Political Action would be its final. It was generally supposed that the railroad unions and some of the farmers' organizations had the skills all geared either for an immediate endorsement of McAdoo or for his later endorsement by the National Committee. That would have meant, of course, a bolt of the more radical elements and the end of the conference as an effective means of federating the various groups struggling toward a fairer representation of the people's interest in government. Then came the Sinclair and Doheny scandal on the one hand and the success of the British Labor Party on the other. The result on the tone and temper of the St. Louis conference was amazing. It showed more in the private conversation of the delegates than on the floor of the convention itself. Men representing strong organizations were talking of the necessity of a third party controlled by the workers on farms and in factories. It was impossible to defend the old parties. Men recognized that it was necessary to take out of the hands of private individuals those public utilities and natural resources which have been so outrageously exploited by the forces of privilege.

The result was a live convention and a harmonious convention. There was no longer any question of disbanding or of giving to a National Committee power to endorse some old party candidate. While motions looking to an immediate declaration in favor of a third party were and probably wisely—defeated, the conference was in earnest about a 4th of July convention at Cleveland to canvass the whole situation and to face the issue of a third party fairly and frankly. Moreover—and this is very significant—the convention adopted resolutions that did not pussyfoot; resolutions that meant something definite and specific; that did not abound in vague phrases about the public welfare. They declared for public ownership and democratic operation of railroads, for public ownership of water-power and the creation of a public superpower system, strict public control and permanent conservation of all natural resources, a tax program which looks to the use of this power for the more equitable distribution of incomes, definite action against the tyranny of courts and a specific program of opposition to war and imperialism. When a convention representing groups, some of which are generally considered by radicals to be conservative, adopts such a program without opposition, it is time to take courage and to move forward.

LOOKING TOWARD JULY 4TH

Those who want to see a third party formed at Cleveland on the 4th of July have reason to be encouraged by the tone and temper of the St. Louis proceedings of the National Conference for the Progressive Political Action. Nevertheless there is nothing to be gained by ignoring the difficulties in the way. There is first of all the difficult job of building up a third party in a country like the United States. Even under the most favorable circumstances, it is a more difficult job than in England. But it is both cowardly and unscientific to say that the job cannot be done if the workers have the will. Where there is a need men who have conquered the enormous difficulties of any labor organization at all can find a way.

The Cleveland Conference may be faced with certain specific difficulties:

1. Can the progressive forces be united on a practical program? This will require some ability at compromise, some principle of give and take, and, above all, good faith between groups. The success of the Cleveland

conference may depend on the ability of those who are planning for it to win the cooperation of those strong groups in the northwest which have called the St. Paul conference for May 30. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party, flushed with its victory in its own state, feels a natural call to leadership. Nevertheless if things are managed right, it may be possible to obtain a postponement of the St. Paul conference to July 4th. If it can't be merged with the meeting called by the National Conference for Progressive Political Action, it may be held simultaneously with it and common action arrived at.

2. There is the problem of leadership. LaFollette's name is now on every tongue but it is not yet certain whether he will want to sacrifice his position of seniority on important Senate committees by losing his standing as a Republican in order to lead a third party movement which could hardly be expected in its first campaign to elect him to the presidency. LaFollette's leadership would be of the utmost importance but a vital movement ought not to depend on any one man or be thwarted by his decision.

3. Finally, there is the danger lest the American desire to get immediate results should prompt a considerable number of progressive delegates to want to endorse the least bad of the candidates selected by the old parties. We will be told that we must vote for

Smith on the Republican or Democratic ticket as the case may be, because his rival Jones is so terrible. For a long time labor has been doing that and where has it got? Smith may be better than Jones, but the party or the system always controls him. Wilson was supposedly the friend of labor but Wilson kept in power A. Mitchell Palmer who was, if possible, a worse Attorney-General than Harry Daugherty. Isn't it about time that the workers began to help themselves by organizing their own party? Even as a minority party it can scare either of the old parties into more concessions than labor has heretofore got by voting for Smith as against Jones. Sometimes it is well to sacrifice small temporary advantage for future gains. That is the issue now. The revealed corruption of both parties gives the workers their opportunity. Will they take it? The answer may be given on next 4th of July. The day is worthy of the cause.

UNION HEALTH CENTER NEWS

On Friday evening, February 29, the members of the Health Class of the Union Health Center will hold a Leap Year Dance at the Health Center, 131 East 17th street. All members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are cordially invited to come and bring their friends. There will be a very interesting musical program and refreshments will be served.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Union officers discover that in the shop of H. Davidor & Co., on 21st street, the workers would, after they had finished work at 1 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, lock themselves in the shop and gamble until a late hour at night. The union imposed a fine upon the workers and issued a warning to all the other workers to refrain from acting similarly.

The Joint Board calls a strike in a certain shop on 17th street because it has come to its knowledge that the employers are using obscene language in speaking to the girls working in the place. After a day's striking, the employers obligate themselves to be decent in the future and pay the day's wages to their workers as a fine.

Local 22 decides to suspend any member in arrears for more than 12 weeks in dues.

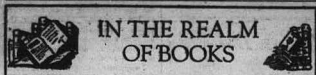
The Joint Board of Sanitary Control starts a wide investigation of the health conditions of our members. Several physician specialists are being engaged for that purpose. The first workers to be examined will be those from the National Clink and Salt Company and A. Beller & Co. shops.

Union office of clink locals in New York City report that they had sold this week over 79,000 stamps, the highest number having been sold by Local 9.

THE GUSHER

BY COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION





Labor's Way

The Capital Levy Explained. By Hugh Dalton. London: Labour Publishing Company, 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

"Some people think a poet is like a mechanical talking doll," a proletarian artist once said bitterly. "Let hunger pinch his belly, and lo, a poem comes forth."

There is more than bitterness in this comment; there is truth. Who has not heard the old canard—usually repeated by comfortable people in comfortable homes, with comfortable capon-lined paunches: "No artist can be great until he has suffered." "A garret and a crust of bread have been father and mother to great songs." "Poverty is the best stimulus to adventuresome youth." Yes, advice has poured forth in abundance from the palaces of the mighty to the hovels of the poor.

Now the worm is turning. Today the mighty are falling—however slowly from their high estate. Their proud boasts are mere shreds of former truths. Today they are not doing their jobs—they are not keeping the economic machine in motion. The war that was won and the peace that was lost have thrown monkey wrenches into the delicate works. And those who strike and starve and clamor for work are the ones who now give advice. In time advice may become command.

The number of songs that issued from poets whose bellies were hunger-pinched is a matter of much question. But there can be no doubt as to the reactions of our capitalists. Pinch the pocket of a profiteer—or even a legitimate business man—with a tax and his squeaks resound around the world. And thus the old men who knew that every youth should be proud to die for his country hide their wealth in tax-exempt securities and clamor for the Mellon Tax Reduction Bill in America and run to cover behind legal "moratoriums" in Germany

and cry out against the Capital Levy in England.

The Capital Levy is Labor's Way. To all the countries groaning under war debts, English labor suggests the Capital Levy. And because English labor approaches ever closer to the complete control of English political life, the possibility of suggestion becoming command grows ever more real. The First British Labor Government stated at once that it would not touch the Capital Levy while it was still a minority government. But it added emphatically: This is merely postponement, not abandonment. The Capital Levy remains labor's way out. What is the Capital Levy?

When the British Labor Party first proposed its scheme during the campaign of November, 1922, it called it the War Debt Redemption Fund. The London Times broadcast it in a five-inch scarehead. Labour Proposes Confiscation. The Capital Levy. And so it remained "The Capital Levy," although the "War Debt Redemption Fund" is probably the juster name. For the Capital Levy is a proposed tax upon accumulated wealth, rather than wealth as it comes in (as in the income tax) which shall be levied once and for all and the proceeds for which shall be used to pay off the huge war debt.

The problem which confronts England, as it confronts all countries which fought in the Great War is a terribly grave one. In round figures the British Nation owes a national debt of 7800 million pounds (about \$35,000 millions). In 1914, it owed some 700 million pounds, which means that the war had added something over 7,000 million pounds to the national debt. The total tax revenue in 1923-1924 was about 729 million pounds; the total revenue from all other

sources about 911 million pounds. The interest on the debt for the same year amounted to about 325 million pounds. In other words, Britain spends 46 per cent of her tax revenue and 37 per cent of her total revenue to meet interest charges on the cost of the war. 100 million pounds are paid away each day for nothing in continuous tribute to the holders of War Loan and other securities. It must be remembered that, none of this goes to pay off the debt; at the present rate Britain in 1923 will be paying interest to the heirs of buyers of War Loan.

This, says British Labor, is an intolerable situation. Not only is it ridiculous to mortgage the economic life of the country in this way, but such annual expenditures on interest starve the social services by shrinking the amounts of money that may be spent on education, housing schemes, labor legislation, banks, hospitals, etc. We must reduce the War Debt. How?

Five schemes have been put forward in addition to the Capital Levy (for convenience of Britain's taxpayers we recognize the gravity of the problem). Let us economize in government routine expense. Labor demolishes this argument with one shaft of sarcasm. "The whole world is groaning under mammoth war debts," exclaims Mr. H. G. Wells, "and Mr. Asquith suggests that we save stamps and stationery."

Let us establish a sinking fund—a surplus of revenue over expenditures which shall be devoted solely to the purchase of debt securities in the open market and their immediate cancellation. Labor points out that even a large sinking fund would make little impression. To reduce annual interest charges 5 million pounds, an annual sinking fund of 100 million pounds would be needed.

Let us establish a forced reduction in the interest rate. It is significant that this drastic measure has won considerable support. Labor, however, opposes it. For it could not touch a large part of the debt. 1090 million pounds are owed to the United States Government; 1140 million pounds is floating (short term) debt; and 1500 million pounds is due within the next seven years. The United States would not countenance an interest rate reduction; to reduce rates on short term debts would shrink the government's borrowing capacity. Moreover, such action would involve a breaking of the

government's pledge; and shrink the incomes of many Cooperatives, unions, savings banks, etc., who bought the notes in good faith. It would finally discriminate against one class of property.

To repudiate the debt entirely would involve the same objection with even greater force. To pay it off by inflation (increased issues of irredeemable paper money) is a species of repudiation. Moreover, it works disastrously upon price and offers golden harvests to speculators.

The Capital Levy is, therefore, not only a practical proposition; it is the most practical. Demand a special emergency payment from all individuals owning more than 5,000 pounds, graduated steeply according to ability to pay. The Labor Party's scheme involves a scale taking from 1.2 per cent of the total fortunes of individuals worth 5,000 pounds to 59 per cent of those worth 10,000,000 pounds. The levy shall be imposed not annually, but once and for all with allowance for installment payment over a term of years. If necessary, however, it shall be imposed only upon individuals (not corporations). Payments shall be carefully devoted to reducing the debt in order to reduce the permanent reduction of the annual tax burden and to increase the revenue available for social services. Payments need not be in cash. All readily realizable securities will be accepted.

The Labor party prints fourteen sources from which such levies will be drawn. They include government securities, corporation shares, cash, loans, mortgages, trade assets, insurance policies, land, and landed property, mines, and other personally and really. Actual valuation presents no serious difficulties to the Internal Revenue officials in the case of 89 per cent of the total values involved. The scheme promises an ultimate reduction in the debt of some 3,000 million pounds.

The scheme wins ever increased approval. The Labor party even counts it a possibility that the Levy will be put through by a Conservative Government. For popular opinion moves in marvelous ways on John Bull's Island.

"Yes," say the Communists, "Capitalism may yet save itself through Labor's Way." "Not at all," reply the moderates in the Labor party. "It is only that the surest revolutions are the slow ones." Who knows?

A Poverty-Stricken Utopia

By JOHN LA RUE

From Porto Rico (in Spanish it means rich port) comes annually hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of fine needlework. Contractors send garments from New York to be embroidered and check carefully and exquisitely made underwear and lace comes annually from this island possession of the United States.

The International Cigar Makers' Union and the International Association of Machinists have numerically strong organizations in Porto Rico and some of the building trades and the longshoremen are organized. That the Porto Ricans are expert needle workers none who have seen the garments they make can deny. That they are shamefully exploited there is equally no doubt for it pays contractors to send goods from New York, pay the freight there and back to have it embroidered for the best American trade.

It is not too fantastic to think that some day, the International which already has jurisdiction over this country and Canada, in the women's garment industry, will extend its protection to the Spanish speaking workers of this country's insular possession.

For twenty-five years the United States has held possession of the

island. Its police, health and engineering forces were put to work following the inefficient Spanish administration to bring order and sanitation into the beautiful and over-populated island. The Tobacco and Sugar Trusts came in too and found cheap and abundant labor ready to toil on the mountain plantations for a few pennies in wages.

Under the American regime school enrollment has vastly increased, illiteracy has become less, yellow fever and smallpox have been eliminated and bubonic plague and typhoid are under control. The lot of the children is still a sad one, for the curse of the island is that there are too many of the little ones. They spring up everywhere, marital relations being somewhat casual and when the father deserts the mother with her large brood she must do needle work to feed them all. Under a warm tropic sun and amid a kindly and friendly people the children are cared for as best they can be. At least fifty per cent of these children never go to school and more than half of the entire population is illiterate, compared to six per cent of our population that can neither read or write.

Yet, on the whole it must be said

that in public health and education, if not in material wealth, the occupation of the island has been beneficial to the Porto Ricans although political dissatisfaction with the American rule is intense owing to the incompatibility between the Latin and the North American temperament.

Housing and sanitation are very primitive, most of the population living in rural communities in thatched huts that are worth about \$20. The people migrate once each year from the sugar plantations in the valleys to the tobacco fields in the mountains and take their herds of children with them.

Most of them have no homes and almost no possessions so that the problem of improving the circumstances of these people is a difficult one. For a standpoint in organizing them, the problem is such that it must be done best by the Porto Rican Federation of Labor which is directly responsible to the American Federation of Labor, with such assistance as international unions can give.

One of the extraordinary features of life on Porto Rico is that the Sugar and Tobacco Trusts have fenced in so much of the island's unutilized lands that the residents of the United States that there is not left enough arable land to feed the native population or to graze their cattle. The result is that one of the spiciest things on the island is milk. Growing children drink coffee or the best substitute they can

get—condensed milk from the mainland.

There is little wood on the island and no fuel. Light is furnished by kerosene lamps. The purchase of large amounts of kerosene has solved another difficulty of the poor householders. They now build their new huts entirely out of the wood frames and tin that comes in the kerosene shipments from the United States. Thus Standard Oil provides them with light and shelter.

The United States administrators have reduced the death rate considerably although it is still more than twice that of the mainland. But this has created another problem. There is not enough for the Porto Rican population now and the congestion is increasing. So is the job of feeding them.

Porto Rico with 1,300,000 inhabitants, one of the most fertile islands on the globe is a very difficult problem for American imperialism. Humanitarians have taken a hand. Science has accomplished wonders. But the economic and political consequences of having dominating monopolies constrict, deny services of the island's unutilized lands and poorly clad, into barren settlements and unproductive spaces, is too apparent. Some clear answer will have to be given to leaders of the island who are now asking Congress to free them and give to Porto Rico a definite political status.

The Role of the Jobber in the Cloak and Dress Industry

By MORRIS SIGMAN
President, I. L. G. W. U.

In former discussions concerning the fate of our industry, one often used to hear that the ladies' garment industry would never get into the clutches of big capital, that it would never become monopolized by Big Business. Big capital, we used to say, would not "bother" with women's wear. The invasion of the cloak and dress trades by big capital was something quite unthinkable and, to an extent, our opinions were quite sound.

Now, however, it would seem that the trend of the development of the women's wear industry leads in an entirely different direction. The principal branch of this industry, which is the manufacture of cloaks and dressers, is practically monopolized by a few huge enterprises. The development of capital on a big scale in these industries is astounding, indeed. It would not surprise anyone if in a few years the cloak, suit and dress trade were to become so concentrated financially that it would be in a position to manufacture raw materials for itself, control a great portion of the textile mills, and itself deliver and supply the manufactured garment to the retailer for the consuming public.

The concentrated industrial and financial factor in the industry will be the jobber. It is no idle prophecy either; the jobber is already today the dominating element and the determining factor in the industry, and the entire wealth of the cloak and dress industry is today in the hands of this jobber. The manufacture of cloaks and dresses is by far not a poor industry, though it contains a growing number of small employers. The very fact that the trade is so artificially split up into small units, the "owners" of which are keeping up against one another an unheard-of competition, is proof that somewhere in the industry there is a concentrated volume of capital which is purposely scattering production and labor into every nook and corner in order to reap larger profits by setting up contractor against contractor and shop against shop, and thereby bidding down prices to the lowest possible level.

This nigger-in-the-woodpile in the cloak and dress industry is undeniably the jobber. It is not any longer an assumption or a guess. It is an established fact. But the abnormal condition which goes with the domination of the jobber in our trades lies in the fact that, while he controls the industry for himself, he refuses to as-

sume any obligations with regard to the workers who are producing the garments for him. Were the jobber to assume the responsibility and the duty which a modern employer bears towards his workers, the organized cloak and dressmakers would care little what element is dominating their trades. We would then have two great contending forces in the industry—the jobber with his concentrated capital on the one hand, and the organized workers with concentrated labor on the other. Both these forces would respect each other and would make an effort to maintain a balance of peace in the industry for the benefit of all concerned.

The fact, nevertheless, remains that today we have no such equality of forces in our industry. While the union is willing to assume its share of responsibility and duty that our industry does not suffer from interrupted productivity, the situation is quite different in the camp of the employers. The sub-manufacturers and the contractors, of course, are under the thumb of the jobber and are not free agents. But the jobber who is and should be the boss in the industry rejects responsibility and obligations with regard to the workers. The jobber maintains that "he has nothing to do with labor because he does not hire it."

The removal of this abnormal condition is to be one of the main tasks of our International in the very near future. We must direct the situation so that the jobber is deprived of being able to use this alibi. If he does not hire the workers directly, they are employed by him, nevertheless. If the jobber is the boss in the industry, he must be made responsible for the labor conditions of his workers.

The International and the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union have today too contractual relation with the jobbers. We have a contract with the Jobbers' Association, but this contract has no determining binding force behind it. There is not a proper machinery, a proper arrangement provided by this contract which would inform the union fully and accurately where the jobbers are sending their material to be made up into garments. The jobber still has a free hand to encourage more and more new shops in the trade and to create more and more competition in it.

It is this abnormal situation—the fact that the capital and productive

power of the industry are concentrated in the hands of the jobber, while at the same time he refuses to be responsible for labor in the industry—which has created such a condition of chaos throughout the length and breadth of the cloak and dress trades. The so-called legitimate manufacturer who is still-driven in the industry is naturally afraid, if he is to compete with the jobber, to act as the jobber does. This legitimate manufacturer also begins encouraging social shops and corporation shops which have been a curse to all that our union has undertaken in the past. This legitimate manufacturer, like the jobber, is trying to scatter his work among the various sub-contracting shops and his "inside" workers meanwhile remain without work. When the union registers a complaint against him, he gives up his inside shop and becomes a full-fledged jobber.

What is then the result? The former workers of this manufacturer's inside shop are forced to go look for jobs in

the sub-contracting shops and work at lower wages. That is how the steady vicious circle of competition between worker and worker is set in motion, which demoralizes our members and breaks their spirit.

Frequently, after the inside workers lose their jobs, their former employer encourages them to open up a "corporation" shop, and promises to give them work. In many cases these workers "fall" for the proposition and as a result we have a few more small shops in the industry and a little more chaos.

It seems to be clear, therefore, that the first and foremost duty of our Union is to bring order into the industry. First of all, the fact must be recognized that it is the jobber who controls the wealth, the capital, in the trade and is therefore the person or group of persons to be made responsible for the industry. What is the union to ask from the jobber, and how does the union propose to regulate conditions in the industry? The International has worked out a program which is to be pressed for adoption in the coming few months. This program is endorsed by the Joint Board and by the local unions. It is of great importance that our workers in the trade become thoroughly familiar with it. A great deal has already been written about it, but there is still more to be said. We shall do it upon another occasion.

A Plea for Our Negro Workers

Dear Editor:

It occurred to me that the trade unions have never taken any interest in the Negro question, although many daily papers and periodicals have taken an interest in the struggle of the Negro worker to enter the labor unions, notable among these being the New Republic and the Nation. Though the Nation praises our organization for the opportunity given the Negro worker to enjoy membership in it, I nevertheless deplore the lack of proper attention to this matter in our own paper. The same negligence characterizes other labor papers which I have read, in which there is no consideration of the Negro question.

I wish to emphasize the fact that these are Negro workers in our organization at present who would play a very important part in it, were it not for some of the white members of our organization, who do not care to mingle with the Negro girls. One Negro woman whom I know has no

one with whom to exchange a syllable during the eight hours of work. Why? Is it a disgrace to have to do with a Negro worker? In my estimation, they are as intellectually advanced as we are, in proportion to the time of freedom and development of culture,—a glance at their accomplishments in the social and political fields, in this short period of freedom, shows perhaps an even higher standard of intelligence and it is common knowledge that their race numbers many professional men of distinction.

If we were to pay a little more attention to the Negro workers and attempt to organize them in greater measure, we could prevent their being pulled into the open shops. On the other hand, it is because they go into these open shops that they lose the sympathy of our workers. But the guilt is ours. Quietly and systematically we must take them into our ranks, and make sure that these men as they are now being neglected in our shops, and keep them with us instead of allowing neglect to drive many Negro workers away from the Union.

SIDNEY SCHIFF,
Member of Local 22,
New York, February 20, 1924.

ease and no concern at all. To be sure, they would much rather leave the irksome organization work to the "conservative" girls to "bother" with. The union, especially when it is weak and requires work and attention, may find it pretty good place for the common, the less enlightened, but it is not the best of playgrounds for the "revolutionary-minded."

Here is what Miss Morgenstern writes: "In each of these open shops there are girls who might be pretty good union girls in a way, but they would not lift a finger to organize the rest of the girls. They go to work with books under their arms, books containing the best of literature but they work . . . in scab shops." And here is another instance. In a certain shop where over 200 workers are employed and which the Union is trying to organize, the owner had taken out an injunction against the Union. Then "a feeling of unrest swept the shop," and in order to check it the firm circulated among the workers a pledge binding them not to join the Union and not to strike. All the workers in the place, save two, signed this pledge.

This is a true story and the name of the shops together with all details are contained in Miss Morgenstern's report. What shall we think of a "radical vanguard" for whom our unions are not "revolutionary" enough but some of whom will not hesitate to sign a contract that they will not belong to the union and will not strike when called upon?

Fortunately not all waistmakers are such "revolutionists" and Local 25 is not composed entirely of such book-hugging "radicals" who would sign anything for a job. If it were so,

we should advise Miss Morgenstern and her fellow-organizers to give up the job forthwith as a bad proposition. But we know that these "revolutionary" rainbow-chasers are only in the minority; there are in the waist shops of New York thousands of others without any pretenses, who are eagerly awaiting the call of the Union to free them from the conditions of semi-slavery under which they are working. And to these Local 25 must tirelessly address itself.

The organization drive of Local 25 is bound to yield big results. Some waistmakers are still staying away from the Union because in a spirit of timidity they cannot yet bring themselves to believe that the union can actually deliver them from the woes of the scab shop. This state of mind, however, cannot last long. The conditions in the waist shops are very bad, indeed,—we doubt if they were worse before the historic strike of the waistmakers in 1909. But at that time there was no International Union in our industry—to speak of. Today the movement to bring conditions of free labor to the New York waistmakers will get the full measure of support from the tens of thousands of garment workers already solidly organized behind a powerful parent organization.

The handful of pseudo-radicals who are doing nothing to organize their shops should give our active workers no cause for despair. They do not matter; what matters is the great mass of women and men who are hungry for a union and to whom a union means a great deal. These will respond to your call; these will help you put your organization upon a solid footing before anything else.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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

Office, 2 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

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EDITORIALS

THE DRESSMAKERS' STRIKE IN CHICAGO

Twelve years ago last week, the beginnings of a dressmakers' union made their appearance in Chicago. During these twelve years, the dressmakers of that city have fought more than one battle with single shops and in the whole trade in an effort to improve their living conditions. There were strikes which ended in victory for the workers, and there were strikes that failed.

We speak of it now because we believe it is important to know that the majority of the dressmakers of Chicago who left their shops this Thursday to go on a general strike are not raw recruits. Of course, there are among them new-comers as there would be in any trade union, but the majority of them have smelled powder in former engagements and have had a taste of battle before.

Their experience has not kept them from joining the present fighting. It is more than likely that this "old guard" was the first to reply to the clarion call of the union. It is more than likely that they were the first to set an example to the new recruits, who are getting their first baptismal fire in this engagement with the employers.

We feel confident that the Chicago strike will occupy a permanent place in the history of our union. We feel sure that neither in enthusiasm nor in orderly management, nor in a firm determination to come out the winners, will this fight of the dressmakers of Chicago fall short of the high standard of all their former conflicts with their employers.

There is good reason for our confidence, too. The strike is led by Vice-president Perlestein, an able and experienced leader. He has a staff of loyal and tried aides to assist him and his army, the rank and file of the union, have suffered too much in the shops for many years past to leave doubt of their determined state of mind. There are all the elements in this fight that are bound to make it big and memorable, no matter what its results. As for us, we have no doubt whatever concerning its outcome. This strike must end in a victory for the union. To the thousands of workers in the dress shops of Chicago, it will bring a substantial increase in wages and a material shortening of their work-day, better sanitary conditions in the shops and more humane treatment from the employers,—and, what is most important, adequate union control in all shops where dresses are being made.

In order to win, the strikers must have this goal constantly before their eyes. Then there will be no room for any misunderstandings among the workers themselves or any lack of confidence on their part towards their leaders. The strikers must keep in mind that no one is as eager for the strike to be won, and won as quickly and as favorably as possible, as the leaders of the strike. But in order to make rapid headway, they must feel that the army of the workers is heart and soul with them. Any one, man or woman, who in this hour of fighting might sow mistrust between the fighting workers and their leaders, is the bitterest enemy of the workers, is to all practical purposes an agent of the bosses, regardless of what attractive "radical" feathers such an agent might adorn himself or herself with.

With this source of misunderstanding out of the way, this strike must lead to a sure victory. It is an open secret that the union has sought to avert this strike as far as possible. But the manufacturers would have none of the union's moves for peace. Their only ground for not dealing with the Union was that they regarded themselves strong enough to fight it. Their slogan has been the old despotic motto: "Nothing to arbitrate." They would continue to remain little tsars in their shops and treat their workers as chattels. The union, on the other hand, maintains that no employer should be an absolute ruler holding the fate of his workers arbitrarily in his hands. The workers must not be bound over to the employers like chattels, but must be free to bargain collectively and to choose their representatives to act and speak for them if they so will. The fight in Chicago is more than a fight for bigger wages and shorter hours. It is a clash between two points of view,—the viewpoint of the slave-owner and the viewpoint of the free worker.

The strikers should never lose sight of this principal issue. The public, we believe, understands what the conflict is about, and, while we are sure that some of this so-called public opinion will line up with the manufacturers, the better, the more progressive and thinking part of it will be on the side of the strikers. The strikers will receive aid from that section of the public which is a mobile, active and articulate in its sympathies. Needless to say, the fight of our Chicago dressmakers will also receive the

full measure of support from every other section of the labor movement in Chicago and elsewhere.

The striking dressmakers of Chicago will win this fight if they only remain united and if their ranks and their spirit are unimpaired. They have a wonderful cause to defend. They are out to win their elementary liberties as workers, as human beings, inside and outside the shop, and their objective is a union that will safeguard this freedom for them. Victory lies in their own hands. We know that they will not let any evil spirit wrest it from them.

THE DRESSMAKERS' STRIKE IN BOSTON

It was an unguarded moment when the dress manufacturers of Boston forced upon their workers a general strike, which could have been easily avoided had these employers but stopped to consider for a while how modest and just the demands of the workers were. Of course, the employers might argue that, were the workers ready to renew the agreement under old conditions without making new demands, there would have been no strike. But this "argument" could hardly stand any fair test by anyone who has serious regard for facts as they exist in the dress trade in Boston. Under the old conditions the dress workers of Boston could not make a decent living and the workers therefore had the undeniable right to ask for more tolerable, more human conditions of labor.

But of this their employers would not hear. If one were to listen to them, these old terms should have lasted until the coming of Doom, even though the cost of living kept on rising and rising ever higher. That's why we have a general strike in the dress shops of Boston.

We should like to hope that this strike will soon be over and that the Boston dress manufacturers will quickly realize the futility of their stubbornness. We should like to hope that they will soon come to see that the Union had every right in the world to ask for better conditions for the workers. Surely their attempts to break this strike by an injunction will gain them nothing. The Boston strikers have tasted the sting of a strike injunction before and they could not be intimidated by it now any more than during previous strikes. Very few strikes, if any, have been given up on account of an injunction, least of all strikes conducted by our unions.

We offer the following advice to our Boston dress employers—and we offer it in a spirit of real friendship: "Don't waste your good money and don't make a silly exhibition of yourselves! The injunction will make no dresses for you. With or without pickets—your shops will remain empty as long as you don't grant the moderate demands of your workers and settle with the Union."

What concerns the workers, there is hardly anything we can tell them that they do not know themselves. They know, for instance, that the demands which they have put forth are absolutely necessary for them, if they are to make a living at their trade. They know that dresses do not grow on trees and if not made by them will remain unmade. They know that if their employers want to continue to make money in the dress business, they will have to come to them for "help." They know, too, that every worker in the dress trade in Boston who knows how to make dresses is in the Union. They know that they can rely upon their leaders and that the International is backing their strike. It is quite possible, therefore, that their employers will soon come to see things from the same point of view and will concede the demands asked by the workers as the very minima under which they would return to work.

By next week, we expect to be able to report that a considerable number of the Boston strikers are back at work already and that the rest of the manufacturers are ready to fall in line.

Let this, however, be not misinterpreted as congratulating our Boston dress strikers upon an early victory. We shall leave that for later, but we do wish to congratulate them upon the fine fighting spirit they displayed on the morning the strike signal was given. The fact that on Tuesday morning, February 19, not a dress shop was left operating in Boston was an excellent omen for the workers of a speedy victory that should win for the Boston dressmakers improved work conditions and a year of industrial peace.

OUR "PROGRESSIVE VANGUARD"

There may be some among our readers who believe that our members are all class-conscious union people, persons fully familiar with the great aims of the Labor movement and inspired with the struggles of the workers from one end of the world to the other.

If such there are—we would suggest to them, if they want to retain their faith unshaken, to refrain from reading any of the reports of the managers and secretaries that regularly appear in the columns of this journal. For, we are afraid that some of the pictures drawn by these reporters would rudely shock and disappoint our gentle optimists.

In last week's issue we had such a report by the manager of that small waistmakers' local, No. 25, Miss Pauline Morgenstern. It is a local composed almost wholly of girls—a local, therefore, we may safely say, of young women whose "radicalism" could not be questioned; whose attendance at lectures on questions of high political and literary import is well-nigh religious; and whose enthusiasm for the "social revolution" is as burning as it is unbounded. Nevertheless, this local is in a rather sick condition these days, and our progressive and radical young women of the waist trade seem to continue to sit in the scab-shops with admirable

Washington Conference on Women in Industry

The conference on prison labor, which was called by Samuel Gompers in Washington on February 15, and the report of which was published in the last issue of Justice, was followed by a second conference, at which the International was represented by the same delegates as attended the conference on prison labor.—Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff, and Vice-Presidents Salvatore Ninio and Fannia M. Cohn.

The second conference was one of the most important ever held under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. It was called to consider the conditions of women workers and to plan how women can be organized in trade unions side by side with men.

President Gompers opened the conference in the presence of the Executive Council, and in his address pointed out that the organization of women is a great problem in this country. Very few women are as yet organized in American industries. Mr. Gompers said, and it is time that the American Labor Movement seriously take up the organization of women. For this purpose, he had communicated with the trade union movement of Germany and England for information as to how they direct and manage the organizing work amongst working women. In answer to his inquiry he obtained the following facts and figures:

GERMANY

There were in September, 1921—1,682,782 women workers organized in forty unions consisting of both men and women. The women workers had the same rights in the trade unions as have the men. In several unions, where the women's work is unskilled nature, the dues are either half of the amount paid by the man, or some proportion lower. This is to correspond to the wage which she receives, which is only two-thirds of what the man receives. This arrangement, however, depends entirely upon the nature of the work and the division of labor. It is not an iron-bound rule.

HOW ORGANIZED

There is in Germany, in connection with the General Federation of Trade Unions, a special Women's Secretariat made up of both men and women representatives of trade unions whose special function it is to study the general questions relating to the women workers which arise in the trade union movement and in public life, and to make use of such influence as is possible to the benefit of women workers. The Women's Secretariat publishes a special women's paper "Gewerkschaftliche Frauenstimme." It also organizes regular courses of instruction for women workers and carries on an intensive educational campaign among women workers. The Women's Secretariat during the period of unemployment made a study of the resultant conditions among women workers, and by virtue of its control of the state employment bureau was able to estimate the rights of women workers, and to oppose to women taking the jobs from men, as was popularly supposed, and to distribute jobs in such a manner that those men and women who were in need would receive employment. In other words, the Women's Secretariat was able by wise foresight to eliminate the element of sex competition for jobs in a period of unemployment and to wisely distribute jobs among those who were in greatest need regardless of sex.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

The Women's Secretariat in making a study of the problems of organization of women workers found that the most difficult task to organize were the hair dressers, the hotel and restaurant and cafe employees. They also found that among the bakers, confectioners, clothing workers, bookbinders, chorus and ballet stuffs to take part in the printing trades, domestic servants, hat makers, fur workers, tobacco workers, and textile workers unions, there were women workers.

Inasmuch as the organization of women workers in Germany is rather a recent thing, for until 1906 it was considered illegal for women to take part in political meetings or to be members of organizations which concerned themselves with wages or the amelioration of conditions of workers, it is surprising that the general Federation of German Trade

Unions has been able to break down the handicaps of tradition and custom and develop a system of organizing women workers, to assimilate them in the same trade, industry, and to accept them as permanent factors in the trade union movement.

ENGLAND

Number of Women in the Trade Union Movement in England

According to the statistics of the Women's Department of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain there were employed in industry in England approximately 2,671,000 women workers and including those employed in domestic service. The official figure as to the number of women organized at the end of 1922 was 1,625,000, or one-third of the total number of women employed. However, the total woman membership of the unions affiliated with the Trade Union Congress at that time was 870,065. In 1922 the woman membership affiliated with the Trade Union Congress dropped to 815,246. This decrease was due to the depression, the great slump caused by the trade depression and to the fact that available jobs were given to the men who had served in the war.

HOW ORGANIZED

The question of organization of women in England's trade unions is an old one—first taken up by an organization known as the Women's Trade Union League which attempted to form separate trade unions for women workers. This was found to be impracticable and the men's unions opened their doors to women workers with the realization that women workers were becoming a permanent factor in industry and a possible competitor of men's workers. The organization of women workers does not differ materially from the German method. There is connected with the Trade Union Congress a Women's Department which is organized for the purpose of studying the problems of women workers in the trade union movement and also the general conditions of women workers. They have divided their study into three parts: first, the low scale contribution which women workers pay to the regular trade union dues. The low scale of dues is a reflection of the lower wages which women workers receive in the industry even though they may be members of the trade union. The second problem which they are studying is the minor part which women play in trade union activity; and the third factor which they are trying to solve is the encouragement of women organizers. The Women's Advisory Council to the Trade Union Congress is made up of women members selected from various trade unions. Their chief function is that of education and propaganda among women workers. They attempt to train inexperienced women workers in both organizing work and committee work.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

The problems of organization as stated by the Women's Department of the Trade Union Congress have been divided into the problems and methods of the individual unions. They have attempted to carry on a special educational work among women workers by a national campaign of meetings, printed word leaflets and mass demonstrations in industrial districts. Practically all women are organized in trade unions, and among the women members. There are only two unions of women members, women clerks and the Association of Civil Service Secretaries. The women workers are organized with women members adopt the same methods for organizing women as for men. However, many unions have found the necessity of carrying on special activities for women workers. This is particularly true in those industries where women are likely to be competitors with the men to lower their wages and threaten the conditions which they have attained for themselves. These special methods have been adopted by the tailors and garment workers' unions who employ women factory workers for the purpose of distributing leaflets and carrying on intensive propaganda among the women in the shops. The National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers which corresponds in occupation to the women workers in the United States, has a special department with women members adopt the same methods for organizing women as for men. However, many unions have found the necessity of carrying on special activities for women workers. This is particularly true in those industries where women are likely to be competitors with the men to lower their wages and threaten the conditions which they have attained for themselves. These special methods have been adopted by the tailors and garment workers' unions who employ women factory workers for the purpose of distributing leaflets and carrying on intensive propaganda among the women in the shops.

The National Union of Boot and Shoe Workers carries on special organizing campaigns for women workers and has a special department for the purpose of organizing women workers. The National Se-

cretary of Petitory Workers has a number of women organizers who devote their time entirely to the organizing of women workers. The Iron and Steel Confederation carries on special organizing work among women workers and attempt to have women on their Executive Councils and boards.

The National Union of General Workers has a special Women's Department with the function of the organizing of women workers and six women organizers. These carry on intensive organizing work among the women workers. In fact, every union of any size has found it necessary to carry on special organizing activities among women workers, and at the same time, to conduct activities of a social nature which will develop and keep the interest of the women workers in the trade union.

Mr. Gompers introduced George W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers' Union as chairman, and Miss Florence C. Thorne of the American Federation of Labor office, as assistant chairman. Sara Conboy of the Textile Workers was later elected secretary of the conference.

Different opinions were expressed relative to the methods of approach on organizing women workers. The delegates of the I. L. C. W. U. urged the need of a permanent committee consisting of one representative of each international union that would join it, this committee to have an executive secretary appointed by the Executive Council with offices in the American Federation of Labor headquarters. The executive committee would meet from time to time with the executive secretary and plan the work, decide upon localities where campaigns are to be started, the preparation of educational literature to be distributed among the workers to meet the need of each locality and to make efforts to reach the organized working men in those localities and, through them, work among the unorganized women workers who are in many instances either the sisters, wives or daughters of these union men. The function of the executive secretary should be to gather material which will throw light on conditions of women, to investigate and study the problems of women in each locality, to gather statistical data as to their occupations and also the turnover of female workers in the manufacturing industries, and to communicate with the international unions which have women workers in their organizations.

It was also suggested that the international unions that join this new organization should finance it and a hope was expressed that this may culminate into joint organizing campaigns by the many international unions which have women in their industries.

After a lengthy discussion in the committee room and in open conference, the committee appointed by the Executive Council to formulate a plan for organizing women wage-earners decided to recommend to the Executive Council for the time being the following proposal:

Your committee has been appointed by the Executive Council under instructions issued by the Portland

Convention of the American Federation of Labor which provided for some means or plan whereby women wage earners may be organized.

Your committee is confronted by one of the cardinal principles upon which the American Federation of Labor was formed, and which has successfully functioned all these years, that is, strict autonomy in trade union activities. After giving due consideration to the suggestion which, in our judgment, will prove helpful in doing something effective in this necessary movement, necessary if our general movement is to be entirely successful,—that is, the organization of women wage-earners in all industries.

Your committee has tried to avoid any interference with the fundamental autonomy rights of affiliated unions. We have moreover taken cognizance of the interesting and astounding data set forth in reports made by the Executive Council and other agencies working under direction of President Gompers, especially insofar as the number of women wage-earners working in the various industries are concerned, most of whom are unorganized, and are more convinced than ever that an effort should be made to organize them.

Your committee recommends that President Gompers, at the next convention, requested to invite representatives of all affiliated unions, having women wage earners in the industry, to meet him at the earliest possible convenience for the purpose of formulating plans whereby such unions can jointly put into force their full working capacity in a joint effort to organize the women wage earners under rules and regulations made so as not to be violative of the rules, regulations and laws of the unions that may voluntarily enter into this proposed plan and agreement.

It is understood and agreed that President Gompers will have advisory power over this committee.

It is the judgment of your committee that each union agreeing to enter into this joint effort to organize the women wage-earners should pay its proportionate share toward the expenses such as the salary of a secretary or a chief organizer and a per diem allowance for traveling expenses of organizers who shall be appointed by the national and international unions which enter into this agreement.

The members of your committee agree to send a proportionate share of organizers.

THE COMMITTEE:

Chairman, G. W. Perkins, Cigar-makers; Fannia Cohn, Ladies' Garment Workers; Sara Conboy, United Textile Workers of America; A. Adamski, United Garment Workers of America; Anna Neuf, Bookbinders; C. L. Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers; A. A. Myrop, Baker's Union; Confectionery Workers; Hugh Frayne, Organizer, American Federation of Labor; Frank Kasten, Brick and Clay Workers; George Slayton, Leather Workers.

Growth of the British Labor Party

The following table, given on the authority of the Manchester Guardian, shows the rise toward power of the British Labor Party:

1900	1906	1910 (Jan.)	1910 (Dec.)	1918	1922	1923
9	54	40	42	61	142	192
118,003	448,808	532,807	381,024	1,754,133	4,248,040	4,257,945
1900	1906	1910 (Jan.)	1910 (Dec.)	1918	1922	1923
9	54	40	42	61	142	192
118,003	448,808	532,807	381,024	1,754,133	4,248,040	4,257,945

How the parties gained seats each other in the recent election appear in the following:

Liberal from Conservative	67
Liberal from Labor	13
Labor from Conservative	40
Labor from Liberal	22

Conservative from Liberal	14
Conservative from Labor	3
Conservative from Independent	1
Independent from Communist	1

It is shown on the present state of mind of the Labor Party leaders by a resolution passed by the Executive which contains the following passage: "In view of the critical Parliamentary position which may involve the country in another general election at an early date, the Executive requests Mr. Henderson and the headquarters staff, together with regular officers, to proceed at once to make all the necessary arrangements, financial and otherwise, for the next contest, which will be the most momentous in the history of the party."



LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

HAWAII IS PROSPEROUS.

Business in Hawaiian Islands is the most prosperous in their history, according to Wallace R. Farrington, Governor of Hawaii.

Governor Farrington states that 1923 was a banner year for business, and that the export of one product alone brought the islands more than \$25,000,000.

This prosperity report is different from the tale of Hawaiian planters a few years ago when they insisted that the islands would be ruined if they were not permitted to import the cheapest Oriental labor in the world.

SAVE STATE BOOK LAW.

Four attempts have been made in the special session of the Oklahoma City Legislature to repeal the free textbook law. One of the proposals would cut the appropriation for books down to \$1.

ALASKA COAL LANDS GRABBED BY LOOTERS.

The Alaskan coal reserve lands, intended for navy uses, may develop into another Teapot Dome scandal, according to testimony filed with the president by John E. Bellaine of Alaska and Seattle. The westerner declares that reports were made that this coal is unfit for navy use. Bellaine shows that this claim is contrary to reports by navy engineers who compared Alaska coal with standard grades used by the navy. This report, it is stated, has not been made public.

The author of the charges built the original Alaskan railroad, and is considered one of the leading champions of Alaskan conservation.

The Morgan-Guggenheim interests are charged with attempting to capture these coal lands. The methods employed to transfer the coal reserve are similar to the methods employed in the Teapot Dome case.

Senator LaFollette has presented a resolution calling on the navy and interior departments to produce everything in their files pertaining to the coal reserves.

RAIL EARNINGS UP.

Railroad earnings last year totaled \$977,543,590, or 5.10 per cent of their estimated value. This is an increase from \$776,880,592, or 4.14 per cent, in 1922.

These figures include roads that are badly managed and those that were built for stock jobbing purposes. The report indicates the profits that have been made by well managed properties which serve populous sections.

NOVA SCOTIA MINERS GAIN.

Officers of the United Mine Workers have been notified that striking Nova Scotia miners reached an agreement with the British Empire Steel Corporation that carries a wage increase of 10 per cent, instead of a reduction. This agreement is a triumph for trade unionism. Nova Scotia has been swept by a wave of "wild man" methods.

STATE IS CORRUPTED BY CONVICT LABOR.

Convict labor is corrupting Oklahoma. The state constitution is ignored, and the charge is made that the men who profit by this system make large contributions to candidates for office.

The Oklahoma state constitution specifically declares that "the contracting of convict labor is hereby prohibited." Despite this clear statement contracts have been made with the Reliance Manufacturing Company, one of the spokes in the country's prison labor trust.

ANOTHER FAKE 'UNION' DROPPED BY WORKERS.

The so-called "united shoe workers of America," of Boston, an organization dual to the bona fide Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, has passed out of existence. It was formed thirteen years ago by a group of revolutionists for the avowed purpose of destroying the regular union. Every stereotyped phrase was brought into play. To pave the way for the coming revolution, workers must be educated, saith these "leaders." There was to be no arbitration and no wage agreements, and the referendum would pass judgment on everything.

This was the old harangue and professed program of the revolutionists, who, as usual, had another program, which was not publicly referred to. They accepted arbitration and agreements, and signed wage scales wherever possible. Their belief in autocracy, rather than in the referendum, was shown when they went to court for an injunction to compel their members to comply with an agreement to which they did not give their approval.

Gradually the "union" fell to pieces. Its passing has been officially announced by the "leaders," who have assembled under a new world-saving banner. They will continue their disreputable tactics among the handful of workers who look upon phrase-mongering as progress.

OPPOSE NIGHT WORK.

Organized bakers in Oakland, California, are unanimous in their opposition to night baking, proposed by wholesale bakers. The workers say the plan has been rejected in this country and in Europe. With night baking there would be less vigilance by the health bureau and by the department of weights and measures, the workers point out.

CHEATED IN WEIGHT; COAL MINERS STRIKE.

More than 700 miners employed by the Western Coal and Mining Company, in Murphysboro, Illinois, suspended work because they were cheated by a checkweighman employed by the company.

The workers asked that the man be discharged, and when this was refused they struck.

PLUMBERS ARE TRICKED.

Employing plumbers in Wilmington, N. C., tricked their employees into buying shares of stock and wages have been cut. Other trade unionists warned the plumbers, but the bosses told them they are "partners," because they hold one or two shares of \$50 stock.

TO CURB STRIKEBREAKERS.

The importation of strikebreakers into Missouri will be outlawed if the legislature approves a bill introduced by Representative J. Scott Wolff. The act provides that workers shall not be transported to any strike area for purposes of employment unless they are informed of the strike and its causes.

MAY LAUNCH STATE BANK.

A special convention of the Connecticut Federation of Labor will be held in New Haven on Sunday, March 2, to discuss the establishment of a bank owned by organized labor in this state.

MODERN METHODS' ADOPTED BY TRUST.

The steel trust will spend \$15,000,000 on plant improvements, according to Judge Gary. In financial quarters it is stated that "part of the program is for the installation of labor-saving devices" following the elimination of the 12-hour day.

Judge Gary resisted changes in the 12-hour day. He said this was impossible; that it would increase costs 15 per cent; that his employees were satisfied.

When forced to change his position, the judge said: "All right, but the public will have to pay, with increased costs."

Now the public is informed that a few of the many millions of dollars in the trust's strong box will be used to install all labor-saving devices.

Or, in other words, the steel trust has been forced to modernize production methods, as organized labor agitation forced it to modernize its work day.

PROFITS IN BANANAS.

Importing bananas is a profitable business according to the United Fruit Company's report, which shows a net income of \$23,097,330, after charges and federal taxes. The company set aside \$10,000,000 from 1923 earnings for this year's dividends.

WON'T TRUST DAUGHTERTY.

By practically a unanimous vote the House approved a \$100,000 appropriation for oil prosecutions. The union-hating Blanton of Texas cast the one vote against the proposal.

Congressman Abernethy inquired why it is necessary to appropriate money to employ special counsel "when we have a department of justice."

"The only reason I can see," replied Congressman Byrns, "is that the president doesn't trust the attorney general."

JAPS ARE OUSTED.

Through an aroused public opinion the Rucker mill management has been defeated in its attempt to substitute Japs for white workers in Everett, Washington. The public supported the central labor council's protest and a federal union with a membership of 220 was organized in less than a week.

EIGHT HOURS FOR WOMEN.

State Assemblyman Demarco has introduced a bill making eight hours a legal day's work for women and children in industry in Maryland.

Mr. Demarco has introduced another bill which would give immediate compensation to a person injured while at work. Under the present law there is a three-day waiting period before the compensation act is operative.

PEOPLE FAVOR BONUS.

The soldiers bonus is favored by an overwhelming majority of the people, according to John R. Quinn, National Commander of the American Legion.

The former army man declared that Secretary Mellon is using his position to lobby against the bonus. "He is maintaining this lobby by manipulating treasury department figures," said Commander Quinn.

MUST CHARGE UNIFORM PRICE.

The Federal Trade Commission has ruled that the National Biscuit Company and the Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company cannot give lower prices to chain groceries than to cooperative associations of retail groceries.

COMPANY 'UNION' PLAN WOULD STOP PROGRESS.

The company "union" of the street car company in Philadelphia has declared in favor of wages on the basis of the purchasing power of the dollar.

At the present time wages for street car men are based on the average rate that prevails in Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit—three strong trade union systems. These high rates are not favored by the company and the "union" it controls now proposes the new system. The company's publicity men agree that the scheme has failed wherever tried, but "we are and have always been pathfinders," they gaily chirp, though failing to present evidence to support their claim.

The purpose of the plan is indicated by the statement that when the purchasing power of the employee's dollar is determined a wage will be assured "which will continuously protect our present standard of living."

This reveals the purpose of the feudalists—to dictate, through their company "union," who shall represent employees, and then, arrange matters so that the employees' present standard of living shall be stationary.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course in Trade Union Policies and Tactics

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Seasons 1922-23 and 1923-24

DESCRIPTION OF THE COURSE

(Introduction to a Course of Seven Lessons which will appear weekly in JUSTICE)

The labor movement is undergoing a most intense self-analysis. Changing conditions brought on by the war have upset traditions and old conceptions. New problems have to be coped with.

All social institutions, including labor organizations, find themselves forced to readjust their organizations and policies to meet these new conditions. In labor circles, the atmosphere is surcharged with discussion about new policies and tactics.

Those who are interested in the future of the labor movement, should know what are the underlying forces that mold and direct trade union policies. They should know the part tradition, social ideals, leaders and members contribute in determining what course a labor organization should pursue. Similarly, they should understand the extent to which technical and industrial development of the trade or industry and the nature of markets influence tactics and policies. Other forces must also be considered, such as strength of the union, strength of the entire labor movement, strength of the capitalist class, and the attitude and temper of the public.

Trade unionists who aim to serve the labor movement must also know the relation of each unit in the movement to the others, as well as the functions which each performs. They should be familiar with attempts to reform and transform the present labor movement and with their success. Likewise, they must know what can be expected from the auxiliary branches of the movement, like the labor press, cooperation, political action, etc.

CONFERENCE OF LABOR TEACHERS AT BROOKWOOD

A very interesting conference of teachers on labor classes was held at the Brookwood School on Saturday and Sunday, February 23 and 24. Among the teachers present were those who are engaged in conducting classes in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore and Brookwood.

There were five sessions, and a number of very important subjects relating to the methods of teaching were discussed, among them that of the place of social sciences and psychology in the course of study, the various methods of teaching, such as lecture, discussion and recitation, the use of proper textbooks, syllabi, outlines and kindred matters.

There was a good deal of discussion on the papers read by the various delegates. Much information was gained from the experience of the teachers. There is no doubt that the work in our labor schools will show the benefit of this conference.

CONCERT OF INTERNATIONAL CHORUS SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 2, IN TOWN HALL

The concert of the International Chorus, directed by Leo Low, is approaching. As has been announced in this paper, the concert will take place at the Town Hall on Sunday afternoon, March 2, at 2:30 p. m.

Bronislaw Huberman, the well-known violinist, will appear as soloist. A very excellent program has been arranged, which all will enjoy.

Tickets can be obtained at the office of the Educational Department.

DR. CALHOUN ON "SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS" THIS SUNDAY, MARCH 2, AT 10:30 A. M.

Dr. Calhoun will continue his course on "Social Institutions," in our Workers' University, Washington Irving High School, Room 529, this Sunday morning at 10:30.

DR. HOFFMAN WILL LECTURE FOR LOCAL 82, MONDAY, MARCH 3

"The Duties and Responsibilities of a Modern Trade Union," will be the subject of a lecture to be given by Dr. Hoffman for the members of the Examiners' Union, Local 82.

The lecture will be given this Monday, March 3, 8:30 p. m., in the building of the Italian Shoemakers' Union, Local 48, 231 East 14th street.

Members of the I. L. G. W. U. are invited.

"ECONOMICS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT," LECTURE FOR THE SHOP CHAIRMEN OF LOCAL 62

"Economics and the Labor Movement," a course by Miss Sylvia Kopald, will be given for the shop chairmen and executive members of Local 62. The next lecture is on Thursday evening, March 6, 8:15 p. m., at 7:15 p. m., at the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street.

The introduction to this course was given by Miss Kopald last week, and the members assembled decided to continue this for the next four weeks at the same time and the same place. Members of Local 62 are invited.

PRESIDENT SIGMAN WILL LECTURE ON MARCH 2 AND 9, AT CLUB ROOMS OF LOCAL 1

President Sigman will give the second of a series of three discussions on the "Problems of the I. L. G. W. U.," on March 9. These discussions are held at the Club Rooms of Local 1, 1581 Washington avenue.

This series has been arranged to conclude Max Levin's very thorough course "The Aims, Problems and Tendencies of the American Labor Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U."

Members of the I. L. G. W. U. are invited.

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY Washington Irving High School Irving Place and 16th St. Room 529

Saturday, March 1

1:30 p. m. J. H. H. Lyon—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—The Modern Novel—Hugo.

2:30 p. m. Benj. Stolberg—The Labor Situation in Basic Industries—The Railroad Industry.

Sunday, March 2

10:30 a. m. A. Calhoun—Social Institutions.

11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Development of Modern Europe.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, March 3

Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171

1034 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—The Labor Movement—The Distribution of Human Want Satisfaction.

Tuesday, March 4

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—Can Capitalism Reconstruct Itself.

Wednesday, March 5

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63

4th Street near 1st Avenue, Room 404

9:00 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions—The Store as an Economic Institution.

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

EXTENSION DIVISION YIDDISH

Saturday, March 1

Local 9—228 Second Avenue.

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

Sunday, March 2

Club Rooms, Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue

10:30 a. m. President Sigman—Problems of the I. L. G. W. U.

Clinton Hall—151 Clinton Street, Room 47

12:00 M. H. Rogoff—Civilization in America.

Wednesday, March 5

Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

8:00 p. m. B. C. Vladeck—Rights and Duties of Union Members.

Thursday, March 6

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

6:00 p. m. Lecture for Shop Chairmen and Executive Members, Locals 91 and 62.

ENGLISH

Local 17—Reefer Makers' Educational Center
142 Second Avenue

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

RUSSIAN

Friday, March 7

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

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

YIDDISH

Tuesday, March 18

Local 21, 103 Montgomery Street, Newark.

8:00 p. m. Dr. I. Galdston—The Worker and His Health.

Friday, February 29

Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn.

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

OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES BOSTON

Wednesday, March 12

Local 7, 21 Essex Street.

6:00 p. m. Dr. Bernard Weiss—The Worker and His Health.

PHILADELPHIA

Monday, March 3

Local 50, 1018 Cherry Street

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

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED. ADMISSION FREE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

Sunday, March 2

Town Hall—113 West 43d Street.

3:00 p. m. Concert I. L. G. W. U. Chorus, under direction of Leo Low, with Bronislaw Huberman, Soloist. Tickets may be obtained at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

In Local 82

By M. J. ASHBES

The last member meeting of Local 82 had an unusual attendance. The ex-members and hangers came to hear President Morris Sigman talk on the "demands" in the new cloak agreement.

President Sigman's speech was rich in content and original in form. The writer has listened to a number of speeches on the new demands which the International intends to advance to our employers when it begins negotiations on the new agreement in the near future, but the simplicity of President Sigman's delivery and his ability to present the situation in view of the worker contained so much conviction and charm that our members were practically held breathless all during the time he spoke.

He was warmly received by the ex-members and rewarded by enthusiastic applause at the end of his talk. Unfortunately he could not stay to answer questions, as he had to hurry away to the Beethoven Hall meeting where Samuel Gompers and Morris Hillquit awaited him, to discuss with

the New York relief committee plans for the aid of the German trade unions.

New times are coming—and new issues with them. But issues are not so easily converted into realities—there is the possibility of having to fight for them, and the members of our union no doubt realize it. Our local is ready to do its little best to help in the great work. The union is very dear to them. As a matter of fact, the members of Local 82 pay higher dues than the members of any other local, as they feel that no sacrifice is too great to maintain their positions intact and their union in fighting order, if fighting should be found necessary.

In our opinion the future prosperity of our union depends a great deal upon the success of the new demands of the International. As good union men, the members of Local 82 are ready if necessary to serve as an example for others and to help in making the future of our organization solid and secure.

In the factory amounts to approximately \$250,000, the society has in reserves \$120,000, and in surplus \$80,000; while the cash in the bank exceeds \$300,000.

Workers in the Kettering Clothing Cooperative factory not merely have a share in their business, but practically control its operations. All employees become members and shareholders when they turn 19 years of age, and the profits are divided between workers, customers, and shareholders. The cooperative has endowed its workers by providing against sickness and disability. It also adds to their wages an average of 10 per cent bonus, which they can accumulate to enable them to become their own employers in 10 or 12 years. It has established the eight-hour day and provides its workers with ideal workshop conditions. It has abolished strikes and established industrial peace.

Kettering cooperative workers have not only proved that democratically controlled workshops are financially prosperous, but they have played an important part in the development of ideal industrial conditions and friendly international economic relations by bridging the gulf between profiteering business and cooperative enterprise. Their achievement is contributing to the success of labor's new government, for no political machine can function smoothly unless it is built on a strong economic foundation. British cooperatives and trade unions form the bedrock of the British Labor government.

QUALITY PLUS COOPERATION BRINGS RESULTS!

In 1906 the farmers of Baldwin County, Alabama, shipped 300 cars of cucumbers and other vegetables for which they received from 30 cents to \$55 per car. For the nine months from November 1, 1921, to August 1, 1922, the farmers of this county received \$445,000 for the same products.

Price level changes didn't work this miracle, nor was it a sudden visitation of good luck. The real reason behind the prosperity of these farmers of Baldwin County is COOPERATION. They organized themselves into a producers' marketing cooperative, and by pooling their brains as well as their high grade vegetables, they found better markets for their wares. "In union there is strength"—AND prosperity.

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РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

Выписка из доклада председателя Исполнительного Комитета Русско-Польского Отдела, заслушанного в пятницу, 18-го февраля, в зале Русского Народного Дома, 815 Нит 10-го я.

В четверг, 14-го февраля, в Аппелиционном Комитете Джеймса Борда разбиралось дело двух русских товарищей, связанных с работами в мастерской Кастера и Лейбмана, на якобы сделанную работу.

При разборе этого дела выяснилось, что один из товарищей работал в этой мастерской всего только 26 часов и был снят с работы только потому что считался еще мастерским. Товарищ этот, несмотря, окончательно оправдан и ему дано разрешение возвратиться на работу в ту же самую мастерскую и отдала обратно принадлежащие вещи.

С другим товарищем дело обстояло несколько хуже; он работал в мастерской Кастера и Лейбмана довольно долгое время и при просмотре книг оказалось, что за 16 часов работы он получил 25 долларов, тогда как на расчете получены были 55 долларов в неделю, он должен был получить только 20 долларов. Также было обнаружено подписание, что он работает сейчас.

При разборе этого дела товарищ объяснил, что в то время, когда он получил 25 долларов за 16 часов, в мастерской делались только образцы и работать пришлось с перерывами, по 15-30 минут, поэтому он сделал заявку, что не хочет получать каждый день в мастерскую плату 2-3 часа, и тогда только пообещали за это безвозмездно заплатить ему несколько долларов больше.

Выслушав этого товарища, Аппелиционный Комитет тоже разрешил ему продолжать работу в старой мастерской, по виду некоторого сомнения в справедливости того, что он сказал в свое оправдание, решено, чтобы он оставил 50-ти долларов залог на один год, по истечении этого срока, если он не будет замечен в нарушении правил кассы, деньги ему будут возвращены; если же будет доказано, что он работал сейчас или вообще нарушил правила кассы, то залог его пропадет. Решено что билет будет аннулирован в Исполнительном.

На этом же собрании Исполнительный Комитет Русско-Польского Отдела карьеры была выслушана просьба господа Фотина, который недавно приехал из Европы и просит сказать об отношении при поступлении в Исполнительный Комитет получил мы направили ее в зал 22; там мне сказали, что как только господа Фотина найдет себе мастерскую, они будут очень рады дать ей членскую книжку и как малое приехали из Европы, ей будет сделано скинжение.

После чего был поставлен вопрос о дне следующего общего собрания Отдела, и так как в пятницу, 22-го февраля, по случаю праздника дня рождения Теодора Вашингтона, такое собрание не могло, а следующим датой была назначена среда, то решено, что следующее общее собрание состоится только в пятницу, 7-го Марта.

Последнее собрание Исполнительного Комитета Отдела для обсуждения организованной работы, секретарю поручено собрать как только вышеступят результаты от посещения нашей коммиссии докладов 1 и 35, с просьбой чтобы каждый из этих докладов читался в самом начале из

важных документов на предстоящую конференцию.

Вопрос о посылке Исполнительного Комитета в Нью-Йорк.

Исполнительный Комитет Отдела 35 вынес следующий доклад: Агенты, выделенные для работы в ближайшие дни; один из товарищей настоял, что в Исполнительный Комитет, вместо выделенных, должны приглашаться те товарищи, которые получили следующие большие числа голосов в Исполнительный Комитет, и этот кандидат на избирательную явку на другую должность; другие товарищи, утверждали, что при посылке Исполнительного Комитета Отдела следует брать тех товарищей, которые получили большинство, ставляя голоса выделенные на избирательных действиях на все должности.

В данном случае создается очень неопределенное положение, так как выбранный товарищ Агента, помимо того, что он является членом Исполнительного Комитета Отдела был в действительности Исполнительный Комитет Отдела 35, на последнюю должность он был избран по отдельному избирательному явку.

Следовательно, как собор явка некорректно, так как выбранный избирательный явки для избрания в зал 35, то и кандидат на эту должность должен быть явкой с этого явки.

После продолжительных дебатов решено передать вопрос на обсуждение общего собрания отдела, а делегатам в зал 35 временно назначить тех. Кассира поручено составить для тов. Кассиского соответствующее приглашение писем в Ист. Ком. зал 35.

О ЛЕКЦИИ.

Вторая лекция К. М. Оберуева на тему: "Профессиональные союзы в Америке" прошла с большим успехом в первый. Публика расхвалила высказанное удовлетворение по поводу успеха в толковом изложении этой лекции.

Третья лекция, из этой серии, лекция будет читаться в пятницу, 29-го февраля.

Опасностью лекции на высказанные замечания, о хитрости, которая имеет место в пятницу, 14-го Марта, то мне она не удалось получить согласием ни одного из рекомендованных докладов лекции; каждый из них в принципе согласен прочитать эту лекцию, но не хочет сменять собой обещания за 3-4 недели до дня лекции.

И наконец, конечно, что в наше время мы устали читать с собой и мы в обязательном соглашении.

В то же время если кто из товарищей желает поддаться на эту ловушку польского Отдела, то пожалуйста сообщите мне его адрес.

М. Шевченко, Секретарь.

ВНИМАНИЕ!!!

Общая лекция Р. Н. О. Кизельберг состоится в пятницу, 29-го февраля, в зале Русского Народного Дома. 815 Нит 10-го я.

Тема: "Профессиональные союзы и неопределенное движение".

Лектор: К. М. Оберуев.

Начало ровно в 7:30 вечера. Явка обязательная.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL BALL OF BONNAY EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 66

at PARK VIEW PALACE 110th Street and Fifth Avenue

MARCH 15, 1924

Tickets, including Wardrobe, 75 Cents

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

Friday, February 22, was Washington's Birthday, which is a legal holiday with full pay for the cutters. As a result of the organization's action on committees to apprehend violators of the rules on all legal holidays, the same method was followed on this occasion. The entire membership of the Executive Board, as well as all the officers and a few active members of the organization presented themselves, ready for duty, at the office of the organization as early as 7 a. m. They were then assigned by Manager Dubinsky to stations at the various subways and elevated entrances and exits, to apprehend those cutters who intended going in to work.

Although the day was a very cold one, especially in the morning, nevertheless our men stuck to their posts till about nine o'clock. However, only a few members were found going to work. This is no doubt due to the fact that our membership is realizing that the organization is keeping a watchful eye on its members, and the men therefore do not wish to take any chances by going in to work. Nevertheless, a few cutters managed to elude the watchfulness of our committees, and succeeded in going in to work. This was ascertained by committees being sent up to the shops in the various manufacturing districts.

Among our committeemen, the name of Brother Philip Hansel deserves honorable mention, as he was on the job from early morning till very late in the afternoon. The territory covered by Brother Hansel ranged from the East Side, taking in East Broadway and other East Side shops, all the way over to 38th street, covering practically the entire manufacturing ground. Among the shops visited by him was that of Schoenberg, Diamond & Silverberg, 34 West 27th street. Brother Hansel, although stopped by one of the firm, made his entrance into the territory of this concern, and found there three union cutters working together with two non-union boys. Another member of the concern who happened to follow Brother Hansel into the shop, became so enraged over the fact that the latter had entered his factory without his permission, that he, in the company of another member of the firm or one of the sales force, assaulted Brother Hansel. This did not in any way dampen the ardor of Brother Hansel, who continued with the work assigned him by Brother Dubinsky.

The effects of the assault on Brother Hansel, although quite serious in nature, allowed him to return to the office and resume his duties. The organization will not tolerate any manufacturer assaulting any of our members who go out on such committees, and, although this shop is a member of the Protective Association, Manager Dubinsky issued instructions to the cutters of this shop to stop work and immediately report to him at the office. Unless this matter is satisfactorily adjusted in favor of the organization so that a repetition will not occur, the cutters will not return to work.

Appropos of this, we wish to call the attention of the members to the fact that the organization is sending out committees every Saturday morning as well as afternoon, and sometimes even on Sunday mornings, to find out if any of our men are violating the provisions of the constitution by working illegal hours, either on Saturday or Sunday. In a number of instances the committees have found the doors of shops locked and the firms have refused admittance to the committees. In these cases Manager Dubinsky would summons the cutters working in these shops to the office and would instruct them to leave the employ-

ment of such firms or else have the firms pay a fine for not permitting our committee to enter their shops.

At the meeting of the Executive Board at the last meeting, it was decided to enter a shop, it plainly signifies that the firm is violating the agreement, and in order to discipline the firm so that they should permit our men to enter their shop, the best thing to do is either to remove the cutter from the job or else fine the firm. And in quite a few cases this has worked out satisfactorily, in favor of the organization.

These two instructions have been given to our members so that they may not depend upon their bosses' being "strong-arm-men" who by sheer force can bully our committees or our members into coming in to work on a legal holiday or on Saturday afternoon. Nor will our cutters who commit such violations be protected by the fact that they worked behind locked doors which our committees could not enter.

It is also noteworthy to mention the fact that the committees which were sent out this past Washington's Birthday did not find many members of our local violating this provision of our agreement. A large number of our shops were visited, where the members of the other crafts were working full force, but not the cutters. It seems that the cutters fully realize that it is for their own personal interest as well as the interests of the organization as a whole that they live up to the rules and regulations of our organization.

Since this is the end of the month of February, the quarterly and annual reports of our manager have already been submitted to our membership. And since it is actually the beginning of the year, the manager of each of the various departments of the Joint Board has sent in his report for the activities of his respective division for the past full season. Below we are taking the opportunity to present excerpts of the report of the downtown manager of the Joint Board, Samuel Perlmuter, insofar as the cutters are concerned:

"Downtown Office has under its control 374 shops, subdivided as follows:

"294 cloak shops, 43 stores and 37 dress shops. During the time that the investigation was made, we found only 225 shops working, of which 34 are bundle contractors, 14 stores, and 177 cloak shops. The total number of workers employed in these shops is 3,083, of which 184 are cutters. The following is a classification of the cutters: 14 at \$44 per week; 7 at \$45 per week; 1 at \$46 per week; 1 at \$47 per week; 3 at \$48 per week; 57 at \$50 per week; 5 at \$53 per week; 32 at \$55 per week; 1 at \$57 per week; 50 at \$60 per week; 7 at \$65 per week; 2 at \$70 per week; 1 at \$75.50 per week; 1 at \$82.50 per week; and four new cutters who have not as yet made up their price. This shows that the average wage of the cutters employed in the downtown district is \$53.88."

The following are excerpts of the report submitted by Brother Slutsky, manager of the Independent American and Reecer Department of the Joint Board:

"The following is the number of shops controlled by our Department:

Independent cloak shops...167

Independent reecer shops...142

Total Independent shops...309

American cloak shops....126

American reecer shops....59

Total American shops...185

"The total number of union shops controlled by the Independent American and Reecer Department is 494.

"The number of workers employed in shops in our district this season is 3888, of which 948 are cutters. The number of cutters shown in this report is far less than the number of cutters actually employed under normal conditions. For instance, Williams & Adler, 500 Seventh avenue, usually employ 28 cutters. This report shows only 17 cutters. The same applies of Henry Rosenweig, 333 Seventh avenue, and a considerable number of other shops. This is due to the fact that the last fall season was a very poor one and at the time this report was being completed a large number of shops were not working to their full capacity. We therefore reported only the number of workers employed at the time this investigation was made in the shops. The following is a classification of the cutters:

CLOAK AND SUIT CUTTERS

Two cutters working below scale wage—2.5 per cent.

1 cutter at \$35.00 per week.

1 cutter at \$37.00 per week.

Fifteen cutters working at scale wage—4.3 per cent.

15 cutters at \$44.00 per week.

534 cutters working above scale wage 95.2 per cent.

16 cutters at \$45.00 per week.

3 cutters at \$46.00 per week.

3 cutters at \$48.00 per week.

137 cutters at \$50.00 per week.

4 cutters at \$52.00 per week.

2 cutters at \$53.00 per week.

83 cutters at \$55.00 per week.

1 cutter at \$57.00 per week.

2 cutters at \$58.00 per week.

60 cutters at \$60.00 per week.

16 cutters at \$65.00 per week.

4 cutters at \$70.00 per week.

2 cutters at \$75.00 per week.

1 cutter at \$85.00 per week.

Total cloak and suit cutters, 351.

Average cloak and suit cutter, per week, \$52.40.

REEFER CUTTERS

Six cutters working below scale wage—2 per cent.

1 cutter at \$20.00 per week.

1 cutter at \$35.00 per week.

1 cutter at \$36.00 per week.

1 cutter at \$37.00 per week.

2 cutters at \$40.00 per week.

Sixteen cutters working at scale wage—5.4 per cent.

16 cutters at \$44.00 per week.

275 cutters working above scale—92.6 per cent.

17 cutters at \$45.00 per week.

2 cutters at \$47.00 per week.

19 cutters at \$48.00 per week.

3 cutters at \$49.00 per week.
64 cutters at \$50.00 per week.
1 cutter at \$51.00 per week.
3 cutters at \$52.00 per week.
1 cutter at \$53.00 per week.
4 cutters at \$54.00 per week.
74 cutters at \$55.00 per week.
2 cutters at \$56.00 per week.
2 cutters at \$57.00 per week.
2 cutters at \$58.00 per week.
61 cutters at \$60.00 per week.
1 cutter at \$63.00 per week.
22 cutters at \$65.00 per week.
5 cutters at \$70.00 per week.
2 cutters at \$75.00 per week.
Total reecer cutters, 297.
Average reecer cutters, per week, \$53.75.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

REGULAR MEETING Monday, March 10, 1924

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, March 17, 1924

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place