

"My righteousness 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. 17a.

New York, Friday, April 18, 1924.

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General Executive Board Decides to Raise Big Fund for Chicago Str.

Other Important Decisions—President Sigman Appoints Credential Committee for Convention—Vice-president Perlstein Reports on Chicago Dress Strike

The eighth, and final, quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board, which began on Tuesday morning, April 8, lasted until Saturday afternoon, April 12. It held its sessions in the Council Room of the International Building.

A convention is always a great event in the life of our Union. The next convention in Boston, however,—owing to the fact that it will mark twenty-five years of existence of our International Union—will even exceed in interest and importance any of the conventions our Union has ever held and the preparations for it are being conducted on quite an elaborate scale.

At the preceding quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. at Chicago, President Morris Sigman appointed a Convention Arrangements Committee to take care of all preliminary work attending the opening of a convention. Last week, this committee rendered a report to the Board of what it had done. This committee consists of Vice-presidents Salvatore Ninfo, Joseph Breslaw, David Dubinsky, Fred Monosson and Fannie M. Cohn.

Vice-president Dubinsky, who acted as the secretary for the Committee, reported that in making the preparations for the Convention, they have had in mind the demonstrative and historical nature of the coming gathering as the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Union, as a convention that will strike a balance to the achievements of our organization during the quarter of a century that it has held the field in the women's wear industry of America.

A number of guests are expected at this convention, outside of the regular delegates, and the Committee has therefore engaged, in addition to a big meeting hall, several hotels to house the guests, among whom there will be all the former presidents, general secretaries and vice-presidents of the International. Vice-president Dubinsky also reported that, while in Boston, the Committee visited the executive boards of the Boston locals which decided that all the ladies' garment shops of that city without exception, stop on the day of the opening of the convention and that all the members of the locals of the

International in Boston join in a parade from their headquarters to the Convention hall.

President Sigman appointed, at one of the sessions of the meeting of the Board, the following Credential Committee of the Convention: Joseph Breslaw, Local 35, chairman; David Dubinsky, Local 10, secretary; Edward Molissani, Local 48, New York; Charles Margolis, Local 22, New York; Joseph Scher, Chicago Joint Board; and Miss Beckie Gorin, Local 50, Philadelphia.

BAROFF AND SIGMAN READ CONVENTION REPORT

President Sigman and Secretary Baroff alternated in reading to the members of the Board the G. E. B. report covering the two years of the activity of the International Union just closed which is to be submitted by the G. E. B. to the delegates of the convention in Boston. The members of the Board paid very close attention to the reading of this voluminous document and made suggestions and corrections, as it was being read chapter after chapter.

As usual, even this meeting of

Local 90, the Union, will have a "Power Dance" for members as well as for friends of other locals of our they expect to meet there, as do every year, hosts of friends from the labor movement of New York City in addition to all the members and their personal friends. Remember, it is April 30, at Parkview Palace, 3 West 110th street.

the Board did not fail to have its quota of committees and persons appearing before it with problems, grievances and appeals asking the Board to help and advise on matters which required immediate attention. Several labor organizations and institutions appealed for aid, among these the trade unions of Poland, the Socialist Party of France, the Committee to Aid the Incarcerated Socialists and Trade Unionists in Soviet Russia, the School Movement in Poland, and the Committee to Aid the German Trade Unions. The General Executive Board granted some of these requests and referred some of them to the convention in Boston to decide upon.

The members of the Board also listened to an interesting report by President Sigman on the present general situation in our International.

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Conferences Continue With Cloak Manufacturers in New York

President Sigman and Vice-president Feinberg Lay Union's Demands Before American Association—Second Conference With Jobbers' Association—Sub-Committees Continue Negotiations

The leaders of the International and of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board in New York are kept very much occupied these days conferring with the various cloak manufacturers' associations on the subject of the renewal of the agreements in the trade which expire on June 1. The subject of these negotiations is, of course, the set of demands presented by the Union to the employers to be incorporated in the agreement.

On Wednesday evening, April 9, as reported last week, a conference took place between the conference committee of the Union and representatives of the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the sub-manufacturers, at the Waldorf-Astoria. The demands presented to the sub-manufacturers are essentially the same as those upon the Jobbers' Association and the Protective Association, except for several special clauses to conform with the position of the contractors in the trade.

Charles M. Sassman, the president of the American Association, was the chairman of the conference and he opened the meeting with a few friendly remarks. His association, he stated, does not intend to cast the blame for present conditions in the trade upon anyone in particular except to seek a solution for them.

Vice-president Feinberg spoke first on behalf of the Union. He said among other things: "We have invited you to a conference to discuss ways and means of making it possible for the men and women employed

in the cloak and suit industry to make a decent living. Though the members of your association are not financiers, they are nevertheless a factor in the industry. We desire therefore to lay before you a basis for fundamental changes in the industry which is bound to benefit it as a whole. But we have some special measures that we demand from you as the men who are running the shops in our industry which are specially adapted for you.

"We declare that something must be done to raise the general level of our trade. If a radical change is not forthcoming, the situation will become intolerable not only for the workers' but for every one engaged in the industry."

Brother Feinberg was followed by President Sigman who said among other things the following:

"When most of you gentlemen began making coats or suits for some firm in the trade, you surely expected to work season after season for the same firm. You surely had in mind the manufacturers of a former day in the industry who too have begun with small shops and later became millionaires.

"The reality, however, has been quite disappointing for many. The fact is that the sub-manufacturers in the cloak industry have not risen to the level of manufacturers. They are supplying labor for the jobber or manufacturer and are occupying a position of manager in one of the jobber's shops. The only difference

is that they are working not for wages but for profits, and many a sub-manufacturer has been heard to complain that he has neither wages nor profits. Your situation is far from pleasant, but the situation of the workers in the trade is surely far from enviable. And these things must be radically changed.

President Sigman pointed out that the Union has reached the end of its patience and is now determined to make a big change that will rebound to the benefit of the workers as well as the sub-manufacturers. He recalled the program which the Union presented to the Jobbers' Association and pointed out that this program, when adopted, could not help but stabilize the deplorable conditions in the cloak trade. He dwelt with special emphasis on the point

demanding a minimum of 14 machines in the shop, on the question of a union label on garments as a means of guaranteeing union production and sanitary conditions, and insisted that every part of the garment, including embroidery, tucking, pleating and other accessories, must be union-made in the full sense of the word.

Messrs. Sassman, Uvelier and Spinrad replied for the American Association, pointing out the clauses of the Union's program with which they were satisfied and the demands which they did not agree with. They nevertheless stated that they would bring all these questions back to their association and would give an answer later. It was agreed at the end of the meeting that both sides elect sub-committees to take up all points in dispute and continue negotiating on them.

THE REPLY OF THE JOBBERS' ASSOCIATION

On the next day, Thursday, April 10, the Union held its second conference with the Merchants' and Jobbers' Association, the Jobbers, at the Hotel McAlpin. The conference was attended by the same committees

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Bertrand Russell to Debate with Morris Hillquit

On Monday evening, May 5, at 8 p. m., Bertrand Russell, of England, well known scientist and philosopher, will debate with Mr. Morris Hillquit on the question:

"Is the British Labor Party Revolutionary?" Mr. Russell will take the

negative, Mr. Hillquit will take the affirmative.

The debate will be held at Carnegie Hall, 57th street and Seventh avenue, under the auspices of the Rand School of Social Science.

Tickets are now on sale at the Rand School, and at the Forward Building.

All Other Union and Trade News on Page Two

Chicago Dress Strike Continues Unabated

Amalgamated Joint Board Gives Ten Thousand Dollars to Strikers — Courts Impose Heavy Jail Sentences and Money Fines

As reported already elsewhere in these pages, the General Executive Board of the International has decided to continue financing the dress strike in Chicago and to give it every other form of assistance. The strike will be waged with the same force and energy as heretofore and nothing will be left undone to bring it to a successful end.

In Chicago the whole Labor movement of that city continues to be with the strikers, and the local workers are doing all they can to help the strike not only morally but financially as well. The first to respond to the needs of the strike from outside organizations was the Amalgamated Joint Board of Chicago who last week decided to give the dress strikers ten thousand dollars. This Joint Board also pledged every other form of help to the brave strik-

ers, and this act of the Chicago tailors has greatly encouraged the dressmakers and all their friends and sympathizers.

STRIKERS PLANNING BIG DEMONSTRATION

The Strike Committee of the dressmakers is now planning a big demonstration at an early date throughout the business district of the city.

John Fitzpatrick, the president of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Anton Johansen, chairman of the Committee of Fifteen of the Federation, are to ask Mayor Dever of Chicago to grant the strikers the permit to parade. In the meantime, preparations for this demonstration are already being made, and the dressmakers are showing great eagerness to come out on the streets of the big city to tell the Chicagoans, by the means of banners and standards, the true

story of their fight and the barbarous manner which their employers are using in breaking down their attempt to raise their work conditions to a human level.

COURTS CONTINUE TO PERSECUTE STRIKERS

Meanwhile the attacks upon the strikers by the police, city and private, continue without halting. Daily the strikers who picket the shops are being arrested on the flimsiest of pretenses, hauled to court and fined heavily. Some pickets are receiving, in addition to money fines, also jail sentences ranging from five to fifty days. These sentences have so far been stayed by the filing of appeals. Last week one picket received a fine of \$450 and fifty days in jail, while another, a girl, got twenty days in jail and a fine of \$350.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Alexander Block, business agent of the Cutlers' Union, was expelled from membership in Local 16 for accepting a position as manager of the United Cloth and Suit Manufacturers' Association.

International officers, including Miss Josephine Casey, leader of the Cutters' Union, are expected to strike, conduct a strenuous campaign for candidates of the Socialist Party in that city and help elect two men, falling short only a few votes in the election of a mayor.

The strike at the Eaton Company's shop in Toronto is in full swing. Former Toronto dress-makers in New York City organize a special committee to collect funds for the Toronto strike.

Two members of the Union, Metzner and Hendler, pressers employed by the firm of Frost Brothers, 350 Kingston street, earn in one week \$186. It appears that they not only were found working by the piece, but that their day's work would begin at 5 a. m. and end at midnight. The Union ordered them to leave the shop and seek employment elsewhere, where a regular work-day prevails.

Conferences Continue With Cloak Manufacturers in New York

(Continued from page 1)

which took part in the first conference.

The committee representing the jobbers brought to the conference a reply to the demands of the Union presented to them at the first conference two weeks ago. The reply came in the form of a printed memorandum and was distributed to all the members of the Union's conference committee and later read paragraph after paragraph by Attorney Blumberg for the jobbers' association.

The reply categorically denies the viewpoint of the Union that the jobbers are the actual manufacturers in the cloak trade, that they should be recognized as the employers of Labor in it, and it opposes "the equal firmness" the proposal of the Union that the number of contractors to be employed by the individual jobber during any given season be limited to

the amount of work he produces. The reply insists on full "freedom" for the jobber to employ as many contractors as he may desire at any time.

When the question was put to Mr. Blumberg, after he had finished reading the memorandum, whether this was the final reply of his clients, the ultimatum to the Union, he replied, after a brief consultation with the jobbers' committee, that it was not an ultimatum, that his association was ready to continue negotiating with the Union. As a result, a sub-committee representing each side was elected to continue further discussions with the jobbers on the new agreement.

On this sub-committee, which consists of sixteen persons, eight of each side the Union is represented by Brothers Feinberg, Wander, Stankevich, Levy, Hyman, Dubinsky, Heller and Breslaw. With the Committee will cooperate President Sigman

and Morris Illiquit. The Jobbers' Association selected the following group to work with the sub-committee of the Union: Messrs. Joseph Engel, Blumberg, Sperber, Haft, Kopeckoff, David Engel, Cohen and Rimbarg.

General Executive Board Decides to Raise Big Fund for Chicago Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

al Union and the pending negotiations between the Union and the cloak manufacturers in New York City.

REPORT FROM STRIKE FIELDS

President Sigman gave a lengthy report on the condition of the remarkable strike which the workers in the Chicago dress trade have been waging against their bitterly anti-union employers for the last seven weeks. Later in the week, Vice-president Perlestein who arrived specially from Chicago for that purpose reported personally on the strike, which he is leading. Perlestein gave a detailed account of the brave stand of the men and women involved in this struggle, and described vividly the terrific odds they were battling against. He told of the undaunted spirit of the strikers, gave an account of the settlements already concluded with many of the manufacturers, and of the wholehearted support the citizens of Chicago are giving this strike.

Vice-president Perlestein did not fail to mention the numerous injunctions issued against the strikers, the

huge fines which are being imposed upon the pickets, and the courageous stand of the workers of Polish descent in the present struggle, a new element in the International. He also stated that the Chicago Federation of Labor was very helpful to our organization in this fight and told of the aid which the Amalgamated of Chicago has given the workers on strike.

After a very thorough discussion, a motion by Vice-president Breslaw that the strike be continued with full vigor and that the International finance the strike by levying a special assessment upon the members of the whole Union was carried unanimously and Secretary Baroff instructed to proceed with the collection of this fund at once.

Vice-president Monahan reported upon the successful waging of the dressmakers' strike in Boston. Vice-president Halperin gave an account of the swift and highly satisfactory victory of the tuckers, hemstitchers and novelty workers who struck for union conditions in New York city last month and won out.

Mount Vernon Judge Continues Injunction

If Labor injunctions prohibiting peaceful picketing and other legitimate union activity incidental to strikes are sufficient to put any city on the industrial map, the town of Mount Vernon, N. Y., has achieved this distinction in the last few weeks.

There are in Mount Vernon a number of cloak and dress shops, some of which are union shops, employing union workers, members of Local 113 of that city; while a group of others, thirteen in number, continue to operate on the old-time sweatshop basis, working long hours and for miserable pay. Against some of this group the local Union, supported by the Eastern Organizing Department of the International Union, has been on strike for several weeks past, the chief demand of the workers being a union shop and union work conditions.

To hamper the union, these employers combined shortly after the strike broke out and, running true to prevailing practice, applied for an injunction. Justice George H. Taylor of the Supreme Court granted them a temporary injunction forbidding the Union to engage in any illegal activity in the strike, as if the normal, legitimate picketing and the peaceful persuasion of the workers not to scab on their fellow-workers were anything but lawful and legitimate. The Union appealed for a modification of the injunction pending trial of the specific

alleged charges against some of the strikers, and at a hearing on Tuesday, April 8, Judge Taylor handed down a decision continuing the injunction granted by him against the International Union, adding, however, a clause to the effect that "nothing in the continuing order shall be construed as prohibiting the use of peaceful and lawful methods by the defendants to induce any workers in Mount Vernon to join the Union or otherwise in furtherance of the object of improving working conditions in the respective shops of the plaintiffs in Mount Vernon."

Justice Taylor at the same time raised the amount of the bond which the dress manufacturers undertook to file with the court to pay to the union workers for damages they might sustain by reason of said injunction if the court finally decides that the employing firms were not entitled thereto.

Louis Maggio, the officer in charge of Local 113, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, issued the following statement in connection with this hearing:

"With regard to the decision of Justice Taylor, we wish to state that the Mount Vernon Ladies' Garment Workers' Union employs none other than lawful means, including lawful picketing, to persuade the workers of Mount Vernon to join their cause and obtain what is due them—better working conditions and better pay."

The tuckers, hemstitchers and the workers in the cloak and suit novelty shops who recently scored such a fine victory in their trade and formed a strong local, after returning to work in unionized shops, are now determined to supply their organization with a substantial reserve fund to be able to complete the organizing job they have undertaken and to provide against a "rainy day."

On Thursday last, April 10, Local 41, the tuckers' union, held a big membership meeting at the People's House Auditorium and decided to tax themselves each a day's wages for the purpose of raising a reserve fund for their Union. Vice-president Halperin, who was in charge of the general strike of the tuckers, presided at

the meeting. The decision for a tax was received by the workers with great enthusiasm.

Vice-president Halperin also introduced at the meeting Vice-president Lefkowitz, who was assigned by the International to take care of the local. Most of the shops in the trade, 75 per cent of them, are already unionized, among them the largest there are. But Local 41 will not be satisfied until every one of the remaining shops is in the fold of the organization.

The new local has taken as its headquarters an office at 3 West 21st street, which will also serve as its meeting place. Miss Sarah Prid is the secretary in charge. At its last meeting this local also elected two delegates to represent it at the Boston convention.

Tuckers Will Raise Big Fund for Their Local

At the Final Meeting of the G. E. B.

By S. YANOVSKY

The General Executive Board of the International Union held its final quarterly session of this administrative term last week in New York City.

Practically the entire personnel of the Board remained intact since 1922—with the exception of the former presidents Benjamin Schiefelberg, who resigned, and Max Gorenstein, who left the General Executive Board last year. From the tone and tenor of the proceedings of the last meeting, it is evident to us that the next convention, to whom the General Executive Board will soon have to submit its report, will find nothing but approval to give for the work they have done during the past two years.

At this final quarterly meeting, most of the discussion hinged not on whimsical accidents between the preceding meeting and the one in session, but on plans and suggestions to make the coming Jubilee Convention of the International as impressive and memorable as possible. A great deal of the time of the meeting was also devoted to the reading of the report of the Board to convention delegates, which covers every activity of the International during the last two years. This report was prepared during the last few weeks in the general office under the supervision of President Sigman and Secretary Baroff, but as it is submitted in the name of the entire General Executive Board, the Board had to read and approve it, making whatever corrections it deemed necessary.

Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to say that the meeting took up convention matters only. The Chicago delegates took up a great deal of its time, as the attitude of the G. E. B. towards this conflict had been somewhat complicated owing to an unfortunate remark made by the writer of these lines in an editorial notice touching upon this strike some three weeks ago. In that notice the assumption was hazarded that the Union might, in view of the fact that it had already scored some substantial success in Chicago, call off the rest of the workers without waiting for a complete victory. It was strongly emphasized, though, that it by no means implied that the strike is already at an end, for only the Union itself can make such a declaration. It was only natural that every enemy of our organization, including the strike-bound employers, seized upon this remark as meaning that the strike was already at an end. The writer tried to make capital out of it. The fact, nevertheless, is that neither the International nor the Chicago strikers have in mind giving up this heroic strike, which has every promise of being crowned with complete success.

It is true that in most instances the International is not inclined to drag out a strike unduly, but it all depends, of course, on the circumstances and nature of the strike, and the Chicago dress strike in this sense is certainly an exception, one requiring special consideration. It is in this light that the General Executive Board considered the situation in Chicago first in a written report from Vice-president Perstein, the leader of the strike, and later, on Saturday, when Brother Perlstein came directly from the battle line in Chicago and made an oral report to the members of the Board.

To endorse the strike with full vigor and enthusiasm, the Board also decided to raise a fund of \$150,000 through an assessment upon the membership of the entire Union. Our members will, doubtless, understand the great importance of winning the Chicago strike and they surely know that the Chicago strikers have fully earned their wholehearted support in the fight they are waging against the

brutality of the bosses and their loyal aids, the police, the private detectives and the courts who have lined up wholly on the side of the anti-labor employers. Our members will come forth with this financial assistance willingly, gladly, for they realize that we cannot and must not let the tactics of strikebreaking manufacturers smash the heroic efforts of our workers in the Chicago dress shops.

The report on the dress strike in Boston which was given to the Board by President Sigman, Vice-president Monosson, and by a special committee from Boston, also occupied some of the time of the meeting. President Sigman also laid stress on the successful outcome of the strike of the tuckers, hemstitchers, pleaters and novelty workers as a result of which the International gained a new local, No. 41, with about 1,500 members. Vice-president Lefkowitz, who is at present the manager of the new local, spoke of these workers with real enthusiasm, though adding that the new local still needs the assistance of the International, asking for them a financial loan, which was granted.

Some of the vice-presidents delivered brief reports upon their recent activities, among them Vice-president Halperin, who reported on the Waterbury cloak strike, which was won with the aid of the International. A hundred workers are now employed on cloaks in Waterbury under regular conditions. He also reported that the Eastern Organization Department is waging a hard fight in Mt. Vernon, N. Y., facing a number of injunctions and a lot of police persecution. He also stated that the firm in Camden, N. J., against which the International had waged a fight for many months is now practically out of business.

Vice-president Lefkowitz reported on the recently formed Executive Council of the Miscellaneous Trades in New York City. He stated that there are eleven such locals in New York and that if all these were to join the Council, it might become an influential central body. So far only four have joined the Council, but it is already organized and is now preparing its by-laws. A committee of this Council also applied to the General Executive Board to be allowed to be represented at the convention by a delegate.

Vice-president Reiberg reported that the waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia, Local 59, are now rid entirely of the disruptive element and are in fine shape. The local has 1,700 members and is conducting its affairs in an excellent spirit, just as its sister organization, the Cloakmakers' Union, is now managing its business in a real trade-union way after it got rid of that group of so-called lefts who are engaged in the miserable business of "hooking on" to the organization in some Philadelphia shops.

Vice-president Schoolman declared that this is his last term as vice-president, reported on the Record Department and the membership of the International. From his figures it was evident that, despite the hard times, our Union suffered hardly any losses in New York City. The only drop in membership reported came from cities in the Middle West and some small towns.

Vice-president Wander reported as a member of the committee to investigate the question of the knifegoods workers' affiliation with our Union. The committee believes that it is an allied trade to our industry and that a great many of its workers are making women's garments now. They are of the opinion that the knifegoods workers should be organized and join

our International. But they must be organized first and the committee would rather leave this matter to the convention for a final decision.

Despite the fact that this was the last meeting of the Board, a number of committees appeared before it with appeals and grievances. Some came with requests for aid; others seeking a fair adjudication of an old-standing grievance.

We shall turn to these requests at some other time in a special article. For the time being, we shall only point out one or two of these cases. One applicant who has been all his life a good union man and even the manager of his local is now employed in a labor bank. Nevertheless, the Union expelled him from membership on the ground that he is not employed in his trade any longer. Another, who had at one time played quite an important part in our movement, came with an appeal that his name was being mentioned in certain charges and that he wants to be cleared of any stain of guilt. A third, who was at one time charged with conduct unbecoming a union man, and punished for it, complained that he was still being persecuted

for the old offense and boycotted by his local.

And so on and so on. The G. E. B. elected sub-committees to act upon these appeals and to clear up all these charges as fast as possible. The principal subject at the meeting, overshadowing them all, however, remained the fact that we are but a few weeks' away from the great event, the twenty-fifth anniversary of our International. The G. E. B. decided, in following out the will of the Cleveland convention, to invite to this jubilee all former presidents, vice-presidents, and secretaries of the International Union, all leading representatives of the American Labor movement, as well as every public man and woman who at one time or another had helped the International in its many struggles which it conducted during this quarter of a century.

A credential committee was also elected at the meeting to select the list of the delegates and to sift whatever qualifications or objections there may be presented against them. The regular meetings of the Board were interrupted during the week by the two conferences which the representatives of the International and of the New York Joint Board held with the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, and the jobbers' association in the course of that week.

Men Have Surer Jobs

Not only do men receive higher wages than women but a man has a better chance of keeping his job than a woman has. We must remember also that, when it comes to making both ends meet, the stability of employment is just as important as the size of the pay envelope.

The State Department of Labor has just completed a report for the last six months showing the fluctuations in the number of men and women employed in certain industries. From the analysis of the continuous records of more than a thousand factories, employing about 300,000 workers, it is evident that employment in the identical plants is much more stable for the men workers than for the women. From the busiest month to the month when the fewest men were employed the decrease in the number of men employed was just over 2 per cent, while the number of women employees was reduced 8 per cent.

During this same period of time the variations in average weekly earnings, while no greater in dollars and cents for the women than for the men, were about twice as great on a percentage basis. For during these six months the women's wages averaged about \$16, just over half the average for the men which fluctuated around \$31.

The greatest irregularity of employment for both the men and the women was in the textile industries. In two months 70 per cent, almost three out of every four, of the women workers were laid off in the cotton goods factories. Within another three months most of them had secured employment again. In the confectionery factories we find an increase of 40 per cent in the number of women employed in November over

the working in June. After the Christmas rush most of these women lost their jobs. The same situation exists in the canning industry. Here from June to July, one month, the number of women employed increased 60 per cent and by November over half of these women had been laid off again.

It seems that from the employer's standpoint the women constitute the more flexible part of the working force. They are the less skilled and the lower paid employees. In industries that employ women in considerable numbers the practice among employers, with few exceptions, is to employ a relatively larger number of women for the busy seasons and in dull times, whether caused by seasonal or business conditions, a greater proportion of the women are released.

It is easier for a man to pull up his stakes and move in the search for new work than for a woman. More opportunities for work are open to men than to women. A woman must also face the fact that when work is obtained, her chances of steady employment for a long period of time are less than if she were a man.

Odd days seem to be heavily against the women, but we have hopes that a forty-eight hour week for women will remedy the situation to some extent. When working hours in laundries were reduced, the period of work was extended from the first three days of the week to cover the whole week. The clothing trades used to have four months' employment during the year, but since the 8-hour day has been adopted employment has increased to eight months a year.—Consumers' League Bulletin.

JUSTICE

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Why a Third Party

By NORMAN THOMAS

The success of so-called non-partisan action in obtaining the Prohibition Amendment and the Woman's Suffrage Amendment, and more recently in checking the extreme drive of the reactionaries in Congress has blinded some of the farmers and workers to the need of a party representing their own interests. If a third party wanted one definite thing, like woman's suffrage, the non-partisan method might be more effective. If it were only necessary to prevent reactionaries in Congress from enacting bad laws, non-partisan action might be reasonably effective. But the time has come when the producers must get positive affirmative action in their own interest, when they must be as well represented as Wall Street, the steel trust, the railroads and the mine workers. This job is complicated. It requires action not merely in the nation but in forty-eight states. It requires pressure upon three departments—Executive, Legislative and Judicial. Only a disciplined party can be effective and that party must have a program. The program should be as simple as possible, but it cannot consist, like the Anti-Saloon League platform, of one plank. Its immediate program must include these elements:

1. An end of judicial tyranny. A labor leader remarked the other day that organization work was in important fields almost impossible so long as courts maintain their present powers of injunction and of sentencing for contempt. It is not enough to pass a law on this point of judicial tyranny, as the fate of the Clayton Act showed. There must be a party continually at work in the election of judges and in the passage of laws, and if necessary, of constitutional amendments regulating judicial power.

2. It is increasingly clear that whoever owns and operates mines, railroads and superpower will control our lives. It is ridiculous to imagine that private individuals can run these great national necessities while public officials sit around and regulate them efficiently for the public interest. Such regulation is bound to be bureaucratic and inefficient, as our experience with the railroads has proved. If the people are not clever enough and alert enough to control these necessities of common life they will deserve what happens to them. But if the government is to become the owner of railroads, mines and superpower in the interest of efficiency, it is essential that there should be a Labor party, active, united and intelligent, in order to keep government control from being capitalistic in its nature and in order to insist on democracy in administration of these great enterprises. This is a matter in which the interest of the farmers and workers as against "big business" is identical.

3. It requires no argument that the control of farmers and workers over money and credit should be extended.

4. It will be necessary to have a program or welfare legislation to curb child labor, to ameliorate unemployment, to provide against pauperism and old age.

5. Beside these matters, the farmers have particular problems. The present emergency may require government marketing agencies, as provided in the Sinclair-Norris Bill.

6. The farmers and workers alike are interested in peace, the prosperity of Europe, the end of imperialism. The working out of a program of foreign affairs will be among the most important tasks of a third party.

It is along these lines that the campaign against the Slameen twin parties of the big interests must be waged. It cannot be waged by non-partisan ac-

tion, but only by a well-organized party devoted to the interests of the people.

THE WAY TO BEGIN

The way to have a third party is to have a third party. The way for the farmers and workers to have their interests represented is to organize carefully from precincts up to nation. We are somewhat disquieted, therefore, by the notion that all the third party movement needs to do this summer is to nominate La Follette for President with some good running mate and then endorse Republicans or Democrats, as the case may be, in the various congressional districts. There are two specific dangers in such a plan:

President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, looking the picture of health as he submitted to a fire of questions from reporters, came to Harrisburg, Pa. to take part in a conference on Super-Power early this month called by Governor Gifford Pinchot.

Participating in the conference, aside from President Gompers and Governor Pinchot, were President James P. Noonan of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, President William H. Johnson of the International Association of Machinists, O. S. Beyer, engineer, representing the machinists, technical representatives of the power industry and representatives of the public.

President Gompers declared that industry is just beginning to realize how intimately labor is concerned with technical progress.

"No social group," he said, "is more concerned for the increased development of power resources and lowering the cost of power than are

1. It will tend to make the third party a one man party like the Progressives in 1912. With all possible respect for Senator La Follette, it should be remembered that a party which rests on one man exclusively is not a party that can succeed. The building of a third party requires leadership—such leadership as Senator La Follette can give—but its success rests not so much on any one leader as upon organized and enthusiastic ranks of workers who know their own interests and have some conception of how government may make for a better life in America.

2. It has happened before this that third parties—the Populists, for instance—have been deterred, rendered ineffective and finally swallowed up by one or another of the old parties through a process of political bargaining on candidates. Temporary successes or seeming successes of a third party are too big a price to pay for a repetition of this history. We will

not say that in no State should any man running on a Republican or Democratic ticket be endorsed, but we will say that if the third party contests itself merely with nominating La Follette and endorsing congressmen, then its apparent success will be of small worth.

PROTEST AGAINST DEPORTATION

The deportation orders against seventeen alien ex-political prisoners will be protested at a meeting at which the chief speakers will be David Wallerstein, Philadelphia lawyer, and Richard Brasier, one of the men slated for deportation. The meeting will be held at the Civic Club, 14 West 12th street, New York City, on April 21.

It is planned to petition Secretary of Labor Davis to set aside the deportation orders and to permit the seventeen men to remain in this country on probation, since that is the only means left to stop execution of the orders.

All of the seventeen aliens were convicted during the war "for mere belief and expression of opinion" and are "residents of many years standing in the United States without friends, relatives, or connections elsewhere." The deportation orders were issued by the Secretary of Labor in 1921 under a new amendment to the Immigration Act, making violation of war-time laws a deportable offense.

and of its ability to offer cooperation in practical operation;

"Second: With labor's role fully acknowledged, there must then be a consciousness on the part of the whole industry that those who operate the industry in all of its branches are entrusted with vital functions and have obligations to those within the industry, to the natural wealth brought into use and to other industries and the people as a whole;

"Third: The experience of the industry must determine to a large extent how to organize the factors within the industry on a democratic basis that runs parallel to its functions, so as to discharge these various obligations, with justice;

"Fourth: With experience as a guide in the application of a principle there must come into existence joint representative bodies, in which every useful element within the industry may have a voice and in such manner that it will not be possible for the combined voices of some to smother the voices of others in pursuance of injustice;

"Fifth: These joint organizations of representatives must have as their smallest unit the locality, after which larger units may follow in accordance with the natural lines found in the industry itself;

"Sixth: The industry will find itself, as it has indeed already found itself, hampered by restricting laws placed on the statute books by political organizations lacking the requisite understanding of industrial needs, or fear lest an uncurbed industry might become a molech; and it will be necessary to open the doors by clearing obstructive legislation."

Understanding is the key to the elimination of industrial waste and cooperation can obtain only where industrial relations conform to these basic principles. Mr. Gompers informed the conference. The regularity of employment is the aspect in which labor is fundamentally interested, he said. "We labor men participating in this conference are fully aware of the importance of this aspect of the study as well as of our serious obligation not only for the conservation of the power resources of our nation, but for the conservation of those who are an integral part of the nation itself."

As Labor Views Super-Power

the users of the tools of industry and commerce.

"More abundant power at lower rates means more machinery, increases the productive capacity of the tool users and cheapens commodity costs. These in turn mean higher standards of living."

Mr. Gompers declared that labor welcomes technical progress. "To state the case in terms of industrial relations," he continued, "as wage earners and workmen we ask opportunity to participate in the development of industry as an original group."

Six suggestions for the power industry, which Mr. Gompers believes "will be the most important determining element in the social and economic life of the future," were offered at the conference. They were:

"First: It is required that there be a full and frank acknowledgment on the part of the whole country of the role which labor has to play,

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We Need Our Taxes

By JOHN LA RUE

Taxation, one of the most difficult phases of economics, has for three months been the topic of discussion in the press and in conversation. Much heated controversy is aroused, for the issue is alive and will soon be thrashed out in Congress where tax reduction legislation is pending. The question uppermost is, "Whose taxes are to be reduced most?" The question that those who can think of the nation's needs as well as of their own economic benefits should ask is, "Whose taxes does the nation need most?"

Taxation is generally looked upon as an unmitigated evil. This opinion is due to the domination of that means of public utterance—the press,—by the utility class which is solely interested in getting rid of the debt burden, one of the consequences of the war. Although American millionaires are in clover compared with their European colleagues, nevertheless they groan like Lazarus under the tax burden. Thus they rejoiced with one accord when they heard the good news of the tax reduction program announced by Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury. The Mellon plan would relieve them of their tax load by one half, lowering the surtax rate to 25 per cent on annual incomes of over \$100,000. Then follow heavy reductions in lesser incomes up to \$50,000 a year, and as the lower incomes of the better paid workers are reached the reductions dwindle from four per cent as now taken from incomes of \$5,000 and under, to the proposed rate of three per cent.

After the extraordinary uproar over the benefits of the proposed Mellon plan had died away and the drum fire of criticism began, public opinion rallied and is now forcing changes in the pending legislation which will prevent the rich from unloading so suddenly their burden. Reasons given for this refusal to consent to so radical a revision as proposed by Mr. Mellon have to do with the social consequences, for taxes have been one of the means developed by modern society of obtaining a measure of social justice. This accepted policy is to take from those that have sufficient income to defray the cost of social and national improvement.

Capital is no longer entirely safe either in Europe or America and, while there has been no outright confiscation of property anywhere such as was attempted in Russia, there has been a constant development of a draft on wealth for the common good either through a capital levy, excess profit tax, inheritance or income tax. Labor has discovered that revenues for Government derive through the tariff (tax on imports) or internal revenues or excise tax on liquor (now prohibited), tobacco, products, perfumes and confections are readily passed on to the consumer. But it has also discovered that the rich cannot shift their profits, income or inheritance taxes. There has been a gradual development of this means of dividing up the immense fortunes that some of our eminent citizens have been able to rake together.

Unfortunately the national income thus derived does not go into social well-being. Fully 90 per cent is expended on the payment of the debts from the Great War and in preparation for future wars. At the present rate it will take the United States more than twenty years to pay the principal on Liberty bonds and it will take much longer to assist European nations to rise from bankruptcy, for it is not expected they ever can pay the loans they received from the United States.

The conclusion to be reached, suggested by the more liberal school of economists, is that the tax burden can best be borne now in a period of

great prosperity in order to meet as quickly as possible the war debt obligations and to anticipate the coming depression when deferred tax payments will bear down with added weight upon industry.

Labor is generally recorded against the heavy armament burdens still being loaded upon the workers of all nations by their governments. But the idea of keeping taxes as they are now and pay off as much as we can while we are in a condition of prosperity comes as a lone voice in the wilderness. The excess profits tax has been repealed so that this means of reducing swollen corporation incomes is no longer in use. However, the graduated inheritance and income taxes still hold and it is to retain these at a reasonably high level to continue to bear most on those who can afford to pay most, that liberal opinion has now been rallying.

Economists of the new school have already pointed out to the limited audience they have in liberal periodicals that the nation can afford to pay now, in 1924 as in 1923, for there is still full employment, fair prosperity in all lines of industry and much profit available. Thus 1923 was the biggest year for real profits and 1924, especially in the construction and allied industries, shows every sign of being a still-better year. After that may come the deluge, although the signs of European recovery are marked enough to warrant the speculation that there will be in 1925 the stimulation of increased foreign trade.

Corporation profits in 1922 were six and a half billion dollars, in 1923 they were eight billion dollars, and in 1924 the mark aimed at is ten billion. In this period wages have also been ascending so that the relative position of the wage-earners this and last year with respect to their savings, food, clothing and shelter has been better than ever in our history.

National wealth is growing markedly, as revealed by the latest statistics of the Treasury Department. In 1923 there were added to national wealth some twelve billion dollars, of which five-sixths were consumed, but there were large accumulations of capital for new enterprises and savings. Of this increase some eight billion dollars were taken as profit by corporations. Of this the Government took one billion in taxes and surtaxes directly while some 800 millions more were raised from individual and small incomes.

The Mellon plan is to lop off some government expenses since the last tax collection yielded more than enough to meet the costs, and to reduce taxes generally, but mostly on the millionaire class. One of the features of his program is the abolition of tax-exempt securities. Mr. Mellon claims that the rich are evading their taxes by placing their money in these bonds. Critics of his program have shown that this claim is not sound for there are not enough tax-exempt securities to avail the rich for this purpose. They point out that there are more drastic remedies possible to prevent this cheating, but they uphold the issuance of tax-exempt securities.

While labor supports the theory of taxation for social purposes and the expenditure of funds thus derived for other national needs than destruction (i. e. war), it is equally necessary to continue the practice of tax exemption. Investment in tax-exempt State and city bond issues are used for building schools, roads, water works, sewers, gas plants, hospitals, docks, parks, street railways and public buildings which are socially used. Instead of being wasted, as suggested by Secretary Mellon, or becoming the cause of public extravagance, these

funds are the most productively invested of all public expenditures for they help to preserve life and to make our civilization more worthwhile.

It has been further demonstrated that the abundance of capital available for private enterprise is more than sufficient to meet the needs of normal industry and that it is not necessary to penalize public improvements to help the expansion of oil, railroad, steel, manufacturing and other industrial activities.

The nation needs taxes. That the

tax burdens have not injured labor or capital is evident from the generally healthy economic conditions noticeable today. The opinion revealed among progressive organizations, however, in the last month is in opposition to lifting the surtaxes on the wealthy and in favor of a restoration of the excess profits tax. A worthy reform would be publicity by the Treasury Department of the profits made by the great industries.

Another onslaught in favor of the Mellon proposals is now begun to overwhelm this criticism and the entire subject will then in a few weeks come up in Congress to be settled. Its determination will affect the welfare of all of us.

Brookwood Summer School

Plans for short summer courses at Brookwood Workers' College are well under way. Two courses are offered this year. The first is a one-week "Labor Institute," June 23-28, and the second a two-week course, July 7-20.

The Labor Institute is given with a special view to the needs of the delegates to the annual convention of the Women's Trade Union League but is open to all men and women of the Labor movement. An advisory committee of the Women's Trade Union League, of which Miss Rose Schneiderman is chairman, is assisting Brookwood in arranging the program and in calling the Institute to the attention of the Labor movement. Sessions will be held in the morning and evening, leaving the afternoons free for recreation.

The discussions will be opened by capable leaders in the world of Labor and scholarship. Among the subjects to be presented are "How to Increase Wages, Technical Changes in Industry and Their Effects on Trade Union Activity, the International Connections of Organized Labor, and the American Federation of Labor Declaration on Industrial Democracy.

The two-week course, July 7-20, is designed for officers, organizers, business agents, active rank and file members of the unions, including union teachers who have taught workers' classes or who desire to broaden their comprehension of Labor and the workers' education movement.

The basis of this two-week course will be a discussion of current Labor problems such as Company Unions, Labor Banks, the Labor Press, How to Raise Wages, The Business Cycle,

Scientific Management, the Plumb Plan, Labor and Politics.

This course will be in charge of David J. Sapos, instructor in Labor History and Problems at Brookwood, co-author with John R. Commons of the "History of the Labor Movement in the United States." Among those who will lead discussions are W. Jett Lanck, distinguished statistician and publicist, Walton H. Hamilton of the Washington University Graduate School of Economics, Stuart Chase and Otto Beyer of the Labor Bureau, Miss Mary Van Kleeck and Benjamin Selekman of The Russell Sage Foundation, and Chris Golden, President District No. 7, United Mine Workers of America.

With a special view to the needs of union teachers, Prof. Alfred Dwight Sheffield of Wellesley College and the Boston Trade Union College, author of "Joining in Public Discussion," will conduct a course in Materials and Methods of Public Discussion. Conferences on the teaching of Economics and English in workers' classes are also being arranged.

Brookwood is located on a fifty-three acre tract, among the hills, woods and brooks of Westchester County, forty miles from New York, on the Harlem Division of the New York Central Railroad.

The total cost of board, room and tuition at either one of the above courses is only \$20 per week. Many a union ought to invest this small sum to send one of its officers or members to Brookwood.

As only about thirty students can be accepted for each of the courses, applications or inquiries should be made at once. Address the secretary of the Summer School, Brookwood, Katonah, New York.

Conference of the Naturalization Aid League

The Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Naturalization Aid League will take place on Sunday afternoon, April 20, at 2 p. m., in the large hall of the Forward Building.

According to a report issued, the number of actual citizenship applications made out by the League offices during 1923 was over 15,000, exclusive of the thousands of inquiries made both personally and through the mails. In the fifteen years of the League's existence it has aided over 100,000 workers.

A recent innovation, according to the report, is the establishment of classes in citizenship which aim to prepare the applicant to answer questions as to his fitness. These classes have been found to be very successful.

The conference called for April 20 is for the purpose of rendering a report to the delegates of the League's affiliated bodies, and to draw up plans for a more intensive educational campaign among the members of organized Labor.

Invitations have gone out to all Labor unions and fraternal bodies to

send two delegates each to this conference. Such organizations who have not as yet received invitations are urged to elect delegates any way, so as to be represented at the conference.

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

WHAT WE MAY EXPECT FROM FUTURE CONFERENCES

If we are to judge from the answer given by the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association at the second conference between their committee and the conference committee of our Union, it would seem that the jobbers are not as firmly convinced of the soundness of their criticism of the two principal demands of the Union as they would make it appear. The very fact that they are ready to continue conferring, having frankly declared to our representatives that they do not regard their reply as an ultimatum, is sufficient evidence to us that some additional discussion of these two points might not be amiss. The jobbers' association, we believe, is not in a belligerent mood and is not determined to provoke a fight with the Union. The Union, on the other hand, surely wants no war—if it can only avoid it. In such a situation the best medium for an understanding is a thoroughgoing and exhaustive discussion of the issues involved.

In the answer given by the jobbers, the entire blame for present chaotic conditions in the cloak industry is laid at the door of the Union. We already replied to the same charge a few weeks ago when Mr. Blumbers, for the sake of propaganda, rushed with a similar statement into the public press. We shall only add now that, if it were even admitted for the sake of argument that the Union is the only "disturbing element" in the industry—the only remedy in sight would then be the destruction and elimination of the Union as a factor in the trade. But as this is admittedly too big a job even for the jobbers, we shall not waste too much space on it.

Yes, the Union is somewhat of a "trouble-maker." To be sure it was created for this purpose and that is what justifies its existence. And whether the jobbers like it or not—as long as the Union is here, they may expect to have "trouble" with it once in a while. The sooner the jobbers make up their mind concerning it, the better will it be for themselves and the industry as a whole.

Let us now consider their principal argument—that they are only "indirect employers of labor" and that they cannot be considered, either in practice or principle, as manufacturers. Let us try to analyze and understand what this term "indirect employers of labor" actually means.

An indirect employer of labor is any man or woman who consumes and purchases things necessary for his or her existence. If you enter a grocery store and buy a loaf of bread or purchase a suit of clothes from a tailor or a necktie from the haberdasher, you are an indirect employer of labor. In this sense every consumer is an indirect employer, for it stands to reason that, if we were to refuse to buy or use any particular article, the workers employed in the making of such an article would lose their employment and would have to turn to the making of any other article which the public is still buying. In this sense our entire consuming society is an indirect employer.

If our jobbers consider themselves indirect employers in such a sense, they are fully in the right. We take it for granted that the jobbers are persons with varied and extensive needs and that by gratifying these needs they are indirectly employing labor in various industrial pursuits. For that matter every manufacturer who is a consumer and every person in every other walk of life is an indirect employer. But, when the jobber enters the market to buy materials and subsequently orders any other person or firm to construct his materials into cloaks not for his personal use, but for the use of others, he becomes practically a manufacturer, whether he has a shop or not, whether he comes in direct contact with the workers who make these cloaks for him or not. For a manufacturer is not only one who employs workers directly, but any person who directly or indirectly employs workers to make up articles for him which he sells to the general consumer.

In their answer, the jobbers admit that in most cases they themselves buy the materials and give them to the contractors to be made up into garments. This admission removes any doubt, therefore, that in regard to the contractor, the jobber is the direct employer of labor. And as the contractor represents in this particular instance all the workers whom he employs, the natural inference is that the jobber gives his work to the contractor as to an intermediary between himself and the workers. In other words, the contractor is to him merely a foreman who saves him the trouble of coming into direct relations with the workers. The contractor is performing the same service for a jobber that the rent-collector is doing for the landlord, as we have already stated once before in these columns. And just as the house-owner cannot divest himself of his title merely because he does not come in direct contact with his tenants, so

cannot the jobber shake from himself the duties of a manufacturer simply because he does not deal directly with the workers but with the contractors.

Let us consider one of the arguments of the jobbers to be exempted from the class of the manufacturers. They say:

"The Jobber does not supply the capital for the contractor to engage in business, nor does he in the aggregate supply the styles used by the industry. The Jobber does, in many instances, supply the raw material, due primarily to the fact that some contractors are unable to establish sufficient credit to enable them to buy the raw material themselves but there are innumerable instances where the Jobber buys the finished product from the contractor made of the contractor's own material. In practically all cases, the contractor supplies his own trimmings and frequently the furs and fur trimmings that go into the garment."

Of course, we should not even permit ourselves a doubt concerning the correctness of this relationship of the jobbers with their contractors, as stated by themselves. Yet with all that, we cannot see why the jobber should not be regarded as the actual manufacturer. Only not so long ago, cloak operators were forced to buy their own machines and supply cotton and silk thread for the garments. Nevertheless, as far as we can remember, the manufacturers in those days never made a claim that they were not manufacturers merely because the workers had to invest their own money in machines and accessories. The situation applies with equal force to the contractor and jobber of today. Granted that in most cases the contractor invests his own few dollars in paying shop rentals for the first few months and paying the first few installments on the machines—it does not make him less dependent upon the jobber than what the cloakmaker of many years ago was on the manufacturer, even though he had to buy his own machine and other tools and accessories. The jobber still remains the manufacturer and the employer of labor, for it is quite certain that no contractor would rent a loft or spend money for equipment until he is sure of work from this or that jobber, from this or that manufacturer.

It happens, we are told, that a contractor takes a chance and makes up cloaks on his own account and from his own materials. Of course, in such a case he is a manufacturer, but these are not rare exceptions. In the majority of cases, the jobbers themselves admit they supply the materials to the contractors to be made up into cloaks and dresses. The jobbers also maintain that:

"There are a great many mail-order and catalogue houses, as well as retailers, who supply the same contractors with whom the Jobber is doing business, with their own materials and their own styles, placing them relatively in the same position with the contractors as the jobbers and stockhouses whom the Union would term direct employers of labor. Is it proposed by the Union that these retailers, mail-order and catalogue houses shall be similarly classified?"

Well, it seems to us that the situation has not developed to any such extent. Nevertheless, it might reach a point where the mail-order and catalogue houses, and the retailers should be made responsible to the Union for the welfare of the workers employed in the manufacture of the garments handled by them. Today, however, the lion's share of the cloak business is being made up by the jobbers. As a matter of fact, in many instances, it is the jobbers who are selling their product to the mail-order houses and to the retailers. When the jobber is brought under the control of the Union, the mail-order houses and the catalogue houses will by this very fact become subject to union regulations.

From this, the inference is plain. The argument of the jobbers that they cannot be considered as manufacturers in principle or in fact will not stand the test of criticism. From whatever point of view you might consider it, the jobbers are the present-day manufacturers in the cloak industry. And after having determined this, we can now proceed to the demand of the Union that "each jobber employ only such number of sub-manufacturers or contractors as he can provide with work to their full capacity. No jobber should engage new sub-manufacturers or contractors as long as those working for him are not fully provided with work."

We have already stated why the Union considers this demand to be so vital for the welfare of the workers. But the jobbers maintain that in their judgment this demand is not practicable and is impossible of successful operation. Here is what they say:

"When the season starts, it is necessary for the Jobber for several weeks to apply himself exclusively to looking at samples with a view of adopting various styles at different prices upon which he will later base his early business. During that period he is unable, consistently to deliver but very little piece goods to contractors or to make up into finished garments for later speculative consumption. When the peak of his business arrives, he is undoubtedly able to keep the considerable number of contractors busy to full capacity to take care of this peak business. It must be remembered that the time for the placing of the first orders with the contractors by the Jobber depends entirely upon the class of merchandise, the trade to which he is catering and upon many other conditions peculiarly applicable to the cloak and suit industry. If the Jobber endeavored to comply with the proposal of the Union, namely, that of contractors' limitation and the full capacity working clause and a guaranteed period of employment which the Union has announced publicly as thirty-eight weeks, the Jobber would be compelled to retain for twenty-two weeks in the Fall and sixteen weeks in the Spring that number of contractors that he required

In Office But Not in Power

By LEON CHASANOWICH
(Special Correspondence to JUSTICE)

—London.

Though the British Labor Government has been at the saddle a number of weeks, it is still impossible to form a definite opinion about its true character, for it is difficult to differentiate between what is tactic and manoeuvre in what it is doing and what is flowing out of its very nature. If the Labor Party could have depended upon a majority of its own, if it were the master of its own position, the coalitions are demoralizing. The present state of affairs, however, differs very little from a coalition situation. Coalition governments are bound to result in bitter disappointment for Socialist parties, because, in order to carry out their big plans for social reforms—the only excuse for an alliance with the bourgeoisie—they must obtain the sanction of their bourgeois colleagues in the ministry, and as a result the decision does not lie with those who say "Yes," but with those who say "No."

The English Liberal Party, which made the Labor Government possible, plays the same role of a brake without being in the government. Asquith, the Liberal leader, declared after the elections that "the Labor party will govern, but the Liberals will rule." The tactics of the Liberals throughout this period were actually based upon the assumption that the Labor Ministry was not able to make a single step without the sanction of the Liberals. So much so that Arthur Henderson, the Home Secretary, was forced to complain bitterly at an open meeting that "the Labor Party is in office, but not in power." True, the Labor Government succeeded in carrying certain measures without the aid of the Liberals and even without the aid of some of its own members. But it could make these steps only in cases where it could count safely on the support of the Conservatives, such as the renewal of the navy and airship construction program. When they, however, attempt to enact measures which affect the interests

of Capital, they are bound to have against them the united front of the whole bourgeoisie.

Under such conditions, the question arises whether it was really worthwhile for the Labor party to have formed a government, to carry all the responsibilities which go with it and stake all the future interests of the working class and of Socialism. Would not the Labor Party have reached the same practical results if it had allowed the Liberals to form a government and had forced concessions from them on the outside? There is a strong feeling that English Socialism would have gained by it in general and that it would have remained unstained and its moral prestige untouched. August Bebel said of himself, that whenever he was praised in the bourgeois camp, he at once began to look for some mistakes he might have committed. If complacency from the reactionaries are a bad sign for a Socialist government, the British Labor Government has sufficient reason to be dissatisfied with its conduct. From the mass of praise which we encountered in the reactionary press for the Labor Government, we can only quote some, which may explain this bitter disappointment which the Labor Government caused its own supporters and some of the Liberals when it carried the plan of building five new cruisers, under the official motivation that by this they did not intend to increase the navy but only to ameliorate unemployment among the unemployed, though these ships would not be built until several years hence. The highly conservative London Times in a leader commenting upon this says: "They (MacDonald and his supporters) have shown a true breadth of view by having risen from the depth of deeply grounded prejudices of many of their followers against 'unproductive expenditures' for armament, to a height of moral courage which is quite unusual in any party, acting according to their best

knowledge of the interests of the State, and against the wishes of their fellow-partisans. Whatever the indirect results of their action may be, it will be the course of time-strengthens on the feeling in the country that the Labor party is capable of governing. Common sense, readiness and ability to learn from experience and, above all, the moral courage to do the right thing because it is right, are strong recommendations to the confidence of Englishmen." The article ends with a personal compliment to MacDonald for the speech which he delivered on that occasion. All told, "it was a logical and firm speech, which is bound to strengthen the Premier in the election districts of the country."

Another, Conservative paper, the Observer, declares itself even more warmly towards the Labor Government in an article attacking the Liberals: "Patriotism and sound deliberation," writes the Observer, "demand that the Unionist leaders should give Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his cabinet during its limited period a stronger guarantee of steady and generous support than they may expect from the Liberal party. The King's Government must not only be conducted, but it must be conducted with circumspection and effectiveness in the open interest and consideration of the foreign situation. In a moment of extreme emergency, Mr. MacDonald and his friends became the King's Government. Though filled with Socialist Ministers, it is not in truth a Socialist Cabinet to any extent at all. It has heretofore shown exemplary moderation and strength. It is ready, as stated, to consider itself as men worthy of the confidence of the country as a whole at a difficult transitory period, as a ministry of 'national labor,' which is to carry out, by the consent of all, a wholesome constructive program. The country is deeply interested in the present attempt and would like to see it succeed. We repeat that this Government, unless it fails through its own mistakes, must be left quite secure in its place for at least six months or perhaps a year on condition of course that the Ministers will in the future avoid such

(Continued on Page 11)

only for his peak business during the Spring and Fall. To put it mildly, this is impossible of successful operation."

If this argument of the jobber is correct, then we must inevitably conclude that the cloak industry of New York cannot exist except by having 3,000 contractors in 3,000 shops, some of them employing no more than one or two workers. Every person endowed with a measure of common sense can understand that there is something the matter with an industry that cannot exist except under such conditions. An industry which cannot guarantee its workers even thirty-eight weeks of labor in the year is built on a wrong foundation, and every one who is interested in its progress must do his utmost to improve it so that its workers, contractors and every other factor engaged in it derive from it means for a decent living. That is why it seems to us that, if the argument of the jobbers is correct, it contains in itself an unqualified condemnation of the present state of affairs in the cloak industry. And the sooner it is changed, the better for all concerned in it.

Let us see now whether this system is absolutely unavoidable. Some time ago, the Union ordered a stoppage in the industry for the purpose of weeding out the petty shops so that shops with not less than fourteen machines should exist in the industry. Unfortunately, owing to many adverse circumstances, this stoppage did not succeed. Assuming that the Union had succeeded in its campaign and the number of the contractor shops would have thereby been cut in half, if not more—what would the jobbers have done then? Would not they have had to make up their product with as many contractors as there were in the trade? Let us again suppose that a couple of thousand contractors who grew tired of being "employers" left the cloak business and others who have closely watched their struggles did not take their place? What would the jobbers have done then? Is it actually impossible to coordinate the cloak industry so that its workers do not go idle one-half of the year?

In advancing its demand for a guarantee for, let us say, thirty-eight weeks of labor, the Union has acted on a well-founded assumption that the cloak industry is capable of giving its workers, at least, that many weeks of work during the year. Of course, the Union would want the workers to be employed all year around, but the Union knows that this is impossible, just as it knows that if order is brought into the industry instead of the present chaos, thirty-eight weeks is a feasible proposition. This demand does not prevent the jobbers from going on with

their business. The objections that are advanced to this demand can easily be overcome if they only have in mind not merely their own interests, but the interests of the workers and of the industry as well.

Among the objections advanced by the jobbers is one that they would have to place their orders before they definitely know whether they can sell their merchandise. They say that the jobber depends on the fluctuation of styles and it is therefore impossible for him to limit himself to a certain number of contractors. The jobber has only sufficient work for his contractors, they say, during the peak of the season and if the Union's proposal is accepted, he would be compelled to work in a haphazard manner.

Much as we should like to, we fail to grasp the reason why, under a system of a limited number of contractors, the jobber would be compelled to place his orders earlier than he does not. We have stated that before and we are saying it again: The number of cloakmakers in the trade will not become smaller. What will diminish is the number of shops and, instead of a multitude of such shops with five, ten or fifteen workers, there will grow up shops employing fifty or hundreds of workers. Why the jobber should not be in a position to place his orders just when he knows more or less how much and what kind of garments he needs for his early or late merchandise is beyond our ken. Neither can we understand what will prevent him from making the various classes and styles of merchandise if he has a choice of from 500 to 1,000 contractors. Or do the jobbers believe that the proposal of the Union will serve to weed out the ablest and the more capable of the contractors and that only the inferior ones will remain in the trade? It seems to us that the principle of the "survival of the fittest" would work just in the opposite direction, and that only the best of them will remain in the trade.

We shall have another opportunity to return to this subject as well as to the discussion of our demands. But we repeat, our impression from the last conference between our representatives and the committee of the jobbers' association is that we are hopeful that the jobbers will learn much, as the true light is cast upon these problems at coming conferences. And as we are convinced that no party in this controversy is looking for a fight, we hope that these conferences will bring the desired results and that the jobbers will actually help to reorganize the industry which finds itself in a miserable and chaotic condition, as they assure us in their answer.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS.



Slaying Pollyanna

Political Action. A Naturalistic Interpretation of the Labor Movement in Relation to the State. By Seth Eldridge. Volume III in Lippincott's Sociological Series. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1924.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There can no longer be the slightest doubt about it. Pollyanna, savagely attacked from a hundred different directions, is tottering. Pollyanna, native and indigenous to America as Uncle Sam, incarnation of our boasted optimism, Pollyanna is losing her hold. And this is far bigger news than the Dawes Reparation Report or even the death of Hugo Stinnes, pursued to the grave by his fears of the "Red Horde."

Of course, it was to be expected. Pollyanna cannot stand the air of a set economic environment. She had begun to wither before the attacks upon her gathered such momentum. But the attacks are important both as indices and scavengers. They tell us. Pollyanna is going and help blow her mortal remains to the wind. Somehow it becomes ever harder to play the American glad game when the world of thought is sounding such brooding, stinging notes. Literature, economics, psychology, anthropology, criticism, politics, labor, and sociology are pulling the wool spread by Pollyanna from our eyes. We no longer play the glad game. We play the true game.

This bulky, close-knit volume by Professor Eldridge is a most important accession to the new and fast growing army of anti-Pollyannabans. It has its faults. Its manner of expression is stodgy and cautious, perhaps deliberately, uninspired. It attempts to stand up so straight in this unduly Pollyannish land of ours that it often

leans over backwards. One can quarrel a little with its approach, with its development, with its conclusions. But one puts it down with the slinging excitement that can be imparted only by a real challenge. Professor Eldridge's book has nothing in it for the mentally lazy. No one who can and will think, should miss it.

Professor Eldridge belongs to that sociological school which believes that the scientific method can be applied to the facts of sociology. He belongs with Boas, Ogburn, McCool, Watson, Wallas, etc.; so great a thinker as Bertrand Russell would challenge this approach. Yet it can hardly be denied that the scientific method has yielded momentous results. Professor Eldridge calls it "the naturalistic method." It separates the factors in every specific social situation (and the specificity of situations is a cardinal tenet) into (a) the hereditary human traits and capacities, (b) the physical environment, and (c) the culture, or tradition operative in it. To analyze any situation, the sociologist must thoroughly canvass each of these elements and discover the explanation and outlook of the matter in their interrelations.

The specific situation which Professor Eldridge has chosen for study is, as the title page indicates, the "Labor movement in relation to the State" — certainly a fascinating subject and one upon which Professor Eldridge's application of the scientific method yields provocative results. I say Pro-

fessor Eldridge's application advisedly. For it seems to me that another application of the same method might grant slightly different findings.

After his first two introductory chapters, Professor Eldridge devotes nineteen chapters (465 pages) of his study to the three categories of factors operative in the given situation. Of these seventeen (151 pages) are concerned with the "hereditary human traits and capacities" entering into the problem of the Labor movement and the State. Physical environment and culture get one chapter each; while culture, moreover, is restricted to—customs, laws, beliefs, and ideals (non-material culture). Now it is undoubtedly true that the discussion of man's psychological make-up brings in many cultural considerations. But this basic plan upon which Professor Eldridge's work is built is significant.

His entire psychological discussion may be summarized under the term most popular by the new psychology—"the representational environment." According to this theory, modern man is "a cave-man in a modern city." The intellectual processes constitute the most recently developed part of the human equipment, and therefore the least influential upon men's actions. Man is a bundle of instincts and desires propelling him this way and that, craving activity and satisfaction. Hunger, fear, repulsion, gregariousness, sex, self-assertion, curiosity, constructiveness, and all the rest make man a center of activity, stimulated from his environment and m.e. moulded by it. Now, machine industry, capitalist society, and the arrangements flowing from it make it impossible for most m.e. (the worker) to obtain a normal satisfaction of his basic instincts and desires. The repression of these instincts creates an unrest and which is unabated only when a society satisfying the normal desires has been substituted for the present.

Professor Eldridge then (Chapters 22 to 31, 145 pages) applies his theory to the problems involved in the relations of Labor to the State. He con-

cludes that the class struggle cannot be expected to achieve under Labor is completely victorious in it; that democracy has incurable weaknesses in it (since men are not rational and the strongest suggestioning agencies will lead them); that political liberalism is a bundle of well-meaning but dangerous fallacies; that political action offers little hope to the workers; and that even the economic interpretation of history must be qualified before its full (it is already most valuable) value can be realized.

I wish merely to suggest a few of my criticisms upon this obviously stimulating and provocative analysis. Professor Eldridge bases his psychological analysis too much upon McDougall whose work has been so much weakened by the challenges made to it. But more than this, there is far too little attention given to cultural influences. Culture is more than customs, laws, and ideals; it includes as well a material and institutional environment. As Professor Ogburn's work indicates, the material culture is fundamental—and changes in it induce changes in the superstructures. Now, if environment is the stimulus to which human behavior is the reaction, it is highly probable that the changes now taking place in this environment may vitiate some of Professor Eldridge's results; for instance, the pressure of facts may weaken the influence of the now dominant suggestioning agencies and thus make political action a more promising tool for the workers than Dr. Eldridge looks for. There is a Labor Government in England, and the Constituent Assembly in the Russia of 1917 did hold a Bolshevik majority for Central Russia. Professor Eldridge's discussion of craft-unionism and the lack of organization among brain workers is an example of the fallacies to which his alighting of culture leads him (p. 119).

Professor Ogburn undoubtedly has done a more important, more unsalable piece of work in the rising new science. But Professor Eldridge has made a contribution too important if only in its challenge to Pollyanna Americanism.

Things Worthwhile Knowing

THE CONGRESSIONAL MILL GRINDS SLOWLY — THE CHILD LABOR AMEND- MENT

At last the Child Labor Amendment is to be reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives—if the latest promise holds. The chairman of the Committee, Representative George S. Graham of Philadelphia, a convinced opponent of the amendment, had pressed, moreover, by the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association and the National Association of Manufacturers, has been delaying the committee report notwithstanding the fact that a majority of this committee was in favor of this amendment. The Republican Steering Committee of the House, however, has at last taken a hand in the situation, with the result that the promise of a report on March 26 has been given to Representative Foster of Ohio, the House sponsor for the amendment.

Delays on the Senate side have been quite as disturbing as on the House side. Week after week the Senate Judiciary Committee has met and the friends of the amendment were given to expect a favorable report. Week after week, however, the report has failed to materialize. At this writing it is again expected at the next meeting of the committee, but in the light of experience no predictions can be made.

In view of the fact that millions of voters, men and women, all over the country, through more than

twenty nation-wide organizations, are demanding that Congress pass this amendment and submit it to the States for ratification; in view of the fact that the President and his party are committed to it, and that there is strong Democratic support likewise, headed by Senator Walsh of Montana, the reasons for delay on this measure do not appear on the surface. Each day of delay, however, is dangerous, because of the mass of legislation which Congress must dispose of at this session but has thus far been barely touched.—From Chicago Women's Trade Union League Bulletin.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES UN- FAIR TO WORKERS

It is something of a force to discuss unemployment and means for remedying its problems while we overlook the understandardized employment agencies of the State which are continually increasing these problems. The Bureau of Women in Industry recently made a study of the fee-charging employment agencies of the State, and of the effects of the law requiring such agencies to be licensed. Many serious problems were disclosed.

The present law, passed in 1904 and applying to first and second class cities only, requires that fee-charging employment agencies shall be licensed and places the administration of the law under the mayors of the various cities. But no standards, which must be met before a license is given,

are set in the law, and no provisions are made for the inspection of these agencies. In New York City alone, of all the first and second class cities, has the matter received serious attention. Consequently it is not surprising that the law has accomplished practically nothing.

Meanwhile the evils of the system which requires that the worker pay the chance to obtain work continue. The agencies are not interested in the welfare of either worker or employer, but in the fees which they secure every time a worker obtains a job through their activity. As a result facts are misrepresented and labor turnover is encouraged. Men and women, shipped to other localities on false information, have no redress when they discover the fraud. The social and economic problems which result from such a system are incalculable.

It is only too apparent that the licensing of these agencies should be a State and not a city affair. The opportunity for the exploitation of workers exists regardless of the size of the city. State control of the problem would permit the establishment of uniform standards and make possible a central bureau through which all licenses could be cleared. Only by a properly enforced State law will it be possible to check the "fly-by-night" agencies which spring into existence at the time of a strike and after a brief period of activity go out of business as rapidly.

At the same time a system of free labor exchanges and public employment bureaus should be established. For unless we believe that one should pay for the privilege of working, the

State should do its part in the necessary task of bringing the worker and the job together.

—Consumers' League Bulletin.

A DEBATE ON "CLEAN" BOOKS AND BOOK CENSORSHIP

An interesting debate will take place on Sunday afternoon, April 20, at Cooper Union in New York City, on the merits of literary censorship, between John S. Sumner, secretary of the John S. Sumner for the Suppression of Vice, otherwise known as the Comstock Society, and Attorney Louis Waldman, former Socialist assemblyman, who frequently appeared in the courts as the legal representative of several publishers in persecutions directed by Sumner on the allegation that they published books containing indiscreet references to sex.

The debate has been timed to precede the final legislative battle in Albany on the "Clean Books Bill," sponsored by Sumner. Delegations of book publishers, civil liberty organizations and anti-vice societies, who are preparing to go to Albany to lobby for their respective viewpoints on this bill are expected to be present at the debate to hear the two spokesmen rehearse the coming fight in Albany.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday, April 19, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss the "Dawes Report" in his Current Events lecture at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

On Saturday, April 19, at 3:15 p. m., Mr. Heywood Brown, dramatic critic of The New York World, will lecture on "The Confessions of a Dramatic Critic."



FOREIGN ITEMS

SCOTLAND

THE SCOTTISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

The Scottish Trades Union Congress will meet at Ayr, on April 16, one of its tasks being to discuss the structure and functions of the movement in Scotland. A general survey of the Scottish trade union movement will be proposed, and it will be suggested that the Congress be made the organ for the discussion of structural problems, and questions of industrial policy. One resolution on the agenda insists on the necessity of a daily Labor newspaper for Scotland, and instructs the general council to convene a conference of all competent and interested parties to set this project on foot.

BELGIUM

LABOR CONFLICTS IN 1923.

The number of strikes and lockouts occurring in Belgium in 1923 was much the same as in 1922. In 1902 there were 169 strikes and 4 lockouts; the strikes affected 85,602, and the lockouts 25,013 workers. In 1923, on the other hand, there were 164 strikes and 4 lockouts, affecting respectively 111,220 and 21,298 workers. From the point of view of the number of strikes, the textile workers came first, with 30 strikes; then follow the metal workers with 29, the wood and furniture workers with 16, the leather workers with 13, the clothing workers with 12, and lastly, the chemical workers with 10. From the point of view of the number of workers affected, the miners, transport workers and textile workers' strikes take the first places.

THE CAPITALIST COUNTER-OFFENSIVE.

The new government has learned something from the fall of its predecessor, for the new Prime Minister has recently announced through the press that no change will be made in the existing legislation with regard either to the eight-hour-day, or the laws against profiteering. But the reaction has not lost its claws, however. The very last act of Mogenssen, the Minister of Labor and Industry in the last Cabinet, was to issue a decree, the sole object of which is to take the question of unemployment wholly out of the competence of the trade unions, and to transfer it to state officials. An unemployed person is under his decree compelled to accept work, whether or not he is paid trade union rates. The industrialists are also trying to make difficulties about the index figure. They declare that in many cases the workers consume cheap substitutes rather than good food (for instance butter and meat) and therefore the index figure is in reality lower than the Government figures. This is the latest way of reducing the index figure, and therefore of lowering wages.

FRANCE

THE MINIMUM DEMANDS OF THE CONFEDERATION OF LABOR.

At the end of last week the General Council of the French Confederation of Labor held a meeting. In view of the approaching elections, it drew up its program of minimum demands, which program has been broadcasted throughout the whole country by means of leaflets and placards; and is to be explained at district conferences. The chief features of this program are the following: General amnesty and reinstatement of the railwaymen discharged after the last great strike; general recognition of trade union rights; not only in France, but also in the Colonies and Protected Countries; (this demand is a challenge to the recent efforts of the Government to tighten its control of civil servants' activities, and to deny the right of workers' organizations to deal with political questions); the introduction of workers' insurance; the recognition of the eight-hour-day, and the ratification of the Washington Convention; the erection of cheap dwellings; the combating of speculation; the abolition of indirect taxes; the capital levy; the transfer to State management of the petroleum refineries, the sugar industry, and general insurance; the establishment of the workers' right to a share in control; and the formation of a National Labor Council.

GERMANY

THE COMING SPLIT IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

There is little doubt that the conflicts within the unions between the adherents of the Socialist and Communist parties will soon come to a head, and that the result will be an open rupture. Moscow gave the lead a month ago, and since then there has been much talk at Communist meetings and congresses of the need for the "complete reconstruction of the German trade unions under the leadership of the Communist Party." The Communist Party of Germany also has issued a manifesto pointing the same way. In this manifesto it is explicitly stated that "in the newly founded organizations the good trade unionists, who often get the Communist Party into difficulties, must be kept out as much as possible. The chief thing is to have good Communists, even if they are not skilled trade unionists." This is yet another example of communist policy on the Continent, that is to say their conception of the "united front." Plans have already been made for an official congress to be held for the purpose in May next.

AUSTRIA

PRINTING AND ALLIED TRADES.

The Austrian Printers' Union have created a National Federation of Printing Operatives, which will promote internal development and also arrange for joint action in external matters. The Federation is intended to facilitate the process of transition to a single national union catering for all the printing and allied trades.

SWEDEN

WOODWORKERS.

The Swedish Sawmill Workers' Union has in the past year raised its membership by 4,600; it now numbers 28,000 members.

Press Bureau, International Federation of Trade Unions

DOMESTIC ITEMS

BABIES KILLED BY NEGLIGENCE.

"A baby born under conditions as they are in this country today has scarcely more chance of living a week than an old man of 90," said Herbert Hoover, president of the American Child Health Association and leader in the movement to celebrate May 1 as Child Health Day.

"The high rate of infant mortality and the deaths of mothers in child birth," said Mr. Hoover, "are mainly responsible for this terrible showing. For the last seven years an average of one baby out of every eleven born alive was lost."

CANNERS ARE ALARMED; CHANGE LABOR POLICY.

The cannery trust announces that it will improve working conditions of its employees, both in Alaska and along the Pacific coast.

The trust is supreme in Alaska, but despite this power it is frightened at the publicity given its black holes where the people's food is prepared under most revolting conditions. Federal grand juries in Alaska have arraigned these working conditions, and Delegate Sutherland, representing the territory of Alaska in Congress, has exposed other tactics of the cannery.

The immorality, the bootlegging, the gambling and opium smoking of diseased Chinamen employed by the cannery has been widely advertised, and the trust is getting quick returns from this publicity by the people declaring they are "through eating salmon."

LABOR PAPER INJURED BY DISASTROUS FIRE.

One of the most disastrous fires in the history of Springfield, Ill., destroyed the office of the Illinois Tradesman, official newspaper of the Springfield Federation of Labor.

The records, files, book accounts and a large number of documents of historic value were destroyed. The fire left Editor Woodmansee with nothing but the "forms" of his paper, which were in the printing office, located in another building.

FOOD PROFITEERS SELL PAINTED FISH.

Food profiteers are painting an inferior grade of fish to make it look like red salmon, which is then sold at top prices. The Department of Agriculture reports that the dyed salmon is sold in various sections of the country.

Dr. William C. Fowler, health officer of the District of Columbia, says this dye is "harmless," and that no prosecution will follow if dealers post a sign that they sell dyed fish.

Department of Agriculture officials declare that the dyeing is an adulteration and is, therefore, a violation of the food and drug acts.

OPPOSE COUNTY PRISONS.

Abolition of county prisons as penal institutions and the substitution of four or five large penitentiaries is favored by Dr. Louis Robinson, chairman of the Pennsylvania State Committee on Penal Affairs. Dr. Robinson suggested county jails be places of detention for untried prisoners.

"Nor do I agree with the law that sends a man to jail in default of a fine," said Dr. Robinson. "That means the right man pays, the poor man goes to jail. Fines should be collected on the installment plan, when necessary. As it is, when the State can not collect a fine, it simply boards a man free."

FLINTY COAL BARONS WOULD EVICT STRIKERS.

The United Mine Workers have checked the anti-union Vinton Collieries Company from evicting more than 500 striking employees in Cleatfield, Pa.

The company operates in Vintonale, Cambria County. Its employees were unorganized when it announced a wage cut of \$2.50 a day. Six hundred employees suspended work and joined the United Mine Workers. The company immediately served a 24-hour eviction notice on 90 per cent of these strikers who live in company houses.

President Brophy of District No. 2, United Mine Workers, declared that the company's effort to place hundreds of men, women and children on the streets would be contested.

ANTI STUBS HIS TOE.

There have been no strikes in the Hartford, Conn., building industry the past year, declared Secretary T. J. Kelley of the Hartford Employers' Association in his annual report.

Trade unionists remind Kelley that this industry is thoroughly organized.

PRISON LABOR TRUST REACHES HIGH PROFITS.

With the aid of convict labor, aprons are manufactured in Iowa prisons at a cost of 57 1/2 cents per dozen. The same labor system makes it possible for the Reliance Manufacturing Company to manufacture work shirts at a cost of 5 cents apiece. In both cases the costs include factory building, heat, light and power.

These figures have been given wide circulation by organized labor in its fight against prison labor. The unionists show that there are five companies in this state that are manufacturing the same kind of work shirt. Their labor cost averages \$1.85 1/2 per dozen, with additional costs for building, heat, light and power. The average cost for making an apron similar to the convict brand is \$2.23 per dozen.

The unionists point out that last year the Reliance Company paid the State \$45,984.98 on its contract at the Fort Madison prison. In the same period the State appropriated \$155,182.04 for supporting that prison. This did not include appropriation for building, or for salaries of officers and employees.

Two Years' Work of the Educational Department

[REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE TO THE
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, APRIL, 1924.]

Introduction

Now that our International Union celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary, its large membership takes pride in the many great achievements which it has accomplished for its members and for the Labor movement in general. And we point proudly to the one additional achievement, which is of great importance for the future of the Labor movement, and that is the organization of the movement for Workers' Education within the Trade Unions.

It was our good fortune to be the pioneers in this field and to make the experiment for the Labor movement. We are happy to state that the American Labor movement has endorsed the results of our efforts in Workers' Education, and is determined to carry it on to further development.

But our members realize that Workers' Education would have been impossible if not for the gains in leisure that the workers won through the battles they carried on through their Trade Unions. Those of the workers who work long hours and have to carry on hard battles for their daily subsistence cannot rise to the point of appreciating the value of education, and still less have they the energy and desire to organize educational activities under their auspices, activities that should reflect the desires, hopes and aspirations of the organized Labor movement. The constant decrease of the working hours which our Union won for our members has raised the question of how to spend these hours. The inauguration of educational activities in our Union is the logical answer to this question.

It is becoming evident that organized Labor is destined to play an increasingly important part in social and economic progress. It does not require very much knowledge to see things will not continue as they are. It is merely a matter of time when Labor will be forced to existing conditions to unite more firmly than before, and to compel widespread and fundamental changes in the present economic system.

Who is going to accomplish this? Those in the Labor movement who know and understand. But who are they? No one can answer correctly. No one can tell who are the younger men and women who, a few years hence, will lead their brothers and sisters to triumphant Industrial Democracy.

It is our sacred duty to find these men and women and give them the knowledge and vision which will enable them to serve their fellow workers efficiently. This can be accomplished best by further development of Labor education. All those who take advantage of the Labor educational activities must be given the proper training, for they will be the great labor army of tomorrow.

Character of our Education

In deciding upon the character of the instruction to be given for our groups, the Educational Committee had to adopt a definite policy. Our courses could be filled mainly with propaganda, but we decided that this is unnecessary. We know that our members participated in the numerous struggles of our organization and have learned from bitter experience that the existing economic system is unsatisfactory and should be improved and changed.

Our members stand, consciously or unconsciously, for the reconstruction of society, and they strive toward a new life. They dream of a world where economic and social justice shall prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as a cooperative commonwealth, where love, friendship and fellowship will replace selfishness. To attain this end, we thought it necessary not merely to accumulate knowledge for its own sake, but that the subjects for study in workers' classes must be selected with the definite object of giving our members the mental and moral equipment which will best enable them to be useful not only to their own class, but also to the Labor movement and to society as a whole, and which will inspire them to disinterested service to the Labor movement. To give such service, our members must receive the kind of education which will strengthen and broaden character, develop discrimination and create in them the ability to form sound judgments.

We felt that the best way to accomplish this is to give our members a body of information and incontrovertible facts, which they can utilize in their economic and political activities and with the assistance of which they can interpret these correctly.

In accordance with this policy, our curriculum consists mainly of courses in history, economics, trade unionism, etc. These are presented in such a way as to show how the present economic order is organized and how it works.

That this policy is sound is shown by the fact that it has gained the approval and confidence of all who attend our classes. No matter what their particular personal economic or political beliefs are, they receive our instruction with confidence.

We may safely say that the activities of our Educational Department have grown and have secured the support of various groups, despite these trying days when minds are upset and unbalanced, principally because we do not adhere to any particular "ism." The only bias which prevails in the Educational Department is loyalty and devotion to the organized Labor movement.

Our Education and Our Organization

In all fields the effort is being made to break down the artificial barrier between education and life. In Workers' Education we want every student to feel that his union life is a vital part of his education, and his educational life a vital part of his union. We want him to bring his union problems to all classes

and to take his reflection and added grasp of facts gained in study back to his shop and the business meeting of the union. Trade union policy is not alone to be formed in the executive council of the International. The living policy is formed in the daily routine of the shops, in the meetings of locals and shop chairmen and in the union study groups.

Difficulties and Obstacles

In judging the success of our activities in the City of New York, one must remember some of the difficulties which we must overcome. We must remember the fatigue of the workers, their family duties, their personal and organization interests and the time consumed in traveling to and from work. Also in the City of New York there are a great many conflicting attractions, all bidding for the interest of the workers. Lectures, entertainments, concerts, drama, opera and various other similar attractions, are conducted almost every day and every evening.

Considering all this, we feel that a great deal has been accomplished, for in spite of these conditions, a large number of our members were attracted to our courses, and attended them regularly and faithfully.

Attitude of Our Membership

In attempting to build up our educational activities, we have to overcome the attitude of some of our older members. We know that they accomplished a great task in building up the union as a protection of the economic welfare of its members. But their struggles created in them an impatience with a systematic study of present-day conditions and institutions. However, more of them realize without such study we cannot expect to bring about the economic and social changes for which our workers are consciously or unconsciously striving.

But we have won the confidence of our members by making clear to them that our educational program is based on the assumption that our members are striving toward a new industrial order, to be based on the principle that production should be carried on for the satisfaction of human wants and not for private profit and that human life is above property.

We also made it clear to them that the work of our Educational Department is based on a conviction that the aims and aspirations of the workers can be realized only through their own efforts in the economic and educational fields, and that while organization gives them power, true education will give them the ability to use their power intelligently and effectively.

Although we are aware of the difficulties which we must still overcome, we cannot refrain from expressing our gratification at the success already achieved. Greater numbers of our members realize that although in our classes the main emphasis is laid on what meets their practical needs and helps to strengthen their organization, at the same time an attempt is made to satisfy their intellectual and emotional needs.

Cooperation of Our Officers and Active Members

We are gratified that our educational activities receive greater recognition from the officers and active members of our local unions. They are now taken more seriously than ever. But we are convinced that if we can get still more cooperation, we can make our work much more effective, and therefore more useful to our own Union and to the Labor movement.

Our Activities

During the past two years, the Educational Department continued and expanded its previous activities.

1. Workers' University

As in the past, our Workers' University was conducted in the Washington Irving School in New York and the I. L. G. W. U. Building. Classes for advanced students were held in Economics and Trade Union Problems, Applied Psychology, Social Psychology, Literature and Social History.

2. Unity Centers

Unity centers in public school buildings in New York City were conducted as before in Bronx, Manhattan and Brooklyn.

Subjects

In each Unity Center, we carry on various activities; educational, health and social. Our members meet there from four to five nights a week.

Our International arranges independently courses as History of Civilization, Literature, Industrial and Trade Union History, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U., Economics and Labor Movement, Economic Literature, Applied Psychology, History of the United States, Understanding of Music, etc.

English

Since most of our members are of foreign birth, it is natural that English should occupy a very important place in our educational plan. In each Unity Center there are classes in English of elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school grade, all organized exclusively for our members. The teachers for English and physical training are assigned by the Evening School Department of the Board of Education.

Health and Education

One evening a week in each Unity Center is devoted to Health. For one hour a lecture on health topics which concern the home and factory life of the workers is given by prominent physicians.

3. Extension Division

For the past two years we have developed our Extension Division so as to reach a larger number of our members. This was done in the following way:

(a) Courses and classes were held in different languages, English, Yiddish, Russian and Polish.

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The Week In Local 10

By SAM S. SHENKER

Last Monday night, April 14, in Arlington Hall, Manager Dubinsky read to the members the answer of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association's response to the Union's demands submitted at the conference which was held for the renewal of the agreement.

Unlike past conferences, the Jobbers' Association, officially known as the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association, was the first of the manufacturers' associations before whom the Union submitted demands. Dubinsky said that in the past, when agreements had to be renewed, it was to the Protective Association that the Union came first, conferences with the jobbers and contractors being of secondary importance. If an agreement with the Protective was reached, that would have been the end of all impending strife. If a strike would be the result, it would have affected the entire industry—the jobbers as well as the contractors.

However, under present changed conditions, the manager pointed out, the jobbers are the leaders of the industry and to them the great bulk of the trade looks for business. In the years just gone by, the Protective Association had within its folds employers of large shops, and it was for this reason that the Union came to them first with its demands. With the disappearance of the large shops and with the growth in their places of stockhouses and jobbers, the Protective has assumed a position of secondary importance.

The jobbers in turn have become the real employers. It is they that supply the bulk of the work to the nearly 5,000 contracting shops. It is hardly necessary to repeat what has been said in the columns of this paper during the past few months. The General Executive Board, before it presented its 12 points for reconstructing the industry, had made a thorough study of the present conditions in the cloak and suit industry, and it had come to the conclusion that if ever the Union intended to do away with the ills to which the workers are subjected under the contracting and sub-manufacturing system, it would have to make the jobber responsible first, for it is the jobber who is the real employer.

While the conference was held with the Protective Association the outcome with this organization, nevertheless, will not be known until the Union's stand with the jobbers is definitely established, one way or the other.

The answer of the jobbers to the Union's proposals is, to boil it down to a few words, that the jobbers obligate themselves only to the extent that they will give their work to union shops. Insofar as their influence in the industry, and insofar as their responsibility for conditions is concerned, they take a position of aloofness. The entire answer, printed in a booklet form of eleven pages, takes the position of unconcern respecting the manufacture of the garments.

At the conclusion of the reading of the answer, Manager Dubinsky expressed the hope that the members who were skeptical of the outcome of the demands proposed by the Union would change their attitude. In touching upon the ills of the industry broached by the Union in its demands, the jobbers attributed these ills to the Union.

The proposals of the Union for the limitations of contractors or sub-manufacturers were gone into by the jobbers at some length. This proposition was turned down by them on the ground that it was accepted "it would be but a short time before the industry would find itself in . . .

a demoralized . . . condition . . ." (No doubt the jobbers consider the employment of 3,000 contractors when they actually need but 1,000 or 1,500 for the production of their merchandise, a normal condition.)

The balance of the Union's proposal practically received the same reply. In considering the balance of the 12 points the jobbers replied to nearly all of them, in effect, that they would obligate themselves to have their work made up in union shops and under union conditions. They agree that the workers must have proper sanitation and ventilation in the shops. They also agree that workers must receive adequate wages. And they stated that "what-ever reasonable and proper methods may be adopted after appropriate consideration, the Union may be assured will receive the hearty cooperation and support of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association."

The jobbers, in other words, agree that working conditions of the workers should be improved. They also are in favor of them and are willing to consider them. But they do not even hint at helping to maintain them and being responsible for their maintenance.

According to the reply it seemed as though negotiations were about to end. However, the jobbers thought better of this and agreed to discuss in sub-committees the demands of the Union.

Manager Dubinsky reminded the members of the last meeting when the Union's proposals were discussed by them and the ten points the most important points were looked upon with skepticism. He also recalled to them the heat with which they discussed point "4." In recalling these matters to them he made the point that to the jobbers the demands were looked upon as a very radical departure from the Union's past demands.

The manager urged the members to carefully read the pages of this publication. The reply of the jobbers in greater detail will be given elsewhere in this issue. There is no question but that each reply will be carefully analyzed and the Union's position will be made very plain. He also urged the members to be ready to attend meetings of the organization as the conferences now going on are entering important stages.

The members at this meeting seemed very anxious to hear what the local's demand for a minimum scale would be. The Executive Board had therefore, at its session on April 10, recommended to submit a demand of \$60.00 as the cutters' minimum. When it was put to a vote some members were for making it more. However, after some deliberation the recommendation was unanimously accepted. Dubinsky announced the fact that any compromise suggested by the employers would be submitted to the members for their approval.

The Executive Board in its report for the same date also recommended the approval of the balance of the 12 points. It will be recalled that the cutters have discussed and approved only four points.

The six points recommended for approval relate to unemployment insurance; equalizing wages in the finishing branches of the industry; Labor bureau; the union label and the right to investigate books. These were unanimously approved by the members.

Manager Dubinsky submitted quarterly reports of the complaints and adjustments in the cloak and dress department of the Joint Board. His reports begin with January 1 and end March 31. Due to a lack of space

only the cloak and suit complaints will be reported here. In next week's publication will be printed the waist and dress adjustments and complaints. A total of 350 complaints were filed during this period. 347 of these were adjusted. Three are pending.

There were 224 complaints filed under the heading "Bosses doing the cutting" and "no cutter employed." 119 of these complaints were unfounded. Cutters were found working in the shops against which complaints were filed. Seventeen cutters were placed to work where no cutters were found working. Fines were imposed against eighteen firms and cutters were placed to work in the same shops. Twenty firms paid fines for this violation. Twenty-eight shops against which complaints of this nature were filed were not working due to sickness. Four shops were declared on strike as it was found impossible to make an adjustment. Three shops were found to have been unorganized and were referred to the Organizing Department. In seven of the shops complaints against cut work were received from manufacturing houses. Seven firms had gone out of business during the time that the complaints were filed.

There were ten complaints filed under the heading "Boss is helping cutter at table." Three of these complaints were unfounded. Five firms were instructed with regard to the agreement and were told that a repetition of the violation would result in the placing of a fine against them. Two firms paid for this violation.

Twenty-seven complaints were filed under the heading "Non-union cutter employed." Sixteen of these were decided in favor of the Union. Nine were unfounded as the cutters were found to have been members of the Union. In one shop there was no work and in another a fine was placed against the firm, and a cutter was placed to work.

Sixteen complaints were filed under the heading "Firm refuses to pay wages due cutter." Thirteen complaints were decided in favor of the Union and three were dropped. Three complaints were filed under the heading "Firm refuses to pay cutter the minimum scale of wages." They were decided in favor of the Union. Four complaints were filed under the heading "Firm offers to pay less than agreed upon." Three of these complaints were decided in favor of the Union, and the fourth is pending.

Thirteen discharge cases were filed. Eleven of the cutters discharged were reinstated. One shop was declared on strike and the thirteenth complaint was withdrawn by the cutter. Four complaints were filed under the heading "Cutter is member of firm." Three were unfounded and the fourth shop had burned down.

Two complaints were filed to the effect that the firms were receiving cut work from non-union jobbers. One

of these was unfounded and in the second shop the workers were idle on account of the lack of work.

There were twenty-one complaints filed under the heading "Cutters violating Union rules." Four were decided in favor of the Union. Fifteen were unfounded. One cutter was fined by the Executive Board and one complaint is still pending. Eight complaints were filed against new members who were obligated and failed to take their Union books out. Seven of these complaints were decided in favor of the Union and in the eighth case the cutter was removed from the shop. Fifteen complaints were filed against shops the cutters of which were fined for various violations and continued working without paying the fines. Twelve of these cases were adjusted in favor of the Union and three cutters are out of the shops.

Members who violate the Union's rules and have been disciplined should have been taught a lesson from the action of the members in one of the cases of the Executive Board. The men who are called before the Board on charges of violating by-laws, never sufficiently feel to what extent they are guilty. They are often under the impression that the Executive Board acts hastily.

That this is the case and that this is the feeling that dominates men found guilty, may be seen from the number of appeals submitted. When the case of Joseph Koenigsberg, therefore, was reported to the members it was referred back to the Executive Board for more severe action. Koenigsberg was found guilty by the Executive Board on March 27 with working on two jobs and was fined \$60. This to the members of the Board appeared to have been a sufficient punishment for the violation. However, the members did not think so, and had the case sent back to the Board.

No different attitude is taken by the members in the case of cutters who have been fined and appeal. At the meeting of the membership on March 31, there were about ten reports of the appeal committee heard. Three recommendations had been made at that time for a reversal of the Executive Board action and the members accepted but one.

At last Monday night's meeting there were eleven appeals filed involving about fifteen men. It is not intended here to dampen the hopes of these men for the favorable consideration of their appeals. However, the appellant should not feel too hopeful. They should stop to consider before they commit violations. No matter how harsh the judgment of the Executive Board may appear, it is never harsher than the judgment of the members. For they feel that whenever a violation is committed, Union standards are lowered and it is sometimes difficult for a union man to secure a decent job.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, April 21st

REGULAR MEETING Monday, April 28th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place