

"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. 47.

New York, Friday, November 21, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

## Justice Gavegan Reserves Decision On Injunction

Offers Both Sides to "Settle Dispute Out of Court" Before Rendering Decision—Court Crowded With Union Members—I. L. G. W. U. Members Condemn Action of Leaders of Local 17—Three Executive Members of Local Make Statement

The injunction proceedings of Local 17 against the International and the Joint Board continued to hold the center of attention in Labor circles of New York during last week. The deep resentment aroused among working men and women all over the city over the unheard-of act of the officers of that local in procuring an injunction against our Union, is mounting higher and higher.

On Monday morning, November 17, the hearing on the motion to make this injunction permanent took place in Part I of the New York County Supreme Court before Justice Gavegan. The court room and the corridors were crammed with members and officers of our organization from every part of the city and many workers quit their jobs for the day to come to the hearing. The hearing began at 11:30 in the morning; Justice Gavegan at first desired to postpone it owing to the lateness of the morning hour, but as both attorneys

insisted that the hearing take place, he gave each of them fifteen minutes to present arguments.

Former Judge Seabury spoke first for the complainant. He stated that Local 17 was nineteen years old, that it had a loyal and deserving past and that its dissolution by the General Executive Board was entirely unwarranted as the local never was charged with committing any violation against the I. L. G. W. U. He claimed that by the act of dissolution, the 3,000 members of the local would lose their jobs and the local would lose all its funds. To a question by Justice Gavegan, how big the treasury of Local 17 was, Mr. Seabury replied that he could not state that definitely but that it involved several thousand dollars.

Mr. Morris Hillquit, attorney for the I. L. G. W. U. followed Seabury and stated in a few concise sentences the story of the merger of the three cloak operators' locals in New York.

He explained to the court, the form and structure of our Union and dwelt upon the constitutional authority vested in the General Executive Board to transfer and to reorganize its members and locals for the benefit of the workers and of the industry as it may deem fit and best. He also pointed out that under the terms of this merger the members of Local 17 stand nothing to lose but a great deal to gain, as the local has little or no property at all while the other locals with whom it is to be consolidated have considerable funds. Hillquit also informed the court that at present there is no prefer trade in New York to speak of but that the members of Local 17 are all cloak operators.

After the lawyers closed, Judge Gavegan announced that he felt that a decision by him at this moment would probably cause bitter feelings and in order to avoid this he would (Continued on page 2.)

## Local 22, Ready To Elect Officers

Local 22, the Dress Makers' Union of New York, the biggest local in the New York Joint Board, is getting ready for local elections. A long list of candidates have been nominated at recent branch meetings and from these the members of the local will have to choose a secretary-manager, an executive board and a sick benefit committee to supervise the administration of the sick fund of the local.

The committee on objections to candidates elected by Local 22 to sift and determine the qualifications of the nominees, will meet on Saturday, November 22, at 9 o'clock in the morning in the office of the local, 16 West 21st street. All the nominated candidates are called upon to appear before this committee and such as will fail to put in an appearance will automatically be removed from the ballot.

Members may also send in their objections to any of the nominees by mail to the committee on objections. It is to be hoped that the members of Local 22 fully understand the importance of electing a proper and fully qualified set of officials and will, all of them, take part in this election as a duty to their organization and themselves.

## Chicago Cloak Union Confers With Employers

President Sigman Present At Conference

On his way to El Paso to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Sigman stopped off at Chicago and took part in a conference between the Chicago Joint Board and the Cloak Manufacturers' Association of that city. The conference was called for the purpose of opening up negotiations for the drawing up of a new agreement in the trade in place of the old contract which expires on December 15.

Mr. Kirschbaum, the president of the employers' group declared that the manufacturers are interested in settling this question now as the general cloak situation in Chicago leaves

much to be desired and that it is therefore necessary for them to know how and what to plan for the future. President Sigman declared that the situation in Chicago is not exceptional and that the International is interested in putting the industry on a sound and workable basis and will help in that direction. He told the manufacturers that the Joint Board is now preparing the agreement and that with the return of Vice-president Perlstein from New York next week, a formal conference may be had. He added that he might be present at such a conference on his way back from El Paso.

## Local 2, To Have Section Meetings Next Week

Next Monday evening, November 24, the Cloak Operators' Union, Local 2, will hold section meetings all over the city.

Cloak operators are requested to attend the branch meetings in the following halls:

Bronx—Hunts Point Palace, 163rd street and Southern Boulevard; 542 East 145th street, between St. Ann's and Brook avenues; London Casino, Clermont Parkway and Third avenue.

Harlem—Educational Socialist Center, 62 East 106th street.

Down-Town—Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway; Beethoven Hall, 210

East 5th street.

Williamsburg—195 Montross avenue.

Brownsville—Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

Borough Park—1973 43rd street, near 125th avenue.

Coney Island—Boardwalk Hotel, 3033 West 23rd street.

The next general member meeting of the local will be held on Monday, December 1, at 7:30 p. m., in Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th street. The order of the day for that meeting will be: The Last Stoppage and the Governor's Commission.

## French Garment Workers Invite I. L. G. W. U. To Their Congress

The General Office of our International is in receipt of an invitation from the organized garment and clothing workers of France, known as the Federation of Industrie Des Travailleurs Du Vêtement and De La Chapellerie De France and Des Colonies, to send delegates to the extraordinary convention to be held by this organization early in December, in Paris. The special nature of this congress is emphasized in the letter as it will largely be devoted to the problem of uniting the garment workers' union with the union of textile workers and the unions in kindred trades in France.

The letter reads as follows:

Paris, October 22, 1924.

Comrade Secretary:

Our National Federation will hold its Special Convention on December 5, 6 and 7 next, in Paris, in the assembly hall of Cooperative Labor, 23 Rue Boyer.

This convention will be devoted to the task of effecting fusion be-

tween our union and the National Federation of Textile Workers and kindred organizations in France and the colonies.

Besides this question, the following problems will appear on our agenda: Wage—(regional and national scales); the forty-four hour week; vacations with pay; trade union solidarity; social demands; strike tactics, etc.

Our National Executive Committee would be very happy to count among the representatives of the Labor organizations taking a part in the work and progress of our Union a delegation from your central body and would welcome and receive it very cordially.

Accept, Comrade Secretary, our brotherly greetings,

By the order of the Central Committee of the Federation of Clothing and Millinery Workers,

The Secretariat:

HILLERAT, BELLUGUE, LE GOC

## District Council Bee Hive Of Activity

Another Great Turn-Out Next Monday Evening

The organization campaign started by the District Council of the Miscellaneous Trades' locals in New York some weeks ago, is proceeding at a lively pace. Several hundred members of the locals have constituted themselves into a volunteer corps of organizers and are actively distributing in front of the shops thousands of circulars and leaflets to the non-Union workers in the children's dress, embroidery and novelty trades.

In spite of the bitter cold last week, the active workers of this volunteer committee appeared regularly on the corners in the dress and novelty district to do their work. Next Monday, Vice-president Lefkowitz, the

manager of this drive, informs us another general distribution of a new illustrated leaflet will take place and about a thousand workers are expected to take part in the drive.

The headquarters of the District Council at 3 West 16th street are a bee-hive of activity these days. The entire trade is aroused with the educational campaign and there is every reason for hoping that it will bring excellent results. The locals affiliated with the Council are bound to become strengthened and the Union, as a whole, will find itself on a stronger footing in these trades in the near future.

## Justice Gavegan Reserves Decision On Injunction

(Continued from page 1)

suggest that both parties make an attempt to adjust the controversy before he would render his decision. He forthwith brought the hearing to an end requesting the lawyers to leave

their briefs and papers with the clerk so that he might have an opportunity to further examine all the issues involved in the case before giving out his final judgment.

### Statement By Three Members of the Executive Board of Local 17

We are in receipt of the following statement by the members of the Executive Board of Local 17, protesting against the action of the officers of the Local in taking out an injunction against the I. L. G. W. U.

"We, the undersigned, members of the Executive Board of Local 17, declare that we resign from this Executive Board and that we are not to be held responsible for any present and future actions of this Executive Board.

"We desire to state the following: We have until now adhered to the views of the local as expressed in its official statements and decisions with regard to the merger of the three cloak operators' locals, though in principle we are for their amalgamation. We, nevertheless, opposed it because we believed that the motives which prompted the bringing up of this problem at this moment and also the methods by which this amalgamation is being carried out, will do our Union no good. We believed that as long as there exists in our local a stubborn opposition to such a merger, it is the duty of the General Executive Board to use every possible

means first to remove such opposition.

"We observe, however, now that the leaders in our local have gone so far in their opposition that it bids fair to harm our Union even more than a merger would at this moment; we refer in particular to the injunction move, and we declare that we shall not tolerate such an infamous and degrading act. We believe that honest workers must not tolerate such methods of internal strife within a Labor organization. We shall not share the responsibility for such actions and we are convinced that such methods cannot benefit our local.

"We therefore withdraw from the Executive Board as we would not be in any manner made a party to such acts as are being at present committed in the name of our local. We hope that the members of local 17 who elected us will understand the motives which compel us to resign our places and that they will fully appreciate the earnestness of our act.

Respectfully,

A. WEISBLAT,  
ISIDOR MOSKOWITZ,  
BEN MACH."

### "American Education Week" At Rand School

On Friday, November 21, at 8:30 p. m., Dr. Norman Thomas, Mrs. Mary Simkovich and Mr. Marius Hansome will speak in the School Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on the topic "Social Recreation and Youth." This is part of the program arranged by the Rand School for American Education Week. It will be followed on November 22, at 3:15 p. m., by a meeting on "Community Ideals" addressed by Dr. H. W. L. Dana, Mr. Roger N. Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union, and Mr.

Charles Solomon. Admission is free to these meetings.

On Saturday, also at 1:30 p. m., Dr. Scott Nearing will discuss "Labor's Contribution in British," in his Current Events lecture at the Rand School.

On Sunday afternoon, November 30, at 2:30 o'clock, Dr. Scott Nearing will debate Clarence Darrow on the question "Is the Human Race Worth Working For?" at Town Hall, 115 W. 43rd street. Tickets are on sale at the Rand School.

### Local 9, Celebrates Opening of Its Educational Season

The members of our Cloak Finishers' Union, Local 9, will celebrate the opening of our educational season, this Friday evening, November 21, at 7:30.

For this occasion a concert has been arranged in the auditorium of the Stuyvesant High School. Among the artists who will participate will be: Michel Piastro, the celebrated violinist; Annette Royack, the well known

soprano, and Leon Blank, the famous actor. The program is one of the most artistic that Local 9 has ever arranged.

In addition to their own members they have invited representatives of our numerous local unions to join them in their celebration.

Admission is free to members of Local 9.

### I. L. G. W. U. Chorus To Give Concert In Premier Theatre

The International Chorus, under the leadership of the well-known conductor, Leo Liov, will give a concert on Wednesday evening, December 3, at the Premier Theatre, Sutter avenue and Hinesdale street, Brownsville, Brooklyn.

In addition to the chorus, the following artists will take part in the program: the celebrated Russian singer of folk songs, Nina Tarasova, the renowned cantor, Mordecai Herschman; the famous violinist, Michel Piastro, and a string quartet.

Tickets to be had in all local offices of our Union in New York and Brooklyn. Prices are \$1.00, \$1.50 and \$2.00. No war tax.

#### How Much Do You Value YOUR FEET?

Do you know that the UNION HEALTH CENTER 131 East 17th Street has a Specialist on Foot Diseases who offers a special treatment and free-day evenings between 5 and 8:30? See One Dollar to Members of Participating Locals.

## Secretary Baroff Calls Upon Locals To Observe "Golden Rule" Sunday

Workers Asked to Give to Near East Children on December 7.

On Sunday, December 7, all persons who are disposed to make a practical application of the Golden Rule in their own lives or homes will provide for their Sunday dinner approximately the same menu that is provided for tens of thousands in Near East Relief Orphanages (tens of thousands of others in refugee camps, for lack of funds, do not have even the simplest orphanage meal). Having placed themselves in the position of these orphans for a single meal on Golden Rule Sunday, these persons will be asked to make as generous a contribution as they can possibly make towards the great cause of feeding these orphans for the coming year—until they are equipped for self-support at the earliest possible age.

This appeal to observe Golden Rule Sunday on December 7 has been directed to the workers in every country, and in the United States the initiative in this matter has been taken by the American Federation of Labor, whose New York representative, Brother Hugh Frayne, requested Secretary Baroff of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to call upon the members of our Union to respond to this international cry for help for the Near East

### THREE YEARS' WORK OF BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE

A public meeting under the auspices of the American Birth Control League will be held at Carnegie Hall on the evening of December 6. In December the league will be three years old and the work of its founder, Margaret Sanger, for Birth Control more than ten years old.

Among the speakers at the Carnegie Hall meeting will be Mrs. Sanger, Dr. Dorothy Bocker, who is in charge of the Clinic at the headquarters of the league, and the Rev. Charles Francis Potter, of the West End Unitarian Church. The meeting is free.

orphans. In his letter to Brother Baroff, Frayne, among other things, states:

"The people in every land will be asked to observe 'Golden Rule Sunday' on December 7, when a simple menu is to be eaten, consisting of the foods served the little children in the Near East orphanages, whose condition is briefly described in the enclosed pamphlet—'A Golden Precept.'

"Organized Labor is earnestly and sincerely invited to have a part in this day's proceedings, and to share in its purpose to give thousands of fatherless and motherless children in the Near East a fairer chance for life because men and women, and even the children, in more favored countries gratefully remembered these little war-made orphans.

"The Near East Relief is requesting big-hearted people everywhere to make a real sacrifice in one of their meals on that day, and send a contribution for the purpose of food for these orphans during the remainder of the year.

"You can help very greatly to make this entire plan effective throughout the United States, by urging the members of your organization to cooperate with local 'Golden Rule Sunday' committees, or by sending their contributions to the office of their International organizations. You will remember that the work of the Near East Relief has the unanimous endorsement of the last American Federation of Labor Convention."

### SKIN DISEASES

THE UNION HEALTH CENTER

131 East 17th Street

has a highly competent and well-known specialist on Skin Diseases, who attends to the members of the Union every Wednesday from 5 to 8:30.

Fee One Dollar to Members of Participating Locals

## Your Bank

Has every facility for all your banking needs. Pays 4% interest and shares its profits with the depositors. Sends money to every part of Europe at lowest charge.



Has Resources of \$3,500,000, after 7 months of Existence

Has Over Three Thousand Depositors and Growing fast Daily

This is the time to transfer your account

Bring your bank book and begin drawing interest at once.

Member Federal Reserve System

International Union Bank

FIFTH AVENUE

AT 21st STREET

## In Boston and Vicinity

(Special Correspondence by S. S.)

### Among the Cloak Makers

The last season in the cloak trade was a poor one, one of the worst in a great many years. Ninety per cent of the men had but a few weeks of work during the fall, and of course, this affected the Boston locals rather badly. The organization is now looking for means and ways of relieving those who require help, but as the locals have no special funds for such a purpose, not much can be done.

### The Dress Trade

The situation in the dress shops is not much better, though the dress makers had a little more to do. The dress trade, in addition, is not fully organized here and the last general strike in the trade did not improve matters very much in this respect.

Almost as much can be said for the raincoat workers. There was little prosperity in this trade everywhere, but in Boston there was even less work than in other cities. In some shops therefore they began making regular top coats instead of raincoats. The season, on the whole, was short, and the financial condition of all the locals leaves plenty of room for improvement.

### Economy in the Joint Board

During the last few months, the Boston Joint Board has been considering plans for economy. A committee brought in a recommendation for limiting the number of paid officials to two, these to attend both the cloak and dress shops instead of the four employed previously. The same committee proposed that an organizer be engaged for the unorganized part of the trades.

The dissatisfaction with the management of the Joint Board which has existed for some time past has also found solution in the assuming by Vice-president Sol Seidman, upon the urgent request of the Joint Board, of the supervisory and managerial work, while Vice-president Monosson was put in charge of the organizing work. The General Executive Board has consented to this plan. A new business agent, Brother Nahum Ginsberg, is aiding Brother Seidman in his work.

### Organizing Activity

There are today in Boston about 3,500 cloak and dress makers. The cloak makers in this city are well organized and have a number of veteran union men in their ranks. There are, however, in this city, and out of town, a number of small sub-standard cloak "shops" with whom the Union refused to settle last summer, and the Union has to watch out now that the jobbers carry out their agreement and send no work to these places.

A good deal in this respect has already been accomplished during the last season, though, as we stated, it was a very poor one. But there still are many non-Union cloak contractors in Boston and the Union will have either to unionize them during next season or make them quit business entirely.

But it is the dress trade which will require most of organizing attention. After the last strike, a great many dress shops have been left unorganized and many new contracting shops have since come up. The Union still has no agreement with the dress jobbers, though it is now making preparations to hold the jobbers responsible for work-conditions in the shops where they produce their garments.

### Local Seven

Local 7 has about 250 members who each pay sixty cents a week dues and additional yearly payments of ten to fifteen dollars. But even this income is barely sufficient to main-

tain an office and a manager, and as a result there is now strong sentiment developing among the raincoat makers for affiliating with the Joint Board. Such an affiliation would materially bring down the expenses of the local and it is quite evident that sooner or later it will have to be carried into effect.

There are twice as many men working in this trade in Boston and vicinity as there are in the local and these should be brought into the Union. When President Sigman last visited Boston, the raincoat makers called upon him for aid in this direction and it was understood at that time that such organizing help as will be

strengthen both branches of the trade.

Of course, as expected, there is some hesitancy on the part of the older members of Local 24 to give up their identity as a local. This, however, will not hinder this amalgamation as the loyal members of the local appreciate that the interests of the trade as a whole must be placed above their personal feelings or preferences.

The new administration hopes that it will succeed in eliminating whatever personal politics and disharmony there have existed in the locals and the Joint Board heretofore. It must be kept in mind that Boston has a fine element of good Union men in our ranks; our meetings are regular and are well attended. What is necessary is a little more of the spirit of unity and solidarity, and our work of organizing the unorganized and of putting the organization as a whole on a more solid basis will proceed undisturbed.

## An Interesting Health Lecture

Dr. Zachary Segal, stomach specialist of the Union Health Center will speak there, this Friday evening, November 21, at 8 p. m., on "Normal Digestion and How to Maintain It." Every one interested in this vital question is asked to come and bring a friend.

The first lecture given last Friday evening at the Center by Dr. Liber was a great success. The attendance was more than was expected. The discussion showed how much the men and the women are interested in knowing how to preserve their health. After the lecture and a talk by Dr. Price the whole class went over to the concert of the International Educational Department.

## To All Chairmen in Cloak and Dress Shops:—

You are called upon to observe that the  
**SANITARY UNION LABEL**  
is attached to all articles of  
**EMBROIDERY, HEMSTITCHING, TUCKING,  
PLEATING and BUTTONS**



THE SANITARY UNION LABEL

Carries Letter "A" for Schiffli Embroidery.  
Carries Letter "B" for Bonnaz Embroidery.  
Carries Letter "C" for Hemstitching, Pleating and Tucking  
Carries Letter "D" for Buttons.

*The Union Label on Trimmings testifies  
that it was made by Union Workers*

Our Agreement with the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association and with all independent cloak manufacturers provides that only union-made trimmings be used in their shops. The shop chairmen are instructed to inform all operators, finishers, pressers and cutters and all other workers in the shops that the trimmings they use must bear the SANITARY UNION LABEL. If any of the trimmings above listed do not carry the label, the workers are to report the fact to the shop chairman who is to take the matter up at once with the firm and report the result to the district manager of the Union.

## With trade union greetings, INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Morris Sigman,  
President

Abraham Baroff,  
Secretary-Treasurer

undertaken by Local 7 will be aided and supervised by Vice-president Seidman.

### Local 24 and Local 49

The decision of the General Executive Board to amalgamate the skirt makers and dress makers of Boston into one local will soon be achieved. Like in other cities, the skirt trade is practically non-existent here now and the skirt makers are mostly making dresses. There is no reason therefore for two separate dress and skirt locals, and hope is now expressed on all sides that this merger will tend to

## JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.

S. YANOFSKY, Editor.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor.

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

Vol. VI, No. 47.

Friday, November 21, 1924.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1916, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 3, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1104, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 24, 1919.

# Arbitration In Labor Cases

## No. 2—Types of Arbitration

(Note: This is the second of a series of articles based on study of labor arbitrations and practical experiences with different forms. Others will follow in successive issues.)

In the first article we explained that true arbitration grows out of collective bargaining and rests upon the consent of the two parties concerned. Nevertheless, there are various types of arbitrations or near-arbitration which should be examined in order to have an intelligent understanding of all the forms of adjustment which ordinarily pass under that name.

### Legal Compulsory Arbitration

There have been occasional efforts to set up by legislation industrial courts to decide labor disputes. The submission of disputes to these courts has been made compulsory by law. In some laws their jurisdiction has been strictly limited to certain public utilities; in other laws the jurisdiction of these courts has been supposed to cover any industry which can be described by the vague phrase "affected by the public interest." Since compulsory adjudication of disputes involves a public interference with the "right of contract," and with other private rights usually protected under the law, it is not valid under the United States Constitution unless the public interest is sufficiently affected so that the public right in the matter is large enough to outweigh the private rights invaded. Regulation of public utilities such as railroads has established precedent for such interference in

these industries. But it is an open question how far the courts would sustain interference in other industries. As a matter of fact a decision under the Kansas industrial court law has been nullified by the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that the industry in question was not sufficiently affected by the public interest.

Legal compulsory arbitration is of two general kinds: one in which strikes or lockouts are forbidden until the dispute has been passed on by the industrial court, though the decision of the court need not be accepted and the parties are legally free to fight out the dispute after the decision is rendered; another in which strikes or lockouts are forbidden at any time, and the decision of the court must be accepted. The first is the more usual type, the second is very rare, and has existed in the United States only under the Kansas Court. Comments on the justice or desirability of either of these forms of arbitration are reserved for a later section of this article.

### Arbitration by Agreement

A thoroughly distinct type of arbitration which may be called compulsory in a limited sense is that which is enforced not by law but by an agreement between the parties themselves. In such cases the agreement either specifies the basic wages, hours and conditions, or refers to a subsidiary contract which specifies them, and then goes on to provide for the manner of handling any demands for

changes or other disputes that may arise. It usually provides for a certain method of conciliation between the parties themselves, and, if no agreement is reached, for eventual arbitration. The method of choosing arbitrators is usually prescribed, and safeguards of various kinds are thrown about the whole process. Strikes or lockouts are forbidden for the duration of the agreement.

In rare instances attempts have been made to draft agreements of this sort which shall be perpetual, but all such agreements have been abrogated sooner or later by one side or the other. The usual practice is to make an arbitration agreement for a stated period. Often there are subsidiary contracts governing wages or working conditions or both, which are drawn for a shorter period than the basic arbitration agreement. When the wage contract expires, the negotiation of a new one is governed by the terms of the arbitration agreement. When the arbitration agreement itself expires, the whole relations of the parties are thrown open for possible revision.

Frequently arrangements such as the above provide for arbitration only of a limited kind of disputes. Hours, for instance, may be fixed for the entire duration of the arbitration agreement so that they shall never be subject to an arbitration decision, but are reserved for the determination of the parties themselves in collective bargaining. But wages may be changed by arbitration, on account of unforeseen or special conditions.

### Spasmodic Arbitration

The ordinary type of arbitration is that which may arise in connection with a single dispute. Neither side

is bound in advance to arbitrate, either by law or by agreement. But one side or the other may appeal to arbitration, or it may be suggested to both sides by some outside party. If the dispute has already become bitter, the side which is most sure of winning in the event of strike or lockout is not likely to accept the suggestion, unless it is afraid of arousing too much unfavorable public opinion. But if the suggestion is made early enough, and both sides are strong enough to render a strike an expensive affair, there is more chance of consent.

Still another type of arbitration is that in which a legal arbitration machinery is set up, but its application is not compulsory. It may be invoked only by the parties to the dispute themselves. The decisions of the arbitrators, when arbitration is resorted to, is final and binding. Arbitration of this sort was customary on the railroads before the establishment of the Railway Labor Board, and an approach to it was embodied in the War Labor Board.

It is impossible to pick out any one of these variations and say "this is the best" without knowing the conditions of the industry and other circumstances. One principle, however, is fundamental — only that arbitration works well which rests upon the consent of the two parties concerned. Legal compulsory arbitration is the furthest from fulfilling this condition. Of course, even this type might work if employers and unions generally favored it, but that is seldom the case. It involves giving too much power to outsiders. Such power cannot be wisely exercised or made effective without the loyal cooperation of those concerned.

## The End

By AARON CHIZINSKY

The air was fresh and cool. Big snow-fakes dropped reluctantly to the pavement. On one side of the wide street the clatter and the buzzing of factory entrails penetrated the walls of the smoky buildings. Battered private dwellings, black coal-bins, rag shops, horse-shoe spithies and junk yards lined the other side. From the junk yards the rusted iron wreckage reached into the center of the street. Here and there a feeble gleam of light struggled from some window into the dusk.

The street lights went up, and the atmosphere seemed to have a sigh of relief. A little ragged woman appeared before the light deliciously muttering to herself, and clutching with both hands a lone black bundle. She approached a garbage can, insulted a heedless cat that fled to cover before the emaciated hand could invert the intended bin, and proceeded to examine with both hands some of its contents, at close range. Finding nothing of a utilitarian nature she dropped the heap on the ground, repeating this process several times until she became despairing of useless searching.

A shrill factory whistle pierced the air. The little figure shuddered. Her eyes opened wide, and the eye-balls seemed to force themselves from their orbits. The next moment her deformed twisted into milling ruffles. Presently the gaping factory doors began to vomit streams of workers. Girls with bright faces and gay voices ran by in pairs and groups. Girls with simple faces walked modestly and spoke little and as they passed the little woman some looked at her with indifference, others with pity. A number of workmen passed close by. One of them pointing at the ragged figure whispered a remark to the little band, whereupon the air resounded with laughter.

A one-horse cart came rattling by. The young driver sang out gaily, "Hallo, sweetie!" Again the street was silent and sad.

Soon the air stirred. A big sign half removed from its hooks by the strong wind swayed to and fro giving out a screech like a wounded god. The snow shot straight in slant, parallel lines. For a moment the little woman defied the wind, but soon turned her back to it, grumbled and moved on. At every corner she stopped, cursed the wind and went her way. At last she stopped before a grocery store. She tried in vain to peer through the vapor-covered window. Grabbing the door-knob she hesitated a while. Suddenly, a youngster with his coat-collar up, carrying a large tin pitcher stumbled against her and rubbed into the store. The little woman followed hand on his heels.

There was very little space inside, and the two new customers found themselves jammed against the small space between the cereal bags and the counter. A portly young man and a young woman, presumably his wife, were standing behind the counter ready for business. The store was filled with excessive heat and their perspiring faces told the story. The man took the pitcher from the boy's hand and began filling it from the milk can. The young woman "tended" to the other customer.

"What, again here," she exclaimed, "Come on, get out!" She opened the door and tried to shove her out, but could not do it. The intruder clamped her hands upon a shelf-support and held tightly to it. The grocer apologetically explained to the youthful customer that the old woman has been annoying them, entering the store every now and then to ask for rolls and butter. The boy smiled.

"Well, give her something and get rid of her," he said.

"Oh, my dear young man, it is all easy to say 'give her something,' the shopkeeper replied. "But we are here to sell," he finished with a deponent wave of his arm and walked to the register for the young man's change.

Addressing the basket of rolls, the old woman said, "I wan' rolls, gimme rolls," and she reached out for them. The grocer's wife gave her a violent push, tumbling the little figure to the ground. But she soon was on her feet again.

"Well, here are five cents for the rolls and butter for the woman," the young man placed the nickel on the counter. The grocer accepted the coin muttering apologetically: "If we'd show 'em that they can get rolls here free, why they'd make a bread line of our little place."

"Quite true," the young man sighed his assent. He waited until the rolls were delivered to the woman who pushed them into the bundle. The youth walked out followed by the little woman.

The wind became violent. The old woman staggered through the blizzard. She turned at the next corner. A small treeless park came into view. In the middle there stood a roofed music stand surrounded by benches. The light of a street lamp pierced the melancholy emptiness of the pavilion. She chose a bench that was farthest removed from light, swept off the snow and sat down for her rest. With her shivering fingers she broke off bit after bit of the rolls and placed them in her mouth. After she had eaten the rolls she rested a while with her chin cupped in her palms.

But the snow and the wind gave her no rest. She stood up. Her body stiffened; she looked about her and began to sob. Something had gone wrong with her legs. Like rusted hinges her feet struggled through the snow. The darkness of a narrow lane swallowed the snow-shrouded figure until a faint light from a basement

window again betrayed her presence. She leaned against the door which was at right angles with the wind and her eyes became fixed on dusty, vapor-walled light.

She tried to turn the knob, impatiently but quickly withdrew her hand. A man's shadow fell upon the window.

"Tommy!" she cried tapping the dirty pane. "Lemme in, Tom!" Her tongue felt stiff. She nodded aloud.

The shadow disappeared. Massive footsteps upon a stony floor resounded in the hallway. Presently, the shaven head of a man was thrust forward in the open door, while the rest of his body remained behind as if though he feared to lose his ground. His gray hair and snow white moustache gave him the dignity of some respectability.

A white mastiff jumped out and wagging his tail ran towards the visitor but the sharp lashes of the angry wind drove the animal into the house.

Inside a door opened and closed again, announcing the presence of another soul.

"Well, what 'd'ue wan' here again!" the man asked harshly.

"Please lemme in, Tom. I'm freeze-in' like that there dog. Lemme in. Please lemme in Tom, ain't I yer gal Tommy?" she whined like a whipped child.

"Dat's all right," . . .

"What?" a shrill voice behind his back cut short his sentence. "That critter yer gal? Tom, did you tell me you ain't gonna let 'er in?"

"Yes, but it ain't religion-like to let 'er outside for to freeze in the cold," replied Tom.

The door was flung wide open. Tom almost tumbled to the floor. A huge woman appeared at his side in the doorway. Her red bulging nose and cheeks proclaimed stubborn defiance. She pushed him back into the house and slammed the door behind him. Coming over to her adversary who began to flutter like a sparrow before a

(Continued on Page 5)

## Imperialism

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

Mexico with a population of 15,000,000 from 1910 to 1920 produced 25.5 per cent of all the world's supply of petroleum. Naturally such vast wealth, owned by a weak neighbor, makes the weak neighbor seem to be in need of "development" by American profiteers. The United States is already politically "imperialist" in Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama, Santo Domingo, Salvador, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, our government and financiers are exerting a heavy influence.

To the south of us over 3,000,000 of American capital is invested. American soldiers already march the streets of several wholly foreign countries—"preserving order"—dominating elections and thrusting the hateful hint that the most powerful government in all the world of all ages stands ready to insist on certain policies in the interest of American plutocratic citizens.

Whipped, starved and chained into less of self-respect through long centuries, the multitude, on November 4, victims of their inferiority complex, recognized in Coolidge one of their own size, a personality so diminutive he is easily understood, and incapable of exciting envy or jealousy. After all the landslide was rather natural.

However, 5,000,000—and more—American citizens, roused, self-respecting and proud, logically turned their backs upon the alluring Wall Street serf and still more logically upon the disappointing Vermont ascendant who pitches a baseball as a woman does.

In spite of his victory, Mr. Coolidge is apologetic. Naturally. Fortunately he is too polite to hurt the people's feelings by laughing at them, and at himself in public. This doubtless is why he says so little and laughs, quietly and privately—on Tuesdays and Fridays only.

There is of course another reason why Mr. Coolidge says nothing.

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts is dead, so the papers report. This is not exactly news. The Senator has been dead to the progress of democracy, dead to every great upward, forward urge of the human race, dead to the cry of the child slaves of New England and the South, dead to the wage-slavers' hope of shorter hours for toil and longer hours for life enriched with the finer forms and phases of human welfare, dead to the doc-

trine that this nation's educators should set before the rising generation something fairer than a vulgar contest for profits (something loftier than "getting ahead" of one's neighbors) as the one really practical goal—dead for a half century. Surely it is time to bury the senile, senior mummy of the old men's club of Washington.

In letters Lodge's name will be significant for a few decades. In the history of the progress of democracy, of liberty, of freedom, of the forward urge of the soul of man, Wendell Phillips' name will live for thousands of years. Lodge's most enduring monument will be made of flint, of marble smooth and cold. Phillips' monument is admiration, gratitude and love—and glorious pages in the history of courage, efficiency and absolutely unselfish devotion to the service of mankind in the sombre onward march of the human race.

## A Worker's Song

By NINETTE M. LOWATER

I sing the song of the workman.  
The joy of the man whose hand  
Leaps to fulfill with practiced skill  
The keen, sure brain's demand;  
Who knows the thrill of creation,  
Who stands with the Lord as one—  
Sees what was wrought from hidden thought,  
And can say of his work, "Well done!"

Others may seek for rank and wealth,  
And search the wide world through—  
He knows the deep where grand thoughts sleep,  
Which Tubal Cain once knew;

Beauty may lie in a woman's eye,  
And dwell on her lips so sweet—  
It lives as well in the engine's swirl,  
And the piston's throbbing beat.

Some must lie soft and dead faintly,  
Or the soul in them makes moan;  
But little he heeds who finds his needs  
In the maker's joy alone.  
Sorrow and pain may come to him,  
They surely come to all—  
But ever he feels a strength that steels  
His heart to the shafts that fall.

He gladly greets the coming years,  
They bring him added skill;  
He feels no ruth for loss of youth,  
His goal is never still;  
And only this he asks of fate:  
That he may keep his power  
Of strength, and will, and labor's skill  
Unto his life's last hour.

## The End

(Continued from page 4)

serpent she jerked the bundle out of her hands and threw it to the wind. The shrieks of the victim did not avail. The big woman completely re-entered the basement. The bundle, opened from the compact with the sidewalk, released a number of old photographs, some dirty underclothes and a few pieces of stale bread and coffee cake. The wind caught up the mass and scattered it over the block. The little woman picked up what she could. The rest was soon buried under the snow. She walked off sobbing.

Now her property became to her still more of a cumbersome burden. The frost was pinching her fingers and she dropped it in the snow. Again she dragged through the ankle-deep snow without aim or end until she staggered into the park once more. The gale ran riot through its open spaces, rolling in the air in

sharp, biting knots. Her piece of headgear was swept off and pinned by this storm against a bare wall. Her straggly, thin hair flapped like black smoke in the wind.

She stumbled with difficulty to a lamp-post and clung to it. During a momentary lull in the storm she tried to walk to the music stand. But she could not move. Her limbs felt so heavy. But again she did not care to move—she became indifferent to the wind and the snow. She wanted rest.

"Say Jake," said our pocket tacker, when he came to work the next morning. "I pass me through the park foot now, I see somebody sitting in the snow like that, it was so funny. So I come over and touch her—uh—wa! as hard as stone."

"Hard bolted by the frost," answered Jake.

## Thoughts After the Election

By NORMAN THOMAS

That La Follette and Wheeler polled 4,500,000 votes—a little over a quarter as many as were polled for President Coolidge, and about half the vote for Mr. Davis—is, we think, a good showing. Mr. Davis had the solid South and a once well-organized party behind him. Mr. Coolidge had a well-oiled machine, unlimited money, and the support of newspapers and the employing class generally. Thousands of votes were cast for him not out of any love but because the Republican party with the aid of the employers of Judge Gary type spread the notion that a vote for La Follette was a vote for hard times, or more crudely that a vote for La Follette might cost a man his job. Against this, Progressives opposed a coalition, not a party, and a necessarily imperfect organization.

Under these circumstances the vote for La Follette is proof of the existence of a sentiment in the United States plenty strong enough to warrant a new party. The question is whether the organized workers and farmers of America upon whom a strong new party must depend desire it in sufficient numbers and with sufficient real to go ahead. The conditions of a new party are not purely numerical. The numbers are available for an efficient beginning, if we have the leadership, the vision, the immediate program, and the organized support. We confidently hope that the near future will reveal that we are possessed of these requisites of a new party to oppose parties which fight not for principle but for office.

Next to a clear-cut progressive victory, the most fortunate thing that could have happened is the return of the stand-pat Republicans with a clear mandate to show what they can do. Our guess is that they cannot do much, and that the extraordinary luck which heretofore has favored them will not last forever. This year the failure of crops outside of the United States helped our own grain growers and made some of them willing to "let well enough alone." But, of course, no solution whatever has been presented for agricultural problems. Neither is the present boom in stocks an index to real prosperity.

Meanwhile the Democratic party is in a ludicrously bad way. In the South it is the party of reaction opposed to all social legislation, opposed to immigration, and if not actually controlled by the Ku Klux Klan at any rate dominated by the absurd "Protestant, white, Nordic" idea. It is, moreover, dry in theory if not in practice. In the North, especially in a state like New York, the Democratic party is mildly progressive, rather friendly to immigration, and to a large extent dominated by Catholics and Jews. It is wet in theory as well as, very often in practice. In other parts of the country the Democratic party, as represented by Mr. McAdoo, is dry and somewhat suspicious of the Catholic Church. For control of this threatening circus the next four years will probably see a fight between the popular Governor Smith of New York and Mr. McAdoo. How either of them

can make a homogeneous party standing for any rational set of ideas out of this assemblage it is hard to see. The only hope of real progressivism must lie in a new party.

There is no use hiding the fact that the Ku Klux Klan played a more successful role in this campaign than it ought. We shall never get an intelligent treatment of the fundamental problems that concern us and our children so long as we are dominated by the racial and religious hatred which the K. K. K. incarnates. Not all racial and religious prejudice is in the K. K. K. While men are divided on the basis of the way they say their prayers, or the color of their skins, or the shape of their heads, they are bound to fall an easy prey to exploitation. True religion and true loyalty teach that above all sects and races is humanity. All of us have the same need for peace, bread, freedom, and joy and beauty in life. The legitimate business of politics is to find a way to make government our servant in obtaining these ends. We enslave ourselves in the chains of our own racial and religious bigotry.

More serious than the triumph of Mr. Coolidge was the defeat of water and power acts in California and Washington which might have won a mastery over super-power for the people. In the State of Massachusetts an advisory referendum on the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment resulted in a negative majority. For this result the Roman Catholic hierarchy was partly responsible. It absurdly denounced the Amendment in the name of religion and the divine authority of the family. Mayor Curley of Boston, who had previously endorsed the Amendment, as a good Catholic had to make a sudden about face. His excuse was the old and ridiculous lie that the Child Labor Amendment had been inspired from Moscow.

It is very evident that there is a lot of educational work to be done. On the Child Labor Amendment it ought not to take much education to make it plain that to give Congress the power to control the labor of children up to eighteen years of age does not mean that Congress will or must prohibit all labor till that age. It merely means that to make regulation effective in some trades Congress should be given power up to the age of eighteen. Congress will be guided by the will of the people exercised by the vote for the destruction but the protection of the home and the family, and the children in them.

BUY  
**WHITE LILY TEA**  
**COLUMBIA TEA**  
**ZWETOCHNI CHAI**

Exclusively

## CAN YOU SEE WELL?

Is there anything the matter with your eyes?  
If so, do you know that there is an EYE CLINIC in the

**UNION HEALTH CENTER**  
131 EAST 17TH STREET

where a first-class, competent eye physician is in attendance on Monday and Wednesday from 5 P. M. to 6:30 P. M.?

Eyes are examined and treated, operations arranged for, and eye-glasses given, prescribed and made at reduced rates.

**FREE**

**ONE DOLLAR**

# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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

Office, 32 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 2148.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFSKY, Editor.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager.

Max D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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

Vol. VI, No. 47.

Friday, November 21, 1924.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1916, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1911.  
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 24, 1918.

## EDITORIALS

### A FEW WORDS TO SOME LOCAL 17 MEMBERS

These remarks are addressed to those of our members who still persist in clinging to the firm name of Local 17.

The injunction secured by a few men who style themselves your leaders and who act in your name, against the International Union, the Joint Board and your elected officers, is still in force. We are still prevented by that restraining order to speak our mind freely on the issues involved in this affair. The judge before whom the hearing took place last Monday, it is true, reserved decision in this case but he did not dissolve the temporary injunction. It is, besides, our impression that he listened with greater care to the plea of the lawyer who represented the complainant, though it lacked substance and was entirely unconvincing, than to the arguments of the attorney representing the International Union whom your leaders had placed on the defendants' bench. Had the judge paid more attention to the statement of Mr. Morris Hillquit, he would have dissolved the injunction without much ado; no better presentation of the Union's side could indeed have been made.

The judge explained his delay in reaching a decision on the ground that he would very much like to see this dispute settled outside of court. In these words Judge Gavegan indeed expressed the attitude of the International Union and of the Labor movement in general which unqualifiedly condemns court proceedings by a local union against its parent body. We, nevertheless, are not at all inclined to believe that Judge Gavegan might, on this account alone, abstain from making the injunction permanent, for, if he were genuinely convinced that a dispute of this kind lies entirely outside the jurisdiction of a court, he would not have issued the writ in the first place. He might have, at least, after listening to Mr. Hillquit's lucid presentation of the facts in this case, dismissed the plea for a permanent injunction as he was advancing the suggestion to have the controversy settled out of court. He refused to do this, which to us is proof patent that he intends to hold the injunction whip over the International and to make it feel he power of the court.

If you desire to interpret it as such, you might say that your leaders have already scored a victory; the court is evidently on their side. If courts were sufficient to maintain labor unions, your officers may, in fact, boast of their victory. But we doubt very much the value of this "victory"; in fact, we are inclined to believe that the invocation of court power in such a case as this is rather a defeat and a hindrance for a real labor union. In other words, to have gained the friendship of a court at the expense of having incurred the opposition of the entire membership of the International is rather a hollow victory.

Don't you think that we are appraising the triumph of your leaders from the right angle, if only they are your leaders?

And now we should like you to consider this matter from a different point of view.

This fearful enemy against whom your officers have gained this victory is your own International, to which you belong and whose membership you are anxious to retain. You know only too well that without this International you are helpless and powerless. Let us now assume that by having scored this "victory," your leaders have succeeded in administering your International a powerful blow, a mortal blow. Bear in mind that your International derives its strength and influence solely from its membership and that its prestige is based exclusively on the loyalty and devotion of this membership.

Your representatives, let us suppose, have by the means of this injunction and by their court "victory" struck at the very cornerstone of our Union. And we ask you: Did not your leaders, at the same time they had raised their hand against the International, strike just as savagely at your own power and influence? What will it avail for you in the future to consider yourselves members of the International after your representatives had done their worst to discredit and weaken it? Can't you realize that the sum total of a court decision, even in favor of your leaders means eventually loss and defeat for you? Surely you are intelligent enough to understand that the courts will not fight your economic battles for you, and that after the International had been humiliated and defeated by a single local, it could not effectively defend and protect your interests in the future.

Your International is not an agency of force; it is principally and mainly a moral force and the spokesman for all its constituent locals. When it acts for a section of its members it acts simultaneously for its entire membership—whether in

negotiations with employers or in any other representative capacity. This authority of our International Union has never in the past been challenged by any of its subdivisions and its power and authority for several decades consisted mainly of this moral strength.

Your injunction and its status up to this hour have disclosed a deplorable breach of unanimity in our own ranks and it revealed that there exists an outside power, the power of the court, which may supersede it even in purely inner organization matters. Will our International Union be in a position to stand its ground in the future with its former prestige and former consciousness of authority? We doubt it, and the first to suffer from this disintegration will be the members of the organization as a whole, including those members of Local 17 who were the first to challenge this power and authority. Is not it clear to you, therefore, that this victory of your leaders is, in fact, a real misfortune to all our members and to yourselves?

We do not expect our words to have the least effect on the officers of your local or to anticipate that our pointing to the probable consequences of their "victory" will make them alter their course. But we are appealing to you, members of Local 17. We know that you, the biggest majority of you, do not approve of the course of the few officers of your locals who procured this injunction. You are all union men, and we desire to say to you: It is not too late yet! The members of Local 17 have not yet been heard in this unfortunate affair. They have so far maintained an attitude of indifference as if their interests, their living problems were not involved in this case at all. We say to you: Don't help undermine the tree which bears the fruit upon which you subsist! Don't weaken the fortress which has served as a bulwark to you for a generation past!

You can still declare that you are opposed to the acts of your leaders, even though you may have been opposed to the dissolution of your local and to the merging of all the cloak operators of New York into one local. You may still declare that you would not permit a fight to be waged in your name against the International Union, a fight which inevitably must hurt you severely. You can still put a stop to the irresponsible action of your leaders!

You must not seek the defeat of your International, nor even force it to retreat from its position. When your local follows out the decision of the General Executive Board it will have acted only in one way an internationalist should act. Should you on the other hand, succeed in forcing the International to bow to your will, you will strike it a terrible blow and you will thereby strike just as hard at your own best interests. Consider this carefully before you allow the leaders of your local to proceed along the unfortunate course they had chosen when they declared war upon the I. L. G. W. U.

### TO ORGANIZE THE KNIT GOODS WORKERS

The Knit Goods Workers' Union of New York has for several years past been endeavoring to become a local of the I. L. G. W. U. Our General Executive Board, nevertheless, hesitated for a long time to take the knit goods workers into the ranks of our International, much as it did sympathize with their eagerness to achieve better work conditions for themselves. Our Joint Board, to be sure, has helped them recently, when they were engaged in a fight with their employers but that was as far as our friendship towards them ever went in the past.

The insistent demands for affiliation which came from the knit goods workers could not, however, be denied for long. They argued that until the workers in the knit goods trade will know that they are under the immediate protection of the International, they will not join the union, but that they would flock to it in masses as soon as they had learned that the knit goods' workers union is a part of the I. L. G. W. U.

This argument appealed strongly to the members of the General Executive Board and the knit goods workers were finally granted a charter. Now they are a part of our Union, and the I. L. G. W. U. will have to treat them with as much consideration as it gives every one of its locals—or more, as the knit goods workers are very much in need of such aid.

We do not know to what extent the anticipation that the knit goods workers would stream into the organization as soon as this local had become a local of the I. L. G. W. U. has been fulfilled. The leadership of our Union, however, has decided not to wait until the knit goods workers would flock uninvited into the union but to begin an effective campaign of organization without delay. The knit goods' workers local, the General Executive Board decided, must become a factor to be reckoned with in the knit goods industry of New York.

The supervision of this campaign has been entrusted by the General Executive Board to Vice-President Halperin, one of our ablest organizers. We are confident that Brother Halperin will do his best to form a solid organization of workers in the knit goods trade, but this, we are sure, can be achieved only with the loyal and untiring support of the knit goods workers themselves. It devolves upon all the members of the knit goods' local to take a part in this important missionary work and to bring daily members into the organization. Let them broadcast the fact in all the knit goods shops that their union is now part and parcel of the I. L. G. W. U. and that the International expects them all, as intelligent workers, to join its ranks and together make a big effort to bring decent work standards into their industry.

There are at least ten thousand workers in the knit goods shops of New York eligible for our membership. The knit goods industry is a rich trade and it can well afford to maintain its

# The Moscow Peace Offensive --

By LEON CHASANOWICH

(Special Correspondence to Justice)

Arlin, November 10.

Moscow is broadcasting a new note with reference to the international trade union movement. The executive committees of the Communist International and of the Red Trade Union International have jointly issued a manifesto to the "proletariat of all countries" containing a slogan for complete unity and amalgamation of the world trade union movement. The manifesto says:

"The revolutionary trade unions must take the initiative in preparing to the reformist organizations a joint trade organization to take steps for the national unity conventions where all unions of the various tendencies shall be represented in accordance with their actual influence."

It is stated further in this call that unity on an international scale can be achieved

"on the basis of the class struggle only, by way of merging the Red Trade Union International with the Amsterdam International by way of an international unity congress, at which the workers of all countries will be represented on the basis of proportional elections."

It ends as follows:

"A merciless struggle against dissensions and dissensions! A most energetic fight for the amalgamation of both international! A fight for an international unity congress of the trade union! A fight for the creation of a united international of the trade unions! Long live the unity of the international trade union movement!"

Are these well-intentioned proposals which deserve an earnest consideration by the Amsterdam International and by all central bodies affiliated with it—or is it another tactical ploy, dressed up with a new facade of workers' solidarity but actually intended to usher in an era of new splits and demoralization in the Labor movement? Is it, in other words, an honestly meant peace proposal or a new fighting tactic? One would very much like to believe that it is a sincere move which should be welcomed with joy in the worldwide Labor movement. Let us hear vividly in mind that the splits in the economic organizations of the workers in the past have, indeed, done immeasurably greater harm than even the political quarrels. But one's belief in the genuine will for peace of the promulgators of this manifesto is put to a severe test when alongside with professions for the urgency of reuniting all the workers, one reads in the same call the following words:

"We know the difficulties we shall meet on this road. We are aware of the eagerness of the reformists to split the movement. We know their fight of the revolutionary proletariat and their wish to remain with the bourgeoisie at any cost and to aid it in strangulating the working class. But let these difficulties not daunt us. These hardships must be forced to submit or retire. The working masses must take the cause of unity into their own hands and show those who play tricks with the interests of the working class that the proletariat will not permit through splits to enfeeble, disorganize and demoralize the trade union movement."

Thus the platonic loving tones of proletarian unity are once more drowned in Communist war whoops against those in the Labor movement who differ from their theories and practice. Once again the wish to eliminate and destroy their opponents in the world of Labor appears to predominate over their desire for reestablishing proletarian unity. In this way the question arises: Is this the way to peace? Can they seriously expect the leaders of the Amsterdam International to stretch out to them a brotherly hand and agree to take part in a "Peace Congress" on the strength of such an invitation? Do the Communists actually believe, or would make others believe, that the Amsterdam leaders could, if they would, unite in such a paradoxical venture which calls for peace and war in the same breath? What would they have to say, for instance, if the Amsterdam leaders would in turn ask them: "If we, whom you are eager to unite with, really are 'yellow,' as you presume to tell the workers—why don't you make a similar proposal to the Christian unions in Germany or to similar reactionary trade groups in other countries for such a 'unity' congress?"

What would Moscow answer to that and how could it explain the paradox contained in its call? For our part, if this peace proposal is meant earnestly, we can see no other explanation for the contradictory and bewildering behavior of its signers except that the Communist leaders are compelled to adopt an offensive tone when addressing their trade union and Socialist adversaries for the reason that they have got their followers accustomed to such insulting phraseology, and that if they were to adopt a gentlemanly tone towards the leaders of Labor in other camps—such as they, for instance, use in their communications with bourgeois governments—that they would have been misunderstood by their own adherents and would in short order cause a storm of "treason" break upon their own heads.

Such an important decision, as propaganda for unity congresses for the purpose of uniting the Communist and non-Communist trade unions, was adopted, of course, not without due deliberations by the executives of the Communist and Red Trade Union International. This step was, in point of fact, approved by the congresses of both Moscow international, or to be correct, by the Communist International and its trade union adjunct, the so-called Red Trade Union International (Profintern). These congresses were held in June and July of this year where the unity question was widely-discussed and made the subject of longwinded declarations—long familiar lines and texts. One, indeed, had to labor prodigiously among the infinitely long reports on this subject in the Soviet press before one encounters a concrete idea

or suggestion as to what actually was meant by these declarations.

It is obvious, nevertheless, that in Communist circles in Moscow the trade union policy heretofore pursued has proved deeply disappointing. When the Third International first embarked, several years ago, to break up the international Socialist movement and to split one party after another in Europe, it felt strong enough and competent to conquer the trade union movement in the same fashion. The results, nevertheless, were far from successful on the political field and they proved a total failure among the economic organizations. It was not so difficult to accomplish some negative results in the sphere of political parties, given a press and a mobile group of workers no matter how small. But in the trade union movement the situation appeared in a materially different; there, to achieve success, it was necessary to win over a majority of the organized workers—or to entirely withdraw from the field and admit defeat.

What successes did the Red Trade Union International achieve among the European trade unions? Losovsky, its president, speaks of 20,000,000 workers who stand behind it. But where are these huge masses? Concerning this we learn from Losovsky himself in an article in the Moscow "Truth" of September 14. He writes:

"During its first period, the 'Profintern' carried on principally a mission of agitation and propaganda, but as its influence grew it attracted more and more organizations. As new trade unions, minorities and groups in the countries of the Near and Far East and of the colonies, were continually joining it, the 'Profintern' has developed into a world-wide organization which competes in influence with the Amsterdam International."

We are, of course, privileged to accept a dose of salt facts and statistics furnished by the "Profintern," but it is quite evident even to the unsuspecting that, at best, it amounts to a force, with the exception of Russia, only in the "colonies." It amounts to little in Western Europe. It succeeded in splitting the trade unions in France, Czechoslovakia and a few other places, but the Communist unions are everywhere in the minority. To meet this danger the Amsterdam bodies have adopted the tactic of reuniting a dose of evil, and attempt to split the movement with expulsion and this, it seems, has proved to be a very successful means of defense. In leading Communist circles the conviction is growing that Communism is daily losing out in its effort to influence the trade union movement and that it is becoming more and more isolated from the masses of the workers. And therein lies the secret of their readiness to unite in the hope that what has been difficult of accomplishment from the outside will be much easier to achieve on the inside. The former slogan for a "united front" has therefore been changed to a call

## INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

In a dispute between the Union and the Clock Manufacturers' Association of New York over the right of the work workers who work on Sundays instead of Saturdays to be paid for Columbus Day falling on a Saturday, Professor Edward T. Devine decides in favor of the Union.

A strike is called in the shop of Sadowsky, Vineland, N. J. The work week in that shop amounted to sixty hours; Sadowsky's pay was ten cents an hour; producers' pay was fourteen dollars a week, and so on. The workers in the shop came from a half a dozen cities, including New York, Newark and Philadelphia. It took some effort to take these workers down on strike.

Local 25 reports for the quarter of July-September, 1912, an income of \$19,111.94, and expenses of \$17,676.82. The treasury of the local amounts to \$42,822.96.

for an union of both internationals.

But the Communist activities of the past should not, of course, be taken as the sole deciding gauge for rejection by the Amsterdam International of this offer for unity. The question is not: What has Moscow done until now, but, rather, what does Moscow intend to do in the future? Losovsky and other representatives of the "Profintern" insist that, if they should find themselves in a minority, they would submit to majority discipline. Now, if this could be accepted as a straightforward assurance and one without hind-thoughts, it might contain a highly enlightening promise. But Losovsky in the same breath declares that "the Communist and revolutionary workers will never give up their right to organize the masses on a revolutionary platform." What does that mean? If it is to be understood in the sense of separate organizations within the trade unions, the other side will never agree to it. If the Amsterdam International will at all agree to begin negotiations concerning a unity congress, will, first of all, demand a clearing up of this point.

The negotiations, however, have not reached such an advanced stage. At the present moment, the Amsterdam headquarters are conducting a correspondence with the central office of the Russian Trade Union Federation concerning a conference to discuss the admission of the Russian body into the Amsterdam International as proposed by the Russians. Amsterdam has demanded, as a warranty of good faith, a declaration from the Russian central body of its intentions concerning this admission.

The further negotiations between the Amsterdam headquarters and the central executive committee of the Russian unions await this matter will seem as touchstone for the general new position which Communism intends to assume in the trade union problem in the near future.

workers in a decent and humane way. If the workers in the industry will prove earnest in their intention to raise the level of their working and living standards, the I. L. G. W. U. will lend them the full measure of its support.

### THE DISTRICT COUNCIL AT WORK

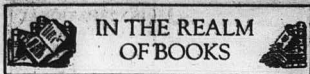
Monday last week, the District Council of the Miscellaneous Trades in New York, the central body of the smaller locals of the I. L. G. W. U. in this city, began its organizing work on a large scale, the work of enrolling into the respective locals affiliated with it the thousands of non-Union workers scattered among the hundreds of shops in the sundry dress, embroidery and novelty trades. These workers are badly in need of organization, as the miserable work conditions under which they are compelled to labor bear unmistakable evidence of.

This campaign is beginning to create quite a stir in our industrial districts. The press is taking due notice of it and the

number of volunteers who responded to the call of the Union to aid in this splendid undertaking is truly inspiring. Literally hundreds of them, under the leadership of Vice-president Lefkowitz, manager of the District Council, have inundated the district with literature last week, and the prospects of this drive appear today to be exceedingly bright.

There is every reason to expect that, as this campaign of education as carried on without relenting or slackening, that the workers in these trades who heretofore have for one reason or another failed to join the organization, will be persuaded to come into our Union. It is a big and not an easy task, but it has been done before and, given patience and perseverance, there is no reason in the world why these workers who need the Union so badly would not in the end respond to our call and find their place alongside of the tens of thousands of other workers who have found the I. L. G. W. U. their best defender and the Labor movement in general their only source of hope for a better and fuller life.





## Countess Karolyi

The Three Hungarian Revolutions. A Lecture Delivered by the Countess Karolyi at the Town Hall on Friday, November 14, at 3 P. M.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

The Countess Karolyi entered the United States in a blaze of glory. It was not that she had participated in the attempt to oust Hungarian reaction; that she had been able to surmount her long heritage of aristocratic ties; that she and her husband had abandoned their class in the name of the people and democracy; that today they were political exiles distinguished by the unrelenting enmity of Admiral Horthy and his terrorist gang. No! Mr. S. Stanwood Mencken, professional patrist, discovered that the Countess Karolyi is a dangerous red who, for the safety of our American institutions, should be deported!

I wonder whether Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and the other democratic fathers of our country looked down at this charming little woman in black who threatened the institutions they had helped establish. Of course, like most great men, she had a sense of humor, and with the rest of the nation, they would have recognized Mencken for the ass and bully and terrorist he is. Countess Karolyi might well have pointed out the resemblance between Mencken and Horthy, himself. She didn't. She confined herself to her subject with a shriveling, silent disdain for paid scare mongers. We may well emulate her example.

Keeping to the subject, then, I found Countess Karolyi an exhilarat-

ing surprise and her talk a slight disappointment. I had come to hear an inside story of the Three Hungarian Revolutions, with the facts and figures and interpretations I am sure Countess Karolyi could have given. Instead I heard a series of tea-table anecdotes, among which the factual plums I sought were sparsely hidden. I found nothing I had not known before. The anecdotes were delightful—and revealing—but I wanted to hear about revolutions.

Of course, it is reasonable to suspect that Countess Karolyi was attempting to adjust her talk to her audience. With few exceptions, the too thin gathering that sprinkled the Town Hall was of a tea-table variety. Well dressed, rather snug, these men and women wore their liberalism with self-satisfied superiority. There were the lion hunters, too, of course, whose gushing one could almost hear as they enthused: "Did you hear the Countess Karolyi, my dear! She is the most adorable thing—and so able."

Wherefore, Countess Karolyi, gave her sparse facts through thick layers of anecdotes. And yet it was just here that the surprise came in. Countess Karolyi herself is the big surprise. This slight little woman, with her beaded bobbed hair and her sudden smile, seconding revealing anecdotes, seemed a reservoir of real knowledge and power. I am quite sur-

that Countess Karolyi has the facts we want at her finger-tips. And in spite of all her cynicism, Countess Karolyi has lost not a whit of her fighting spirit. She and her husband, one may be sure, stand ready to continue giving their all to the cause they hold dear.

There is something tremendously reassuring in these representatives of inherited privilege whose convictions and emotions line them up with the popular cause. Such were Lenin and Marx and are so many of the present Russian Government officials and the Karolyis and even Baldwin, Jr., and the many others who cross class lines. They are our pledges of that real unity of humanity which social progress will help us achieve. They can see past the bonds of class and group, the insidious lure of present comforts, the compelling censure of their own economic kind who hold them traitorous. Moreover, just because they belong to the leisured, established classes they have been able to pick up that training and knowledge which the people need so urgently in revolutionary eras.

And it is difficult to determine the real issues of disagreement with Countess Karolyi on the basis of this talk. Here are the facts: Count Karolyi, alone of his group, opposed the great war from the start. He participated in all the outstanding attempts to win peace. He accepted the post-war unrest and set to work to establish a republic. He immediately distributed his huge estates among the peasants. He attempted during his short stay in power to maintain peaceful relations with Russia and all his other neighbors. He accepted the Bela Kun uprising without any recourse to bloodshed. The ancestry of the Karolyis, both Count and Countess, ties them with the revolutionary heroes of Hungary, their relentless enemies (and this is by no means the least of their

virtues to our confidence) including Admiral Horthy, the Hungarian aristocrat, the Italian Fascist and S. Stanwood Mencken.

Much of Countess Karolyi's interpretation, moreover, appears sound. "People say my husband made the first Hungarian revolution; of course we know as men make great states. Social forces, the underlying masses use individuals when the moment comes." She sees through the impossible decaying aristocracy with startling clarity. "When they had to choose between class and country they chose class." Most of her best anecdotes pointed the absurdities of aristocratic etiquette, snobbishness, ingrownness and decay. The reactionaries favored the coming to power of Bela Kun, for they knew that once he attempted to set up Bolshevism, foreign capitalism would enter to destroy him. And, then reaction would have it day. Why didn't the Allies, who fought in the name of democracy come to the aid of Karolyi?

Countess Karolyi appeals for aid for her suffering people. She asks democratic masses to aid in the re-establishment of democracy in Hungary. She tells the tale of her exile and, an exile, asks for a chance to return to her people. Three Hungarian Revolutions. Karolyi, Bela Kun, Admiral Horthy. Countess Karolyi thinks the first the best. And from there we would ask her to go on. What specifically did she hope to accomplish. What was her husband's political, economic and social program? What relations would he maintain with the trade unions? Democracy failed in Hungary, Bolshevism failed, reaction, by the grace of the Allies, won. But reaction's victories can never be final. What next in Hungary?

We workers should attempt to obtain from Countess Karolyi her answer—in specific proposals—to this question. Until we know that answer, our personal appreciation will remain with the Karolyis; but our allegiance must stay unpledged.

## The Causes of Industrial Unrest

Unrest. By John A. Fitch. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924. \$3.00

The sub-title of this interesting and important book might well have been "An Essay in Understanding." Mr. Fitch's purpose has been to get inside the minds of both parties to the industrial dispute; to find out what they think their grievances are, anyway. But he has not stopped there. He has attempted to weigh these grievances against the circumstances that caused them, in the scales of the detached judgment of the scientist.

There are several kinds of reasons for dissatisfaction among the workers, according to his analysis, and not one of them must be closed eye. Of course, a great deal of dissatisfaction is due to complaint about low wages, long hours, and enforced unemployment; also to treatment by the courts and the police. Mr. Fitch has suggested some less obvious irritants than these. Through several chapters, for instance, he shows the unrest that springs from the struggle itself between employers and employed. The struggle breeds antagonisms. Antagonisms feed upon themselves and produce more of their kind. "In the give and take of life," he says, "blows are struck which lead to other blows. The same thing is true in the Labor movement."

By far the most suggestive chapters in the book are those in which Mr. Fitch deals with an even more intangible cause of dissatisfaction and unrest—the status of the working-man in industry. It is at bottom a matter of "rights." The wage ear-

ners," he says, "are not citizens of the industrial commonwealth. They are aliens, rather, possessed of few rights and subject to deprivation without trial." The worker's investment of his life "secures for the investor nothing in the way of rights comparable with the rights established by the investment of the dollar."

The only legal right the working-man has, as such, is that of working or not working when and where he pleases. Even that right, Mr. Fitch points out, is often more a matter of theory than of fact. "It can be exercised," he points out, "only when jobs are plentiful. A man can choose between two jobs only when there are two jobs." What improvements in his lot he has managed to secure, the working-man has obtained largely through the power of organization. But the right to organize and bargain collectively with the employer, Mr. Fitch says, is "not an absolute right. The courts may interfere and restrain organized activity, not on the ground of violation of law, but because the court disapproves of the action proposed. . . . The Legislature, too, may intervene to limit the right of collective action."

The chapters which deal with the legal status of the worker, both under existing legislation and court decisions, are among the ablest and most concise that have been written. His discussion of the legal status of the strike is an example: "The question of when a strike is legal or of what

organized Labor may do in the conduct of a legal strike or in the carrying on of a controversy with the employer, whether through strike or otherwise, is not defined by statute anywhere in the United States. The law has been determined rather by the decisions of courts. . . . In this way there has been built up a body of common law differing in the different States and subject at any time to change. In the same State, the result of which is to leave organized Labor confused and embarrassed, uncertain as to what it may legally do."

Mr. Fitch contrasts the rights possessed by the wage earner with those which his employer enjoys. The right of making all the decisions in an industry, even those which concern the worker most directly, is possessed by the employer alone. This is an inalienable right which exists because of his legal status as owner. What limitations on the employer's freedom to exercise it the workers have forced in their own interest depend on "casual and possibly temporary circumstances" without the guarantee of law. Furthermore, the wage earner, Mr. Fitch points out, has no right to an exact knowledge of the conditions of the business in which he is employed. "Even if he did have a right to an 'effective voice' as to conditions of his employment it would be difficult and 'ten impossible to make intelligent use of the right. He has no access to the books. He is more or less in the dark concerning the worth of his labor, because he has no means of finding out the real value of the contribution that he makes to production."

Then, too, he says, the wage earner has no right to be in the industry at all. "Despite the fact that he in-

vests in industry his labor and his time, he cannot acquire the right of access to a job. . . . No amount of labor and no conceivable stretch of years will entitle him either to a chance to work or to hold a job after he has secured it."

On remedies and programs Mr. Fitch does not dwell. As he says, his book is concerned with analysis and not with solutions. In the last chapter, however, there are a few straws to show which way his mental winds blow. On the one hand he speaks of the growth of more statesmanlike leaders among organized labor who have the interests of the industry as a whole at heart. "The radicals in the labor movement," he says, "are looking forward to the day when industry may be taken over by the workers. . . . The constructive ones . . . are anxious that when the day comes . . . there shall be something to take."

The public, Mr. Fitch thinks, should take no small part in the elimination of industrial unrest by creating a "favorable atmosphere" to its understanding. He urges a wide publication by Government bureaus and other agencies of industrial facts. "Even when the facts are available," he says, "it is hard for the average man, busy with his own affairs, to look them up. He must depend, in the main, upon the leaders of thought in the community—in particular, the Church, the press, and the school."

E. C.

**WALDMAN & LIEBERMAN**  
LAWYERS

302 Broadway — New York  
Telephone: Worth 5623-5624



# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### Many Workers Killed

There were 1,780 death claims filed with the New York State Workmen's Compensation Bureau for the twelve months from October, 1923, to September, 1924. These claims represent fatalities in industrial accidents.

"The filing of these 1,780 death claims," said Industrial Commissioner Schientag, "indicates the astoundingly great number of lives lost in the commercial and industrial activities of the State."

These deaths do not include the fatalities in non-commercial industries, over which the industrial commissioner has no control.

Deaths in the coal mines of this country during September totaled 186, according to reports received by the United States Bureau of Mines. There were 187 lives lost in the bituminous fields and twenty-nine in the anthracite fields. For the first nine months of 1924 the total number of accidents was 1,821, as compared with 1,942 in the corresponding months last year.

### Miners Resisting Wage-Cutting Plot

The greatest financial and industrial interests in America are making a desperate attempt to destroy the United Mine Workers of America, declares the United Mine Workers' Journal. Never before have the miners faced such "a bitter, vicious attack as is being made at this time."

Every possible force and influence that can be marshaled is utilized to break down the union and throw the coal industry back to the days of industrial servitude.

There are injunctions and more injunctions; lawsuits and more lawsuits; contract violations and more contract violations; attempted starvation and more attempted starvation; evictions and more evictions; gunmen and more gunmen; oppression and more oppression; treachery and more treachery.

The whole thing revolves around an attempt to reduce the wages of mine workers so the coal owners may make greater profits. Nothing else is involved. In non-union and unorganized coal fields, where armed gunmen are employed by coal companies to intimidate and beat up offensive workers, wages have been cut, even below the starvation line.

But the United Mine Workers of America will not fail. This is not the first time these forces have attacked the union. Time and again they have tried the same thing, and in each case have failed."

### Child Labor Exemptions Resist All Progress

In a letter to all affiliates, Secretary Slater of the Texas State Federation of Labor, reminds trade unionists that the Federal Child Labor amendment is opposed in this State by the same forces that have opposed all remedial legislation.

"It's the same crowd that opposed the mine bath house law; that opposed the creation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; that opposed the Texas Child Labor Law; that opposed the law regulating employment agencies; that opposed our health, safety and comfort laws for females; that opposed our mechanics' lien law; that opposed laws regulating mining; that opposed the nine-fifty-four-hour law for females; that opposed the law protecting workmen on high buildings; that opposed the semi-monthly pay day law; that opposed the eight-hour law on public works; that opposed the Spider law; that opposed the creation of the State Mining Board; that opposed the workmen's compensation act."

### Jap Immigrants Opposed By Mexico

The Mexican Government is opposed to Japanese or other Far-Eastern colonization, according to Governor Rodriguez of the northern district of Lower California. The Mexican official made this statement at Mexicali, across the international boundary, near here. The executive received a telegram to this effect from Federal officials at Mexico City in which they upheld his opposition to reported plans of a syndicate to colonize the territory south of Mexicali with 20,000 Japanese.

## LEARN DESIGNING

Earn 50 to 200 Dollars a Week

Take a Course of Instruction in

## THE MITCHELL DESIGNING SCHOOL

Of Men's, Women's, Misses' and Children's Wearing Apparel and Ladies' Fur Garments

The Mitchell School of Designing, pattern making, grading, draping and fitting of cloaks, suits, dresses, fur garments and men's garments.

ESTABLISHED OVER 20 YEARS

Has achieved—

New Ideas — New Systems — Best Results

A course of instruction in the Mitchell Designing School means an immediate position — Bigger Pay —

A GOOD PROFESSION FOR MEN AND WOMEN —

Individual instruction. Day and Evening Classes.

Write, phone, or call for free booklet and full information.

DEMONSTRATION FREE AT OUR SCHOOL

Evening Classes: Monday, Wednesday and Friday

**Mitchell Designing School**

Photo Library 1614

15 West 37th Street

New York City



## FOREIGN ITEMS

### FRANCE

#### Trade Union Unity

At an important meeting of the General Council of the French Confederation of Labor, among other subjects under discussion, was the question of trade union unity, proposals to that end having been received from the Communist international federation.

The chief features of these proposals are the following: The creation of a joint national committee representing both federations; the preparation of a scheme for the restoration of trade union unity by the holding of a World Congress for that purpose.

After long debates, the General Council decided to allow the representative of the Communist federation to set forth the views of the federation, in full freedom, and without any limit, after which the subject should be again exhaustively discussed by the council. This was accordingly done. In the opinion of many of the delegates, the Communist speaker threw no new light on the situation. Jouhaux then summed up the arguments and stressed the importance of organizational unity from the smallest units upwards. He also urged that the Communists must prove their goodwill by the cessation of all personal attacks and malevolent calumnies.

Eventually, a resolution was passed unanimously, calling upon all workers to establish as close a unity as possible within their own trade union. The National Council denounced the creation of groups (factory committees, cells, etc.) on the ground that these mean organizational grouping outside the trade union, and are prejudicial to its unity. It was finally declared that only the next Congress of the French Federation of Labor is competent to judge the results obtained, and to decide whether or not there shall be a departure from the principles which have hitherto formed the basis of all trade union work.

### ITALY

#### Italian Trade Union Congress

The Executive of the Italian Federation of Trade Unions has decided to hold the next trade union congress at Milan from November 18 to 21. Besides despatching the usual business, the congress will discuss the question of social legislation.

### POLAND

#### Unemployment Insurance in Poland

On September 1, 1924, an Act for the Insurance of the Unemployed came into force in Poland. The act applies to all workers over eighteen years of age engaged in industry, trade, transport, smelting and mining, and also to those engaged in other concerns which employ at least six workers, even if these concerns are not working for profit. Non-manual workers and seasonal workers who work for less than ten months in the year are exempted from its operation.

The insurance contributions are reckoned at two per cent of the wages paid: of this proportion, one-fourth (one-half per cent) is deducted first from the worker's wages, while the other three-fourths (one and one-half per cent) is payable by the employers.

The conditions which the unemployed person must fulfil for eligibility for benefit are the following: (1) In the year immediately preceding the unemployment he must have had permanent employment for at least twenty weeks; (2) he must notify the Labor Exchange within four weeks of the date of his discharge; (3) he cannot receive benefit until ten days have elapsed since the notification prescribed in (2).

The benefits paid are: thirty per cent of his normal wage for a worker who has to provide for himself alone, thirty-five per cent when a family of two has to be provided for, forty per cent for a family of five, and fifty per cent for a family exceeding five in number.

### GERMANY

#### A Trade Union Manifesto on the Eight-Hour Day

Since the Berns Conference of the Labor Ministers of Germany, France, Belgium and Great Britain, the joint ratification of the Washington Convention by the most important industrial countries of Europe has taken another step onwards. This progress is of especial importance in view of the efforts of the German trade unions to secure a national decision in favor of the eight-hour day. The three national trade union federations of Germany (manual workers, non-manual workers, and civil servants) have issued a joint manifesto on the present position, in which they say that, "in view of the attitude which the German Government has hitherto taken up in respect of working hours, and the enormous pressure exerted by the German Employers' Associations in favor of a longer working day, the fate of a bill to carry into effect the Washington Convention is doubtful. The attitude of the German Government to ratification is likewise uncertain. The trade unions have made preparations for an appeal to the nation concerning the question of the ratification of the Washington Convention. As the referendum is to be put in hand at once, if the Reichstag throws out the bills, the collection of money to cover the costs of the inquiry, which has already been begun, must go on as fast as possible."

The manifesto also calls upon the German workers, manual and non-manual, to do their utmost to help in bringing about the right decision, for "the fight for the eight-hour day means for the German worker a just distribution of the burdens arising out of reparations."



# EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



## I. L. G. W. U. Members Celebrate Opening of Educational Season

Thousands of members of our International Union, young and old, men and women, assembled in the Washington Irving High School on Friday evening, November 15, to celebrate the reopening exercises of our Educational Season. In the audience were officers and members representing our numerous local unions in the city of New York. They were in high spirits. Some consciously and some unconsciously felt the importance of this year's gathering of our members to celebrate the seventh year of the establishment of the Educational Department.

The younger element know what the Educational Department is doing for them, because they were formerly and are now students in our numerous classes. But even those of our members who, for one reason or another, have not directly participated in our educational activities were imbued with the same spirit; they felt that by supporting morally and financially our Educational Department they are instrumental in advancing an idea and developing an activity that will be of great service not only to our International Union but to the future of the Labor Movement as a whole.

Our older members, the pioneers of our International Union, who participated in our celebration by their presence, took pride in the fact that it is their International Union that was the pioneer in Workers' Education in the United States and that this movement is now penetrating the trade unions.

The gathering looked like a convention of our International Union because not only every local but

each group of our International Union was represented there.

The musical program was artistically performed by Mabel Piatro, the celebrated violinist, who inspired the audience by the delicacy of his playing. Most inspiring was our own International Chorus of 100 voices. They thrilled the audience with their voices, singing Labor and folk songs.

Although hundreds of persons were standing for two hours, the best of order prevailed. Early in the evening not only was the auditorium filled to seating and standing capacity, but many of those who held tickets had to go to the gymnasium, where music was provided for them to dance. After the concert hundreds fled to the gymnasium to join the others in dancing.

It was a fine and inspiring gathering, worth all the effort and expenditure. The existence of so many fraternal organizations in this country is due to the social life they provide for their members. The trade unions will have to learn sooner or later the necessity of providing social activities for their membership. The trade union is becoming more and more the worker's commonwealth. Its members expect it to act for them in many capacities, on the economic, political, and social fields, nationally and internationally. It will also have to provide for its membership sociability and recreation. The attempt that our International Union has made, through its Educational Department, in this field has been most successful and encouraging.

F. M. C.

## Less Words and More Facts

The first need means that we must probably have less of theory and abstract phrases and more attention to present-day facts than has been customary in the past. At any rate, our educators must have a greater elasticity, so as continually to adapt teaching to meet the ever-changing needs of the moment.

At the same time, our second task requires us to caution ourselves against a pressing danger. We must not confuse our educational work with the distinct task of the propagandist agitator, whose aim is to stimulate the emotions of his audience by the use of words, as does the musician with sounds and rhythm and the artist with color and design. The agitator plays the important role of rousing men to take specific action. Our task is to provide the mental tools by which a wise choice of action may be made. For the agitator words perform the part that the red rag to the bull plays for the torador. For us, words must be what lies in for the draughtsman or the map-maker—short-hand symbols for complex facts. A principal part of our education, in fact, consists in disentangling words from their emotional color and associations and in teach-

ing their use in strict relation to actual fact. For words are the vehicles of thought; only in the degree that we can separate them from our emotions and use them as strict representatives of things will our thinking be realistic, scientific and practical, in contrast with the emotion-larged dreaming of the mystic and the apologist. It is probably in improvement in this direction that much of the second part of our task lies. The duty of the teacher is not to overlay the mind with a new set of prejudices or to induce a transitory mood of anger and resentment against a monster labelled "Capitalism." On the contrary, it is to clear the mind and to give to students that apprehension of facts and power of realistic analysis of them which has made the teacher himself a fighter in the class struggle. And let us remember that vague abstract terms are much more likely to be suffused with emotional color, and so to be a cloak instead of an instrument of thought, than are concrete words which can be easily related to something in our experience which they represent. In this fact lies the heart of the problem of simplification.

"Plebs," November, 1924.

## WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School  
Irving Place and 16th St.  
Room 520

Saturday, November 22

- 1:30 p. m. E. R. Stolper—Clear Voices in English and American Literature: Introductory Lecture—Beowulf.  
A discussion of the essential qualities and characteristics of the early Anglo-Saxon literature as best portrayed in "Beowulf".  
2:30 p. m. Paul Brissenden—Current Trade Union Problems.  
This course will take stock of the current development in trade union policies and tactics. It will treat with the latest opinions and accomplishments affecting vital problems of the Labor movement.

Sunday, November 23

- 10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Psychology of Conflict.  
This course will show the importance of a psychological study of conflict particularly for the Labor movement. Constructive and destructive views of conflict. Good and bad methods of engaging in conflict.  
11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Industrial Development of Modern Society: The Commercial Background of Modern Civilization.  
A study of the relation between changing processes of production, and our industrial organization and their effect on the life of working people and on the development of the Labor movement in America and Europe.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' BUILDING  
3 West 16th Street

Wednesday, November 26

- 6:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement.  
In these discussions we shall study some of the fundamental laws of human behavior. We shall analyze some of the instincts that urge us to want to fight, to create, to lead, to follow, etc. We shall also analyze some of the laws which underlie the progress of human reasoning. Illustrations will be drawn from the workers' experience.

Thursday, December 4

- 6:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement.  
This course will attempt to show the purpose of modern industry, its organization, and how the business management of modern industry has and is working out.

Thursday, December 4

Brownsville Labor Lyceum  
219 Sacchan Street

- 7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement.  
In these discussions we shall study some of the fundamental laws of human behavior. We shall analyze some of the instincts that urge us to want to fight, to create, to lead, to follow, etc. We shall also analyze some of the laws which underlie the progress of human reasoning. Illustrations will be drawn from the workers' experience.

## UNITY CENTERS

Tuesday, November 25

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61  
Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street

- 8:45 p. m.—Economics and the Labor Movement.  
This course will attempt to show the purpose of modern industry, its organization, and how the business management of modern industry has been and is working out.

Wednesday, November 26

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63  
Fourth Street near First Avenue

- 8:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Social and Economic Forces in American History.  
This course will consider the great industrial combinations, whose origin and development have given to America many of her peculiar characteristic in social and political life.

Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171

103rd Street between Madison and Fifth Avenues

- 8:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—The Trade Union Movement in the United States.  
The Labor movement everywhere developed side by side with industry. This course will attempt to trace their evolution in the United States.

On Wednesday, December 3, at 8:00 p. m., the Chorus of the I. L. G. W. U., will give a concert at the Premier Theatre, Brownsville.

STUYVESANT HIGH SCHOOL

15th Street between First and Second Avenues

Auditorium

Friday, November 21, 7:30 P. M.

Concert given by the Clock Finishers' Union to celebrate the reopening of our educational season. The participants in the program will be:

MISHEL PIATRO,

Violinist

ANNETTE ROYACK,

Soprano

LEON, BLANK, Actor

Cards entitling our members to tickets at reduced prices to twelve Philharmonic Concerts can be obtained at our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

The next two concerts will be given at Carnegie Hall, Saturday evening, November 29, and at the Metropolitan Opera House, Sunday afternoon, December 14.



# The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

On Monday evening, November 24, the members of Local 10 will be called upon to make their fourth annual nomination of candidates for the various offices to be balloted upon in the election on December 29. The meeting, which is termed a special one for this purpose, will be held, as usual, in Arlington Hall.

## Nominations Reflect Opinions

While the real test of the attitude of the members towards the administration's policies can best be known by the results of the vote on Election Day, nevertheless the spirit that will prevail on the night of nominations will in a large measure also reflect this attitude. Hence, as the members repair to the meeting, it will not be amiss for them to look back upon the past year and guide their action, both at the night of nominations and on Election Day, accordingly.

That there is room for reflection can hardly be doubted. In previous elections, particularly those preceding the past four years, hardly any changes occurred in the organization proper. The elections were conducted semi-annually and the one probable thing which could in any way help the individual member determine the capability of a candidate was the person of the candidate. Insofar as the industry or the union was concerned, there was little, if anything, which called for a vote of confidence or a denial of it.

The writer of these words is no wise wiser than the rest to be understood as boosting any candidate or set of candidates. However, he has come in contact, during his experience as an officer of the union, with members without number, who held various shades of opinion, and has had expressed to him emphatically the fact that there was no doubt in their minds as to the capabilities of the present management of the organization.

## Local 10 Felt Everywhere

This expressed itself in the many changes which took place within the organization and which proved of great benefit to the members, first, in the handling of the affairs of the members within the organization proper, and also in the organization as it affected their working conditions in their trades. The activities of Local 10 in all of the affairs and in every department of the International and the Joint Board have become a byword.

The work of the present administration has made Local 10 a leading factor in every phase of the experience of the organization since its inception. There was need for efficient management of an important department in the strike committee. The manager of Local 10 was appointed, and headed, with credit, the work of the organization committee.

Was there a vacancy to be filled for the office of Treasurer of the Joint Board? Local 10 succeeded in having placed one of its own to fill this important capacity. There was disunity in the organization. Turnell was sent to build forth. Local 10 was the first to imbue harmony within its ranks.

A situation presented itself to the General Executive Board, which called for solution and readjustment. Local 10 showed its hand and played an unusual and important part in the affair.

## Merging Offices Resulted In Efficiency

Four years ago, when the three division managements were merged, it was thought that something approaching the height of efficiency had been accomplished. However, it was seen as time went on that there were too

many "generals" and very few workers. There was a general manager, a general business agent, and a general secretary. At the present time the appendage, "general," has been done away with and the work of the office has been so arranged that the work is being handled efficiently, without having a member's case pass through a dozen hands.

These changes in a large measure made for the present harmony within the ranks of the organization. The only manner by which a cloak cutter can be distinguished from a dress cutter is when they are at work in their shops. Insofar as the organization itself is concerned, they are all members. The cutters of both trades display a keen interest at the meetings in the problems of both the dress and cloak industries.

When the members will therefore assemble at the meeting on Monday night to nominate candidates to fill the various offices for the coming term this should be borne in mind. That changes are sometimes necessary cannot and will not be disputed. However, when the members make their nominations, the personnel of the candidates nominated must not be the sole consideration. What has been the service and accomplishments of the past should be the guide for the election or defeat of an individual.

The conception of an individual or a group that officers of the organization should be changed every year or two, irrespective of their merits, abilities and experience, is a false one. An inexperienced man can do more harm in one year of office than an able and experienced one in ten years. The members should, therefore, make their choice not by length of time of service, but rather by character of service.

## Candidates Must Be in Good Standing

The candidates whom the members will be called upon to nominate are for the offices of president, vice-president, inner guard, manager-secretary, business agent, three delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council, and ten members of the Executive Board.

As a rule, there are more aspirants for service on the Executive Board than for any other office. This may be attributed to the fact that service on the Executive Board has proved serving apprenticeship for the more important posts of the union. In addition to this, under the present constitution, which went into effect last year, the Executive Board also elects from among its ranks five members who serve as delegates to the Joint Board.

It will be noted that the members are called upon to elect but two members for the Executive Board, whereas the Board is composed of fifteen men. This is due to the fact that the members of the miscellaneous division elect their representatives on a separate ballot. Hence, they will vote on two, and three are to be appointed by the president.

The members desiring to run for office should bear in mind the constitutional provisions. They must be in good standing on the night of nomination, and must be members of the union for at least two years. If at any time any of the candidates were tried by the Executive Board for a violation and found guilty, they must have served a certain probational period, depending upon the nature of their offense.

## Activities In Cloak Trade

Manager Dubinsky has received reports in which his attention was directed to the violations of the jobbers and contractors in the cloak

trade under the workings of the new agreement.

During the past several weeks 141 complaints were attended to regarding independent and association shops which had their work made up in non-union shops. The great majority of these complaints came to light during recent checking up.

Fifty-six of the complaints which were sustained concerned minor violations. And the firms complied with the instructions of the union.

In most cases it was found that the shops complained against were not actually non-union shops. It was shown that the contractors worked for the jobbers under different trade names than those under which they signed up with the union. A number of wage claims were filed in cases where contractors failed to pay their workers' wages. In two of these cases the jobber directly was compelled to pay over to the workers the wages due them. In all other cases the jobbers withheld the money due contractors until the contractors came to terms.

An interesting opinion rendered by Brother Harry Wander, Manager of the Jobbing Department of the Joint Board, was that on the whole the jobbers avoided working with non-union shops, and in only very few exceptions was this found to have been the case.

## Dress Drive Successful

The recent drive instituted by the Jobbing Department of the Joint Board respecting dress houses brought interesting as well as good results. It was by no means an easy task to unearth through the books of the jobbers the extent to which they dealt with non-union shops. Strenuous effort was made to conceal books, and in many cases two distinct sets were carried. However, thanks to the efforts of the International's accountant, the duplications were discovered. The result was that forty-three new jobbers and ninety-seven contractors were compelled to sign up with the union. The jobbers found guilty of violations were penalized. Altogether there were thirteen of these, seven of whom paid the fines; an eighth deposited security with an impartial chairman, which is to be forfeited in the event that the jobber is again found violating the agreement; and final action in the balance of five cases is pending.

The Independent Dress Department also rendered a report. There were hundreds of complaints handled by the business agents relating to various violations of the agreement by the independent employers. Of the complaints handled, 152 dealt with the bosses doing their own cutting. These were adjusted by the imposition of fines and the placing of cutters.

Two large dress strikes were conducted lately, one of which is still in progress and the other, the Fashion Bilt Dress Company, of 509 Seventh avenue, has been settled. At first the union was intent upon forcing its firm to renege all of its workers who were at the time of the strike either unemployed or employed elsewhere. However, it was seen later that this firm was not guilty of an attempt to break the agreement with the union; for in April of the present year the firm gave up business and the firm did dissolve.

While this firm reopened its business under its old trade name, sufficient proof was secured by the union for it to determine that the firm underwent a legitimate reorganization. The union, having found this to be the case, finally settled with the firm amicably.

## Committee Goes Over Dress Agreement

As the year approaches its end, steps are being taken for the preparation of the agreement which is to be signed at the expiration of the present one. So far a number of informal conferences have taken place between the contractors' association and the union. No conclusion has been arrived at, since the discussions were informal and both sides aired their problems and grievances.

At the last meeting of the Executive Board, manager Dubinsky, in his report on this matter, said that the problems in the dress trade are very grave and a careful study of the conditions is necessary before new demands, if any, can be submitted. In the meantime, a sub-committee has been appointed to go over the present agreement with a view to seeing what changes are necessary.

Brother Dubinsky, as one of the committee, said that he is carefully studying the agreement and will shortly discuss it with the Executive Board. The manager also told the Executive Board that what is probably most necessary in the dress trade is an intensive organization campaign more than anything else.

## Miscellaneous Members Nominated

The members of the Miscellaneous Division nominated three candidates Monday night, November 17, for their quota of representation on the Executive Board. Apparently the members did not want the election of their representatives to go without a contest and therefore nominated four candidates, two of whom are to be elected. Those nominated are: Abe Goldring, No. 4542; Herman Weinstein, No. 4256; Fred Ratner, No. 4883; and Frank G. Lewis, No. 5677, only the last of whom has accepted for re-nomination. None of the other three candidates ever held office in Local 10 before.

As if having felt keenly the fact that a sufficient number of them did not turn up at the October meeting to hear International Vice-president, Lefkowitz, who is also manager of the Miscellaneous Council, speak on the organization drive in the Miscellaneous trades, a large number of members responded at the last meeting to again hear him, having learned that he was scheduled to speak again. That they were anxious to hear Brother Lefkowitz, and that the union has their hearty cooperation in the campaign, was well demonstrated.

The manager of the Miscellaneous Council compared at the outset of his talk the powerful organization of the Joint Board with the Miscellaneous Council. He said that the humane conditions which the workers in the cloak and dress trades enjoy are mainly due to the upbuilding of a solidified organization, such as the Joint Board, which is composed of an overwhelming majority of the workers engaged in these trades. He said that it was his aim and the purpose of the council to build up a similarly powerful organization for the purpose of improving the conditions of the workers in the miscellaneous trades.

# CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

## Notice of Meetings

Regular & Special Meeting. Monday, November 24th  
Nomination of Candidates for all Offices.  
At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place  
Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.