

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Friday, February 20, 1925.

New York, Friday, February 20, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

Fifteen Thousand Underwear and Children's Dress Workers In Strike

Response to General Strike Call Very Gratifying—Strikers Fill Ten Large Halls in New York and Brooklyn—Concerts and Lectures to Be Given in All Halls—Police Harass Pickets—Many Shop Settlements in Sight

At ten o'clock in the morning, on Tuesday, February 17, after the small army of volunteer-campaigners had distributed to the workers in the white goods, children's dress and bath robe and house dress shops in Greater New York the strike call signed by the District Council of the Miscellaneous Trades and the strike committee of Locals 10, 62 and 91, the anticipated general strike in these trades

became a reality. In orderly fashion, in shop groups under the leadership of their shop chairmen and chair-ladies, the workers began pouring out of the shops at the appointed hour and the great march downtown towards the assembly halls began.

The outpouring of workers, mostly girls, lasted over two hours in the New York district. In the Bronx, Harlem, Brooklyn and Brownsville

districts the walkout was no less impressive as shop after shop joined the parade attracting thousands of observers who in many sections applauded the strikers and cheered them on. Two strike circulars were issued—one for the white goods trade and another for the children's dress industry, though each of them similar in contents and instructions. The strike call read:

**WHITE GOODS WORKERS,
CHILDREN'S DRESS, BATH-
ROBE AND HOUSE
DRESS MAKERS OF
GREATER NEW
YORK!**

**The GENERAL STRIKE
is declared today, Tuesday,
February 17, in our trades.
It is called for the purpose of
improving working condi-
(Continued on page 3)**

International Union Bank to Finance Cooperative Homes for Union Members

"Garden Apartments" With Playgrounds for Children to Be Erected

An important conference of trade union leaders took place last Friday, February 13, in the Council Room of the I. L. G. W. U. Building, at which plans for constructing homes for workers on a cooperative basis were discussed at length. The International, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and the International Pocket Book Workers were represented at the meeting.

It is planned to erect "garden apartments" within the limits of the Greater City, conveniently located and constructed on a cooperative plan. It is intended that every room of the contemplated houses be light,

airy and comply with all requirements of modern home-building. In addition, it is calculated to build these apartments at a comparatively reasonable fixed price.

The houses will be one hundred per cent cooperative. Each purchaser of a suite of rooms will be requested to pay down a minimum price per room and to take care of the carrying charges and amortization share of his apartment in the form of a fixed monthly payment. These monthly payments will decrease in size each year as the purchase of the apartment is gradually being paid up, so

(Continued on page 2.)

Cloak Joint Board Elects Forty-Eight Paid Officials

Secretary Fish Announces Results

Nearly 8,000 votes were cast in the election of business agents and district managers conducted by the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board on Thursday, February 12. Six locals participated in the balloting with the following results:

Business Agents: Local 2—William Barcan, Simon Baumrind, Max Cohen (former Local 17), Meyer Ekin, Charles Fine, Sam Flomm, Bernard Golub, Max Kushner, Benj. Manir, Louis Balter, Jacob Press, Samuel Ringer, Abe Schwartz and Morris Solomon. Local 3—H. Berkowitz. Local 9—Hyman Goldberg, Louis Hyatt, Nathan Kaplan, Saul Miller, Max Sommer and Isidore Raskin. Local 16—Isidore Nagler and Benj. Sachs. Local 23—Samuel Primet, Bernard Samuels and Max Sherman. Local 35—Charles Aronson, Max Karolinsky, Joseph Gold, Morris Goldofsky and Harry Levin. Local 48—F. Muccignani, G. Dotti, A. Velardi, M. Matricand, J. Chiarcchiara, A. Catoni, P. Desti, F. Communal, C. Carotenuto. Local 82—Leon Eisenblatt.

District Managers—Jacob Rubin, Local 2; Joseph Keaton, Local 9; Harry Schuster, Local 9; Samuel Perlmutter, Local 10; Harry Wander, Local 23; Harry Slutsky, Local 35; and Nathan Shecter, Local 35.

& Novack, of Saint Catherine street, West. Both these firms signed Union agreements on Saturday, February 14, and their workers returned to the shops on the following Monday morning.

In addition to these shops the Union also settled with the Debenhaim Canada, Ltd.; National Rubber Company of Canada; Garment Sales Company; Abraham Dobrofsky; National Garment Manufacturer.

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Montreal "Injunction" Manufacturers Settle With Union

Only Four Shops Left On Strike in Toronto—Dobrofsky Firm in Montreal Obtains Injunction Against Union—Workers Keep On Picketing Shop—Ninety Per Cent of Workers in Both Cities Back at Work—Toronto and Montreal Offices Engage Staffs to Control Settled Shops

Last week, both in Montreal and Toronto, was devoted to picketing shops which have not as yet settled with the union to the signing up of new shops.

A sensation was created in Montreal when the Union announced that

two firms which had permanent injunctions against it for the past two years and have been notorious as anti-Union strongholds have settled with the organization. These firms are the Gould-Samuels Company in the New Caron Building and Lazarre

President Sigman In Final Conferences With Chicago Cloak Employers

Will Represent I. L. G. W. U., Together With Vice-president Perlstein At Conference for Progressive Political Action

President Morris Sigman arrived in Chicago last Monday, February 16, from Cleveland, where he attended together with Vice-president Perlstein the special hearing of the Board of Referees in the Cleveland Cloak Industry on the Sunshine Cloak Company case.

While in Chicago, President Sigman and Vice-president Perlstein will take up with the local cloak employers' associations the subject of renewal of agreements in the cloak trade which have expired some time ago. On Saturday, preceding the arrival of President Sigman, the Chicago Joint Board held a conference

with the cloak manufacturers' association, but could reach no results. The main demands of the Union, in addition to the inclusion of unemployment insurance and the sanitary label, is an increase of wages for the cloak cutters.

President Sigman will remain in Chicago over Sunday, February 22, to attend the meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action which begins its sessions in that city on Saturday, February 21, to consider the advisability of and plans for the formation of a Labor party in the United States.

Cloak and Dress Makers Not To Work On Monday, February 23d

Washington's Birthday Is Legal Holiday For Our Workers

All cloak and dress workers of New York are herewith notified not to report to work on Monday next, February 23—Washington's Birthday. All week workers are to receive pay in full for this day.

Union Committees will patrol the cloak and dress shop districts, and any workers found at work or on the way to work will be dealt with as violators of the laws of the Union.

By order of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board of New York,
JOSEPH FISH, Secretary-Treasurer.

Fifteen Thousand Underwear and Children's Dress Workers In Strike

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tions for all the workers in the Union and in the non-Union shops in our industry. These non-Union shops must be organized and Union standards of wages and hours must be established throughout the Children's Dress and White Goods Industry.

Every Children's Dress Maker and White Goods Worker a Union Member! Every Children's Dress Shop and White Goods Shop a Union Shop!

These are the slogans of our strike! DO NOT WAIT FOR A COMMITTEE TO TAKE YOU DOWN. THIS CIRCULAR IS YOUR COMMITTEE.

Leave the shop in orderly manner, avoid arguments or discussions with your employer or other members of the firm, and together with all the workers of your shop proceed immediately to the Hall assigned to you in this strike circular and remain there until all the workers have been properly registered.

GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE,
Local 10, 62 and 91.
District Council of Miscellaneous Trades of Greater New York, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Halls Where Strikers Assemble
The following halls have been assigned to the strikers where they will meet during the length of the strike. Information concerning individual strikers and shops may be obtained by visiting these halls or through telephoning to the officers assigned to take charge of these halls.

Manhattan
Local 10—Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's place; office, Orchard 2589; booth, Orchard 5210.

Local 62—Webster Hall, 119-25 E. 11th street; office, Stuyvesant 1852; booth, Orchard 5990. Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. 4th street; office, Drydock 6612; booth, Drydock 7848. Odd Fellows Hall, 98 Forsythe street; office, Drydock 6555; booth, Drydock 12652.

Local 91—Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th street; office, Drydock 0923; booth, Orchard 9668. Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's place; office, Orchard 2585; booth, Orchard 5210.

Harlem
Harlem Social Centre, 62 E. 160th street; Lehigh 1734.

Brooklyn
Claremont Casino, 3861 Third avenue near Claremont Parkway; office, Bingham 2406; booth, Bingham 0913.

Brooklyn
Vienna Hall, 105 Montrose avenue; office, Stagg 2030; booth, 10169.

Brownsville
Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street; office, Dickens 0983.

General Strike Committee
The General Strike Committee in charge of the big walkout, appointed by the Board of Directors of the District Council and later endorsed by the Executive Boards of all the locals involved, is located in the headquarters of the Council in the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street. It is organized as follows:
S. Lefkowitz, chairman; Abr. Snyder, vice-chairman; Harry Greenberg, secretary.

General Picket Committee—23 St. Mark's place; telephone Orchard 5210.
Jesse P. Cohen, chairman; Harry Greenberg, secretary; I. Bernadsky, Morris Alorin.

General Organization Committee—

3 W. 16th street; telephone Chelsea 2148. M. Weiss, chairman; P. Shapiro, secretary; M. Sirota and Frank Lewis, vice-chairmen.

Law Committee—7 E. 15th street; telephone Stuyvesant 3457-4379. Max M. Eisenfeld, chairman.

Speakers and Entertainment Committee—3 W. 16th street; telephone Chelsea 2148. Fannia M. Cohn, Vice-president.

Settlement Headquarters—Local 91, Hotel Aberdeen, 17-19-21 W. 32d street; telephone Pennsylvania 1600. Local 62, Broadway Central, 673 Broadway; telephone Spring 6700.

Strike Being Rapidly Put In Shape

The first two days of the strike were devoted primarily to organization work, indexing and classifying the shops, registering the names of the strikers and assigning them to sections in the assembly halls. A number of applications for settlements have already been received from employers, but these will be laid over for several days until the strike is put in proper working shape.

On Wednesday, February 18, the Speakers' Committee of the strike, under the supervision of Vice-president Miss Fannia M. Cohn, has arranged the first three mass meetings for the strikers—one in Arlington Hall, where the cutters assemble, another at Webster Hall, and one in Odd Fellows Hall, 98 Forsythe street, for white goods workers. The meetings were addressed by General Secretary Baroff, Vice-president Lefkowitz, leader of the strike; Abraham Snyder, manager of Local 62; Harry Greenberg, manager of Local 91; Ossip Wolinsky, general manager of the International Pocket Book Workers; Samuel Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers' Union; Luigi Antonini, general secretary of Local 89, Italian Dress Makers' Union; Vice-president Fannia M. Cohn, and Rose Schneidemann, of the Women's Trade Union League.

Thursday and Friday, February 19 and 20, Educational Days

The Committee on Speakers and Entertainment has made the announcement that a series of entertainment and lectures have been arranged for the strikers. They will begin on Thursday, February 19, with a concert in Webster Hall, 119 East 11th street. On Friday, February 20, another concert will be given in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's place. The following prominent artists have volunteered to take part in these concerts: Miss Estelle Schreiner, soprano; Joseph Fuchs, violinist; and N. L. Zaslavsky, baritone and pianist.

A special educational folder has also been prepared by Miss Fannia M. Cohn, executive secretary of the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U., which will be distributed to the strikers in all the halls for the purpose of familiarizing them with the educational work of the Union and gaining their interest in these activities.

Bank to Finance Homes

(Continued from page 1)

that in the course of some years the owners will only have to pay a small "rental" representing the taxes and some interest on the first initial mortgage. The houses will all have central court playgrounds for children and will also be equipped with social club rooms for adults.

The conference decided to go ahead with the construction of the plant. A special committee was elected to look

Montreal "Injunction" Manufacturers Settle With Union

(Continued from page 1)

ers' Company; Cohen, Ltd.; Modern Garment Company; H. Laffert & Sons; A. I. Miller, and with practically every other cloak employer in the city, excepting five manufacturers who are still holding out and against whom the Union is conducting a vigorous strike.

One Montreal Firm Gets Injunction

The firm of M. Dobrosky & Son have always been known as one of the most unfair employers in Canada. Right after the strike was declared, they attempted to revive an injunction which they obtained against the Union some two years ago. The Union, however, succeeded in nullifying this move on the ground that at that time this firm was known as the Empire Garment Company. The firm applied for another injunction in its new name and, as injunctions are granted on the asking in Canada, it did get an injunction and served it upon Julius Hochman, international representative in Canada, Alderman Joseph Shubert and other leaders of the strike. This, however, did not in the least decrease the activities of the pickets around their shop. In accordance with the advice of the Union's attorneys, Messrs. Peter Berckovitch, King's Counselor, and R. L. Cairns, ex-Crown prosecutor, the picketing continued "full force as heretofore."

In addition to this firm there are only four more shops of any consequence that have not as yet settled with the Union in Montreal, and in all these shops there are no workers at the machines, as all their men and women walked out on them.

Spring Season Arrives

The Spring season this year was late and the factories are beginning to get busy just now. It is expected that within a few days the few remaining shops will also come to an understanding with the Union and a one-hundred-per-cent. organization of the industry will then be established in Montreal. Meanwhile, the Montreal office has engaged two business agents to attend to complaints from the signed-up shops. These business agents are working under the supervision of Brother Harry Chancer, who was sent to Canada to aid General Organizer Hochman in this campaign.

The Montreal strike has been marked by wonderful orderliness and peace. Up to this hour there have been only two arrests in connection with the walkout, both of which have been dismissed in court.

Hochman Greets Toronto Strikers in Hour of Victory

In Toronto the strike is also nearly over. Up to this moment, every shop, with the exception of five firms—only two of which amount to something in the local industry—have settled. On Tuesday morning, February 19th, Toronto witnessed the most wonderful demonstration ever held there by organized Labor. All the workers gathered in Alhambra Hall and held an inspiring meeting, which was addressed by Brother Sol Polakoff, Organizer Polakoff

up some plotage for the first set of houses in the Bronx. The undertaking will be financed by the International Union Bank. More details concerning the building and purchasing plan of this new cooperative activity will be given out by the committee in the near future.

Members of the I. L. G. W. U. interested in this undertaking are requested to apply meanwhile to Brother Philip Kaplinsky, the cashier of the International Union Bank, at 515 street and Fifth avenue.

also read the following telegram received from General Organizer Julius Hochman from Montreal:

"Please transmit to the workers of Toronto deep regret over my inability to be present with them this morning. It is, indeed, painful to me that I cannot be with you on this great occasion when the greater credit of the workers who have so splendidly demonstrated their solidarity in this general strike are returning to work. Very urgent business is the only reason that keeps me back from attending your meeting this morning. I am sure that the members of the Union will know how to value this swift and complete victory. I should only like to remind them that the signing of the agreement and the return to work is only the beginning of our task. The building, and maintaining of a strong organization is the most important thing before us. I hope our Toronto workers have realized all this by now and will continue to carry the Union book in their pockets and the Union principles in their hearts as long as they will have to work for employers for wages."

"We have won on both battlefields. Toronto and Montreal are now true strongholds of unionism in the cloak industry. I shall be with you in a few days and shall help in whatever way I can to make the final arrangements for a complete victory and for a lasting Union."

March to the Shops
After the speeches the workers grouped themselves according to shops. A committee from the Union distributed white carnations to all the girl strikers of the settled shops, after which the mass of workers proceeded in orderly fashion cheering and singing on their way to the shops.

The Toronto Union has also reorganized its office staff and several persons have been put to work attending to complaints and affairs in general in the signed-up shops. Brother Julius Hochman, who has been kept busy in Montreal, visited Toronto on Wednesday, February 18, to expedite settlement in some of the shops which still remain out.

Brother Polakoff Wires Good News From Toronto
As we go to press we received the following telegram from Brother Sol Polakoff, who, in the absence of General Organizer Hochman, is leading the strike of the cloak makers in Toronto.

"General strike in Toronto near end. Five more manufacturers returned to the fight. Returned strikers are determined to win complete victory. The Pullen Manufacturing Company signed agreement with Union today for the first time in twenty-four years. Gordon Brown, with whom the Union has had difficulties for over a year, has settled today. We had a mass meeting of all workers in the trade, who unanimously decided to thank President Sigmund, Secretary Baroff, Brother Julius Hochman and Brother Sol Polakoff for the great moral and financial support given them in this general strike."

Unemployment Prevention Labor's Next Step

By HENRY J. OHL, Jr.,
President Wisconsin State Federation
of Labor

"America owes no man a living," said a statesman recently, "but America does owe every born soul an opportunity to earn a livelihood." "Why doesn't America give us that opportunity?" ask the jobless, the unemployed, those who are able, ready, and willing to work. For years Labor has been asking these pointed questions: Is unemployment necessary? Should Labor continue to bear its entire cost? Can it be prevented? How can the evil be mitigated?

Of all the ills that beset the minds of Labor, unemployment ranks first. Unquestionably, it is the most persistent and also the most perplexing. The average worker loses sixty days a year due to no work, nine due to illness, three to accident, and seven due to strike. The unemployment fear is constant. It hangs over him every moment he is at work. It demoralizes him while denied work.

Labor's loyalty to industry is shown in the records of the post-war period when increased production per man was regarded as a patriotic duty. The only reward for the general response to this plea came later when the factory gates were shut and nearly \$900,000 were deprived of the right to earn a living. A serious study of the unemployment problem would be illuminating to the student of social unrest who hopes to understand the mind of the rebellious wage worker. Nothing deserves more condemnation than the lack of accountability on the part of those who are responsible for unemployment.

Natural Trend Against Unemployment

Many employers still actually believe that unemployment is a good thing for business, as an aid to discipline and low cost means of "keeping the laborer in his place." Such employers are not conscious of the natural and inevitable trend of modern industrial life. "Nowhere is the new spirit more strikingly manifested," says John J. Andrews, of the American Association for Labor Legislation, "than in the agreement recently concluded between the miners' union and the principal coal mine operators reversing the existing wage scale for three years. Bituminous coal mining has long been recognized as a conspicuous offender in the matter of irregular employment. We are told that nearly 200,000 men could be transferred to other industries if coal mine operation were made regular—the most important consideration at a time when many industries complained of a labor shortage due to restricted immigration."

But the public has an even greater interest in the statement, on trustworthiness economic authority, that if mine operators were regularized the earnings of all bituminous miners could be increased twenty per cent, the cost of coal to the consumer could be reduced by ten per cent, and the operators could make profits on forty per cent longer operating time. The new wage agreement, entered into by both miners and operators, with deliberate design, is expected to drive many unstable coal mines out of business, with a gradual stabilization of employment in those that survive.

American industrialists are proud of their ingenuity and resourcefulness. They are first to admit that no job is impossible to their industrial initiative—if it has to be done. That spirit being invoked to overcome the effects of the new immigration restrictions. It has been successfully

brought into play by some employers and some industries to improve industrial relations by stabilizing employment. Plans for guaranteed employment and unemployment insurance now in operation in a number of individual plants and in industries, notably the garment industry and the clothing industry, have proved a success and point the way to effective action by industry generally.

All-Year Work in Building Industry

Notable progress is being made also in the building industry in the direction of providing all-year work. The engineers report, however, that relatively little is being done by those in a position to spread out the work over the year. Probably this industry also will not realize the possibility of preventing unemployment until it is asked to pay for part maintenance of involuntary unemployment. We all remember how employers claimed they could not prevent accidents. Now that law holds them liable for part of its cost, they have gotten busy on the prevention of the risk. Similar precautions are expected with unemployment.

The railway shopmen are also confronted with the problem of irregular work. While management concedes it entirely practicable and possible to stabilize employment, railway shopmen are frequently forced to lay off for six or eight week periods. An examination of payroll figures of railway shops shows marked irregularity in volume of employment. While the figures show that the amount of freight car and engine repair work that is turned over to the shops is fairly constant throughout the year, still the number on the payroll of one typical shop normally employing around 4,500 varied as much as forty per cent over the year. Obviously this is due not to no work but to poor planning, a management failure.

"Experience in the United States during the past dozen years," says Dr. Andrews, "shows that there are four stages of industry's approach to the prevention of unemployment. First, there was indifference. Then, realization by industry of its own responsibility for unemployment. Third, experimentation by industry with plans to stabilize employment—the stage we have now reached. The fourth stage, which is just ahead, will be marked by the adopting of measures to make such stabilization of employment universal. In stabilizing employment, as in preventing accidents, I predict that a new stimulus will be needed to arouse and renew the interest of industrial managers, and that within a few years the present reliance upon voluntary industrial action of employers will be recognized as socially too slow. Legislation will follow. Society must provide the necessary incentive, and make it universal, through unemployment compensation legislation."

States Now Tackling Unemployment Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota are now tackling that very problem. The solution is employment compensation legislation, originally sponsored in Wisconsin by Lieutenant-Governor Henry A. Huber. With the help of the farmers, the church, and the progressive forces, Labor hopes to enact into law this measure which will start industry on the very important work of preventing unemployment by stabilizing its employment.

There is nothing new in these unemployment measures. They merely require industry to pay a part of the

Brooklyn Firm Fined \$250 for Misuse of Union Label

Sold Labels to Non-Union Shops—Fine Will Go to Sanitary Board

The Brownsville manager of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board of New York had filed on February 11 a charge against Mr. Aaron Levine, a Brooklyn cloak manufacturer, alleging that labels bearing the serial numbers A654,597, to A654,485 of the new series, and one (1) label bearing the number 1,253,251 of the old series, were found in the possession of Garelick and Schwartz of 540 Livonia avenue, Brooklyn, who are conducting a non-union shop, the Union having ascertained from the records of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control that labels bearing these serial numbers were sold to Mr. Aaron Levine.

A hearing before Dr. Henry Moskowitz, Label Director of the Sanitary Joint Board, was held on Feb. 16, at which Mr. Levine and representatives of the Union were present. As a result of this hearing, the manufacturer admitted that his representative ordered one hundred and two (102) coats from the N & K Cloak Company, a non-union shop located at 938 Liberty avenue, Brooklyn, and gave to the representative of the firm, labels to be sewn on these garments.

In the course of the evidence, a communication addressed to Mr. Levine charging him with sending work to the Long Island Cloak Company, a non-union contractor, and he made apologetic to the Union official that

he would no longer have any relations with this concern.

Mr. Levine virtually admitted that that N & K Cloak Company was none other than the Long Island Cloak Company under an assumed name. His representative, did not ascertain whether the N & K Cloak Company was a registered contractor's shop as required by the agreement, and the inference is clear that he had guilty knowledge of the identity of both concerns.

After the hearing was concluded, the committee decided to sustain fully the charge of the Union on the ground that the manufacturer has violated Rule No. 2 of the terms and conditions governing the sale, distribution and use of Sanitary Label, which reads as follows:

"Any manufacturer or jobber distributing Labels to non-union contractors, manufacturing or sub-manufacturing shops, does so in violation of these conditions, and will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, and will be subject as well to such penalty as the Joint Board of Sanitary Control will impose."

The imposition of the penalty was referred to the Label Sub-Committee, which subsequently held a meeting on Wednesday, February 18, and decided to impose a fine of \$250 to be contributed by Mr. Levine to the Label Division of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

cost of unemployment in the same manner as we now require industry to pay a part of the wage loss due to accidents. This obligatory compensation will be the incentive that will secure the bankers' perpetual attention and corrective action in dealing with this problem. Such legislation will pave the way not only to remedying this evil but also to eliminating it.

It will encourage the extension and give permanency to such voluntary agreements as those mentioned above

between Labor and industry, at the same time protecting the weak and unorganized by inducing industry to furnish them steady work. Railway managers will then find it profitable to stabilize railway shop employment. Further, such legislation will also tend to perpetuate general business prosperity and shorten the periods of business stagnation. This is of vital concern to the railway industry, for it will mean steady employment and more regularity in the volume of transportation.—Life and Labor.

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The Chicago Conference on a New Party

By NORMAN THOMAS

A great deal depends upon the Chicago conference under the auspices of the C. P. P. A., Chicago, February 21. The next big step in political progress in America, we are convinced, is the formation of a labor party. By a labor party, we do not mean an exclusive labor party. Neither do we mean that every labor union must pledge its members to vote for the labor party. Most emphatically, a successful party must include farmers and all individuals in sympathy with the party. But any new party to have vitality must have its roots in the organizations of farmers and workers. It must avowedly and consciously express their interests. These interests are not the same as the interests of absentee owners. The party which we are seeking must be built on some great organized idea, like production for use rather than profit, to have cohesion and vitality. We are willing and anxious to support such a party even in its day of modest beginning.

There will be delegates at Chicago who either do not believe in this kind of a party or who believe that it is impossible. Some of them will oppose the formation of any party and others will urge the formation of a Progressive party, made up of individuals who advocate certain reforms, good in themselves, but without any special philosophy behind them. We are respectfully of the opinion that it would be better to have no party than a party of this latter sort. It would delay rather than advance the formation of a real labor party. It would be better to keep the very loose federation of progressives that now exists in the C. P. P. A. than try to form in 1925 a 1912 Progressive party without even a Roosevelt to lead it.

In saying this, we do not propose rigid mechanical tests as to what would constitute a "labor" rather than a "third" party. It will depend upon the feeling manifested by the delegates and the temper they show. A part may call itself progressive and yet be soundly labor in the sense we have in mind, or show every likelihood of development into such a party. We should give a new party the benefit of the doubt, but we should not waste time on the attempt to revive the tactics which failed when they were tried by the Populists and failed again when they were tried by the Progressives in 1912.

Mr. Ford's Latest Offer

We have long had an idea that the ideal solution of the Muscle Shoals problem would be to have the United States own and control the whole development with Henry Ford as a matter of public service in charge. Now we observe that Mr. Ford offers, if the Government will keep control, to give the cooperation of his engineers and chemists who have studied the situation. That is a good plan—and a generous one—far better than to hand over the Shoals to Ford and his company for a song. One thing puzzles us. Mr. Ford specifies that the Shoals should be run as a nitrate plant, not a power plant. Even his own offer regarded the making of fertilizer as experimental and specified the diversion of only a fraction of the power produced to the making of nitrates for fertilizer. All authorities have agreed that as yet the production of fertilizer on a commercial scale was problematical and that at

best not more than one-fifth of our whole supply could be produced at the Shoals. In other words, the Shoals are primarily a power plant. Just why does Mr. Ford make his offer of cooperation wholly dependent on the use of the Shoals simply for nitrates?

His reasons in fall would be very interesting. Even his conditional offer of cooperation ought to help weigh the scales against the Underwood bill for giving the Shoals over to the power trust.

The Greatness of Human Nature
So much has been written and well written about the heroism of men and dogs in the celebrated race to Nome that we can contribute nothing new but only join the chorus of praise. One thing though we should like to point out. Heroism in time of peace directed to saving and not destroying life is no rare virtue. We wish that we had saved the clippings from the newspapers for a period of just one month recording the deeds of heroism of men and women whose names will not be remembered, whose fame will not be recorded, but who helped to make human life noble and beautiful. Miners have gone down to save their fellows not counting the risks themselves, firemen have lost their lives for others, teachers have saved little children by presence of mind in burning buildings. A telephone operator kept guard one whole night over a sleeping town watching to see whether the flood waters would rise or fall. Perhaps these dramatic acts of courage are less difficult than the day by day heroism of men and women handicapped by ill-health and anxiety who still carry on and cheerfully do their share of the world's work. We slander our own human nature when we hold it so cheap and despise so greatly concerning the possibilities of better social arrangements among us. Men and women capable of the heroism which is all about us do not forever need to organize their social life together on the basis of their most acquisitive and least social motives.

"Quit Your Kidding"

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

Just suppose pardons are sold for cash in Kansas, if they are? Doesn't the Federal Government peddle favors to the powerful? Is peddling pardons in Kansas any worse than the Federal Government's taking the people's money on Monday at 4½ per cent interest (during the war) and then on Tuesday turning that same money over to the Steel Trust and the Leather Trust, the Lumber Trust and other trusts for war materials, allowing a rate of profits running from 25 to 500 per cent? Thus the Government allowed the Trusts in profits from six to forty times as much as it allowed the plain people in interest for the money handed to the trusts.

Just name one profiteer who was hustled to the penitentiary for "holding up" his country in time of war? Is it any worse to turn scoundrels out of the penitentiary for slush than it is to keep them out of the penitentiary for coming across with slush for a campaign? Just name one big oil thief sent to the penitentiary by the Federal Government after all the recent months of pious howling about "treason to the people" in these dirty deals. Hunt up the foulest den of thieves, thugs, crooks and gut-throats in the most crime-ridden city in America, and ask the "bad" men to explain. The answer might be: "Hell, everybody's 'getting his,' from the trusts and the Federal Treasury—favored big bootleggers up at the top clear down to the delicatest artist who charges as much for an apple from an orchard in the next county as for an orange that has been hauled 2,000 miles. Our 'hold-ups' are just as clean as Wall Street's 'come-on' game. They get theirs. We get ours. Different technique—that's all. G'long with your fool talk about us 'bad' men. There are hundreds of trusts spitting on the Sherman Anti-Trust law with its penitentiary clause for the breakers of the law. Just name two or three millionaire breakers of the Anti-Trust law who have been placed in the peni-

tentiary in the last thirty-five years since the law was passed, placed in the penitentiary by the Department of Justice in the twelve years the Democratic party was in power, or during the twenty-three years the Republican party has been in power. Name them. We fellows of the underworld are watching the upper world, and we know these big silk-hatted thieves are running loose simply because they contribute to the old party campaign funds. Let the hundreds of courts deny that they are stockholders in the trusts.

"Quit your kidding us little fellows till Cal and the Department come through and cage some of these big crooks. Follow the leader" is the motto in the underworld. We note that the mighty leaders in the world of look walk the streets untouched by the police, unharmed by Secret Service men, untouched by the Department of Justice, untouched by the leaders in the world of thought. Let the bishops name the big crooks and curse them for what they are—and they curse us—and demand their imprisonment. Let the great editors, the great statesmen, name the leading crooks of the land and curse them for what they are and demand their imprisonment.

"What is the use of whining and sniffing about the 'crime wave' of hold-ups and porch climbers while everybody knows the Federal Government is perfectly aware of the names and addresses of hundreds of breakers of the Anti-Trust law—and other laws—meeting at United States marshals, meeting at Federal Courts, meeting at Governors, meeting at attorney generals, meeting at the President himself, challenging any of them, challenging all of them."

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

Meyer London will continue his lectures on "Russia, the Old and the New," tomorrow afternoon (Saturday), February 21, at 1:30 p. m., at the Rand School, 7 East 16th street. At 2:30 p. m., Prof. Alex. A. Goldenweiser will lecture on "New Morals for Old."

On Monday evening, February 23, at 8:30 p. m., August Claessens will lecture on "Prostitution" in his course on "Sex and Society." Mr. Clement Wood will also lecture Wednesday evening on "Joyce and R. H. Lawrence."

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:- Zinoviev's Victory Over Trotsky :-

Trotsky is a fallen star. The great Leon Trotsky, the chief organizer of the Bolshevik Revolution, the creator of the Red Army, the idol of all active and potential "soldiers of the world revolution," the "evil genius in the eyes of the international bourgeoisie who would not mention his name, together with that of Lenin, except to curse him—this Trotsky is today a fallen, or rather an overthrown fetish. A Bolshevik Sanhedrin in Moscow, in the form of a quorum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee of the Russian Communist party, had sat over him in judgment and declared him guilty.

He was adjudged guilty of "disobeying party discipline not only in word but action"; of "attacking Bolshevism on various occasions, which has been interpreted in foreign bourgeois countries as a sign of party splitting"; of "having become the mouthpiece of all sort of petty-bourgeois moderation"; of "anti-Leninist evaluation of the role of the peasants in the Revolution, which is particularly dangerous now when the party is striving to combine city industry with the peasantry." For all this Trotsky was removed from "further participation in the Revolutionary Military Council," thus eliminating him from his great post as War Minister; and he was further admonished that in the future another "attempt to transgress or disobey party decisions" would lead to punishment even more severely.

Trotsky did not appear, on account of his illness—so he claimed—before the tribunal of his judges. Instead he sent a letter in which he denied the charges made against him. He denies that he strives "to revise Leninism" or to "depersonalize Lenin's role"; he denies that he is a "reactionary pessimism concerning the fate of the Communist regime in Russia owing to the slow development of the revolution in the West"; he denies that he had transgressed the discipline of the party or that he had rejected party decisions, declaring categorically that he is ready to carry out "every task, every sin, every crime" of the party under the party's control. He also declared that "after the last 'discussions' the interests of the cause demand that he give up his post as Chairman of the Military Council."

It is hard to believe that the real reason for Trotsky's failure to appear before his judges was his illness. Had he been so gravely sick, the trial over him would have been, no doubt, postponed for some time. It is more logical to assume that he had thought it beneath his dignity to appear before any tribunal as a defendant. He may have feared, in addition, that face to face with his prosecutors he would be likely to lose his temper, which would probably have made things worse for him. There is an indication of this in a statement in his letter to the effect that he "had refrained from replying to diffusions against his book 'Lesson of October' in order not to make the polemic still sharper." Which is a pointed enough allusion that if he were to answer the attacks leveled at him he would have been compelled to smash his opponents to smithereens.

The allegation is the verdict that Trotsky had broken the discipline of the Party "not only by word but by action" is at least half untrue. No such breach of discipline "by overt act" could be proven against Trotsky. Zinoviev, his bitterest opponent, who directed against him endlessly long philippics in the party press in order to create anti-Trotsky sentiment, does not mention one overt act of transgression of party discipline, and

Party Faith and Personality

By LEON CHASANOWICH
(Special Correspondence to Justice)

Zinoviev is certainly not the person who would either overlook any flaw in an adversary. The Bolshevik Sanhedrin, it appears, must have felt somewhat hesitant, before the world, to sentence a comrade of Trotsky's standing on the strength of a mere difference of opinion. Trotsky's own demand to be removed from the duty of Minister of War was doubtless a wise move on his part. He knew what was expecting him and by his request he had considerably weakened the moral effect of the blow.

As regards Trotsky's declaration concerning his readiness to carry on any activity of the party, the verdict contains the following characteristic statement:

"The plenum of the Central Committee takes cognizance of Trotsky's readiness to carry out the work which may be given him under the control of the party and states that Trotsky has not admitted his guilt and has not abandoned his anti-Bolshevik position, limiting himself to formal loyalty only."

The Trotsky trial is a very important event in the history of Soviet Russia and it deserves to be considered at some greater length.

How did Trotsky provoke such an outburst of wrath against himself among his comrades at the top of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet Government? A great many appear to believe that Trotsky represents the so-called right wing in the Communist party and that the blow struck at him was actually directed at this right wing. His own opponents, in fact, have sought to make it appear in this light.

Nevertheless, such an assumption, on par with the allegation of Trotsky's breach of party discipline, is entirely wrong. While Trotsky has learned a little to the "right" in some situations, he has been found on the "left" side of the party in a great many others. Let us take, for instance, the peasant question concerning his attitude, so the verdict states, has always been "anti-Leninist." What is the official attitude of the party in this problem? The Communist party is consistently and steadily making greater concessions to the peasants at the expense of its program and its former declarations concerning "nationalization. The "Nep" system in its entirety is due to the peasantry, and it is only too well known that the very term—

"nep"—is the most hateful word in the lexicon on the radical wing of the Bolsheviks. Well, Trotsky is against these partial liquidations of nationalization, against concessions to the peasants. He stands for a "sharp military communism," but as the party chiefs would not admit to the Russian workers that Trotsky had lost caste with them on account of these extreme Communist demands, they declare instead that he is menacing the peace between the city proletariat and the peasantry. Simultaneously, this is intended to create bitterness against him in the Red Army which idolizes him, for this army recruited on the basis of universal military service naturally consists in an overwhelming degree of young peasants.

The real ground for the hate engendered by Trotsky must be sought in the conflict between party and personality which is rampant in Russia as much as anywhere else. Trotsky is too versatile a person for the Bolshevik party hierarchy and its cardinals. I am using the term "party hierarchy" advisedly, not for the sake of irony but to accurately portray the character of the Bolshevik party. That the Bolsheviks in their position would demand "iron discipline" is quite understandable. What is amazing is that they extend the conception of discipline not merely to acts but to opinions, which is admittedly no longer politics but faith and dogma. And though Bolshevism, on the fact of it, appears as far removed from religious secretarianism as the poles, both have in common a great many characteristic features. One could write quite a book on this striking parallel alone.

The Bolshevik ideology is just as monopolistic as the ideology, for instance, of Catholicism. Bolshevism is a social faith which has become a State, a "social faith"—not even a social theory. The Bolshevik party utilizes its Governmental power for the defense of its catechism as Catholicism has done in the days of its temporal power, both for this earth and for the hereafter. All Socialist parties have consistently recognized freedom of thought for their members, i. e., of their right within the ramifications of a Socialist viewpoint to think according to their own light and ability on any given problem and to express their opinion thereon without molestation. The Bolshevik party does not admit such freedom of opinion. It demands that all its members think in one fashion and it denies them the right to any individual opinion which does not bear the stamp of official party approval. Like in

every other religion, one may therefore sin against the Bolshevik faith not merely by action but in thought. In his polemics with Trotsky, the present Dalai-Lama of the Bolshevik faith, Zinoviev, declares that in the Bolshevik party "there was not and could not have been" a Right wing or any wing at all, as "Leninism is a party of but one mould, cast out of one mass." In the same breath Zinoviev declares that in the Bolshevik party there must prevail a "maximum uniformity," and he accuses Trotsky of the attempt to destroy this uniformity by forming a Right wing in the Russian Communist party and in the Third International.

A faith, of course, is impossible without a deity, without angels and without saints. What the Bolsheviks have contrived and are still contriving to make of Lenin after his death is such a deification. They have practically ceased talking about Marx and Marxism—and instead are harping incessantly on Lenin and Leninism. A Lenin cult is being assiduously and relentlessly developed in Russia today which has no counterpart in modern times. Lenin's "miracles," of course of a temporal nature, are being daily unearthed; temples and altars are being opened in his name, and a sort of divine worship is being offered to him. An institute has been founded to study "Leninism"; special Lenin rooms are being reserved in libraries and people's houses where his portraits, in various poses and ages, adorn the walls.

In all religions, the penitential and confessional is a part of a great part. One may observe these factors at play in Bolshevism, too, and we have already seen how the Bolshevik Sanhedrin reacted towards Trotsky's readiness to obey. It declared that "Trotsky has not admitted his guilt nor left his anti-Bolshevik position," which means, in other words, that Trotsky must not cry "Meeh culpa." In his book "The Lesson of October," which stirred up so much wrath among the Bolshevik rulers, Trotsky relates how in the most critical moment of the October Revolution (of which he was the chief organizer), when the Central Committee of the party decided in favor of an uprising against the Kerensky Government, Zinoviev and Kamenov, at the present of danger, stepped aside, and how later, when the Soviet Government was formed, they quit it for a time because Lenin would not effect a compromise with the Mensheviks. How does Zinoviev reply to this charge? He states that he had since repented and that Lenin himself had absolved him of his great sin. As if a coward could change his character through repentance and absolution!

Trotsky is a man of a different cut and fibre, and he cannot fit himself into the Bolshevik party. He is a person with a free mind, a critical viewpoint and endowed with unusual personal courage. He placed himself at the service of Bolshevism at a time when he could display his greatness, at a moment of danger. During the Brest-Litovsk negotiations he proved his oratorical calibre; and in the organization of the Red Army and in the wars against the counter-revolution and interventions he showed himself a brilliant organizer and strategist.

Now Russia has entered a more peaceful period. Trotsky, nevertheless, could not remain at rest. He criticized, analyzed, sought and demanded honesty and integrity in the administrative organs of the country; he demanded Communist consistency. And now the Communist dictators, grateful gentry that they are, have discovered that Trotsky is a stranger among them, that he comes from the Menshevik camp and that he probably yearns to get back there. Now they say:

"The Moor has done his duty; the Moor may go."



POST ELECTION "PROSPERITY"

R. L. F. Journal

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

SOME ELECTIONS AND OTHERS

The election of business agents and a manager in the Dress Division of the New York Joint Board, announced for last week, did not take place as scheduled. Vice-president Feinberg, the manager of the Joint Board, deemed it necessary to order a postponement of these elections.

On the face of it such an order may smack of a dictatorial nature. Indeed, we can already hear the rumbling of "democratic" thunder from the camp of the local Moscow agents against that arch "counter-revolutionist," Israel Feinberg, who is "restraining the rank and file from expressing their will." We can visualize how these great believers in the will of the people, whose tutors had sealed hermetically the lips of the Russian nation by means of the most atrocious terror; these "friends of Labor" who never lose an opportunity to inform our employers that the "Union treasury is empty" and that in consequence they, the employers, might rest easy and be relieved of the fear of an attack from their workers—we can foresee how these apostles of popular rights would raise a sanctimonious howl to heaven over this "desecration" of democratic principles!

In point of fact and truth, however, Vice-president Feinberg, by his "despotic" act, only affirmed the importance and inviolability of the principles of democracy. Let us make the facts clear to our readers.

Of course, we are fully in accord with the idea that our officers should be elected by the suffrage of our members through elections conducted in a democratic fashion. There are, however, elections and elections. There always have existed forms of elections, and they still exist today, which only mock the principle of representative democracy and make a laughing-stock of it. Suffice it to mention, for instance, elections that are openly bartered away at so much per vote, or such as are literally drowned in a pool of rotten, mind-numbing drink. Such election methods are not unfamiliar in our city, State and national elections and such "democratic" proceedings have always been a stench in the nostrils of every decent person.

Well, the advent of the so-called "red" element in the life of our unions, an element controlled and manipulated by a local group of Moscow lackeys, has converted elections in many of our locals into a similar pandemonium of vote-hunting and cat-and-dog affairs. Any candidate without a "red" collar boldly displayed, no matter how decent and able, becomes at once the ready target of this vicious coterie and the center of attack of their inexhaustible supply of slander, invective and abuse. They even do not hesitate to enter into one's family life, to rake up or invent scandal as long as it serves their sole purpose—to "kill" off their opponents. The immediate result of this bacchanalia of libel has been that many of the ablest and the best in our midst have voluntarily withdrawn from direct Union activity so as not to become besmirched and calumniated in their black-guard press.

The General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. had some time ago decided to put a stop to such "politics" in our locals. It issued certain rules of election conduct applicable to all its subdivisions to be rigidly observed in the interest of decency and purity of elections. It, for instance, outlawed all forms of "salates," and forbade the issuance of leaflets containing vituperation and attacks upon opposing candidates. The Boston convention of the International unanimously approved these rules and made them a part of the I. L. G. W. U. constitution.

Well, as we stated already, last week there was supposed to have taken place the balloting for a manager and for business agents for the dress industry. The candidates that were to appear on the ballot were previously examined as to their eligibility by a committee, on which Local 22, the dress makers' local, was fully represented. Some of these candidates were rejected by this committee as not entirely fit to occupy the offices they were aspiring to. The others were found eligible in the judgment of the whole committee and placed on the ballot. The final word in determining the choice of these officers was to be left to the members of the dress locals.

Then something happened. A certain well-known group in Local 22, in brazen violation of the rules and by-laws of the Union, issued on the eve of the election a scurrilous leaflet in which the candidates who do not belong to the sect that takes its orders from Moscow were attacked in a most contemptible manner, so much the more revolting because it gave them no opportunity for replying.

This act, of course, constituted a flagrant and defiant violation of the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. And Vice-president Feinberg, the manager of the Joint Board, would have been guilty of violating his own trust had he failed, as officer of the International and as a Union member, to take a firm stand in this matter and stop the depredations of these Union breakers.

Moreover, before deciding upon this final step, Vice-president Feinberg appeared before the Executive Board of Local 22 and requested them to issue a public statement condemning the signers of this leaflet and calling upon the members of the local to disregard and ignore it and to vote according to the dictates of their own mind and conscience. This request, moderate and thorough in accord with the spirit of the trade union movement as it was, nevertheless, rejected by the Executive Board of Local 22, which left no other course for Vice-president Feinberg to follow but to postpone the elections for a while.

Such are the facts in this case. We anticipate that this event will lead to some very significant consequences. The irresponsible in our midst, who are being used as tools by a handful of unconscionable scoundrels, should realize by this time that there are limits which cannot be overstepped. We have no doubt for a moment that the Joint Board will now proceed to do what the executive board of Local 22 had failed to do—namely, to call to account those guilty of this scandalous attack and to punish them accordingly. Above all, this occurrence has brought to light the fact that the new executive board of the local is still entirely ignorant of its simplest duties. It is becoming quite obvious that unless this board will make an effort to familiarize itself with its plain obligations, the International will in the end be compelled to take the control of this local into its own hands.

Inexperience is, perhaps, the only extenuating circumstance that can be offered on behalf of the executive board of Local 22. True, Brother Feinberg has done all he could to state to this new board its duties in this matter and it would hardly be just to claim that they acted as they did but of sheer ignorance. Yet, it is quite likely that lack of trade union experience has somewhat contributed toward their failure to make a proper decision in this situation.

We should like to hope that they have, by this time, realized their blunder and that they understand equally well that if they intend to finish their term without interruption and contribute to the welfare of the local, they will have to look for leadership and guidance to the constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. as it is interpreted by the General Executive Board.

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMALGAMATED

It may appear somewhat belated to congratulate the Amalgamated now upon its completion of ten years of fruitful and virile existence. We feel, nevertheless, certain that the Amalgamated will forgive us this lack of punctuality, as the Amalgamated knows too well that in our international it has always had and still has a true friend and well-wisher.

This feeling of friendship and kinship is quite natural. For, no one, indeed, is better able to appreciate the remarkable achievements made by the Amalgamated during its first ten years than the I. L. G. W. U. Let it be borne in mind that our organization has had practically the same road to travel and the same battles to fight in the last decade, and practically with the aid of the identical mass of human material and under similar economic and industrial environments.

True, in all frankness, there were moments in not such a distant past when we felt somewhat irritated with the Amalgamated. That was when some treacherous elements in our movement were leveling shafts of calumny and mud at the International while the Amalgamated has not deemed it necessary to raise its voice on behalf of its twin-sister. Moreover, there were days when the Amalgamated not only passed these attacks upon the International over in silence but has even, through a misguided policy, openly flirted with these union-breakers.

We felt quite badly about it in those days, though we never doubted the sincere friendship of the Amalgamated even then, and we were willing to ascribe the attitude at that time to a peculiar complexity of circumstances which were beyond its own control. We also knew that such a state of affairs could not continue long and that very soon the Amalgamated would either have to hand over complete authority to the "red" adventurers and thereby bring ruin upon the splendid organization of the men's clothing workers, or that it would pick up enough courage and slam the door in the face of these evil spirits. And we are rejoicing, indeed, to see that the Amalgamated had chosen the second course and is now marching in step with the entire Labor movement.

We felicitate upon this event whole-heartedly our powerful sister organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and greet its leadership for the energy and persistence with which it has led the union of the men's clothing workers to its present greatness and influence so justly admired by every honest and thinking person in the land. Ten years is, indeed, but a short span of time, and yet what a splendid record had been crowded into it! Only ten years the name tailor has been a byword of derision and weakness and the clothing workers were a disorganized mass, defenseless, hopeless and scorned by everyone.

Only ten years have passed, and what a difference! Ten years of strenuous organization work have changed the despised mass of tailors into a strong and universally respected organization. They have virtually changed the whole mental and physical aspect of the clothing workers!

What Reviewers Say About Our History

George Soule in The New Republic on Dr. Levine's Book

George Soule, well-known publicist and expert Labor economist, in reviewing "The Women's Garment Workers," the history of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, recently published by B. S. Huebsch & Co., in The New Republic of February 14, under the caption "One Union's History," says the following:

"It is of interest that a prominent union was not concerned with the larger aspects of its function that it engaged a competent economist to write its history, giving him plenty of time and resources for the task. It is of still more interest that it exercised no censorship over his work, but asked him to interpret plainly as he saw them all the significant facts, including in no undue celebration of achievements, publicity for persons, or advocacy of official policies. Such a history, written of a union which could understand the need for 'it must be of high value.'"

The interest and value of this book, however, are even broader than those implied in its origin. Most of us have been enchanted by the spell of such books as Wells' "Outline of History," which attempts to tell the story of all mankind from its remotest origins. There is a similar fascination about this history of a limited social group over half a century, because it shows intensively much the same processes which the broad histories have sketched extensively. The women's garment workers struggling to master their industry are a sample and a symbol of mankind in his universe.

Here are a puny body of human beings confronted by an oppressive and shifting environment. They experience hardships and discomfort. The first crude attempts at adjustment are unplanned revolts, passing away without accomplishment. Strikes grow and fade, ideas ferment in small cliques, conflicts arise and disappear, both within the group and between the group and others with which it comes in contact. Improved dogmatisms struggle against circumstances and each other, but do not succeed in modifying the surroundings. Interwoven with the social processes are the meles of personal ambitions and political cross-currents which in detail seem irrelevant to the whole pattern. If a dispassionate observer, interested in the creation of an intelligent social order, were to be debarred from any knowledge of the history of the garment workers after 1910 but were to look solely at the present, thirty years, seeing the seasonal and cyclical rise and fall of organization, the fewness of those exercising any continuity of policy or even being touched by a long vision, the inadequacy of policies themselves, and the seeming inability of those concerned to avoid disputes which dissipated what little force they had to

deal with their real problems, he would probably be completely hopeless of the capacity of the workers to exercise any control over their industry and their lives. He would be tempted to call such an effort impractical, and to turn instead either to despair, to a blind trust in laissez-faire or to a hope of benevolent authority.

Yet somehow social experience was hammered out of confusion. The mass eventually became capable of holding the vision which at first animated the few, and of making it in part a reality by submitting to the discipline of new building. The mass eventually became capable of subordinating their special theories—their individualism, their anarchism, their socialism, their pure-and-simple trade-unionism—to coordinate projects for dealing with actual situations, in which all could join. Strikes grew larger, and approached more nearly to achievements that could be retained. The reefer makers' strike of 1907 was followed by the revolt of the waist makers in 1909, and that by the great cloak makers' strike of 1910, each better organized and more intelligently led than the last. And the conflict of the workers with the employers in turn became powerful and significant enough to bring about the creation of projects calculated to deal with the whole industry—with the economic environment which limited the action of all, including the employers and the public.

This noted Protocol of Peace, under which the union and the employers attempted to regulate their affairs from 1910 to 1916, was a device to organize collective control of the industry, just as unionism itself was a device to organize such control of the action of workers. Like all social inventions, it demanded new adjustments and new disciplines, it gave rise to new complexities and conflicts, and it had to be modified by experience. Though its specific machinery was in the end abandoned, it built up institutions of control which survived it, it developed the union as an administrative organism, and it began to concentrate attention on problems of technique whose solution is necessary to intelligent regulation of the industry—such as reconciling the protection of the workers' job with the executive functions of the employer, the scientific setting of rates, and sanitation.

When the industrial depression and open-shop reaction of 1921 arrived,

there was present to meet it, not the scattered locals and the puny international of earlier decades, which had to borrow \$100 from the American Federation of Labor for organizing expenses, but the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, with an experienced staff of permanent officials, 100,000 members, and annual revenues of nearly \$1,000,000—not counting the reserves in local treasuries. Naturally a much larger area of former gains was retained than in previous set-backs. And the union was not prevented from further extension of activities—such as experiment with unemployment insurance in Cleveland, the broadening of its highly important educational work, the creation of a new building to house its offices, the establishment of a bank.

The task of the garment workers is not yet completed—in fact it may not be half done. Internal dissensions due to political dogmatism and personal ambition have not disappeared; the struggle between "rights" and "lefts" which seems to be a cyclical phenomenon has as usual been a handicap to growth; many branches of the trade are as yet without permanent organization; the project of controlling a highly complex industry subject to periodic dispersal into small contractors' and manufacturers' shops is still in its infancy. The members who were educated to sacrifice and cooperation through the inspiration of early struggles are gradually being replaced by younger workers who, without such historical moulding, are coming into an established concern. But discouragement at present obstacles should be reduced, and understanding of the way of fruitful action should be enhanced, if this effort to make conscious the historical experience of the group is taken to heart by the membership. It is in places thrilling, touching, or amusing; past turmoil. Its objective review of events and discerning critical interpretation indicate the order which emerges from the confusion of detail. These qualities recommend it not merely to the garment workers themselves, but to any one who is puzzled or fascinated by the slow struggle of man to master himself and his world."

CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS ON MASS EDUCATION

Instructors in the various Labor colleges and workers' classes of the East will gather at their second annual conference at Brookwood Labor College the week-end of Washington's Birthday. Representatives including Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, Spencer

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

A committee appointed to obtain an estimate of possible cost of investigating the number of workers and their earnings in the women's wear trades reports that they met with Dr. L. A. Hourwich and that, in his opinion, such a department would have to cost from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year. Vice-presidents Nigman, Polakoff and Kleinman are instructed to visit the locals and inform them of the importance of such a department.

In January, 1912, Cook Pressers', Local 12, Boston, present a list of demands to their employers independently of the two other locals comprising the Boston Joint Board. The Cook Pressers, Local 79, did the same. The result was that the employers conceded only the demands of a few cutters and ignored the rest of the demands. The pressers therefore went out on strike. It ended up in a demoralization of the local trade. Vice-president Nigman recommends as the sole remedy a general strike of the whole trade in Boston.

Thieves break into the office of Local 9, blow up the safe and steal one day's income amounting to several hundred dollars. The local is later fully reimbursed for the loss as it is insured against burglary.

Two Debates

The National Labor Forum is announcing two debates of great public interest. "Shall Immigration Be Rigidly Restricted?" will be discussed by Representative Albert Johnson of Washington, and Judge Jacob Panken of New York. Mr. Johnson will take the affirmative, Judge Panken the negative. The debate will be held at Town Hall on Wednesday evening, February 25 at 8:30 p. m.

"Military Preparedness. Necessary for the General Welfare of the People of the United States?" will be argued pro and con by Admiral Rodgers, of the United States Navy, and Scott Nearing, of the Rand School. Mr. Nearing will take the negative, Admiral Rodgers the affirmative. This debate will also be held in Town Hall on Sunday afternoon, March 15, at 2:30 p. m.

Miller, Jr., Dr. W. H. L. Dana and others, from the Labor colleges of Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Boston and Philadelphia, and from institutions such as the Ladies' Garment Workers' classes, the Milers' Infant-tailor project, and the Workers' Education Bureau of America will be present.

The general subject of the forthcoming conference is Mass Education for Workers.

FORWARD, MEMBERS OF LOCALS 62 AND 91!

This Tuesday you have quit your machines at the call of your Union and today you are up in arms against the intolerable conditions of labor existing in your shops, against the miserly earnings doled out to you as a reward for your toil, and against all other shop evils which have burdened and oppressed your existence.

You, the producers of silk and muslin underwear, and you, the children's dress makers, who clothe the world's younger generation while in return you receive only the crumbs off the world's table—you are crowding the strike assemblies and the picket lines today inspired by one unifying thought, one great idea—to win for yourselves a greater measure of comfort, happiness and human contentedness.

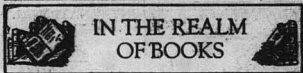
What human being worthy of the name will deny to you, brave girls, seeking a little more sunshine and rest his or her cheer and godspeed? Who will abstain from wishing you success in your battles for a better living? Of one thing we are certain: Our entire working-class is with you heart and soul in this struggle!

Bear this in mind, our young sisters on the fighting lines! You are not alone, you are not helpless! Fight with courage, spirit and cool deliberation under the trained and tried leadership of your officers, and your victory is safe!

This is a stupendous accomplishment. We wish the young Amalgamated incessant future growth and a constant increase of influence and strength. We also wish its large membership an ever greater clarity of purpose and aim so that the attack of "infantile disorder" which has recently affected a small part of it may never recur.

And here is another wish that comes straight from the heart. Unity between all the organizations in the needle trades has always been our fond desire. Officially this alliance of interests has not been sundered yet, though in reality it has ceased to exist. It is true that in time of need the Amalgamated and the International and the other needle trade unions have come to each other's aid. This, however, is not sufficient. The affiliation surely could have been and should be made much stronger. And it appears to us that the trivial things which in the past have stood in the way are now completely obviated and the road is clear for a real active alliance.

It seems to us that it would be worth while to make this alliance a living pact. And with this final wish in mind we congratulate upon the Amalgamated upon its first decade of astounding achievements and hope that its next ten years will be at least as successful and that the Amalgamated will become not only one of the strongest and outstanding Labor organizations in America but the world over.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Dimmed Glories

Plumes. By Laurence Stallings. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1924.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Three thousand years ago when men fought men they penned *Odysses* to the glory of their fighting. Heroes attained new glamour in the writing and every soldier won a height hardly his own. Today soldiers show bedraggled plumes, and, carrying the mud of the battlefield away with them they hurl it bitterly into the faces of those who stand ready to admire. Modern *Odysses* reflect the dimmed glories that are modern wars. And perhaps no more hopeful sign could be read than this disillusioned clarity with which our soldiers see the trick life has played upon them.

Mr. Stallings is shrillingly better. His book is apparently an autobiographical document; just actual experiences can produce such woodwork. It is easy to understand his pain and to rejoice in his revolt. A strong, whole-limbed young man, on the threshold of a career—and of life—he left his young bride, his books, his walks, the simple *jeaneus* promises life held for him, to kill Germans. He wallowed in trench mud, watched his bullets flatten fine young Germans as perplexed as himself and left his health and his leg in France. A battered Plume, he brings his pain and his questions and his poverty back to his wife and son. . . . No resignation, thank all our kindly stars.

"Lost a leg . . . and to just as much purpose as if I had left it under a railroad wheel in a blind, crashing train accident. . . ."

There is the real rat. Men suffered and women, too—and even their children that came after. For what? Neither ideals, nor country, nor truth. For what? Richard cannot discover for what, nor can his friend, Kenneth Gary—Gary with the sardonic faze and crystal-cold intelligence and the spine crippled at Gallipoli. There is the real tragedy. Even the youngest and bravest would, not suffer in vain.

And the courage with which these young men face the truth, the insistence with which they refuse to romanticize their wounds—in these things lie the real measure of our advance over generations that have gone. For Richard Plume of this tale descended from a long martial line. All his ancestors, from the first Jabes who came to America in 1686, gave limbo to their country. His race cherished their wounds and strong men came back from the fields of battle to sit by firesides and romance about their crippled limbs. Human nature craves reparations. When it has paid such a price for playing the fool, when it has left legs and arms and eyes on the fields of glory, it must keep memories brightly shielded. Saved the country, fought bravely, won democracy.

But not so this latest generation of Jabes. Richard refuses to go back to firesides and drag out his days in wistful lying. He is determined to find out why these things happened to him, to find out if anything can prevent their happening to his son Dickie. And so he stays on in the city, dragging that terribly aching foot with him through the terrible, news—and greater—crusade.

What a time, those post-war years. Washington, where the Plumes stormed the new foe, was ugly indeed. Mr. Stallings knew the gall of

all its ugliness. A war being demolished. Clerks watching with a terrible dread the disappearance of those wonderful war jobs, which would send them back to Main streets. Crippled soldiers looking for jobs. Young couples looking for apartments they could afford. The bitter sick man at the White House, musing over the collapse of grandiose dreams. Jovial Harding bringing normalcy back to America. The disgusting graft of war and post-war bureaus. A terrible sight indeed for men who had given legs to make the world safe—for this.

Richard Plume writes—and we write with him. We watch him attaining that saving cynicism that is Gary's, a cynicism that comprehends but never condones. No, Richard Plume will never condone. The terrible pain of his leg, a strong man's leg crushed to sheer ache, makes a war after war which no soldier could forget. Not even with a long line of waving Plumes behind him. Perhaps no better survey of his always remembering could be given than Richard's clear scrutiny of his ancestry. The martial records in the family history which thrilled his boyhood now fill him with shuddering. Did other men like him waste their strength and youth as he did? And then romanticize the waste.

Terrible as is Richard's physical suffering, the spiritual torment in which he writhes makes it pale by comparison. This sense of waste, this night of post-war Washington, the constant vision of his wife offering her youth, too, with the sacrifice of his, the talks with Gary, the hopelessness of finding a niche in a tumbling world of pain and perplexity. Little wonder Richard craves his fist against the mouth of those "buffoons" who insist upon singing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." At a meeting for the release of political prisoners. Little wonder he storms Veterans' Bureaus and refuses to return to quiet firesides. The Richards of our generation must now really fight the war to end war. Their weapon is truth—they have given their suffering to learn it.

Perhaps one of the best evidences of the strength of this book lies in its outstanding quality. "Plumes" is poetry. It is words that are cleaved and halting; thoughts, like the confusion of its author, flow in unfinished sequences. Its pictures are tantalizing flashes. But the thread of its pain and disillusion is woven so securely through the whole muddled pattern that its total effect is terribly unmistakable. Such bitterness—and such courage—must win through the uncertain intentions of the author. His suffering becomes ours, because his confusion belongs to us, too.

It is encouraging also to discover how very American this indictment is. Richard Plume brought with him to France the aristocratic traditions of the South. Negroes and white immigrants were "foreigners" to him; General Lee the great American; George Washington primarily a Virginian. His family was truly, one hundred per cent pure, his friends came from the same closed circle, his wife, also. Traditions and heritage were as old as America—at least 250 years. And this man returns from France a battered Plume. His heritage has lost

The gas, electric and traction companies of the country, known as the "public utilities," are enjoying prosperity so marked that it is worth the attention of citizens who consume their services. It is not about time that some of the rates were lowered?

Under our system of law, public utilities are supposed to be on a different basis from ordinary profit-making concerns. The ordinary concern is permitted by the Government to make as much profit as it can by charging whatever prices it can. If it makes large profits it can increase its dividends. It can build up a profit surplus which is reinvested, and which comes back to the owners either in higher value for their stock or in new distributions of stock. But public utilities cannot charge whatever they please. Their rates are supposed to be regulated so as to furnish not more than a "reasonable return" on their investment. They are not allowed to build up huge surpluses for the benefit of stockholders.

It is, therefore, significant that the prices of public utility stocks have been rising on the stock exchanges for some time and have grown as good a speculation as ordinary profit-making industries. There seems to be an Ethiopian in the woodpile somewhere.

Take, for example, the American Gas Company, a holding concern. Its net income in 1923, after paying all interest charges, was larger than for at least eight years. It earned 14.78 per cent on its capital stock. The American Light and Traction Company, another holding corporation, after paying all interest charges and 6 per cent dividends on its preferred stock, had left net earnings of 10.11 per cent on its common. The North American Company received an operating income (after paying expenses but before paying interest or dividends) of \$27,176,000 as against \$8,729,000 in 1919. Thus its operating income increased over three times in those six years. Its property investment increased in the same period, according to its books, only from \$107,133,000 to \$251,661,000, or less than two and one-half times. Its earnings applicable to common stock dividends were 31.13 per cent in 1923, against 15.37 per cent in 1916. Besides paying the regular dividend it added over \$5,000,000 to its surplus. Another example is the Electric Bond and Share Company, which controls directly and indirectly over 100 local electric

power, railway and gas plants. Up to 1925 all the common stock of this company was owned by the General Electric Company. On the first of the year, however, the General Electric gave away this stock to its own shareholders. The gift amounts to a stock dividend. The lucky shareholders will not only receive their regular returns from the General Electric, but also dividends from the Electric Bond and Share, whose earnings, if any, previously went to the parent company itself. Many other public utilities show similar results on the face of their own reports. What might be uncovered by careful accounting investigations would probably be even more striking.

How is it that these industries whose prices are regulated show such large earnings? The answer may be found in the course of prices and rates for the last five or six years. During the war prices rose rapidly, and the expenses of the public utilities went up with them. The companies cried out with pain and demanded upward revisions of rates. In many cases rates were adjusted to the highest price levels of 1920. After that, prices fell, and the expenses of the utilities fell, too. But rates have not, in most cases, been reduced. The utility commissions have obviously not been energetic in protecting the public.

This matter is important, not merely on account of the fares and rates charged, but because the public utilities are active propagandists against the extension of public ownership, especially in large-scale electric power. They are using their great assets as a wedge for control of the central power sources of the nation. Control of a giant power system would create a new private monopoly at the base of home and industrial life. If the public cannot curb the utilities in the various localities where they now operate, it would be immensely more difficult to curb their rates and practices in a national power system.

Of course, part of the rate increases were justified by the necessity of raising wages. It may be that wages should now be raised still further before rates are reduced. But after the wage-sensitiveness reaction, the satisfaction of the public may well be directed to the question whether public utility rates ought not to be reduced.

—Facts for Workers.

Carnegie Hall Meeting For Philippine Independence

United States Senator William H. King, from Utah, will be the principal speaker at the mass meeting and demonstration for Philippine Independence to be held at Cooper Union on the night of February 23, Bishop Paul Jones of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, under whose auspices the demonstration will be held, announced today.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is an international religious-pacifist organization formed at the beginning

meaning for him. He must seek new ideals and new truths. That he needs them in the fastnesses of urban, immigrant, industrial America is testimony to the promise of his growth. When the Plumes join the photoplays what can our 102 percenters do? Certainly they can't send them back to the country from where they came. When Plumes talk truth, let the Ku-Kluxers make the most of it.

A remarkable book. No worker should neglect it. Another document in the making of our new America. All workers will find in it the encouragement they need. Their fight is fast becoming the fight.

of the World War, with an American membership of over 3,500, men and women.

Other speakers at the Philippine Independence demonstration will be the Hon. Pedro Guervara, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines; Hon. Y. H. LaGuardia, member of Congress from New York, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Editor of "The Crisis." A program of Filipino folk music sung by natives is also scheduled. Norman Thomas will preside at the meeting.

"The Fellowship's activity on behalf of immediate and unconditional freedom for the Philippines is strictly non-political, endeavoring to create a nation-wide public opinion which will redeem the assurances of independence we have given to that people," Bishop Jones states.

Among the cooperating committee for the Philippine Independence demonstration who will be present at the Cooper Union meeting are: Glenn Frank, Don C. Seltz, John Haynes Holmes, B. W. H. Husbach, Oswald Garrison Villard, L. Hollingsworth Wood, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Helen Philp Stokes, Lewis Gannett, Abraham Lefkowitz, Devere Allen, and James Wildon Johnson.



DOMESTIC ITEMS

Orientals Replacing White Seamen

While publicly professing its faith in an "American merchant marine," the United States Fleet Corporation continues to Orientalize these vessels.

On June 17, last year, the fleet corporation issued an order that in the manning of all merchant vessels owned by the United States Shipping Board, and operated by private parties, through the fleet corporation, employment should be given on the following order of preference: American citizens, aliens holding intention papers, aliens eligible to citizenship.

Despite the success of this order, it was canceled on December 11 last and vessels were ordered to give Filipinos the first preference after American citizens. Aliens holding intention papers, and aliens eligible to citizenship, were given next preference.

In a protest to President Coolidge, officers of the International Seamen's Union point out that in actual practice the latest order will make the Filipinos first choice for the vessel operators.

"This will come about," the trade unionists say, "because (a) the operators have abundantly proved that their first preference is Chinese, their second preference is Filipinos, and since they can not have the Chinese they will have the Filipinos, in so far as the Filipinos are available. It is plainly contemplated in the circular that Filipinos and white Americans are to sail together in the same department; live, sleep and eat in the same forecastle, and (b) it is perfectly well known to operators of vessels, as well as to everybody else having anything to do with shipping—in fact, it is freely testified to by ship owners themselves—that Filipinos and white men can not be mixed in the same forecastle."

"The result of the order will, therefore, be that the American citizens, both native and naturalized, will be driven out. There is nothing now in our immigration laws or in our navigation laws to prevent Filipinos from being employed in any trade."

Plans to Outlaw Every Strike in West Virginia

Federal officials of West Virginia would extend their poignance to every wage worker in this State House Bill No. 456, introduced by Delegate Bartlett of Marion County, is intended to extend the machinery of State, now used against the miners, to all other workers. Clause "B" of the bill would deny the right of workers engaged in "the production for market of any article of commerce which is a 'necessity' to the public at large to strike."

Under the Kansas plan, authorship of which is credited to former Governor Allen, that law sugar-coated the theft of the workers' liberty by setting up a board that was intended to arrange his living standards.

Delegate Bartlett does not worry about such detail. He proposes to outlaw strikes, regardless of grievances of workers, and would empower courts to stop any and every strike by the injunction process.

Unions Can Control Membership

In a unanimous decision, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court has declined to order the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to admit David Simons to membership.

Simons was President of the Web Pressmen's Union that called an outlaw strike in this city against local newspapers in September, 1923. Officers of the International organized a new local and secured an adjustment. Simons was denied membership in the new union and, he instituted legal proceedings. In ruling against him, the Appellate Court said:

"The Court is without power to compel a voluntary unincorporated association to either admit or reinstate an applicant for membership. That power rests exclusively in such association."

Aluminum Trust Is Again Probed

In a letter to the Federal Trade Commission, Attorneys General Stone declared that the aluminum trust had violated the anti-trust law through its control of the manufacture of household utensils.

Secretary of the Treasury Mellon and his family, it is stated, are heavily interested in this trust. The Federal Trade Commission has made public the practices of the trust, and the matter was considered by the Department of Justice.

"Having thus practically complete control of the sources of supply of the raw material," said Attorney General Stone, "it is in a position to, and does, control the domestic price of sheet aluminum to utensil manufacturers."

The Attorney General mentioned several manufacturers of kitchen utensils whose stock is owned by the aluminum trust.

Electrical Workers Have New Secretary

G. M. Bugniet is International Secretary of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, following the resignation of Charles F. Ford, who held that office since 1912.

The new official has served as a vice-president of the brotherhood since 1911. He has been a member of the brotherhood for more than a quarter of a century, and during that time has taken part in every activity of the organization.

As secretary he becomes editor of the Electrical Worker, official magazine of the Brotherhood, and secretary of the Electrical Workers' Benefit Association. He has assisted Mr. Ford for several months because of the illness of the latter. The former secretary, it is stated, will "go back to the farm" in the hope of regaining his health.

FOREIGN ITEMS

GERMANY

The Trade Unions and the New Government

Vorwaerts, the German Socialist daily, makes the following remarks on the relations between the trade unions and the German Government.

"Neither sympathy nor tolerance can be extended by the trade unions to a Government the majority of whose members belong to the heavy industry, the Junkers, the German People's party, or the German Nationalist party, for its policy will necessarily be guided by this majority. The retention of Dr. Brauns as Minister of Labor can make little, if any difference. And a German Nationalist as Minister of Finance is the last person in the world to dispense the distrust which the working-class cannot but feel for any Government from which Labor is absent."

The writer goes on to speak of the bitter disappointment and strong feeling aroused among all trade unions, whether "free," clerical or neutral, by the elections results, the heavy taxation, and the violations of the eight-hour day. The Luther Government could never have come into power had it not been able to rely upon the forty-five Communist votes to turn the scale against the Socialist, Democratic and Centre parties. The present domination of the nationalists and the industrialists (the People's party) is due solely to the fact that any Government in which Social Democracy took part would be up against the combined votes of the nationalists, the People's party, and the Communists.

BELGIUM

Immigration in Belgium

It is officially stated that at the present time there are 20,000 foreign workers in Belgium, 15,000 of whom are employed in mining and 4,300 in factories, etc. The nationalities of these are as follows: 5,400 Italians; 3,500 from Algeria, Tunis and Morocco; 2,100 French; 1,200 Dutch; 400 each from Czech-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia; 30 Russians; 110 Spanish; 100 Germans; 100 Luxemburgers; 75 British; and also a few natives of Switzerland, Turkey, Syria, Abyssinia and Senegal.

BRAZIL

Emigration to Brazil

The General Confederation of Labor of Sao Paulo, Rua Triunpha 59, I, Sao Paulo, Brazil, has called the attention of the Amsterdam International to the fact that numerous immigrants have entered Brazil without any adequate information as to the conditions there. The organization in question is prepared to help and advise immigrants in any way it can. All immigrants who can produce trade union membership cards will be admitted to the General Confederation of Labor without payment of entrance fee.

HOLLAND

Night Work in Bakeries

The Dutch Government has submitted to Parliament a bill for the amendment of the act passed in 1919 to prohibit night work in bakeries. Although the new bill does not make any definite mention of the re-introduction of night work, its clauses are so framed as to permit it; at least, such is the unanimous view taken by both employers' and workers' organizations.

The Dutch Bakery Workers' Union belonging to the I. F. T. U. has made a strong protest against the bill, and intends to conduct a widespread campaign against it. Protest meetings will be held in fifty different localities; and, if necessary, the organization will even proclaim a strike.

PALESTINE

The Labor Movement in Palestine

On December 21 last, the trade unions of Palestine adopting the platform of the Amsterdam International celebrated the fourth anniversary of their founding. In honor of the occasion, all the workers of Palestine paid one day's wage as a contribution to the cultural work among the working-class.

The educational work done by the Palestine Trade Union movement is steadily increasing. There is now a national library containing 40,000 books. The movement also has its own publishing offices, reading rooms and evening schools, etc., in various parts of the country.

FRANCE

The Unity Movement

Two movements are now making themselves felt in the French trade union world, one in favor of reunion with the General Confederation of Labor and the other a "Back to the Unions" recruiting campaign. The building workers, the postal workers, the railwaymen, and the hairdressers' assistants, all of whom seceded from the C. G. T. to join the Communist Center, have now withdrawn from the latter, and some of them are returning to the C. G. T. Other organizations which at the time of the split either preferred independence or gave up work altogether are also rejoining the C. G. T.

Another interesting incident is the decision of a recent meeting of the Trade Union Council of the North of France-Paris Railway Section in favor of the joint unity congress for the district in question. Three conditions were unanimously declared to be essential: (1) the suppression of all controversy; (2) the autonomy of the trade union (its independence of any political party); and (3) the holding of a referendum of members to decide upon any points of preponderant importance.

If point two providing for the autonomy of the trade unions goes through, it will prevent the formation in future of any "cells," or factory and workshop committees.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



SOME PROBLEMS OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Outline of Lecture Given at
Public School 61—Unity Center—Season 1924-25

Tuesdays, February 10 and 17, 8:40 P. M.

By THERESA WOLFSON

- I. The Challenge of the Problem of Women in Industry.
 - (a) In the organized Labor movement the question of women in industry as a special problem has often been challenged. Are not the problems of men and women workers identical—are they not the problems of all workers?
 - (b) They are. However, there are distinct and serious problems affecting particularly the woman worker.
 1. Women workers are handicapped by the prejudices and conventions affecting women as a whole.
 2. Women workers are affected by all the economic problems arising from an unskilled, untrained, low-paid, and changing Labor supply.
 3. Women workers are affected by prejudice and opposition within the organized Labor movement itself.
- II. The Economic Elements of the Problem.
 - (a) Wages: All workers have wage problems; but women's wages average from one-half to three-fourths that of men's wages in the same industries, and to a large extent at the same jobs.

Reasons given for this difference: women are less skilled than men, consequently perform only specialized work; men's economic responsibilities are greater, therefore they need higher wages; women use their wages as pin money and savings for marriage, etc.

(To be continued.)

A Lecture for the Wives of Our Members in the Bronx

On Friday Evening, March 13

A lecture for the wives of our members living in the Bronx will be given on Friday evening, March 13, in Local 2 Club Rooms, 1581 Washington Avenue.

Such lectures will be given from time to time, and our members who attend the courses there have agreed to stay at home with the children on that evening.

The subject of this educational ac-

tivity is to keep the wives of our members in touch with the aims, problems and policies of the Labor movement in general and the International in particular.

The name of the lecturer and the subject will be announced later, and we advise our members who reside in that section of the city not to make any engagements for that evening.

A Course in "Economic Psychology"

by Dr. Arthur W. Cathoun

In Our Workers' University, Washington Irving High School

Dr. Arthur W. Cathoun of the Brookwood Faculty will give a course in "Economic Psychology" beginning Sunday, February 22, 10:30 a. m., in Washington Irving High School, 16th Street and Irving Place, Room 530.

The course undertakes to set forth Economics as consisting of Human Behavior, and to show how Human Nature operates as a factor in Economics. The ground covered is as follows:

1. Human Nature: Inborn and acquired traits, as the active agent in

Economics.

2. The Economic Qualities of Modern Man, as developed by historic experience.

3. The Psychology of the Modern Economic System, as contrasted with the more latinate traits.

4. The Repression of Human Nature by the Economic System: Phases and Consequences.

5. The Economic Problem a Psychological Problem—the obstacles to economic progress in man, not in Nature.

B. J. R. STOLPER WILL LECTURE ON "THE HISTORY OF THE I. L. G. W. U." IN OUR WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

On Saturday, February 28, at 1:30 p. m., Mr. Stolper, the instructor in literature will lecture on the History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, "The Women's Garment Workers," written by Dr. Louis Levine.

Mr. Stolper considers the book of great interest, and the story dramatically told, and that it is an excellent subject for a lecturer.

We expect that our members who have heretofore attended Mr. Stolper's splendid lectures on literature will attend this one.

Admission to this as well as the other lectures is free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U.

AGNES WARBASE WILL LECTURE ON THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

On Saturday, February 21 Mrs. Agnes Warbase, Educational Secretary of the Cooperative League of America, will lecture on "Making the Cooperative Movement Succeed in the United States," in our Workers' University, Washington Irving High School, on Saturday, February 21, at 2:30 p. m.

Mrs. Warbase will discuss how the use of the purchasing power of the workers is just as important as the control of their earning power, and will tell stories of how the people are making their wages go further.

We urge and expect many of our members to attend this lecture as we are certain this subject will be of great interest to them.

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School

Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 530

Saturday, February 21

1:30 p. m. B. J. R. Stolper—Clear Voices in English and American Literature: Darwin, Huxley and Spencer Who Wedded Science to Literature; Shelly.

2:30 p. m. Agnes Warbase—Making the Cooperative Movement Succeed in the United States.

Sunday, February 22

10:30 a. m. Arthur W. Cathoun—Economic Psychology—What We Want.
11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Industrial Development of Modern Society: Political Effects of Industrial Revolution.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' BUILDING

3 West 16th Street

Wednesday, February 25

6:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement: Psychology of Conservatism and Radicalism.

Thursday, February 26

6:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement: Organized Industry—Employers vs. Workers' Organizations.

UNITY CENTERS

Tuesday, February 24

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61

Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street

6:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—The Economic Problems of the Working Woman.

Wednesday, February 25

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: Natural Resources.

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Friday, February 20

Local 2 Club Rooms—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx

8:30 p. m. B. Botwinick—Literature With and Without Ideals.

Sunday, February 22

Local 2 Club Rooms—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx

11:00 a. m. H. Rogoff—Civilization is America.

Friday, February 20 and 27

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street

8:30 p. m. Max Levin—The Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Saturday, February 21 and 28

Local 9 Building—67 Lexington Avenue

1:00 p. m. H. Rogoff—American Civilization.

Sunday, February 22

Cloak Operators' Centre—1625 Lexington Avenue

10:30 a. m. B. Hoffman—Twenty-five Years' Labor Movement in America.

Friday, February 20

Russian-Polish Branch—315 East 10th Street

8:00 p. m. W. B. Blasiewicz—Labor and Democracy.

Thursday, February 26

Brownsville Labor Lyceum—Room 301

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. The topic will be "Creative Instinct."

Thursday, March 5

Brownsville Labor Lyceum—Room 301

7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler will start a course of six lessons on "The Economic Basis of Modern Society." The topic of the first lesson will be "Farming."

Saturday, February 21

Public School 63—Fourth Street Near First Avenue

8:00 p. m. Concert and Community Singing—Prominent artists will participate. Estelle Schneider, Soprano; Joseph Fuchs, Violinist; N. L. Sastavsky, Baritone.

(A Letter From A Boston Member)

The study of economics not only

ROSE SIMKINS.

the employers. Секретарь Н. Шенков

The Week In Local 10

By SAM E. SHENKER

In spite of the fact that to outside appearances the dress industry suffers no upheaval, nevertheless, the peace-time machinery of the dress department of the Joint Board was suspended this week.

Last week shop meetings were held by the business agents with the workers of all Association and Independent shops. At these meetings the agreement was explained to the workers and their functions with regard to the enforcement of the new terms.

Shops Being Settled Rapidly

The settling of the Independent shops began last Monday in the temporary headquarters, Stuyvesant Casino, Second avenue and 9th street. For the first three days of the establishment of the headquarters over four shops were settled. A good many of these were non-union factories.

The Independent shops which were in contractual relations with the union up to the expiration of the 1924 agreements were also being signed up. But it was not until the latter part of the week that these employers were called down to settlement headquarters. It is expected that by the time the new agreement becomes operative all of the old Independent shops will have been settled.

To Check Up Newly-Settled Shops

Local 10's office will reflect the activity at present existing in the dress trade. Manager Dubinsky is not satisfied that shops are merely being settled. He has made arrangements with settlement headquarters by which he will be in a position to check up the newly-settled shops with respect to employment of cutters.

The manager in answer to it is that not only cutters should be employed but that the men be good-standing members of the union and possess working cards. It will also be necessary to see to it that the new minimum scale at least is paid the cutters.

With a view to enforcing these conditions, the arrangements made will enable the office at one glance to tell as to whether those conditions obtain. Settlement headquarters will, at the close of each day, submit a list of the settled shops. These will be traced by the office for the purpose of finding out whether cutters have taken out working cards for these shops.

Should the records fail to reveal this, the manager will immediately file complaints which will be assigned to business agents for the purpose of making the necessary investigation and enforcing proper conditions.

There is one difficulty, however, which confronts the office, the lack of available men for a direct investigation by the office of Local 10. The condition in the dress trade right now is such that there is practically no unemployment.

Ordinarily, men for this work are available. In such times Manager Dubinsky would take a number of men and assign to them this work. At present, however, this work will have to be carried on by the regular business agents, who already are charged with much work. This is due to the renewal of the agreements and the usual attention to complaints.

However, as soon as the office is in a position to secure cutters to make investigations, men will be assigned to control these shops. Past experience in connection with this work has proven that a great deal was accomplished by direct investigations by Local 10.

Dress and Waist Cutters Must Change Cards

The attention of dress and waist cutters is once more called to the

new minimum scale of fifty dollars per week. As will be seen from the notice on this page, the agreement in the dress trade becomes operative on Tuesday, February 24.

The day on which the new agreement comes into effect is immediately preceded by Washington's Birthday, which is celebrated on Monday, February 23. The members will no doubt bear in mind the fact that the agreement provides for observance of this day with pay. Hence, all Dress and waist cutters reporting to work on Tuesday, February 24, are to receive a full week's wages.

Men who have previously received less than fifty dollars per week must, beginning with the day mentioned, receive fifty dollars for a week's work.

Cutters in Demand

The present condition of employment in the cloak and dress trades is such that makes for a demand for cutters.

The past few weeks have seen activity in the cloak and dress trades to such an extent that at the time of writing there were more jobs on hand than the supply of unemployed cutters.

Manager Dubinsky desires to call the attention of the members who may be unemployed at the present time to report to the office as, during the past two weeks, there were plenty of jobs on hand. In fact, last Monday the office had on hand about nine jobs.

The required number of unemployed cutters could not be found in the office. However, enough men were found to take these jobs since some of the men were either not supplied with a full week's work in their own shops or others decided to make a change in an effort to secure more money.

This condition, particularly in the dress trade, made for a number of increases from fifty dollars to fifty-five dollars per week.

Joint Board Grievance Committee Reports

The Executive Board recently received an interesting report from the secretary of the Grievance and Appeal Committees of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board for the year ending December 31, 1924.

Nearly 2,000 workers were tried by the Grievance Committee. Forty-two workers received suspended sentences; eighty-four were placed under suspended sentences and ordered to put up security. Twenty workers were expelled from the union, and 126 were ordered off the job.

Since the drive was instituted by the Cloak and Dress Joint Board for the elimination of corporation shops, quite a number of such cases were tried by the Grievance Committee.

Few Appeals Granted

Other charges on which workers were summoned, found guilty of and for which they were fined were scabbing, cloak makers working by the piece, permitting wages to be reduced, not receiving proper pay for overtime, working illegal hours, that is, in excess of regular hours of overtime, and not properly behaving as becomes union men.

Of those who appealed, 225 were granted appeals. In addition to appeals filed by members who were fined by the Joint Board's Grievance Committee, 161 applicants appealed against decisions imposed by their local unions.

As to penalization of cutters, hardly any are tried by the Joint Board's Grievance Committee. Members of Local 10 called on executives are tried before the local's executive board. Appeals are never granted by the Joint Board to cutters unless they

have first appealed before a judicial committee of the local.

Preparations for Annual Affairs

Isidore Nagler, chairman of the committee which has charge of all arrangements for the annual ball of the cutters, which is to take place Saturday evening, April 4, at the Hunts Point Palace, asks the members to keep this date open and not make any other appointments for it. He said the fact that it is compulsory for every member to purchase one ticket should by no means stop the men from attending the affair. The tax of one ticket was intended to insure a substantial relief fund.

In addition to this, the committee has in mind arrangements which should make the evening one of merrymaking for the cutters. Nagler said that the committee is seeking to outdo previous committees in the arrangements for the coming affair. From all indications, the committee is expected to be successful.

Miscellaneous Trade Splendid Demonstration

That the workers in the Miscellaneous trades were determined to obtain such conditions from their employers as would afford them decent working and living conditions was demonstrated last Tuesday, February 17, when they walked out en masse at ten o'clock in the morning in response to the union's declaration of the general strike.

Mass meetings of the members of Local 91, House Dress and Bath Robe Makers, Local 62, White Goods Workers, and cutters employed in these trades, took place last Monday night, the eve of the strike.

At these meetings the outcome of the conference with the Underwear Manufacturers' Association was reported to the workers and instructions were given to the members of the three local unions with regard to the walkout. From the spirit of the workers, it was plainly seen that they were fully cognizant of the purpose for which the general strike was declared.

The purpose of the strike in the House Dress and Bath Robe trades is the securing of an increase in wages and the organization of open shops. An association does not exist in these trades. The likelihood is that the firms with whom the union was in contractual relations will begin settling within a few days. The strike in these trades, then, will center itself on the open shops.

White Goods Workers Determined to Win

The situation in the White Goods industry, that is, the underwear trade, is considerably different. In this trade not only is the union faced with the important work of organizing non-union shops, but the Manufacturers' Association has failed to come to terms with the union.

Two conferences were held with the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association, but at neither of these did the employers concede to the union's two important demands. These are the twenty per cent increase in wages and the right to review discharge.

The employers in the underwear industry still cling to the days of 1917, when they fought against conceding to the union the right to review discharge. They still cling to the right of an employer to discharge a worker at will. They cannot understand why

a worker has a right to a job and why the industry owes him or her a living. This, in spite of the fact that the industry depends upon the workers for production.

At the second conference with the underwear manufacturers the counsel for the association could not be convinced and insisted that an employer should hold to the right of discharge. As to the increase in wages, they argued that the trade could not afford any more wages than are being paid at the present time.

Union Insists on Living Wage

The fact that workers are compelled to work for as low as eighteen dollars a week and are expected to maintain themselves and their families in decency on this wage did not convince the employers of the need for an increase. Thus the conference practically ended. The strike now being waged is practically to bring home to the employers the fact that the workers are determined to secure for themselves the elementary rights which they seek—the right to a living wage and the right to a job.

The propaganda carried on by the Miscellaneous Council by means of leaflets helped to enlighten the workers on the conditions in the trade and increased their determination to fight on to victory.

Cutters Report in Arlington Hall

As was stated, the response was a splendid one and made for a remarkable demonstration. The cutters responded as one man and are aiding the union considerably. They are congregated in Arlington Hall. The picket committee is under the chairmanship of a former manager of Local 10, Brother Jesse P. Cohen, who is assisted by Brother Morris Alovio. Brother Philip Hanel is in charge in Arlington Hall of the cutters, to whom they have reported and must report for daily registration.

SPECIAL NOTICES

Attention of All Members

Washington's Birthday is celebrated on Monday, February 23, 1925. All members of Local 10 are warned against working on that day. Cutters reporting to work on Tuesday morning, February 24, are to receive a full week's wages. Those who work part of the week must receive a pro rata share of pay for the holiday. Cutters found working on that day will be summoned before the Executive Board and fined.

Change Working Cards

All members are required to renew their working cards beginning with January, 1925. Members who fail to do so are liable to be called before the Executive Board and fined. Members are also required to procure working cards upon securing a job, or return them upon being laid off.

Dress and Waist Cutters

On Tuesday, February 24, 1925, the new agreement in the dress and waist trades becomes effective. Cutters in these trades, beginning on that date, must not receive less than the new minimum scale of fifty dollars. They must change their working cards and report to office failure to receive an increase, if receiving less than fifty dollars per week.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

Notice of Meetings

REGULAR MEETING Monday, March 9th

At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place
Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.