

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VII, No. 9.

New York, Friday, February 27, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

N. Y. Joint Board In Big Drive To Organize Non-Union Dress Shops

Two Hundred "Unregistered" Shops Called Out On Strike Last Week—Several Thousand Workers Involved—Strike Headquarters Opened at Stuyvesant Casino

The New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board began last week a very important move in the direction of unionizing the part of the dress industry of New York which until now has evaded Union control of work conditions. These shops, several hundred in number, have heretofore operated clandestinely as "unregistered" shops, largely as contractor outfits working for such jobbers as are either not in contractual relations with the Union entirely or such

as have been secretly violating their obligation embodied in the agreement.

Within the last few days over two hundred of these "open" shops were called out on strike involving two thousand workers. Strike headquarters were opened at Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second avenue, New York City, and within a few days, it is expected, 7,000 will be on strike. The success of this move can be best forecast by the result of the first day of the drive when General Manager Is-

rael Feinberg announced that settlements with forty-eight contractors employing 500 workers have already been made.

Vice President Feinberg later announced that the Union expects to utilize during this drive "surprise" tactics calling out shops that have been evading Union conditions without warning. An investigation disclosed that wages paid cutters, operators and pressers in these "unregistered" shops were far below the Union scale.

This move of the Joint Board is particularly important in view of the fact that this week the new agreements entered into two weeks ago between the Joint Board and the dress employers' associations of New York come into force. The new effort of the Union is aimed at equalizing work conditions in all shops and in enforcing the new wage raises, the guarantees of minimum earnings to piece workers and all other gains, in every dress shop in the city.

The local unions involved in this drive are the Cutters' Union, Local 10; the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22; Pressers' Union, Local 35, and Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 89.

Fifteen Boston Dress Shops Settle With Union

Vice President Seidman Supervises Drive

The strike in the fifteen dress shops belonging to members of the Dress Contractors' Association called out by the Boston Joint Board last week under the direction of Vice-president Seidman, International representative in Boston, was settled early this week, when a collective agreement fully meeting the terms of the Union was signed with this association. The agreement was signed by Vice-president Seidman, on behalf of the Union, and by Mr. Myer Appel, the president of the employers' association.

The main points of the agreement are the strict enforcement of the Union shop, a forty-two-hour five-day work week, and an arbitration clause. The association has agreed to deposit a bond of \$1,000 as a guarantee of faithful performance of the agreement and an additional fifty dollars for each new member that may join it.

Workers in fifteen other contracting shops will be called out at once and it is expected that the entire trade will thus be placed on a strictly Union basis before long. Vice-president Seidman is very optimistic concerning the outcome of the present drive undertaken by the Boston Board to unionize the local dress industry one hundred per cent.

Chicago Joint Board Signs New Cloak Agreement

Unemployment Insurance Fund Introduced — President Sigman Present at Final Conference

On Thursday, February 19, the negotiations between the Chicago Joint Board and the organized employers in the Chicago cloak industry came to an end with the signing of a collective agreement. President Sigman, who took part in the last conference with the committee of the manufacturers' association, signed the agreement on behalf of the Union.

An unemployment insurance plan has been adopted in this agreement on a basis whereby the manufacturers are to pay one and one-half per cent of their weekly payroll and the workers three-quarters of one per cent of their weekly wages into a fund created for this purpose. A board of trustees of the insurance fund will be appointed later. The sanitary label question will be taken by both sides for enactment in the near future.

It was also agreed that the experts investigating at present the New York cloak market under the auspices of Governor Smith's Commission be invited to come to Chicago to study the local industry along similar lines for recommendations.

Joint Board Busy With Out-of-Town Shops

The Chicago Joint Board, simultaneously with the signing of the agreement, has decided to renew energetically the campaign to put on a Union

basis the numerous cloak shops which are at present operating in several small towns and suburbs of Chicago under non-union conditions. Organizers are being put in the field and President Sigman pledged the Joint Board the support of the General Office in connection with this highly important work.

Picket Demonstrations Start Second Week Of Underwear and Children's Dress Strike

Shop Districts Thronged With Masses of Pickets—General Strike in Excellent Shape—Settlements Multiply—Cloak and Dressmakers Help to Take Down Shops

The second week of the general strike in the white goods and children's dress strike in Greater New York, skilled out on Tuesday morning, February 17, began with mass picket demonstrations on Monday morning, February 23, in every shop district in the city. The streets and front of buildings where white goods, children's dress and both robe shops are located were literally swamped with striking workers who invaded the district in the small hours of the morning and remained in front of the shops until nearly noon time.

The strike in every respect, according to the report of its managers, is in a very satisfactory shape. In fact,

settlements are proceeding so fast that during the general strike committee ordered two of the main halls used by the strikers, Webster and Beethoven, given up. Among those who have applied for settlements are some of the most prominent firms in both trades.

The women strikers, who constitute the overwhelming majority of those taking part in the walkout, are in a fighting spirit. During the end of last week, on Tuesday and Wednesday of this week, mass meetings were held in all the assembly halls, addressed by General Secretary Daroff, Vice President Lefkowitz, Abraham Snyder of Local 62, Harry Greenberg of Local 91 and Miss Fania M. Cohn. Concerts were also given to the workers in Webster and Arlington halls last Thursday and Friday, February 19 and 20, and similar entertainments have been arranged for this week in other halls.

The strike continues to hold the interest of large sections in the community who are concerned in better living standards and improved work conditions for women workers. The Women's Trade Union League of New York, for instance, is helping the strikers in every possible way and has practically assigned its entire staff to aid the strikers, under the leadership of Miss Rose Schneiderman. Brookwood Labor College also sent down several students to help the strike and they have been assigned to the halls.

The general strike committee of the white goods and children's dress workers has made a special appeal to all cloakmakers and dress workers employed in buildings where underwear and children's dress factories are located to give the strikers, the pickets, the officers of the locals involved in this strike, every possible aid in the pending conflict.

Agreements Renewed In All Chicago Union Dress Shops

Organizing Campaign Conducted By Mollie Friedman Shows Fine Results

The renewal of agreements in the Union shops of the Chicago dress industry practically came to an end last week, when it was reported that all the shops in the trade which have been in contractual relations with the Union have signed new agreements with the organization for 1925. The agreement contains all the features of the old pact, in addition to a number of wage raises given to many workers in individual shops.

On Thursday, February 19, the

Dress and Waist Makers' Union of Chicago, Local 109, held a big meeting which was attended by President Sigman and Vice President Perlestein. A report of the activity of the organization was rendered by the officers and organizer Mollie Friedman and received with a feeling of great satisfaction by the members. Not only have the old Union shops been kept in the fold of the organization but several additions have been made.

(Continued on page 2.)

Conference for Progressive Political Action Meets In Chicago

I. L. G. W. U. Sends Message to Conference

Readers of Justice are no doubt aware from the general press that the Conference for Progressive Political Action which met in Chicago on Friday and Saturday of last week, February 20 and 21, had voted to form a national third party to be composed of producers, progressives

and their sympathizers, essentially along the same lines as were organized the forces which waged the last Fall waged the fight under the La Follette standard and polled nearly 5,000,000 votes throughout the country. The new party is to be

(Continued on page 2.)

Agreements Renewed In All Chicago Union Dress Shops

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and the general campaign in the trade conducted by the volunteer organizers under the direction of Miss Friedman is being pushed ahead with remarkable virility and is bringing excellent results. Miss Friedman's work in Chicago is very much liked and appreciated by the Chicago dress-makers and her co-workers in the Chicago organization.

There is more spirit and hopeful-

ness in the Chicago dress local today than for many months past. New women workers are joining the Union daily and confidence is expressed everywhere in the ultimate ability of the Union to eventually place all the dress shops of Chicago on a Union basis notwithstanding the fighting opposition of the more obdurate Union-baiting element among the local employers.

PAUL WALLACE HANNA DIES SUDDENLY

Paul Wallace Hanna, one of the best known Socialist and Labor journalists in America, died suddenly last Tuesday, February 24, in New York City.

Paul Hanna was born forty-two years ago in Kittanning, Pa., where he started out earning his living as a farm hand at the age of 11. He was later apprenticed to a machinist, then went West and worked on ranches in Colorado and Wyoming. He became a Socialist in 1914 and remained an active worker in the workers' cause to his last day.

In 1915 Hanna began to work on newspapers. In 1918 he became the Washington correspondent of the New York Call, and in 1919 went to Paris to represent the Call, the Lan-

don Daily Herald and the Federated Press at the Peace Conference, from where he wrote remarkable accounts which attracted wide attention. Later he spent several years in Mexico doing educational work for the Mexican Government. Several months ago Paul Hanna became the managing editor of The New Leader, the Socialist weekly magazine of New York. Hanna's fine, courageous pen, his quiet, humane lucidity and his broad understanding of the problems of toiling America—the result of his own hard-working, truly proletarian youth and early manhood—will be badly missed in the not greatly overcrowded field of Socialist and Labor journalism in America.

The Strike In Toronto

By SOL POLAKOFF

I am fully aware that the columns of Justice are at present crowded with news and information concerning the several conflicts which are being waged by our sisters and brothers in many of our trades under the banner of the I. L. G. W. U. I will, therefore, take but little space and will content myself for the time with pointing out some of the most important features of the general strike of the cloakmakers in Toronto.

In my last telegram I have already indicated that the strike was won by the workers and is practically all settled. Only five shops remain out and in these the dispute will be fought to a conclusion. The remarkable thing about these few shops is that their workers only recently joined the Union and we have entertained but little hope that they would ever join a general move. As if it, they are in the thick of the struggle, and to their credit it must be stated that they are fighting the battle like seasoned union workers and have gained the respect of the rest of the workers in the trade and their moral and financial support.

The workers in the settled shops are contributing ten per cent of their earnings willingly and cheerfully and they are ready to go on with these contributions until the entire strike is settled right. On Friday, February 20, we paid out \$1,500 to the strikers in benefits.

For the time being we are busy in bringing the conflict to an end. I should like to end my letter with an incident which occurred in one of the strike-bound shops. On the second day of the walkout there remained in that shop at work one person, a close relative of the employer, I presume under the impression that his relationship to the boss served as a sufficient excuse for his scabbardry. His wife, however, who is the daughter of one of our best Union men in this

city, thought otherwise. As soon as she learned that her husband did not leave the shop together with the other strikers, she gave him an ultimatum to either quit work or forfeit her. The husband quit at once and now is among the best fighters in that shop.

The Toronto cloakmakers have now an excellent chance to build up a fine, strong union which will be an honor to the I. L. G. W. U. and a permanent security for themselves. Let us hope that they will not fail in accomplishing this.

Conference for Progressive Political Action Meets In Chicago

(Continued from page 1)

organized first along State party lines. Later, a national convention will be called, a platform adopted and a national name designated.

On Saturday, February 21, the General Office of the I. L. G. W. U. forwarded from New York the following telegram to the meeting of the Conference in Chicago, extending to it wishes for success of the Labor Farmer and progressive movement:

Conference for Progressive

Political Action,
Lexington Hotel,
Chicago, Ill.

Conference for Progressive Political Action in convention assembled is called to deliberate upon issues very vital in the political life of our nation. In the last national election 5,000,000 citizens demon-

strated their desire for healthier, more progressive and more democratic conduct of our political affairs. The greatness of our cause and its importance in the life of our nation demands that caution and careful judgment be exercised in planning our future efforts. Whatever course of action is determined upon, our movement must be left within the support of Labor. The farmer and all other progressive-thinking citizens. It is our sincere wish that your deliberations may lead to constantly increasing support among our citizenship in whose interest this movement is striving.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Sec'y.
Int. Ladies' Garment Wks. Union.

Sacco-Vanzetti Meeting In New York

A mass demonstration will take place in New York City next Sunday, March 1, to demand a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, the two innocent workers kept in a Massachusetts jail for the past five years in the shadow of the electric chair. This project meeting is one of a chain arranged by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee on the same day in different parts of the country.

Speakers in English, Italian and Jewish will give the latest facts on this Mooney case of the East. The principal speakers at this meeting will be Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Prof. Guadagni of Boston and Frank Belknap of the Anaragmatized Clothing Workers. Admission is free. Central Opera House is at 67th street, near Third avenue.

Executive Board of Local 2, to be Installed Next Tuesday

Next Tuesday evening, March 3, the newly elected executive board of the Cloak Operators' Union, Local 2, will be inducted into office.

The balloting for the new board took place last Saturday, February 21. Over 2,000 members took part in the voting, a surprisingly small number when the numerical strength of the local is taken into account. Obviously, the majority of the operators preferred to "stay home," and this apathy, it must be admitted, casts no credit upon the members of Local 2.

Twenty-four members of the executive board and a chairman were elected. The installation will take place in the Auditorium of the I. L.

G. W. U. Building, and the following have been invited to take part in the ceremony: President Morris Sigman; Secretary Abraham Baroff; Vice President Meyer Perlstein; Israel Feinberg, general manager of the Joint Board, and Editor S. Yanofsky. The provisional executive committee which administered the affairs of the local during the past six months will also be present.

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The Union Health Center During 1924

By DR. GEO. M. PRICE, Director

In a detailed report issued by the Union Health Center covering its activities for 1924, a complete account is given of the work done in each of its departments, the number of persons served and the cost of running the establishment. In these brief items, I shall only present a résumé of the more outstanding features and facts of the Center's activity for the past year and the high lights of the steady growth of our work.

Patients Increase Fourfold

The number of patients treated in the Medical Department has increased from 4,915 in 1920 to 10,536 last year, while the examinations and treatments given increased from 6,531 to 22,942. In the Dental Department the income from 1920 to 1924 was from 3,995 patients to 4,586 patients, and the treatments from 12,383 to 29,939. We have thus a fourfold increase in both departments in the number of patients as well as in the number of treatments given within four years.

Corresponding with the number of patients and treatments given, the income and expenses of both departments have increased in a much greater proportion. The income of the Medical Department jumped from \$6,771.99 in 1920, to \$37,425.22 in 1924, nearly six times as much within five years. The increase in the Dental was also very considerable—from \$28,032.86 in 1920 to \$64,979.22 in 1924.

Our Medical and Dental Clinics are filling a deep-felt want. The Health Center as a whole renders faithful and useful service to the locals of the I. L. G. W. U. and to its members. Our Labor organization could not dispense with the services of the Center, which is an integral part of the Union activities. At the Union Health Center are examined the applicants and candidates to Union membership who have to undergo a thorough physical examination before admission to the Local. During last year no less than 5,811 were examined. The Health Center also attends to the applicants for sick benefit in the various Locals which have adopted this form of Union activity. No less an important work of the Center is the examination and supervision of the tuberculosis benefit which is given in practically all the Locals of the Union. Finally, the Information Bureau at the Health Center gives valuable information and advice to a great many persons who are in need of it.

New Departments Established; Three

New Locals Join

The Health Center has a staff of competent and devoted medical and

dental practitioners. It gives careful examination and endeavors to make a thorough group diagnosis. The Health Center has established a complete drug store where all prescriptions are filled at minimum rates, an X-ray Department where all X-rays are taken at a charge of from \$2.89 to \$5.00, an Optical Department where glasses are prescribed and sold at cost. During last year we have established an extensive Physio-therapeutic Department with a complete equipment of baking and electrical apparatus, in charge of a most competent physician, where treatments as well as massage, etc., are given at a nominal fee of \$1.00 per treatment.

The Union Health Center is a unique establishment. It is the only Health Center conducted by a Labor organization. Moreover, the work of the Health Center does not fall as a burden on the treasury of the Locals of the Union because the work is conducted on a co-operative basis and the fees charged pay the cost of running the institution. The work during last year has paid for itself and has even shown a small surplus.

The outstanding event of last year was the extension of our work to Locals 3, 85 and 52, the last with a membership of over 12,000. All these Locals have introduced sick benefit features which necessitate the examination and treatment of their members. Another important event of last year was the holding of an Entertainment and Ball in which activity all the Locals have participated in, and which has resulted in a surplus of over \$12,000.00.

Our Needs and Problems

Great, however, as has been the progress achieved by the Health Center, and large as has been the increase in the number of patients and treatments given, there are a number of problems which must be brought to the cognizance of the members of the I. L. G. W. U.—problems the solution of which is very urgent.

In the first place, not all the locals in the City affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. are as yet members of the Health Center. Nor are all the locals affiliated with our institution to the same extent. Nor have we succeeded in interesting all the members of our own locals. The very fact that out of the over 45,000 members of the Locals affiliated we have treated in the Medical Department only less than 5,000 members, exclusive of the applicants, shows that we have only reached a little more than ten per cent of the total membership, and the same applies to the Dental Department where only 4,586, of the 45,000

A Small Model Local in a Jersey Town

By A. R.

Local 85 of the I. L. G. W. U. is composed of dressmakers working for the Keyport Shirt and Dress Co. of Keyport, New Jersey.

Though numerically very small, about fifty in all, and existing less than a year, the Keyport local succeeded in accomplishing during the short time of its existence much more than some other locals existing for many years.

Meetings of the local are held from time to time at the request of the Jersey office, under which jurisdiction this local is placed. The members pay close attention to the proceedings, they participate in the discussions and, no one would think of leaving the meeting hall before the chairman officially declares the meeting closed.

Besides taking up shop affairs, the members of Local 85 are also interested in the well-being of their fellow-workers in time of distress and sickness. Several of their members who had the misfortune to be sick were assisted financially with substantial sums of money. As the local has no sick benefit fund, the money given to the sick members came from the pockets of the members as free donations.

The local, however, realized that this system of relief cannot always

work satisfactorily as, for instance, when there is no work in the shop and no opportunity for getting the desired donations. They have therefore unanimously decided at their meeting to increase their dues to 45 cents per week, out of which sum 10 cents per week is to be put aside for a fund to assist members in time of sickness and distress.

The membership is composed of native American women workers with the exception of the pressers and three cutters who are members in good standing of Local 10. Much credit should be given to Mrs. Heyer and Mrs. Harris who have acted as chairladies during the existence of this local, and who have intified respect for their Union and their efforts.

Needless to say that Local 85 is also affiliated with the District Council of New Jersey. Though the District Council has not revolutionized the industry in the State, it has done a good deal to make popular trade unionism among the American women workers.

I am sure that if all the women workers in our industry would possess the same practical intelligence as the members of Local 85 we would have much better unions than we have today.

membership, have availed themselves of its facilities.

There is no doubt that so far only a small percentage of the Union membership is served by the Union. A great many of the members of the Union are as yet in total ignorance of the very existence of our institution. Especially is the lack of use of our facilities noticeable in the X-ray, Drug and Physio-therapeutic departments. In spite of the splendid equipment and facilities of these departments and the minimum fees charged for treatment, etc., the use of these facilities is small indeed and is only within about twenty per cent or twenty-five per cent of their capacity.

There is also a need of extending our service to the members of the families, to the children and wives of the members of our organization. At present we are unable to do so as our means are limited and we must pay attention only to the members of the organization and cannot establish women's and children's clinics.

Another need which has been long felt is to provide hospital beds for our other members who suffer from some acute disease or need operative procedure. At present we must refer these to hospitals where they either have to pay sums which they are entirely unable to pay, or be sent to the City hospitals to which they are reluctant to go.

Our supervision of the tuberculosis benefit and disposal of those members who suffer from acute pulmonary tuberculosis is still very inadequate, faulty, and, in many cases, futile. Sending an acute tubercular case to a boarding house is often without any value to the patient or to the Local

which sends him there. Some other method of disposal of the tubercular cases must be elaborated and more thought has to be given to the solution of this problem.

Many of our members have already become accustomed to periodical examinations every year and there is no doubt that with proper educational methods we might induce a large number of the whole membership to undergo a physical examination every year.

Medical Department

There is also need of some change in the present methods of financing the Health Center. No pay clinic has as yet paid for itself and it is only due to special circumstances that we have been able to make ends meet during the past year. For the coming year, 1925, there is bound to be a deficit which will grow with the growth of our work. A Health Insurance scheme, as proposed to the Locals, will have to be adopted sooner or later if our work is to be extended and to be of permanent value.

Finally, the problem looms before us of enlarging our present building or increasing our present facilities so that we may be able to take care of the extension of our work and cope with our responsibilities, which grow larger and larger. We have to face the consequences of our mistake of getting a building which is too small for our needs.

All problems indicated here ought to be discussed among the locals and should be seriously taken up by them in order to insure the success of our work and to extend our service to the membership of the Union.

Record and Publication Department of the I. L. G. W. U.

Requests all Secretaries of Affiliated Locals to forward to it regularly each month before the 15th:

1. All Day-Book sheets when all income is entered.
2. The especially prepared index cards for all newly transferred or re-initiated members.
3. A detailed report concerning all members dropped during the month.
4. New addresses given by members which changing residence.

According to the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U., locals may be fined for failure to forward the above requested information. We ask the officers of the local unions therefore to comply with this request promptly.

Fraternally,

H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Director.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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Are You As Well Off As Your Father?

By NORMAN THOMAS

Are the workers better paid than they were in the last decade of the nineteenth century? Are prices higher because wages are higher, or, on the contrary, have money wages risen in an effort to keep up with prices? Do unions help the workers to get more wages, counted not in terms of money but of what money will buy? These questions are of the utmost importance to the workers. Light is shed on them by an important article entitled "The Movement of Wages and the Future of Prices," by Professor Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago. This article has been reprinted by the Academy of Political Science, New York, and many Labor union locals would do well to get it. We can only summarize Professor Douglas' conclusions:

He begins by estimating that in the year 1923 the probable relative cost of living was represented by the index number 281 if we take the cost during the decade from 1890 to 1899 as 100. That is, it costs 2.81 times as much for a worker today to support himself and his family as it did for his father buying the same sort of food and clothing back in the nineties.

Against this must be set an increase in wages. In terms of purchasing power on the hourly basis since 1919 the workers have probably been paid 10 to 15 per cent more than during the closing decade of the last century. That is, on the hourly basis the rise in wages has a little more than overtaken the rise in prices. (This was not true during the war years.)

Against this, however, must be set the fact that although Labor has made a real gain in diminishing the length of the working day, it has paid for this gain by a lower purchasing power for a week's work. The reduction in the number of hours has probably more than taken away such advantage as Labor has gained in the rate of pay per hour. Mr. Douglas concludes: "It seems probable that the American workman can purchase less for the standard week's work today than during the nineties."

Professor Douglas' final conclusion is "that prices increases have not been caused, in their initial stage at least, by increases in wages." The next time the storekeeper tells you that you pay more because wages have risen remember this conclusion by a competent economist.

Making City Governments Serve the People

Day in and day out the city government comes rather closer to you and me than the Federal Government. What the Street Cleaning Department, the School Board, the Board of Health and the Police do or leave undone means more to me than the arrangements our State Department may make with the French Government about the French debt. One of the great political tasks of our times is to make our local governments serve us better.

In New York, the transit question is particularly in the foreground of the municipal picture and everybody who has ever ridden in a New York subway knows why. Not only in New York, but in other cities, is it becoming increasingly evident that the cities must manage their own utilities unless they would be in bond-

age to utility companies. Some of us who feel this very keenly are not, however, enthusiastic about turning over more public utilities to a corrupt Republican or Democratic machine, as these machines too often use their Police Departments to beat up peaceful strikers and their Educational Department as the mouthpieces of the Chambers of Commerce. In other words, efficient municipal government no less than efficient Federal government requires new standards of service, expressed and enforced by the workers' own party. Public ownership is the way out of many of our troubles, but it will prove a rough road to take if we should find ourselves in the grip of a Government which treats Labor as badly as the Government treats the Post Office employees and wastes in graft a large part of what it saves in private profit. The moral is that a political program of public service requires better political instruments to carry it out.

To Fight New Deportation Laws

A campaign to defeat in the U. S. Senate the House Bill "opening wide the doors to deportation of aliens" was announced this week by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of a number of immigration societies, trade unions, and liberal groups. The bill, H. R. 11796, which passed the House last week, is pending before the Senate Immigration Committee. Howard B. Gill, Washington representative of the Civil Liberties Union, has filed a formal request for a public hearing.

The bill changes the present deportation law to allow the Department of Labor to deport for cause any alien "at any time after entering the United States" instead of within three to five years as at present. It also applies to all aliens in the United States whenever they may have arrived, instead of to aliens arriving after the passage of the Act.

The following statement was issued by the Civil Liberties Union after examination of the bill by attorneys familiar with laws affecting aliens: "The dangers of this bill are incalculable. It is not part of a general immigration bill. It does not

The belief that shorter hours mean a smaller output, still entertained by the more ignorant and short-sighted employers, receives a shattering refutation in an official report on the working of the eight-hour day in France, just published by the French Ministry of Labor.

Reports on the working of the French Eight-hour Act, passed in France Eight-Hour Act, passed in Labor inspectors, who were instructed to collect all available information concerning the adaptation of conditions of labor and output to the shorter working day. The object of the instruction was (as stated by industrial and Labor information) to ascertain to what extent the former level of production had been maintained after the limitation of hours. Their reports have been published in the Ministry's Bulletin.

Willful Workers—Better Methods. For the most part the reports relate to individual plants, and typical extracts confirm the view strongly

deal with quotas or other regulations for the admission of aliens. It deals solely and specifically with the expulsion of aliens who are already in this country, no matter how long they may have been here. The bill opens the doors to deportation in many cases for trivial or technical causes and subjects every alien to espionage and intimidation.

"A number of minor changes include vague and general phrases which will give the Department of Labor wide discretion. On such action evidently is intended to shift upon the alien the burden of proving the right to remain in this country. This would reverse the ordinary presumption of innocence until guilt is proved. It also would subject to deportation any alien 'who harbors another alien liable to deportation,' whether or not he knows he is liable."

The Civil Liberties Union has circulated the following statement, interested in alien, trade unions and civic organizations calling attention to the bill and asking for united effort in defeating it. "There is no good feature in the bill and no need of its passage," according to the Union.

Fewer Hours, More Out-Put

By HERBERT TRACEY

held by those who have studied the subject that shorter working hours lead to increased output. Thus, in the frame construction shop of an important cycle factory the output for eight hours' work was higher than the output for ten hours. The increase in production is explained by the inspector in this case as being due to—

(a) Increased willingness on the part of the worker resulting in less time being lost, and

(b) Important improvements introduced in the shops by the employers.

Another report, relating to an electrical works, showed an increase of twenty-five per cent in production among the roller men, sufficient to relieve the management of the necessity of taking on extra hands to make up for the reduction of hours from ten to eight. In this case twenty per cent of the increase is attributed to improvement in machinery and methods.

Twenty-Five Per Cent Increase. Present statistics made in the reports to increases of output amounting to twenty-one per cent or more in case an increase of twenty-six and one seven-tenths per cent is given as equal to an increased hourly output of fifty-eight per cent.

A file factory, employing 400 workers, produced on an average in ten hours 12,500 files in 1914; in December, 1915, as the result of certain adjustments of equipment, alternating shifts, and wages, the number of workers was 325, and they produced in eight hours the same total of 12,000 files. This means that the hourly output rose from three and one-eighth in 1914 to four and one-fifth in 1915.

Lower Costs

In other factory output per man per hour went up with the introduction of the eight-hour day, and with the same staff were 160 articles per man were produced 1,000 are now produced. The employers in this case state that they are more than satisfied with the results of the eight-hour law. It appears from the data they supplied that output in the ninth and tenth hours was per hour only half the average of the eight preceding hours. Wages corresponding to the things produced during these two hours cost double what they cost in the preceding eight hours.

On the evidence of these reports it is clear that from the employers' point of view the shorter working day is a profitable institution; more output and lower costs of production result from the limitation of hours, partly because the workers are keener, but mainly, as it appears, because the management is forced to adopt more efficient methods.

Encouraging Efficiency

Frequently the same argument, in fact, can be urged against longer working hours as against the system of protective tariffs—they subsidize inefficiency. Improvements in machinery and in methods of workshop organization and processes of production are introduced when industry is forced to conform to a higher standard of conditions for the workers.

French experience does not stand alone in regard to the effects of reducing the hours of work. It has been shown authoritatively that the British coalowners who are clamoring for a reversion to the eight-hour day in the mining industry on the ground that increased production is necessary cannot substantiate their demand by showing that coal production has decreased under the seven-hour system. The rate of output per man-shift was higher in 1923 than it was in 1913. But improved methods will not be introduced by the coalowners so long as they hope to induce the miners to revert to the eight-hour day.

WHAT THE UNION LABEL IS

The union label is an assurance of good working conditions; a guarantee of skilled craftsmanship.

It is a certificate of sanitation, living wages and reasonable hours.

But above and beyond these is the great spiritual fact that the union label represents free labor.

It is the emblem of collective bargaining—the first step workers must take to acquire self-ownership and independence.

It attests conciliation and fair dealing between employer and employee.

It is a sceptre of peace. It typifies a unity and harmony that befit progress based on wholesome, orderly discontent.

It signifies that workers are conceded the right to unite, to have a voice in industry.

It is a symbol of democracy; a challenge to industrial autocrats.

It is an index to the new social order.

A demand for the union label does more than give employment.

Men further their principles not through precept and law, but by example; by their own moral conduct.

Every call for the union label is a profession of one's faith in a mighty principle—the unity of workers.

To insist on the union label is to stand by one's colors—to announce to the world that trade unionism is the workers' one and only developer and defense.

A hostile or indifferent public opinion never fails to yield before consistency, determination and zeal.

A New Wage System

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

In some European countries the exigencies of war-time have given rise to a wage system which merits most careful consideration by every thinking worker. This system has grown out of the so-called "family-allowance," the periodic payments giving the wage earner for a long time after it to wage-earners not on the basis of their labor productivity but according to the size and needs of their families. Before the war, such instances of wage regulation for workers and office employees were rare. Only in France there has been a vague for some years past a sort of national policy for aiding larger families of Government clerks and minor officials. Only after 1916 did this system of "family wages" spread to private industry and to city and public employees in almost every European country.

The significance of this new system has been appreciated but little during its early stages. It has been regarded largely as a semi-philanthropic, semi-philanthropic method for relieving larger working-class families during the strenuous days of wartime. These subsidies given by the governments and many private employers to the heads of the larger families were viewed as a means for offsetting to a degree the high cost of living brought about by the hostilities all over Europe. The amounts of these bonuses would in each instance be determined by the size of the individual family of the worker, thus serving as a forerunner to the system of family wages which may, in the near future, revolutionize the entire present wage and salary order.

Only after this system had functioned for some time and the Labor organizations were obliged to adopt a definite attitude toward it did it become clear that these "family allowances" may serve as more than a temporary means for the relief of some workers' families. It became apparent that this system embodies within itself a great social principle—remuneration of Labor in accordance with its needs. It lent this experiment an hitherto unsuspected meaning and gradually aroused great interest in diversified social and political groups.

To clearly understand the importance of this system, it must be, first of all, kept in mind that for several decades past the organized workers all over Europe have indistinctly demanded that wages be made to correspond as nearly as possible to the cost of living. This demand for a living wage has been, in fact, one of the fighting slogans of the European trade union movement. Until but a short time ago, however, this demand had to be based on premises which were not always favorable. A note prevailed and was formally adhered to that every adult worker is the sole breadwinner of a family consisting of five persons: parents and three dependent children; and the demands of the workers for a "living wage" were largely based on this assumption. Recent statistics are now known, nevertheless, that this basis is considerably removed from actuality. In such an industrially typical country like England, for instance, not more than nine per cent of the working-class population could conform to this family-size theory. Only ten per cent of the workers have more than three dependent children, while the remaining eighty-one per cent have less than three. It was also found that twenty-seven per cent have no dependents whatever and that twenty-four per cent of the workers have no children under the age of fourteen. It could be seen therefrom that a

wage scale that would fit the budget of a family of five would work a great hardship for a substantial number of families which have more than that number of dependents, as compared with the families which have less than the five-person average. It is figured that no less than forty per cent of the children in working-class families would be left without adequate provision for food and clothing and that as a result they would be raised as physical and mental defectives, which would work out not only as a damning injustice to these innocent children but as a social crime and an injury to the interests of the workers in general. The children in the larger families should not, of course, be cheated out of their share, and, of course, this discrimination cannot be justified by the fact that their share is being consumed by some unmarried or childless adult workers. An equitable distribution must be the slogan not only in the fight of the workers against the ruling and privileged classes but also within the ranks of the working class itself.

Undoubtedly there exists a strong ground for the demand for a new wage system on the part of the workers in accordance with the size of the individual worker's family. In practice, however, there have arisen a number of important hindrances which are militating against the popularity of this system among the working masses. What if the employers would seek to save wages by employing only unmarried workers so as to avoid the payment of family allowances? Or to what extent may this proportionate inequality of wages affect the morale and solidarity of the workers in times of industrial disputes? What if the employers succeed in exerting special influence over workers who are receiving such subsidies and would not such a "paternalism" weaken their proletarian consciousness? Such questions are being frequently asked today by the organized workers of Europe in connection with this attempt to introduce "family wages" in place of the present individual wage system.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that the advantages of the new system

outweigh decidedly its drawbacks and that the realities of life may be depended upon to do away entirely with its disadvantages in the future. This system of family wages may be improved upon in two ways, and France, and to an extent Belgium, have already adopted these improvements. The other European countries, it is expected, will sooner or later follow in their steps.

In France this system of family wages is frequently incorporated in the collective agreements between employers and the trade unions to which their workers belong. In most of these agreements, however, it is specified that these family subsidies shall not be paid out to the workers by the individual employers but through a special so-called equalization fund. The employers make their payments directly to such a fund, from which the workers obtain their subsidies. The employers make these payments on the basis of a fixed percentage of their payroll or in accordance with the number of workers employed in their factories.

The other form of regulating the new wage system in accordance with the interests of the workers is still simpler. It namely consists in the paying of a governmental subsidy to parents of large families from a State fund which is raised through a special tax levied upon the employers. Such a plan has been evolved about two to three years ago by the Labor union of Australia and introduced in the Legislature of New South Wales. The Australian bill so far has failed of passing, but it will be reintroduced and pressed for passage at the next session. On the other hand, France adopted in June, 1923, a law which guarantees a State subsidy to every parent having more than three children below the age of thirteen.

In spite of the fact that this system of family wages has been introduced in French private industry only about five years ago, it embraces today nearly a half of the working-class population of France—over a million of industrial workers. When the Government servants and other public officials are added to this number, and the mine workers who have

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Lord's list reports in a semi-annual financial statement that his income for the second half of 1915 amounted to \$15,732.82 and his expenses to \$15,812.82. The treasury of the local consists of \$6,592. Joseph Ellis is secretary-treasurer.

Dr. George M. Rice, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, recommends the following eight habits to be given to members who become affected with tuberculosis: (1) Free medical examination and advice, (2) Medical care in critical moments, (3) Free medicine if the member is still able to work, (4) Support of not less than six dollars weekly, (5) Transfer to places beyond city limits for fresh air, (6) Care in hospitals and sanatoriums, (7) Weekly support to family, and (8) Life-long subsidy for incurables.

The Marx clan firm of 1067 Filbert street, Philadelphia, goes into bankruptcy. The work was last served on the firm, and the firm is said to suffer a loss of \$500 deposited by him as "security."

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Monday evening, March 2, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. John J. Johnson is beginning a course of six lectures on "The Drama of Social Conflict." He will discuss the plays of Ibsen, Hauptmann, Galsworthy and others.

On Tuesday evening, March 3, at 8:30 p. m., Dr. Benjamin Greenberg will discuss "Guiding the Child's Intellectual Fiction."

On Wednesday evening, March 4, at 8:30 p. m., August Claessens will discuss marriage and economics in his course on "Sex and Society."

Also on Wednesday evening, Clement Wood will lecture on Chesterton and Wells in his course on "Contemporary Fiction."

On Saturday, March 7, at 3:30 p. m., Professor Edward M. Earle of Columbia University will lecture on "Nationalism and Imperialism, Twin Menaces."

embodied the family wage system in their collective agreements—the number of workers affected by it in France alone represented over 7,000,000, not less than 100,000,000 francs is being paid out annually in family subsidies in France, not including the money spent for this purpose by the State.

All over Europe, it is calculated, not less than eight million workers are employed under a system in which there are no other forms of family subsidies are in vogue. Among the merits of this system it may be mentioned that it has contributed materially to the solution of the problem of equality of earnings for men and women. It stands to reason that if workers are to be enabled to do their labor in accordance with the needs of their families that a woman worker will receive as much consideration in this respect as a male worker. Heretofore the men used to demand and obtain higher wages as the chief supporters of the family. Now, however, this argument, which in the past has served as a wage dividing line in many occupations and trades, is practically eliminated.

It can be easily seen that the significance of the new wage system is even greater from the standpoint of the principle it involves than from the material advantages it may bring to the workers. It means the recognition of a new economic theory: The worker is not a mere living tool and must be paid for his labor in accordance with his needs and not simply as gauged by the amount of his industrial output.

UNTIL IT IS SETTLED RIGHT

BY ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

However the battle is ended,

Though proudly the victor comes,
With fluttering flags and prancing nags,
And echoing roll of drums;
Still truth proclaims this motto

In letters of living light—
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

Though the heel of the strong oppressor
May grind the weak in the dust,
And the voice of the same with one acclaim
May call him great and just—

Let those who applaud take warning,
And keep this motto in sight—
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

Let those who have failed take courage;
Tho' the enemy seems to have won,
Tho' his ranks are strong, if he be in the wrong
The battle is not yet done;
For, sure as the morning follows
The darkest hour of the night,
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

O man bowed down with labor!
O woman young, yet old!
O heart oppressed in the toiler's breast
And crushed by the power of gold!
Keep on with your weary battle
Against triumphant might;
No question is ever settled
Until it is settled right.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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Office, 2 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 5148.
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EDITORIALS

COOPERATIVE HOMES FOR OUR WORKERS

At the very beginning of the second year of its existence, our International Union Bank has launched a program of activity which justifies, to a great extent, all the hopes we ever entertained when, in cooperation with other Labor organizations, we founded it early in 1924.

To be sure, the rapid growth of the bank's resources, which amount today to \$4,000,000—from a modest beginning of \$500,000—is in itself quite an achievement and an eloquent tribute to the trust and confidence which our members have in their own bank. Nevertheless, were our bank to concentrate solely on the effort of increasing its resources without giving heed to investing the capital in enterprises of social use, it would have fallen short of its aim and purpose. It would then amount to but another form of a private bank, without any claim to broader social activity or special usefulness to our members in general.

Were our bank to become merely a private bank for the benefit of a small family of shareholders, our interest in it, no matter how big and rich it might grow, we frankly admit, would be very limited, indeed.

That there is such a danger even in the case of Labor banks is evident from the fact that the several other banks, founded by Labor organizations years prior to our own, have as yet given little thought, if any at all, to plans of undertaking any social activity with their funds. They appear to be content just to follow in the footsteps of other financial institutions, endeavoring to make profitable investments and neither dreaming of not daring to depart from the beaten path. That is why we feel so deeply satisfied in being able to report that our bank has decided to make the first step in the direction of general social activity and, as it seems to us, it has struck the right note in the right moment.

In selecting the form of social work upon which it would embark, the International Union Bank decided to aid in the financing of a big plan of cooperative home building for our workers. It is a sound, business-like, safe proposition and one that contains a special appeal to wage-earners, especially in our days of inflated rentals and rising landlords.

Of course, there were other forms of activity to consider, such, for instance, as the financing of union-owned shops and stores. But such an enterprise, aside from the fact that it is not probably within the activities permitted to such banks like ours under their charter to engage, contains, of necessity, a big element of risk, which the International Union Bank could not hazard with the interests of its depositors and investors always in mind.

That this venture to build homes for our workers will meet with a ready response among the large membership of the I. L. G. W. U. and of the organizations affiliated with us in the bank, there can be little doubt. The prospect of owning a little place of one's own, without the eternal fear of rent-raising and the other periodic depredations of the landlord, of having a safe and permanent roof over one's head, so to say, holds an irresistible charm to every worker and his family. The bank could strike a more popular chord among our workers than by this announcement that it is setting out to finance the construction of several apartment houses on a cooperative basis.

In brief, the plan proposes to make it possible for the prospective purchasers of the apartments that are to be constructed by the unions with the aid of the bank, gradually pay up the purchase price of the rooms by means of monthly payments or "rent" to be contributed to the general fund of the house. It is calculated that these payments would decrease each month, each year, until the sum invested in building the house is fully amortized at the end of a fixed number of years—after which the only charges on the house would be its taxes and some legitimate expenses for operation and repairs.

The plan also aims at offering these apartments at a materially lower "rental" than that demanded by any private owner. The houses will be better improved than privately-owned apartment-houses of the same grade, and will be equipped, for instance, with playgrounds for children, club floors for adults, a dance floor for young folks, etc., etc.

The underlying reason for the Union's and the bank's ability to construct superior apartments and sell them at reasonable rates is contained in the fact that these houses are to be constructed not for profit but for use. The bank does not intend to make big money in financing these construction plans; it will be contented with regular bank interest. And the profits which usually go into the pockets of the landlords will, in this instance, also go to those who will own these apartments.

The first house which the joint committee of the Unions and of the bank is planning to construct will have room for two hundred families. That may sound like a drop in the bucket

when compared with our membership in Greater New York alone. But, as we stated, this is only a beginning. The first effort in this direction will free from the clutches of landlordism a few hundred families and the other steps will follow quickly. The success of one house will be rapidly emulated by other such construction ventures. These cooperative apartments should keep on multiplying until our entire membership in New York and elsewhere is housed within its own hundreds of homes.

The full details of the plan for constructing this first apartment house will soon be announced. In the meantime such of our members as are specially interested may direct all inquiries concerning this undertaking to Brother Phillip Kaplowitz, the cashier of the International Union Bank. We are informed that the committee in charge of preliminary work on this undertaking has already in view a very fine plot for the construction of this house, and it is quite likely that before many weeks the actual work of building will be started.

And in speaking about the progress made by our bank, we desire to add that its success could have been even greater had all our workers who are now depositing their savings in private banks transferred their books to their own bank. It is a fact that many of our members who should know better are still timid about depositing their funds in the International Union Bank. We are even told that some interested persons have been so adversely affected among our members the vicious canard that in case of a strike the Union would know that they possess some savings and would on that account deny them their strike benefits or their unemployment insurance to which they might be entitled.

Of course nothing could be further from the truth than such silly tattle. To begin with, the Union could not, and would not if it could, deprive any worker of any benefit to which he or she is entitled. Strike or unemployment benefits are not charity; these are forms of self-aid which must be given to workers when the occasion for it arises. Secondly, our workers must know that banking is regulated by certain well-fixed laws and rules, the most important one among which is that a banker must keep secret and undisclosed to any outside agency the status of his depositors. This is an ironclad rule in all banking institutions and is seldom, if ever, violated.

We should like to hope that these few words, as well as the announcement of the big and important undertaking of the International Union in the field of home-building for our workers, will prompt the many thousands among them who, as yet, have not made our bank their sole depository, to transfer their funds and savings from the private banks to the International Union Bank and help make it even stronger and readier to fulfil its big task and mission, the true mission of a Labor bank.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND

As announced, the unemployment insurance fund in the cloak industry of New York is to begin payment of benefits on June 1. Despite its best wishes, the Union will, until then, not be in a position, for lack of sufficient funds, to do anything substantial for ameliorating the needs of the idle in its midst. By June, it is expected, this fund will have accumulated a million dollars and the allowances, as regulated by the rules issued by the board of the fund's trustees, will be available to such of our workers as will be entitled to them.

The rules governing the distribution of the unemployment funds were made public by the trustees of the fund in Justice on February 13. It is important that our readers make themselves thoroughly familiar with these rules so that they might become fully posted as to when they are entitled to out-of-work benefits and when not. We would advise the officers of the Union to have special meetings with the workers at which these rules could be explained.

One of these rules especially must be made clear to our workers. It may strike some of our members that since they are entitled to ten dollars' benefit for each idle week, that they should be remunerated for the full seven or eight months of the year of the "slack" periods which regularly invade all our industries. But this is obviously an impossibility, as it would require tens of millions of dollars to reimburse our idle men for the wages they lose during the periods of industrial inactivity so common in the women's garment trades.

Hence the rule that when a worker is out of work during the regular slack interval, when only a few have something to do in the shops, he is entitled to only a few dollars' benefit. Such "slack" weeks there are calculated to be eighteen each year—nine in every season. The fairness of this rule is so easily discernible that our workers will not fail to appreciate it. For, if the Union were to undertake to pay each cloak worker in New York City for each week he is compelled to stay idle during the year, the unemployment fund would have to disburse annually, even at the modest sum of ten dollars per week, at least ten million dollars, a sum entirely beyond its reach when we take into consideration the size of the weekly payments made to this fund both by the employers and the workers.

Excluding the regular "slack" weeks, the trustees therefore decided that the out-of-work benefits should cover only six weeks each season or twelve weeks for the entire year. The idle worker may therefore count on a maximum of \$120 in out-of-work benefit from this joint fund. Of course, even this sum might prove to be too great, should all the workers in the trade become entitled to and demand full twelve weeks' benefits. It is calculated, however, that not all the workers in the trade are idle for a full six weeks each season, and that will make it possible for the administrators of the fund to take care of the most needy of the workers, which is, as it should be, the prime purpose of unemployment insurance in the cloak trade and in industry in general.

What Reviewers Say About Our History

Evans Clark in the New York Times Book Review

Mr. Evans Clark, formerly assistant professor of economics in Princeton University and at present a member of the New York Times staff, under the heading "High Adventure in Garment Trades," writes in the New York Times Book Review, of Sunday, February 8, 1925, as follows concerning Dr. Louis Levine's history of the workers in the women's garment trades of America, recently published by B. S. Huebsch & Co.:

By EVANS CLARK

"Ever since the days when Barnard girls left their classes to walk the picket line with East Side shirt-waist makers, when Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont got up strike meetings at the Hippodrome, and when Louis Brandeis, now Justice of the United States Supreme Court, came down from Boston to untangle the skein of conflicting interests between the cloak makers and their employers, the garment-workers have made a particular appeal to the public imagination. Romance and high adventure have sat upon the shield of this union as of no other.

And now comes a book with something of that unusual quality about it. Many books have been written about the Labor movement and the individual unions that compose it; but they have not been like this one. They have been written by scholars for scholars—those of lasting worth; but this book has that peculiar blend of joint effort between the mass of workers and the more highly educated in a common cause which has marked the progress of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union for the past fifteen years. Dr. Levine's book is written by a scholar, but not for scholars alone—in spite of its professional workmanship and careful documentation. It was written at the request of Morris Sigman, President of the union, and his Executive Board, as part of the educational work of the organization.

A dedicatory note signed by Mr. Sigman and the other officers of the union states that:

"This history will acquaint the second generation of our membership with the aims and achievements of their forefathers, who were imbued with idealism, who showed unlimited devotion to the cause of the workers, and who made great sacrifices for the development of our union, but who are now disappearing. Today the continued growth of our union depends on the devotion and understanding of the younger men and women who compose its membership. In the hope that they will find in them as loyal standard-bearers and as zealous workers as those whose activities are here recorded, we are dedicating this history to them."

It might be thought, from such a dedication, that the inglorious would find no place in this book; that it would be less of a history than a psalm. But such is not the case. A study of its pages will show the younger generation as much what not to do as what to do to preserve their organization. Dr. Levine, who was formerly Professor of Economics in the University of Montana, has maintained his academic detachment in dealing with the facts without a sacrifice, apparently, of his sympathy and appreciation. For example, he has not glossed the picture of dissension and partisan wrangling which has torn at the vitals of the International from the beginning, and the end of which is not yet; nor has he overplayed the solidarity of those strikes against the sweatshop and the starvation wage which at the time moved even editorial writers from their cynical detachment.

Dr. Levine is a thorough and methodical workman; so methodical is he that the swing of the narrative is often held up and sidetracked by great masses of piled-up facts. He begins long before the union was born—in the days of the "pig-market" where the newly arrived immigrants from Rumania, Poland and Austria-Hungary would swarm to wait for a clothing contractor in need of hands to offer them a job; in the days when the regular working day began at seven and ended at six and when "it was quite common to work fifteen and sixteen hours a day from five in the morning to nine at night"—all for an average wage of \$6 a week. He carries the story along through the rise and fall of dozens of small unions in the trade; the birth of the International, which started its career with \$30 in the treasury and desk room for an office on lower First avenue; through the "great revolt" days of 1910; the growth and collapse of the "protocool," and down to the International of today with its membership of 90,000, its disbursements of from \$4,000,000 to \$6,000,000 a year, its office buildings, its bank, its "workers' university," its vacation camps and its plans for stabilizing the entire women's clothing industry. Every step Dr. Levine has marked with foot-note references to the original sources of information—newspaper

items, union records, Government reports, and at the end an appendix of statistics and documents bearing on every phase of the trade—all evidence of prodigious effort in research.

It is the contrasts in his story that are dramatic. Even in 1910 "the average wage in the busy season was estimated at between \$15 and \$18 a week for operators and \$14 a week for pressers," while "the practice of indefinite hours in the busy season prevailed; fourteen and sixteen hours a day was common—they came at five a. m. and stay until 11 or twelve at night." "All of the shops, from the poorest in the attic

to pay some bills that were overdue. Describing the International today, Dr. Levine writes:

"As one scans the expenditures of the locals and of the General Executive Board one finds donations to dozens of outside organizations, including charities, hospitals, Zionist societies, Socialists and Labor papers, literary clubs, Labor reform organizations and so on."

The cost of the last big strike alone in New York was \$1,946,631. Of this \$707,480 was paid to the workers in strike relief. "The entire cost of the strike," says Dr. Levine, "was borne by the New York Joint Board"—the same board that could not even pay rent for a hall thirteen years before. The relations of the unions with the employers' back in 1905 are described in the colorful words of the Secretary of old Local 5.

"Our organizing work we carried on in a stereotyped way. We would



A MODERN SANITARY SHOP

or cellar of some old converted tenement to the richest and biggest in the loft buildings, suffered from various sanitary defects," stated a report of the same year. "Today the minimum weekly wage of operators is from \$48 to \$50 a week, while that of pressers runs from \$37 to \$42—an increase of from 150 to 220 per cent; while working hours have been reduced to forty-four a week instead of the seventy to eighty of 1910. The latest agreement with the employers provides that sanitary standards are to be maintained by the use of a label, jointly administered, which will guarantee sanitary conditions in the shops.

In 1908 the first appeal was made for a general strike against conditions that prevailed in the industry at the time. The Joint Board of Cloakmakers decided to hire Manhattan Lyceum for a mass meeting. The rental of the hall was \$25 and, unfortunately for the union, it had to be paid in advance. There was no money in the treasury of the Joint Board.

"On the day of the meeting," writes Dr. Levine, "a crowd of workers began gathering in front of the hall, but the hallkeeper refused to open the doors until he was paid. Polakoff, who was then manager of the Joint Board, tried to argue with the hallkeeper, but it was of no avail. In fear lest the workers disperse, he began running toward Second avenue in the hope of finding someone with money. At the corner he met Max Pine, then Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades. Without any explanations he unbuttoned Pine's vest, took off his gold watch and chain and, as fast as he could, ran back to the hallkeeper to offer the valuables as security for the rental. The hall was opened and the workers began to pour into the hall."

Even before the meeting was over the Treasurer of the International had rushed some of the money collected at the door to the union office

to issue a circular reading somewhat as follows: "Murder! The exploiters, the blood suckers, the manufacturers... Pay your dues... Down with the capitalist! Hurrah! The employers' wrath be somewhat frightened and concede the demands of the union. After the demands were granted the workers would drop out of the organization. We would thus gain 'recognition' from the bosses and lose the workers."

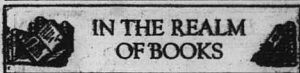
Of the industrial program of the International today Dr. Levine writes: "The general idea is that the union on behalf of the workers must take a hand in reconstructing the industry consciously and systematically.... The technical conditions of the industry as well as the prevailing business methods have resulted in chaos and demoralization, and none of the employers' associations has shown a readiness to undertake voluntarily and unaided the task of countering any destructive trends in the industry."

Twenty years ago a handful of workers here and there called the employers "bloodsuckers" and yelled "Down with capitalists"; today, 90,000 of them, represented by their chosen officers, accept their share of responsibility for the welfare of the industry and take the lead in eliminating manufacturing wastes. The growth of maturity and stature represented here is as dramatic as the story of how it happened is absorbing.

The most vivid chapters of the story are those that describe the strikes of 1909 and 1910 which stirred New York both low and high. Several scenes stand out. There is the meeting at Cooper Union which started the "waist-makers' general strike of 1909; the two hours of speeches that urged caution and deliberation; the "wisp of a girl still in her teens" who asked for the floor; her terse words—"I am a working girl on a strike against intolerable conditions; I am tired of listening to speakers who talk in general terms; what we are here for is (Continued on Page 11)



AN OLD-TIME SWEAT SHOP



Education and the Masses

The Second Annual Conference of Teachers and Administrators in Workers' Education at Brookwood Labor College, February 20-22, 1925. Under the auspices of the American Federation of Teachers.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There is fine significance in the subject that was chosen for discussion this year at Brookwood: Mass Education. The accumulated traditions of centuries have given this phase a strangeness which is sharp challenge. Education has long been a minority process; only one-tenth of one per cent of our population can take for themselves what the colleges offer. I have heard teachers of the classics actually deplore the invention of the printing press. For them the ever widening ability to read which resulted from it has coarsened the grain of culture! Thus clustered soon place the instruments of living before the lives they should serve.

Obviously, the workers' education movement could not long labor under such confusion. Itself an instrument of the workers' mass movement, devised for the masses and by them, it tests all its tools by their mass service. It knows that when any tool does not meet mass needs, that tool must be either changed or discarded. For the masses cannot be discarded; instruments can. The democratic education of mass movements against the educational methods developed by aristocratic civilizations is not continued mass ignorance, but the development of new methods of education suited to democratic civilizations.

The quest for this solution moderated the discussions of the second conference of teachers in workers' education just held at Brookwood. The conference began with a question, ended with a quest. The problem in a theory one and theory problems seldom yield easy solutions. But the knowledge of difficulties, the realization of confusion left with most of the Brookwood conferees, will serve only as a stimulus to further searching. Mass education remains the problem of all interested in a better social order. Trade unionists can hardly afford not to discover the possibilities of workers' education toward solving this central problem.

Workers' education is a young movement. In America its life span covers little more than ten years. What more natural, therefore, than that this movement should have devoted its early years to the mere job of growing? Unquestionably, education has been accepted as an integral part of workers' organization, the finest of its innovations would have exerted little influence. Its pioneer advocates realized this from the outset; consequently, although they gave much time to questions of educational method and content, the major share of their energies went to the task of promotion. They organized, they answered the desires moving so restlessly, so inarticulately, among so many workers for—more light, more light; they established classes, courses, colleges, text books, libraries, bureaus; they reached mining towns and metropolises, oil camp and clothing shop. The American Federation of Labor made workers' education a part of its recommended program; unions everywhere began to establish educational committees. And those who had helped create an institution in the Labor commonwealth refused to institutionalize. They sat down to take stock of the creature of their making.

Every conference of teachers, pupils, administrators in workers' education thus far has been a pledge of further growth. Workers' education realizes its innovations—and its mere acceptance; its adaptations—and its mere adoption; its rooted growth—and its mere mushroom spread. It knows it has taken from the best thought of its day new methods of teaching, new aids to learning, better class-room organization. It realizes, too, that the task of promotion forced it to begin with small units, to concentrate at the beginning upon small classes, to build a house of minority education from which it could spread later to education for the masses.

It is this last realization that has set loose in so many workers' education circles the discussion that occupied Brookwood last week. We have launched class-room education; we are trying to aid in the training of leaders; of unionists who will serve our common movement. We have adopted curricula which emphasize the social sciences and the social outlook in all learning. We have made experiments and adopted old ones to our particular conditions. Yet we cannot be content with educating "one-tenth of one per cent of our members." How can we reach the masses?

The discussions at Brookwood soon made clear the knots in this tangled problem. The masses are not interested in traditional education. "For the acquisition of detailed scientific knowledge is a full-time job; men and women who work full-time in shop and mill have little energy left for the first task. Again we must admit frankly that the great mass of all people—not only of workers—do not want to undertake the toil of serious study. Fathers, mothers, youths, workers, their preoccupations lie in living. Books are so many hard by-paths upon which they prefer not to tread. Indeed, research and study is just being recognized as the specialized craft it is. There are no more good reasons why all men should make absorbed students than why all should make art-full woodworkers or poets or doctors."

Yet in order that men should be able to hold their heads up in the world they live it is essential that they receive the findings of students for their own. How can we bring these to them? Our task as workers is made the more difficult by the superior influence of the powers that be over the minds of men. That influence begins with the schools; our children are fed with the slogans of chauvinism and business glory. To build up in them the philosophy and attitudes, union progress demands we must first challenge that influence. Press, church, libraries, chateaus, etc., solidify the thought edifice the schools begin. Workers' education must destroy as well as build.

The methods for attaining these ends of mass education suggested and discussed at Brookwood seemed to fall into four categories. The conferees felt from the experience of workers in the movement that use might be made in certain cases of learning facilities provided by the community as a whole. In Socialist Milwaukee, for instance, the libraries

are co-operating with the unions in their educational program. Teachers elsewhere have attempted to combine their class lectures with illustrative visits to museums, theatres, industrial exhibitions, etc. Although such popularizing and substantiating methods should be pushed wherever possible, they pertain chiefly to an extension of class-room work. The masses inevitably must be reached outside the class. While class-room students eventually aid in this task, other methods—and separate methods—for mass education as such must be provided.

One form of provision which the workers' education movement is making lies in the creation of institutions of their own which parallel those proven successful in present-day mass education but which are able to offer workers' mass education. It has aided in the creation of a workers' "scout" movement and workers' children's schools. The camps and clubs of the Pioneer Youth Movement and schools like Massanut and Commonwealth have been, or are about to be, challenge, the wrong emotions gathered in the school. Workers' education also is launching its own chateaus, slowly developing its own radio broadcasting, making its own movies, sending forth its own eminent authors, using its lyceums. It is using its press more and more as an instrument serving its educational purposes; it is developing its educational forums, debates, shows, and showing popular lectures; it is attempting to use the women's auxiliaries to reach the women-folk of union workers. Out of these things a workers' mass point of view may be born.

Again, the conferees considered the possibilities of "emotional" vehicles for carrying education to the masses. A large group would prefer to be domi-

nantly emotional; intellectual studies must be offered to the few. Thus, the conferees discussed the use of "ritual" in mass education; the need for dramatizing the Labor movement; for giving creative expression to its struggles, desires, aims. It discussed the place of literature in the whole movement of recreation and of humanized knowledge. It discussed pageants and parades, songs and slogans. Out of these things a workers' mass spirit may be born.

Finally, the conference discussed the possibilities of tying up the union with most of the workers' earnings as a human being. Dominantly the union is an economic organization pursuing economic aims. Not, if the worker can find through it the recreation, knowledge, music, art, drama, etc., his soul and body needs, it hold-on him becomes so much the stronger. The possibilities of making the union the worker's provider of these things differ with the community involved. But the union is fast becoming a community itself; workers are working to help it satisfy as many communal needs of its populations as possible. Out of these things a workers' mass loyalty may be born.

Thus the Brookwood Conference of Teachers and administrators. It would be easy to be carping; to point out the dangers of dilettantism and "hot air" in such a program; to challenge the confusion and superficial lack of order in it; to ask for sureness of aim where there should be grouping. But we are groping; and underneath the uneasiness there are idealism and honesty and realities and—a future. Every worker should read the Proceedings of this Conference as soon as they appear. They belong to him, and to the past, present and future of the emerging masses.

CHILD LABOR AMONG NEGRO AMERICANS

Abolition of child labor in this country would have significant international aspects, for Negro children suffer for the handicaps of child labor to a degree of which few people know. In 1920, of all Negro children in the country ten to fifteen years of age, 21.9 per cent were gainfully employed (compared with 6.7 per cent of the children of similar age of the white population). Over a quarter, 26.7 per cent, of all Negro boys in the country ten to fifteen years of age were gainfully employed, and 17.1 per cent of the girls of those ages. The situation is serious when stated in terms of the whole group of Negro children who are under sixteen years of age. The physical, mental, and moral consequences of indifference to the children's welfare appear still more threatening when it is realized that 16.3 per cent of all the Negro children from ten to thirteen years of age were gainfully employed. Nearly a fifth, 19.5 per cent, of the boys and girls well over a tenth, 13.1 per cent of the girls from ten to thirteen years of age were gainfully employed in 1920. Of adolescent Negro boys and girls fourteen years of age, 39.3 per cent, and of those fifteen years of age, 37.7 per cent were gainfully employed. Nearly half, 48.2 per cent of all fifteen-year-old boys and more than a quarter, 27.3 per cent, of all fifteen-year-old Negro girls were gainfully employed in 1920. These percentages translated into numbers give the following table:

Number of Negro Boys and Girls of Specified Ages Who Were Gainfully Employed in 1920—Ten to thirteen years of age, 96,476 boys, 64,623 girls; fourteen years of age, 45,471 boys, 29,292 girls; fifteen years of age, 49,656 boys, 30,930 girls; sixteen years of age, 66,351 boys, 41,371 girls; seventeen years of age, 74,212 boys, 42,178 girls.

(Figures from pamphlet soon to be

published by the Federal Council's Commission on the Church and Race Relations.)

By Labor By BUD McKILLIPS

I've bulled your ships and your railroads.
I've worked in your factories and mines.
I've bulled the roads you ride on.
I've crushed the wild grapes for your wine.
I've worked late at night on your garments.
I've gathered the grain for your bread.
I've bulled the house that you live in.
I've printed the books that you read.
I've linked the two great oceans together.
I've spanned your rivers with steel.
I've bulled your towering skyscrapers.
And also your automobile.
I've gone out to wrecked ships in the life-boats.
When the storm loudly cried for its prey.
I've guarded your home from marauders.
I've turned the night into day.

Wherever there's progress you'll find me.
Without me the world could not live.
And yet you would seek to destroy me.
With the meager pittance you give.

Today you may grind me in slavery.
You may dictate to me from the throne.
But tomorrow I throw off my fetters.
And am ready to claim what I own.
I am master of field and of factory.
I am mighty and you are but few.
No longer I'll bow in submission.
I am Labor and ask for my due.



DOMESTIC ITEMS

To Probe Power Trust

Senator Norris won his long fight for an investigation of the General Electric Company by the Federal Trade Commission. The Senate rejected an amendment that no authority be given the Commission to question stockholders. The purpose of this amendment was to block an inquiry whether corporations involved in an alleged "power trust" were controlled by the same financial group.

Public Health Is Better

The health of the people of the United States and Canada was, in all probability, better in 1924 than ever before, according to the Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. This is the first year in which every important cause of death has registered a decrease from the year before. This is indicated by the year's amazingly low mortality record for approximately 16,000,000 people—the industrial policy holders of the company—who constitute approximately one-seventh of the combined population of the two countries. Their death rate was 8.5 per 1,000, which was 5.2 per cent better than the year before.

The splendid health record, it is stated, is due, above all else, to the absence of epidemic prevalence of any disease.

The only gloom in this report is the number of deaths and injuries through automobile accidents, and the statement that the campaign against cancer is not as successful as typhoid fever, tuberculosis, maternal disease, diarrhoeal complaints, diabetes and other diseases.

Communists Ousted

Organized Labor in Minneapolis has concluded its long fight against Communists by changing the name of the central body and adopting a strong anti-revolutionary pledge that all delegates must take.

The obligation provides that where a delegate becomes a member of any revolutionary or other movement hostile to the A. F. of L., he automatically ceases to be a delegate. The name "Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly," is discarded and the organization will hereafter be known as the "Central Labor Union."

The trade unionists' long fight defeated the campaign of the Communists, who pleaded for "free speech." The unionists replied that they did not attack free speech, but the aims and purposes of organized labor and communism have no relation, and that the Communists came into the trade union movement not to improve conditions of the workers, but to avowedly advance their revolutionary doctrine.

President Signs Arbitration Bill

The President has signed the United States arbitration bill.

Under this law an arbitration award in a business dispute is valid in the Federal courts, and has all the power of Federal law. The act applies where parties to a contract agree to submit to arbitration any dispute during the life of the contract. If one of the parties attempt to break this agreement a Federal court can appoint an arbitrator to represent him.

The new law, it is said, will reduce by one-half the number of civil suits that now cumber Federal court calendars.

Labor disputes are specifically excluded from this Act, which is of especial interest to trade unionists because of their attitude toward arbitration as a means of adjusting disputes between men.

Trade Union Activity Will Be Nation Wide

A campaign of increasing trade union activity was voted at the recent meeting of the A. F. of L. executive council, held in Florida.

The council, acting with the union label trades department of the A. F. of L., will call a conference next May of presidents and secretaries of the A. F. of L. national and international affiliates to inaugurate a nation-wide union label campaign. Trade unionists and sympathizers will be impressed with the significance of the emblem of fair dealing and democracy in industry.

At that time the Gompers' memorial committee will confer with the trade union officials on a suitable memorial to the late president of the A. F. of L. This committee consists of President Green, Vice Presidents Duffy, Wolf and Wilson, and Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Tobin.

It was decided to continue the fight for ratification of the child Labor amendment.

Workers' Legal Rights Are Forced From Them

Organized Labor in Ohio is asking the State Legislature to outlaw the so-called "individual contract" anti-union employers force workers to sign before they are given employment. Under this contract a worker pledges not to join a trade union, or urge others to do so, or to in any other way encourage sentiment for higher wages and improved working conditions.

The unionists point to the immorality of such a contract, which ignores the basis of contractual relations—free will and absence of duress. When the wife and children of a worker demand food and shelter, the unionists say, the State should not legalize a contract that has been secured from that worker under such conditions.

Another point the unionists emphasize is that the worker is forced to surrender a legal right to join a trade union. Instead of being protected in that right, society, by its acquiescence of the "individual contract," in effect, approves the policy of the anti-union employer who takes advantage of the workers' necessity to compel him to waive a legal right.

This contract was first used against West Virginia miners. These workers have given the contract the contemptuous term "yellow dog."

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

Miners' Five-Day Week

Notice has been given to the mine-owners in the Lanarkshire district of the Union's decision to enforce a five-day week as from the second week in February.

Sir Allen Nimmo stated, at a conference between the owners and the Union officials held a few weeks ago, that the owners would not accept the Union's notice, and would therefore continue the system of work of eleven days a fortnight; they could not agree to a working week of five days while other districts were working eleven days a fortnight.

AUSTRIA

The Jubilee of the Secretary of the Austrian Trade Union Movement

Comrade Anton Hueber celebrated a few days ago the thirtieth anniversary of his work as Secretary of the Austrian Trades Union Congress. A modest festivity was arranged for the occasion, and the Austrian trade unionists had an opportunity of expressing their deep gratitude to Comrade Hueber for his long and ardent services to the trade union movement.

A friend of Legien, who, alas! died only too soon, Hueber has always worked for international unity. Trade unionists from many parts of the world will unite in the heartfelt wishes that Hueber may long be able to continue his valuable services to the trade union cause in Austria.

The Vienna Chamber of Labor May Also Go To Russia

The Vienna Chamber of Labor (a public body) recently held a meeting to consider workers' welfare in various countries, with special reference to the welfare of the unemployed. It decided to send the following communication to the Communist group in the Parliament:

"The Executive of the Vienna Chamber of Labor considers that it would be a good thing to investigate on the spot the trade union and social institutions of Russia, and the local economic and social conditions connected with these. It would like to send a research commission to Russia for that purpose, provided that it receives an official invitation from the Russian Government, that adequate guarantees are given that the Commission would have complete freedom of movement both for itself and in respect of the institutions etc. visited, and that it is provided with facilities for traveling. It must also be expressly stated in the invitation that the Chamber has an absolutely free hand in choosing the members of the commission."

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Towards Trade Union Unity

On January 21 and 22 joint meetings were held at Prague between representatives of the Czech and German national trade union centres of Czecho-Slovakia, Oudegrest, Secretary of the I. F. T. U., being in the chair. The object of the meeting was to arrange for the amalgamation of the two centres. After long discussion a draft agreement was drawn up, which recognised the general principle of the I. F. T. U., that there must be only one national centre for each country. If this agreement goes through, another joint conference will be held at the beginning of April to settle the details of the fusion. Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the results of the first conference which, it is hoped, will put an end to the present disunion.

Unfortunately, some of the Social Democrats are still inclined to believe that the present state of things is preferable to unity. It is to be hoped that the whole trade union and Social Democrat press of Czecho-Slovakia will combine to support the movement for unity.

FRANCE

Foreign Labor in France

At the last meeting of the Executive of the French Confederation of Labor, the question of foreign labor was discussed and it was decided to issue a questionnaire on the kind of employment in which these workers are engaged. These questionnaires have now been filled in and on the basis of the information contained in them the Executive of the C. G. T. is issuing a preliminary report, in which it is stated that the number of foreign workers now in France is over 2,000,000, and that they belong to fifty different nationalities.

Except for a few isolated cases, and for the soldiers of the Wrangel army who are employed at Tours and Tarbes, the wages of the foreign workers are not a rule lower than the wages of French nationals. In some departments the foreign workers are organizing in special unions, which are under the influence of priests, consuls, etc. Communist efforts to induce the foreign ers to organize in unions consisting of members of different nationalities have so far met with no success.

CUBA

Growth of the Cuban Trade Union Movement

In those countries of Central and South America which are industrially backward, the growth of a strong trade union movement is greatly hampered by the existence of innumerable small local unions, which of course means great division and consequent diversion of energy. Any effort to form a national centre is therefore a sure sign of the steady growth of the trade union movement.

Such signs are happily now present in Cuba. Arcion Socialista, a Socialist weekly, which also serves as the official journal of the trade union movement, gives information of the establishment of a national trade union centre, and a national Socialist Party, and also states that there is to be an increase in the publishing activity of these bodies. The strongest Cuban union is that of the railwaymen, which is also the chief agent in these efforts towards national trade union unity.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Downtown Concert Inspiring Affair

On Saturday evening, February 21, the auditorium of Public School 63, Manhattan, was over-filled with men and women, members of our International, who came with their families to listen to an artistic program performed by Estelle Schreiner, soprano; Joseph Fuchs, violinist and N. L. Salsavsky, baritone. Fannia M. Cohen in a short address explained the aims and purposes of our educational work.

The artists responded to the fine atmosphere that prevailed throughout the evening and thrilled the audience

with their singing and playing. N. L. Salsavsky led the singing in which everybody, men and women, young and old, including the children, joined.

On the program space was provided for each member to fill in his name, address and local number and leave it at the door, which they did.

The artists expressed their great satisfaction with the fine spirit and order that prevailed in the hall and stated they were never more inspired at a Carnegie Hall concert than at this one.

Reunion of Students and Teachers of I. L. G. W. U. Glasses. Saturday Evening, March 28, 1925

A re-union of our students and teachers will be held on Saturday, March 28, at 7 p. m. in the dining-room of the Washington Irving High School.

On this occasion past and present students of our Workers' University Centers and Extension Division will assemble with their friends and instructors and officers of the Union, and spend a few hours in sociability and good fellowship, and enjoy delicious refreshments.

A few informal talks will be made. The evening will end with a dance in the gymnasium on the same floor. This affair is arranged by the Students' Council, which is composed of representatives of our numerous classes. To cover part of the expenses it was decided to charge thirty-five cents admission.

Reservations can be made at once either in person at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, by writing, or by telephoning Chelsea 2148, or with the members of the Students' Council.

It is expected that many more will wish to come than the place can accommodate. Therefore, preference will be given to those present and to former students.

"WHY THE WIVES OF OUR MEMBERS SHOULD STUDY THE LABOR MOVEMENT"

A Lecture in the Bronx on Friday, Evening, March 13

In Local 2 Club Rooms, 1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx, on Friday, March 13, at 8 p. m., there will take

place an interesting lecture on the subject given above. The lecturer will be announced later.

This is the first of a series of lectures arranged by our Educational Department for the wives of our members which will be given in different parts of the city.

SOME PROBLEMS OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Outline of Lecture Given at

Public School 61—Unity Center—Season 1924-25

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

By THERESA WOLFSON

(Continued from Last Week.)

- (b) **Hours:** Workers' organizations throughout the country fight continuously for shorter work-day. Since only a small proportion of women are organized the length of women workers' day has been limited by special legislation in certain States and certain industries. Such special legislation becomes another argument for lower wages—and sex discrimination.
- (c) **Opportunities for Advancement:** Because of lack of training, because of prejudices as to what women can do, the opportunities for advancement for women are even more limited than for men.
- (d) **Greater Costs to Industries Employing Women:** The prevailing idea that women produce less than men, that there is a greater labor turnover among women workers, and that their stay in the trades is a short one, would indicate a tremendous labor cost to industries employing women. There are still 8,500,000 women in industry, with the numbers increasing with each census! There have been few studies made of the relative output of men and women. Until this is done the question is not scientifically answered.
- (e) **Effect Upon the Working Woman:** "Special jobs" for women, plus low wages, tend to keep the woman worker unorganized and lacking in class consciousness. Woman worker is not only sister but also wife of the working man. Economic independence of woman worker forces a change in social concepts of woman.

III. Extent of Trade Union Organization Among Women.

- (a) In 1920 approximately one-fifth of the 8,500,000 women in industry were organized, or about 396,000.

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.
Room 536

Saturday, February 28

1:30 p. m. B. J. R. Stolper—Clear Voices in English and American Literature.

2:30 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Problems of Women in Industry.

Sunday, March 1

10:30 a. m. Arthur W. Calhoun—Economic Psychology—What We Want.

11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Industrial Development of Modern Society: Political Effects of Industrial Revolution.

Saturday, March 7

2:30 p. m. Ben Selekman—Rockefeller Plan—Company Unions.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' BUILDING

3 West 16th Street

Wednesday, March 4

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

Thursday, March 5

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

UNITY CENTERS

Tuesday, March 3

Brooklyn Unity Center—P. S. 61

Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street

6:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Woman's Auxiliary.

Wednesday, March 4

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—Forest, Mine and Power Resources.

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Friday, February 27

Local 2 Club Rooms—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
8:30 p. m. M. Wright—Religion and the Public Schools.

Sunday, March 1

Local 2 Club Rooms—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
11:00 a. m. H. Rogoff—Civilization in America.

Friday, February 27 and March 6

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street
8:00 p. m. Max Levin—The Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Saturday, February 28 and March 7

Local 9 Building—67 Lexington Avenue
1:00 p. m. H. Rogoff—American Civilization.

Sunday, March 1

Cloak Operators' Centre—1629 Lexington Avenue
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Friday, March 6

Russian-Polish Branch—315 East 10th Street
Subject to be announced.

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."

THE ROCKEFELLER PLAN—COMPANY UNIONS

On Saturday, March 7, at 2:30 p. m., in Washington Irving High School, Room 536, Ben Selekman will lecture on "The Rockefeller Plan—Company Unions."

Mr. Selekman made the investigation of the Rockefeller Plan for the Russell Sage Foundation, which recently appeared in book form and caused considerable discussion in the daily press.

WOMAN IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

This Saturday, February 28, at 2 p. m., Theresa Wolfson will lecture on "Woman in the Labor Movement" in Washington Irving High School, Room 536.

Miss Wolfson will discuss the condition of woman in the trade unions and the attitude of some unions toward the admission of women into their organizations.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

At 6:45 o'clock Monday morning there were already present in the office of the union some twenty men, including Manager Dubinsky, Brothers Permutner, Nagler and the writer, the latter being present for the purpose of dispatching the committees which were authorized by the Executive Board to picket the shops with a view to apprehending men who were going to work or working on Washington's Birthday.

Male Districts Covered

In spite of past picketing under similar circumstances, enough men were apprehended to give the Executive Board sufficient cases for its next two sessions. One would suppose that these activities of the union would have served as ample warning to the members apprehended. However, the oft-expressed statement that there will be law-breakers as long as there are laws to be observed will always impel the union to continue this practice.

By 7:15, a total of sixty members had been dispatched and assigned to picket the important thoroughfares leading to important cloak and dress shop districts. In addition to these, men were assigned to such important districts as the Garment Center.

The picketing began at about 7:30 and continued until 9 o'clock. A number of men reporting to work were turned back and warned against proceeding to their shops.

And at 9 o'clock in the morning, in accordance with the instructions of the manager, the committees returned to the office and handed in their reports. The committees, consisting of two and three men each, were given credentials together with a batch of about ten cards, each card bearing the name and address of a shop.

The men then proceeded to the shops and wherever they found cutters at work they instructed them to stop at once and report to the office. In many instances the names, ledger numbers and addresses of the men were secured with instructions that the cutters were to go home.

Previous Offenders Take Head

When the manager was preparing his list of shops which were to be investigated on Washington's Birthday he adopted a plan heretofore untried.

He had the list of the members previously fined for similar violations gone over and cards were made out for each shop in which those members were employed. The result was that the men who were already fined for violations of working on holidays had considered the fine as a lesson and taken it to heart.

The men who were apprehended on Washington's Birthday were practically all first offenders. And in spite of the fact that the trades, cloak and dress, were busy, the number apprehended was not great.

Independent Settlements Continue

The renewal of agreements with independent dress firms continued in the second week of the opening of settlement headquarters. No serious difficulty was encountered, as the employers have shown a willingness to continue their relations with the union.

The Joint Board has assigned about eight business agents, whose duty is exclusively the signing of agreements. As the applications for settlements come in, the employers are notified and appear with a committee of workers. They read the agreement and are acquainted with the new schedules and its other new features. At the conclusion of this the agreement is signed and the workers return to work.

At the time of writing hardly any strikes worth speaking of had been signed because of failure to sign the new agreement.

Cutters' Wages Increase

An examination of the agreements showed that few cutters were being paid less than \$50 per week. Upon informing the employers that the old minimum was increased by \$6, making the new minimum \$56 per week, there was little objection offered on the part of the employers to raising the men who had received \$50 per week to \$55 under the new agreement.

The settlements for the first two days affected some seventy-three cutters. Of this number the majority were receiving from \$50 to \$55 per week, which was from five to ten dollars above the old minimum. Upon the employers of these men were signing their agreements they consented, after little arguing, to raise these men. The increases brought the wages up from fifty to fifty-five dollars and from fifty-five to sixty dollars per week. The men who had been receiving forty-four dollars a week and were raised to fifty dollars were very few in number.

Manager Dubinsky is in daily contact with settlement headquarters and watches every settlement to the end that matters affecting cutters receive proper consideration.

Many Firms Join Association

Quite a number of the employers who, up to the expiration of the old agreement, negotiated with the union independently have joined the Association of Dress Manufacturers. Together with these there are also a number of open shops which the union has succeeded in organizing who have also joined the Association.

It is expected that by the time all agreements will have been renewed the list of independent shops will be somewhat smaller than it has been in the past. This is expected to give the union a good deal more work. And this is largely so because of the machinery of adjustment. It takes more time to adjust a case with an employer who is a member of the Association.

It will no doubt be for this reason that Local 10 will have to make investigations independent of the Joint Board, so as to speed this up following the present readjustment. These investigations by Local 10 would already have been in force but for a lack of the necessary men.

Manager Dubinsky has realized this and for the meantime he refers these investigations to the Joint Board. As soon as the dull period sets in, as in the past, cutters will be assigned to the task of making special investigations. For the present, cutters must not fail to report violations and should change their working cards for the new scales.

An Executive Board Case

There are types who appear before the Executive Board whose natures are beyond understanding. A type in point is Isidore Gardner, whose ledger number, 2402, signifies long affiliation with the union and whose appearance immediately sets him down as a grand-father.

He was first summoned before the Executive Board about four weeks ago on a charge of working overtime in excess of the number of hours permitted by the union's rules. The Executive Board was then divided as to whether he should be taken off the job.

Some members were in favor of this action because it was Gardner's third offense. He had been previously fined on having been found guilty of committing a number of violations. Somehow, his aged appearance prompted the Executive Board to further investigate his case. Investigation showed his absolute guilt and he was accordingly ordered off the job. He

subsequently appeared and requested permission to continue working in this shop two weeks longer.

This permission was granted him purely on the ground of his age. On Sunday, February 8, one of the weeks during which Gardner was given this special permission to work in this shop, a committee, going through shops, entered Gardner's shop and found him working. It was 9:30 a. m.

The brother was again summoned before the Executive Board and his only plea was that his employer, of the Henry Seifert Dress Company, had begged him to do some special work. Of course, he was once more fined. When Gardner stood before the Executive Board, the members were at a loss in their attempt to understand him. There he calmly stood before the Board with a smile on his face, enjoying the laugh which he, himself, prompted.

Complete Preparations for Annual Affairs

That the Ball Committee will not spare any pains in making the next annual affair, a big success is announced by Isidore Nagler, the chairman.

One of the first steps in this direction was the assurance by Brother Louis Zwilling, leader of his orchestra, that all efforts will be made to render exceptionally good music.

The ball, as the members no doubt know by this time, will take place on Saturday evening, April 4, at the Hunt Point Palace, 163rd Street and Southern Boulevard. Each member, according to the decision of the membership, is taxed with one ticket, which will be sent by mail. Members desiring to invite their friends should secure tickets in advance.

The price of tickets purchased in advance is fifty cents. Friends of members who fail to secure these in advance will be charged one dollar at the door.

Members Aid Miners Through Local 10

Members will recall the appeal printed in these columns about two weeks ago for the miners of District No. 17 of West Virginia and District No. 23 of Kentucky, who have been engaged in a strike, in some instances, for as long as three and a half years.

The manager has made a personal appeal to the members at a recent meeting, during the course of which he said that bundles of old clothes could be sent to Local 10's office, which in turn would forward them to their proper destination. Hence, members who are in a position to aid the miners in this manner should forward their packages to the union's office.

Independent Miscellaneous Shops Settle

As the general strike in the miscellaneous trades entered its second week, the number of members out on strike and the number of shops affected diminished considerably. This was due to settlements effected with the Independent Underwear shops and with the majority of the shops in the House Dress, Bath Robe and Children's Dress trades.

By the time this copy of Justice reaches the hands of the members, the great majority of the Local 91 shops, in which are employed children's dress, bath-robe and house dress workers, will have resumed work. The only firms in these trades who resisted the union are the non-union

shops, the workers of which have gone out on strike in response to the union's call.

Settlements with the employers who were in contractual relations with Locals 10 and 91 began last Saturday, February 21st, and continued through Sunday and Washington's Birthday.

The minimum wages of the cutters were increased from forty to forty-four dollars per week. Wages of cutters receiving more than forty dollars per week were raised correspondingly.

The settlements effected with the Independent Underwear shops also resulted in considerable increases for the cutters of this industry. Towards the latter part of this week practically every Independent shop was settled.

Strike Centered on Association and Non-Union Shops

With the settlements effected between the union and Independent underwear shops, as well as with the children's dress, bath-robe and house dress shops, the union is afforded the means to carry on its fight with the Association and open shops.

The many arrests of pickets and the hiring of private guards to keep the strikers from picketing Association shops has but increased the determination on the part of the union and the workers to win. The demand by the union that the Association concede to it the right to review discharges is largely responsible for the present struggle in the underwear trade.

Brother Philip Harnel has given his time over to the supervision of settlements with the firms of the Local 91 shops. Brother Edward Krieger, in addition to being in charge of the striking cutters at Arlington Hall, is also aiding Brother Morris Alovio, who is vice-chairman of the Picket Committee, in picketing the shops.

SPECIAL NOTICES

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 also are required to procure working cards upon securing a job and return them upon being laid off.

Dress and Waist Cutters

On Tuesday, February 24, 1925, the new agreement in the dress and waist trades became effective. Cutters in these trades, therefore, 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.

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CUTTERS', 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.