

"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. 14.

New York, Friday, April 3, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

Report of Cloak Investigators Ready; Hearing Before Commission this Saturday

President Sigman Summons Union Conference Committee to Meet on Thursday Afternoon, April 2—Hearing Before Governor's Commission to Take Place in Bar Association Building—Report of Experts Covers 160 Pages

The investigation of the cloak and suit industry of New York, ordered last Summer by the Special Mediation Commission, appointed by Governor Smith, is completed. After months of surveying and examining conditions in the cloak trade, the group of experts authorized to carry out the investigation placed early this week before the members of the commission a report of their findings.

The report contains nearly 160 pages. It is replete with facts and

shows abundant signs of painstaking and honest research. It, however, withholds definite recommendations, leaving conclusions to be reached from the material gathered in the course of the investigation and embodied in the report to the conferees and the members of the Special Mediation Commission which will begin at once to hold hearings to ascertain the opinions of all factors in the industry on the report. Yet, even a scant perusal of the pages of the report, though it refrains

from making special recommendations, is enough to impress the reader that most of the contentions of the workers, as embodied in their demands last Summer, are borne out by the findings of the experts.

The investigation, which was an outcome of the threatened general strike in the cloak and suit industry last Summer, was conducted by Dr. John Dickinson of Harvard University and Morris Kolchin, a statistician. (Continued on Page 2.)

Union Begins to Install Label and Insurance Fund in Dress Industry

Meeting of Shop-Chairmen and of Price Committees Held This Thursday in Stuyvesant Casino

The new agreement in dress industry of New York, as is generally known, contains several trade reforms which have to be introduced without undue delay. Among the most important innovations are the introduction of an unemployment insurance fund and the sanitary union label.

The agreement went into effect on February 24. Due to some serious misinterpretations placed by the jobbers on the effectiveness of the price schedule of the new agreement, the introduction of these measures was held up for several weeks, until the differences were finally straightened out.

The first step in the direction of establishing the unemployment fund and of the union label was taken at a big meeting of all dress shop chairmen and price committees on Thursday, April

2, after work hours, at Stuyvesant Casino. The rules covering the adoption of these two reforms, as enunciated in the agreement, were stated to the chairmen and committeemen and made explicit through a general discussion from the floor which followed.

Among those who addressed the meeting were:
President Morris Sigman, Secretary

Abraham Baroff, Israel Feinberg, General Manager of the Joint Board; Dr. Henry Moskowitz, Director of the Label Department of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control; Julius Hochman, Manager of the Dress Division of the Joint Board; Luigi Antonini, Manager of the Italian Dress and Waist Makers' Union, Local 89, and Brother A. Ancel, Chairman of the Joint Board, who presided.

Gompers' Life-Long Secretary/ Comments On I.L.G.W.U. History

Luis Marones, Mexican Labor Chief and Secretary of Labor, Sends Laudatory Note

Mrs. L. Lee Guard, for a score of years confidential secretary and trusted co-worker of the late Samuel

Gompers, has sent President Morris Sigman a note of thanks for the copy of Dr. Louis Levin's book, "The Women's Garment Workers," forwarded to her. Miss Guard is widely known throughout the American Labor movement as an erudite student and a gifted writer on Labor subjects. The letter reads:

Dear Mr. Sigman:

I have not yet been able to read completely the history of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, which you so kindly sent me but I have gone far enough to appreciate that it is most illuminating and fascinatingly interesting. Dr. Levine has forcefully and clearly presented the dramatic struggle of the Ladies' Garment Workers. He has with equal vividness portrayed their great progress, achieved

through their collective activities, but above all he has told the story of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and made the reader realize the tremendous power which the International Union has in the lives of those whose destinies are shaped by the constant stitch-stitch, the whirl-whirl of the sewing machine, the sharp glint of the scissors through the cloth. What a marvelous contribution it would be to trade-union literature if the history of each trade organization could be written and made a matter of permanent record as has been done in the case of your organization!

Again I thank you for sending the volume to me. I am looking forward to reading it in full.

Sincerely yours,

R. LEE GUARD.

President Sigman also received a warm note from Luis Marones, the leader of the Mexican Confederation of Labor and at present the Secretary of Labor in President Calles' Cabinet, containing high praise of the book.

Philadelphia Dress Makers Preparing for Tenth Anniversary

In a communication just received from Brother Abraham Bloomfield, secretary of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waist Makers' Union of Philadelphia, Local 50, stress is laid by him on the hectic preparations being made by this local for the celebration of its ten years of existence, next May. The dressmakers' organization in Philadelphia is, undoubtedly, now in the midst of a very healthy revival and the jubilee event next month will, it is expected, add zest and spirit to the effort of the workers to regain their former footing, as a 100 per cent organization, in the industry. Among other things, Brother Bloomfield writes:

"As a result of our campaign work which culminated in the strengthening of our local, the members feel that a big affair should be arranged to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Union. The committee of five elected from the Joint Board and of the ten elected at the member meeting are at present jointly working out plans for this affair.

"The anniversary brings to our mind many eventful memories of the ten years which have gone by. They were years of fight and of

achievement and advance. We have all worked in common to raise our standards of life and for attaining a higher ideal of human existence.

"We are glad to mention here that the old fighting spirit of our organization is returning now, Sister Clara Weiss, the chairlady of a recently reorganized shop (from a preferential to Class A), was once more presented by her co-workers in the shop with a useful and artistic gift as a token of appreciation of her untiring devotion to bring the shop to a real Union standing.

"Sister Bertha Shaffer, chairlady of a prominent waist shop, was also again presented with a beautiful gift for her enduring patience in adjusting differences arising in the shop. Dora Breitrose, Anna Rubinstein and Nathan Tucker, the price committee of another old-established firm, and for ten years a good Union shop, were presented with gifts by their co-workers in recognition of their services.

"These are but a few healthy signs through which we may glimpse the return of a much stronger Union in the Philadelphia dress and waist industry."

Cloak Chairmen Hold A Successful Meeting

Adopt Several Important Decisions for Immediate Action

The meeting of the cloak shop chairmen of the new District No. 1, summoned for last Saturday by its new manager, Vice-president Meyer Perlstein, met with splendid success. The attendance was excellent, and the speeches delivered by Vice-presidents Feinberg and Perlstein were received enthusiastically.

Brother Harry Schuster, the com-

plaint clerk of District No. 1, acted as chairman of the meeting. The speakers discussed with the chairmen a number of trade and organization problems and made suggestions which were later adopted to go into effect at once. Among the decisions sanctioned by the meeting, none calls for regular bi-monthly meetings of shop (Continued on page 2.)

Chicago Unemployment Fund Expert to Attend N. Y. Fund Meeting

Unemployment Benefit in New York to Become Operative Soon

The current season in the cloak industry is drawing to a close, and very soon a number of cloakmakers will be applying for unemployment benefit, to which they will be entitled under the regulation which sets June 1, 1925, as the date for beginning of payments.

The Chairman of the Fund, Mr. Arthur D. Wolf, has summoned the Board of the fund's trustees to a special meeting to confer on the adoption of final rules and regulations to govern the application of the fund. In accordance with a decision previously adopted, Mr. B. M. Squires, the Treasurer of the Unemployment Insurance Fund of the Chicago Men's Clothing Industry, has been invited to attend this meeting to discuss some of the practical sides of the distribution of out-of-work benefits in vogue in the field covered by the Chicago clothing workers' fund.

The meeting will be held at the Harmon Club on Thursday evening, April 2. Representing the Union on the Board of Trustees are—President Sigman, Israel Feinberg and Morris Hillquit.

Report of Cloak Investigators Ready; Hearings Begin This Saturday

(Continued from Page 1)

under the direction of Professor Lindsay Rogers of Columbia University, a member of the Governor's Special Mediation Commission. The members of the commission are George Gordon Battle, chairman; Herbert H. Lehman, Judge Bernard L. Shientag and Arthur D. Wolf.

A summary of the investigators' findings, issued by the commission, states that "while there has been a marked increase in wages since 1914, their proportion to the total value of the product has actually fallen from 17.5 per cent to 14.9 per cent. This is accounted for mostly by the great rise in the cost of woolen cloth and other basic materials and the more extensive use of fur and other expensive trimmings."

Earn \$2,016 in Big Shops

The report, said to be the most comprehensive on actual conditions in the cloak and suit industry, summarizes the growth of the industry for the last twenty-five years, and continues:

"Workers in the women's cloak and suit industries of New York, if they are in large shops, get forty weeks of employment and average yearly earnings of \$2,016.

"If the workers are in the smaller sub-manufacturing shops they have only thirty-one and a half weeks' employment and annual earnings of \$1,915. The small shops account for three-fourths of the New York production, which has an annual value of \$370,000,000 and is 80 per cent of the entire national production."

The report dwells extensively on the questions of limitation of contracts, minimum labor costs, unemployment, turnover among sub-manufacturers and analysis of earnings. Among the points cited as being beyond dispute are the following:

The number of shops in the industry has been increasing and the size of the shops has been decreasing. Under present conditions about one-third of the sub-manufacturing shops in the industry go out of business every year.

More complaints per worker are made by the union against sub-manufacturers than against inside shops, and greater percentages of the complaints against sub-manufacturers relate to working conditions and wages.

Approximately 67 per cent of the workers receive wages above the minimum scale; 80 per cent are at the scale and 13 per cent are below the scale.

The determination of a real or actual labor cost as a basis for a minimum price between sub-manufacturer and jobber is impossible, but the approximation of a standard cost by agreement between the parties is feasible.

Governor Smith Gratified

Governor Smith, who received a copy of the report, said: "I have just received a copy of the report of the survey, which contains material that will undoubtedly be of the greatest aid in improving the future standards of this important industry. It is significant because it is the first time in the history of the industry that they will endeavor to solve their problems on a basis of scientific fact-finding.

"I cannot help at this time expressing my appreciation to the Commission and to all the parties in the industry for the intelligent way in which they are endeavoring to reach a solution of their difficulties, so as to do justice both to workers and manufacturers."

Hearings Before Governor's Commission Begin This Saturday

On Tuesday morning, March 31, President Sigman received an official announcement from the chairman of Governor Smith's Special Mediation Commission, Mr. George Gordon Battle, informing him that the report of the expert investigators is ready and that it will be officially presented at a hearing before the Commission which will hold sessions on Saturday and Sunday, April 4 and 5. All the manufacturers' associations in the industry which are in contractual relations with the Union have been invited to attend the hearings, in the Bar Association Building, 42 West 44th street.

Union Conference Committee Meets Thursday

President Sigman forthwith summoned the conference committee of the Union to meet in the Council Room of the I. L. G. W. U. Building on Thursday afternoon, April 2.

The conference committee consists of President Morris Sigman, chair-

Civil Liberties Union Demands Communists State Position on Breaking Up Meetings

Town Hall Disturbance and Abramovich Meetings Raise Free Speech Issue

A demand on the Workers' Party National Executive Committee at Chicago to state the party's position on breaking up opponents' meetings in view of the party's own "demands for free speech" was sent this week by a committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, following the recent disorder at the Town Hall meeting in New York City held to discuss political prisoners all over the world. The Union also refers to the forcible breaking up by the Workers' party of meetings addressed by Dr. Rafael Abramovich, a Socialist now touring the United States lecturing on Soviet Russia. The Union's communication is signed by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Roger N. Baldwin and Professor Robert Morris Lovett.

The Workers' party is asked for a "clear-cut statement" on the follow-

ing questions: (1) Do you endorse breaking up opponents' meetings by continuous demonstrations which prevent such meetings being carried on? (2) If you do not endorse these tactics, will you set limits to heckling and expressions of disapproval which will ensure such meetings being carried through? (3) Does the party both in principle and in fact concede the same civil rights to its opponents as it demands for itself?

The committee characterizes the situation created by the Workers' party as "intolerable." It says: "You ask for the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union in the fight for your civil rights and yet you yourselves deny those rights to others." The committee says that the central executive committee of the Workers' party, in replying to a previous communication, stated that they did not endorse breaking up meetings but that they reserved the right to conduct demonstrations against their opponents, "which have had the practical effect."

Cloak Chairmen Hold Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

chairmen in all sub-districts with their respective business agents. District No. 1 has nine such sub-districts with nine business agents and these are to keep regularly in touch with the shop chairmen through the means of these meetings.

Once a month the shop chairmen of the entire district are to meet and to discuss larger trade matters and the important problems of the day in the industry. In this manner, it is expected, the administration of the district will be able to keep in close contact with the rank and file of the workers and their needs.

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With the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board

Meeting Friday, March 27

The minutes of the last meeting of the Joint Board are adopted as read.

Communications

Local No. 2 informs the Board that they have approved the minutes of the Joint Board of March 20, with the exception of the report submitted by the Election Committee regarding the quota of the Local No. 22 as Business Agents elected. The Local recommends that the fourteen candidates who received the highest number of votes should be declared elected to represent Local No. 22 as Business Agents of the Joint Board, instead of thirteen as reported in the Joint Board minutes, in view of the fact that the ballot called for the election of fourteen Business Agents.

The Local also disapproved the contribution to the "Veecker."

Local No. 89 notified the Board that they have approved the minutes of the Joint Board of March 13.

Brother M. Cooper, Local No. 2, is appointed to represent his Local at the Grievance Committee.

Secretary-Treasurer Fish reads the resignation submitted by Brother Israel Horowitz, former Manager of the Associated Dress Department.

Brother Horowitz states, in his communication, that on March 13, due to the disapproval of his Local's delegates at the Joint Board, he then declined as chief clerk. However, when Brother Lupin stated, in behalf of the delegates that this was not a vote against him personally, but against the General Manager's recommendation, he accepted the office. Nevertheless, his Executive Board of Local No. 22, which is the administrative body, has failed to approve his appointment. He therefore feels that he

cannot serve the membership having the opposition of his own Local.

Brother Horowitz thanks the membership for the confidence they placed in him during the time he was connected with this organization and assures the delegates of his readiness to do his share whenever called upon.

Brother Horowitz's resignation is discussed, and by a vote of 31 against 16 it is rejected.

Special Committee Report

The committee, which was appointed by the Joint Board to investigate the charge filed by Local No. 48 against Local No. 9 for calling their members to the Grievance Committee of Local No. 9 and fining them, reports that Local No. 9 has admitted its guilt. The committee therefore recommends that the Joint Board should instruct Local No. 9 not to commit such violations in the future.

The report of the committee is approved.

Finance Committee Report

The Finance Committee reports that a committee of Local No. 9 requested them to purchase tickets for a benefit they are running for two of their members, who are very ill.

The Committee recommends that this undertaking be assisted with \$50.

The Finance Committee also recommends the purchase of two boxes for the farewell evening to be accorded Comrade Abrahamowitz by the Jewish Socialist Verband.

The Committee also recommends the donation of \$10 towards the Beth Abraham Home for incurables.

The recommendations of the Finance Committee are concurred with.

JOSEPH FISH,
Secretary-Treasurer.

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 where all income is entered.
2. The specially 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 when 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.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CONTROL, REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of "JUSTICE," published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 3, 1925.

State of New York, 1925.

County of New York, 1925.

I, before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared H. A. Schoolman, who, having been duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the Publisher, Editor and Manager of the above entitled publication, and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management and control of the said publication for the date above stated, in accordance with the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 441, Postal Laws and Regulations, U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 37, page 709.

I, that the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.; Editor, H. A. Schoolman, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, H. A. Schoolman, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, H. A. Schoolman, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

I, that the owner is: If the publication is owned by an individual, his name and address; or if owned by more than one individual, the names and addresses of each owner; or if the publication is owned by a corporation, the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders own-

ing or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given.) International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.; H. A. Schoolman, President, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.; Abraham Baroff, Secretary, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

I, that the known stockholders, mortgagees, and security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

I, that the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in case where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as a trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation to whom the trust is being, is given; also that the two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders do or do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities, in other fiduciary capacity than by loans to officers and; this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, firm, association, or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities, than as so stated by him.

H. A. SCHOOLMAN,
Sworn to and affirmed before me this 1st day of March, 1925.
[Notary Public in and for the State of New York, expires August 30, 1925.]

In Local 38

By BORIS DRASIN

Since my last report in Justice many things worth nothing have happened in our local. The dull season has passed and the busy season is now at hand. The present season started a little later than usual.

We have had hardships in our organization with the placing of some of our unemployed on jobs. This worry is now over—almost all our jobs are working. However, the fact that we were in danger of remaining with workers ready to work but unable to find employment, has brought us face to face with the question of establishing an unemployment fund, as an emergency fund for the future. The care of unemployed is a necessity, and our membership has accepted in principle the establishment of such a fund. The executive board is now working out plans to bring this fund into existence. The plans partly are that not only such as are without jobs altogether, but also such as are working but are short on the regular season time, shall be compensated from this fund. When completed, the plans will be referred to the membership for approval and members are asked not to fail to be present at that meeting, of which they will be notified.

The start of the season was marked by Union activity in many directions. There were cases of discharge, underpaying, complaints on the part of workers about some employers trying to break, and some actually breaking the agreement. Some of the latter were the cause of the workers being called out on strike. Other cases were settled in a peaceful manner. It all depended on the employer, as to how far he could afford to indulge in a hopeless fight with the Union. All other cases were won by the Union.

Together with all that goes our usual seasonal organization drive. Whenever a shop worth while tackling is found, we find members willing to help to organize these shops. But let it be said here that if more members would interest themselves in organization work, much more could be accomplished. As it is, with the help of some of our active members, we have succeeded in settling our troubles. Invariably, whenever new shop we tackled, the result has been the unionization of the shop.

I believe that we can boast of the fact that our Union is getting stronger and stronger as time goes on. Our membership is increasing and a good spirit prevails. One of the signs that such a spirit really does prevail is evidenced by the fact that we are about to celebrate our second anniversary of the existence of our newly chartered Local No. 38, and also an appreciation of the help in the way made by our local since its separation from Local 3.

This celebration will be in the form of a banquet to be held April 30, the eve of May 1. A committee has been on the job for some time and will succeed, undoubtedly, in making this affair a grand success. In fact, it can be said with a degree of certainty that the affair promises to be

a very interesting one and will turn out to be a gala affair. A number of very fine artists are being engaged to entertain. There will be music and dancing. Our members are invited to come with their wives and friends, and we feel sure they will enjoy themselves to their hearts' content. More about this matter will be mentioned in the following numbers of Justice. Meanwhile tickets are on sale at the office, and subscription lists have been sent out to the shop chairman.

The necessity of organizing the dressmaking trade is doubtless a thing that has to be explained to our membership. The every-day complaints brought to the office by our members, who both feel and see the great competition between the unorganized female dressmakers and the organized union tailors, is sufficient proof of the fact that our membership have grasped the immediate and imminent danger resulting from this. Immediate measures to fully organize the dressmakers must be taken.

There is a great gap between a just understanding of a situation and the readiness to sacrifice oneself to bring about improvement. It seems that in the latter we are lacking. All efforts in the direction of awakening this latent power and energy of even our more active members has been unsatisfactory. There are still not enough members ready to do this absolutely necessary work of organization.

A joint organization committee of Local 90 and our local is now at work under the supervision of a very able and capable organizer, Miss Alexis Smith. The office of the two locals are doing all in their power to help this work along. The group of active workers in this organization campaign is far from being as large as desired to enable us to accomplish our task. The attention of our members is, therefore, called, and they are urgently requested to enroll in the army of volunteers for this purpose.

In the near future there are many more important matters in our local to be taken up and decided upon. One of them is the question of amalgamation with Local 90. The participation of the membership at large in disposing of the matters on hand is very necessary. It is expected that our future meetings will be well attended. A joint committee of our local and Local 90 are already at work as to where and how this amalgamation should take place. All these plans will be referred to the membership for consideration and final approval.

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A Labor Weekly

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

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No Wage Reductions—No Going Back

By WILLIAM GREEN
President, American Federation of Labor

Employers everywhere are much interested in forecasts about whether 1925 is going to be a good year for business. Experts have for some weeks been busy making tabulations and forecasts about the year just ahead. They study the steel business, look up orders now in hand and calculate prospective orders. They study figures on railroad shipments. They dig into foreign markets and finally they emerge with the general prediction that 1925 is going to be a good year.

Everyone hopes so. At any rate, almost everyone hopes so. There is always the meandering propagandist who thrives on misery and who drags out his soap box wherefrom to preach that the world is all wrong and getting worse.

But 1925 is going to be a good year only on condition that the industrial world recognizes certain most important facts and acts in accordance with those facts.

For some months there has been much unemployment. The whole horizon has not been united with the hues of roses. Many thousands of workers have been idle. Consequently they have been unable to buy for themselves the desirable commodities that go to make life decent and fair.

The optimists may say that the situation has been normal for the winter season. The pessimists will say that unemployment has been acute. Both are, to an extent, right. Perhaps it may then be said that the situation has been acutely normal. In any event, improvement is not rapid, though there is improvement.

When last unemployment was acute there was appointed a presidential commission to inquire into the facts about unemployment and to devise preventive measures so that never again would the wage earners be so victimized by an industrial system over which they had so little control or influence.

The President's commission tolled long and undoubtedly it tolled faithfully. Finally voluminous reports were spread before the public. Recommendations were made, some of them calling for action by the Government itself, not in a paternalistic manner, but in a constructive manner involving the furnishing of legitimate work.

The past winter has shown no indication of the materialization of those recommendations. Unintelligent forces have proceeded in their customarily chaotic manner to produce their logical progeny. The wise governing action which was to smooth the waves was not forthcoming.

Experience teaches that those who rely most on their own efforts are least often disappointed. Unquestionably civilization is working toward a time when periodical slumps into inactivity will be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of incompetence, but meanwhile something must be done besides hope.

The trade union is *l'ŷus far* the most effective weapon against unemployment ever devised. The trade union movement has stopped and cured more unemployment than any other agency. It has done this by the simplest of methods. It has reduced the hours of labor per day. It has raised the rates of pay. It has fostered the development of machinery. It has steadily taught the workers to demand and secure better conditions of living, higher standards in everything. Before those straightforward measures, unemployment has steadily receded.

The results of this simple trade union policy have been so obvious that practically all economists recognize them. Many employers see their value. But always there are some who do not.

At present some of the important employers in the New England textile industry are engaged in the attempt to reduce wages. In their short-sightedness they undoubtedly believe this policy is to their own advantage. They believe they can save profits by reducing wages. Their plea to the public is that they cannot afford to pay present wage rates. That is always the plea. If they were to tell the broad truth they would say that no industry can afford to pay less than a fair wage, less than the highest possible wage. Wage reductions in the textile industry will not help that industry or any other. All will be hurt.

The textile mills have never paid fair wages. Textile wages have always been low, in comparison to wages in other industries. The textile industry, almost more than any other, has employed children. It has been a debasing business, grinding profits out of too often defenseless men, women and children. But it has amassed millions for a few employers. The textile industry ought to take a good look at itself and start down a new road.

To a large extent the history of misery and dependence is written in the record of wage reductions. To a much greater extent the record of happiness, well-being, prosperity and growing civilization is written in wage increases. Just a few months ago the United States Steel Corporation raised wages. The reason doesn't matter much. The effect was magnificent. It made for human happiness.

Just recently certain independent coal operators, running on a non-union basis in the coke region of Pennsylvania, raised wages. In spite of the fact that these companies operate on a non-union basis, their action in raising wages was deeply significant and it helped many struggling families to a fuller enjoyment of life. And that good effect was passed on to other workers in other cities and in other industries.

Years ago, when the Carpenters' Union stood out from the ranks and demanded and got the eight-hour day, more history was made than had been made by most wars prior to that time. Humanity was being given a fairer chance.

So it has always been with such things.

The unions have built up standards of life and living, carefully, step by step. When the United Mine Workers took the breaker boys out of the mines they gave slaves a chance to become men and fit American citizens. The International Typographical Union has saved thousands of lives by the regulations it has induced employers to accept. The cigarmakers of today live longer than the cigarmakers of a decade ago because of what the union has done. The union apprentice system has kept thousands of boys in school and helped to preserve family standards of living.

These are the constructive works of unions. These are the simple measures taken by the workers through their organizations. These are the direct and specific actions that have brought results.

How feeble and ignoble a contribution it is to industry when employers come offering reductions of wages! "We come to take away," is the wage reducer's chant. "We come to destroy."

It has not yet been thoroughly learned that every industry that reduces wages hurts every other industry and thus creates an effect on human life much like the effect that is created on water by the casting of a pebble. The waves roll on in circles after circles. If the wages of carpenters are reduced, then carpenters must buy fewer textiles. If the wages of textile workers are reduced, then textile workers have less money with which to buy the commodities of other workers. First, they eat poorer food. Then they make the old shoes last longer. Then they burn less coal, or no coal at all. So it goes. Every center of depression radiates depression in concentric rings.

Perhaps the textile mills will not be alone in the effort to reduce wages. Perhaps some other employers may be as blind to their own welfare and as blind to the general welfare of all industry and of the people generally. Perhaps it will be so. It has been before.

At such times there is but one course of action for the workers. They must resist wage reductions. They must resist to the end. They must stand together to prevent the destruction of standards that have been built up. They must fight against being driven backward.

Today it is the textile workers. Tomorrow it may be someone else. Whoever is attacked must resist. To be driven in submission may be the role of the dumb beast. It is not the part of men!

What will the textile workers do? Will they "stand and take it?" Or will they stand and fight? They can fight, for they have proved it on many a field of battle. If the employers in the textile industry can reduce wages, then other employers, equally foolish, will attempt the same policy. Every group that resists does so, not for itself alone, but for all workers. Wherever a group forges ahead it opens a pathway in which all others sooner or later follow. Wherever a group submits to being driven back, it leaves a breach through which others sooner or later may be driven. Elaborate schemes for the staggard of unemployment haven't amounted to much. But the unions of the workers, by their steadfast resistance to wage reductions, can and must hold the lines. There is no better, surer method of cutting down unemployment. Wage reductions are the first steps toward complete idleness.

Let there be no backward steps anywhere!

UNION HEALTH CENTER NEWS

Readers of *Justice* are advised that the Union Health Center is again prepared to undertake the performance of operations on adenoids and adenoids for members and for their families. The extent of the demand for such services in the past has proved exclusively the need for having the Union Health Center do this type of work and has also shown that the members and their families appreciate the class of service which the Union Health Center has provided. Do not suffer from bad tonsils. Let the Union Health Center cure them. Charges for operations on tonsils and adenoids will be: twenty-five dollars for children, and twenty dollars for adults. Make your appointments NOW.

The Educational Department of our International is serving our membership in many capacities. There you can get information about our educational activities. It is open from nine o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening.

3 West 16th Street

Chelsea 2148



Good News from Abroad

By NORMAN THOMAS

Some foreign news is very pleasing these days. Japan has at least adopted universal manhood suffrage, bringing the number of its eligible voters up from 3,000,000 to 14,000,000. We hope this evidence of the advance of politics to democracy will make some impression on our susceptible fellow citizens who always see in Japan a vague but horrifying yellow menace with hordes of little fighters absolutely subservient to a military dictatorship.

The German presidential election is another ground for encouragement. Again, the Social Democrats proved the strongest single party. Although the candidate of the Nationalist (Menschel) bloc got the most votes, a union of Socialists with the other Republicans ought easily to elect a president pledged to the preservation of the Republic.

Meanwhile, slowly and with difficulty, Europe is settling down. The proposed treaty of security between Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and their old enemy Germany may not be ideal—but it is a long step from Poincaré's notion of holding Germany in a kind of permanent subjection. The next step should be to find a peaceful way of rectifying from time to time the injustices and absurdities of the peace treaties in Central Europe. What Europe needs is an abatement of nationalism which will permit a kind of United States of Europe to be formed.

Senate Abuse and the Stock Market

We think that the newspaper abuse of the Senate is largely undeserved and arises from the fact that the Senate has uncovered corruption in high places and in the administration or outside pressure into giving away outside shares for a song. Nevertheless the Senate has anything but a clean bill of health. Its handling of foreign affairs especially leaves room for improvement. It did well in refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, but its 20-year delay in ratifying the late of Pines Treaty, its outrageous bad manners dealing with Japan, and its refusal thus far even to discuss a proper fashion action on the World Court, and the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, are grounds for most serious criticism. There is no sabler man or better public servant in the Senate today than Mr. Borah, who by the accident of seniority is chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. We look to Mr. Borah's leadership rather than to the fustianations of the doughty General Dawes for needful reforms in the Senate procedure. At any rate, Mr. Borah, unlike our worthy Vice-President, has never been caught asleep when a critical vote was taken.

Why were the big interests and the newspapers behind them furious over the Senate's rejection of Warren, and disgusted at Coolidge's backdown following so closely after his gesture of defiance? One of the reasons, perhaps, was found in a statement in the financial columns of the New York Times the day after final rejection of Warren. The stock market had broken badly, and the Times said that a chief reason for the break was Warren's rejection. In other words, the stock market, which embarked on a debauch of speculation following Coolidge's election, was frightened the minute it discovered that he would not turn over the country and all that was in it to them.

Confession by Flight

Colonel Robert W. Stewart, Chairman of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, has turned up. He arrived in New York the very day after the

suit to cancel the Teapot Dome lease had gone to the judge. He was one of a group of prominent oil men wanted by the Government to trace the Continental Trading Company deal in which Albert H. Fall or his agents are alleged to have profited by some \$200,000 in Liberty Bonds about the time that the Teapot Dome lease was signed. Colonel Stewart now explains that he didn't know he was wanted. Either that explanation is false or the Government attorneys were exceedingly careless. We confess to an uneasy feeling that the Government has not pushed this case with anything like the zeal which it has shown in going after its critics like Senator Cossens and Senator Wheeler. But we do not believe that it was a mere coincidence that Colonel Stewart, like the other oil men, left the country when he did and managed to return just one day too late to testify. If the Standard Oil Company of Indiana continues that sort of man as its chief executive it will give new evidence of the public-be-damned attitude of the oil industry in general.

"Labor No Longer A Commodity"

By GEORGE E. KIRKPATRICK

In a lengthy list of the late Samuel Comper's achievements for the cause of Labor it is soberly set down that by virtue of legislation and court decisions due to his influence, "Labor is no longer a commodity."

Well, if Labor is really no longer a commodity and if Labor ceased to be a commodity through the influence of Mr. Comper, his name would endure for at least forty millenniums in consequence of that one achievement.

But let us look about a little before we begin carving the marble and etching the copper with this achievement. Write to the chamber of commerce in each of a hundred cities, selected at random, representing that you are on the lookout for a location favorable for the establishing of a manufacturing enterprise, almost any manufac-

turing enterprise; representing also that you are rather specially interested in the matter of the quality and plentifulness of labor in locating your enterprise.

Promptly a hundred or more courteous letters and plenty of handsomely printed literature will come, setting forth the advantages of each—and all of these hundred cities. A number of "peculiar advantages" in each locality will be set forth. But one remarkable "advantage," claimed by each of them, will be common to all of them—according to the literature. That advantage will be, as represented, that labor is plentiful—and cheap.

Just as fuel would be mentioned as to its local cost to consumers, just as hydro-electric power would be men-

Over all lands, a whisper,
Under all seas a word,
And he who has made this world what it is—
Bowled Labor — he has heard.

Thinks he I come of a race of brutes,
Tillers and killers and such,
Whose life was a feeding, a tilling and breeding,
And their joys was none too much?

Thinks he they tolled for their few hard matters
Of castle and church and court;
Many a million, many a million
Ached for an idler's sport?

Thinks he our masters have given us light
Better their rule to obey;
And the brutes must pass away?

Thinks he the heavens are touched with wings,
And land is whispering land?
My brothers are reading as well as feeding;
There's print in the callous hand.

Thinks he we've paid in ages of sweat—
Must we pay again; and again?
What if black ink shall set us to think,
And thinking shall make us men?

Over all lands a whisper,
Under all seas a word,
And he who has made this world what it is—
Bowled Labor — he has heard.
Machines need brains to get good gains,

tioned as to its cost to the prospective manufacturer, just as freight rates or carriage costs would be set forth, so also the low or "fair" cost of local labor would be engagingly set forth as a come-on bait to the prospective manufacturer.

The American Civil War is sometimes referred to as "the late unpleasantness." The number of casualties, however, is not materially reduced by means of such a suave and glittering euphemism applied to war or to any thing else essentially terrible or degrading. One can imagine a thousand chattel slaves roused from their sleep means of an entorito. That, however, would not change their slave status at all. Or, much clearer, a chattel slave could be whipped with a silk rope instead of a leather lash. Both would be effective in cutting the slave's skin and equally reddened with the slave's blood. And it does not seem likely that the chattel slave could be fattered into the belief that the silk lash was appreciably more desirable than the leather thong. Even a court decision that the skin-cutting silk whip was not a whip would not be convincing. The manner and purpose of applying the silk lash and the pain and loss of blood would receive the chattel slave's intelligent attention and convince him that changing the name of the silk lash did not at all change its nature.

But, then, wage-slaves are different. They do not "sell" their labor-power. Not a bit of it. Quite too proud for such low commerce, they do a more respectable thing. With careful amiability, fraternal intention, and high mutuality in the great understanding of the industrial enterprise so lovingly carried on by the affectionately heavenly twins, Capital and Labor, the wage-workers gaily (but regularly) exchange their energy, intelligence, skill and time for mere momentos, such as pork-and-beans and other objects d'art, the nature of which is playfully concealed with the name wages.

GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY!

The Office of the International, 3 West 16th street, is open every Monday and Thursday until 7 o'clock to enable members of the Union to purchase

"The Women's Garment Workers" at half price—\$2.50.



"What's the meaning of 'wheat going up,' mother?"
"Three slices to the loaf less."

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

SOME THOUGHTS ANENT "TRADE-UNION CAPITALISM"

The *Atlantic Monthly* for March contains an article on Samuel Gompers, late leader of the American Federation of Labor, from the pen of Benjamin Stolberg. It is quite obvious that Mr. Stolberg had known Gompers, and he succeeded, in our judgment, in giving the best pen-picture of him which has as yet appeared in American journalism.

The portrait of the late chief of organized Labor in America as drawn by Stolberg, however, is far from flawless one. There are in this article, we believe, some conclusions which throw a false light upon Gompers. We shall not, however, at this point quarrel with Mr. Stolberg concerning these errors of judgment. There is, nevertheless, in his article a passage in which Mr. Stolberg points out a certain recent tendency in the American trade union movement, our own unions included, a departure in the direction of a so-called "trade-unionistic capitalism," and it is this allegation or charge that we should like to consider at some length. Perhaps, in the thick of the fight, we have failed to notice the dangerous road we have begun to travel on. Perhaps, a keen observer from the outside is in a better position to notice our missteps; perhaps, ours, until now the most radical unions in the movement, have actually become conservative because we have adopted some "new" tactics; perhaps, too, our "Reds" are right when they clamor that our unions are "yellow" and that we are aiding capitalism in prolonging its rule.

Let us quote this paragraph from Mr. Stolberg's article:

"Since the war there has been a growing tendency in our Labor movement toward what has been so happily called Trade-Union Capitalism. These New Unionists are accepting the basic economic structure of American industry and are trying to work within it. During the last few years they have gone into banking, insurance and business to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. They are developing the technical training and the vocational placement of their rank and file. They are organizing for greater political power. But, most significantly, they are beginning to collaborate successfully with Capital, in the only way in which collaboration is possible, by assuming Labor's responsibility toward production. They guarantee efficient production in exchange for intelligent and humane management. Here and there, especially in the needle and railroad industries, there are establishing boards of mutual control and imperial arbitration. And they share contractually in the resulting benefits."

It is this mode of action adopted by our trade unions which our author is inclined to view as a sort of partnership between Capital and Labor. Instead of being enemies, as formerly they viewed each other, they partner-like are content to divide the benefits. The unions, instead of fighting Capital, are helping to perpetuate its existence. Is this true? Can the new trade unionism be honestly adjudged guilty on these charges?

We admit from the outset that if the charges against us can be sustained they are quite grave. If they are true it might be clearly the duty of all such as are sincerely opposed to the present economic order to treat our unions as a dangerous obstacle in their path and to employ against us every means of combat at their command. But are our actions really tainted with the color of capitalism?

To which we reply: Essentially each activity of our union, "new" and old, is in the fullest sense anti-capitalistic. It is true that modern trade unionism believes little in perennial, unceasing striking against employers. Modern trade unionism takes greater stock in peaceful negotiations. But this new conviction has come to the trade unions not overnight, but after years of experience, during which they have learned that the method of eternal striking does not lead to the strengthening of the workers' force, but towards their systematic weakening, and eventual disintegration. The trade unions have reached the decision that the perennial strike policy, while it may discomfort the employers at times, in the end benefits Capital instead of hurting it.

The new trade unionism, in having adopted the method of averting strikes and reaching mutual understandings with employers, has therefore not made peace with the capitalist system but equipped itself with a more effective fighting weapon. The new trade unionist differs from the trade unionist of the old school because he has learned to judge events and issues not by the gauge of his own momentary interests only but from the viewpoint of the future interests of his industry and his class as a whole. He has a wider vision; he knows that the strike, important as it might be when unavoidable, becomes a thorn in his own side and an obstacle to his own progress. He discarded the old method because it proved harmful and useless; he adopted the new method because it has become a more effective means for accomplishing his immediate and final aims.

The new trade-unionist is insistent upon taking up responsibility for production in industry. A superficial observer might be inclined to interpret this as "partnership" with Capital. The truth, however, is in the opposite direction. The time when a worker regarded himself as a mere work-tool has, indeed, gone by long ago—thanks to the educational work of the trade unions. The new trade unionist is a thinking worker; he has a sense of social integrity and he is not content to be an inarticulate tool. He is society's producer and he is willing and anxious to assume responsibility for production. It would have been a denial of his principles, aims and ideals were he to shun this responsibility. The modern trade unionist is gradually gaining his freedom through his Labor organization and as such he must hold himself responsible for production in industry.

It is this sense of responsibility—not only for production but for industry as a whole—that has aided the modern trade unionist in dethroning the employer from his high place as sole arbiter in industry. The role of a dumb peg in a huge industrial wheel does not appeal any more to the thinking worker of today. He wants an ever greater "say" in the industry in which he is employed. And though this readiness to assume production and industrial responsibility may benefit the employing class for the time being, its uses and benefits for the working class are immeasurably greater. It will help this working class to make a better job of its opportunity than what, for instance, the workers of Italy, had made, when they took hold of industry a few years ago only to be forced to give it up in confusion; or, as in the case with the Russian Bolsheviks, who, after having driven out capitalism, have found out that they are all but helpless and were compelled to reintroduce it to get along somehow.

The modern trade unionist is not so blind as not to recognize that that he has a great deal to learn from capitalism. True, he recognizes the capitalist system is based upon the exploitation of the workers. But he knows, too, that capitalism represents an important phase in the development of our civilization and that before he is ready to upturn the present order with a more equitable system where no classes, exploiters and exploited, occupy the social arena, it would be well for him to learn all there is to be learned from the present industrial order. And in taking up a measure of responsibility for production, and for industry, the worker is simultaneously acquiring a measure of control over industry, thus making himself ready for the mission history had assigned to him.

The modern trade unionist is entering the banking and the insurance business. Some are inclined to view this with alarm, too. Labor is making peace with Capital, they say. Wrong again. The truth is that the present-day trade unionist is determined to prove to himself, and to the world, that he can conduct a banking business, heretofore the exclusive playground of capitalism, as well as a capitalist. We do not believe that the capitalists are over-elated with this new tendency in the workers' movement, for it must not be lost sight of that even Labor banking is a part of the wide and diversified fight of the workers. For, if it is true that the savings of the workers are being employed by the great money power to fight them, then it is of considerable importance that these means of combat be taken out of the hands of their enemies and placed where it will do them most good, in their own banks.

All of which tends to affirm beyond cavil that the modern tendencies in the trade union movement can be termed neither "trade-unionistic capitalism" nor "capitalistic trade-unionism." It is revolutionary trade unionism in the full sense of the word, save that it is not dressed up in hackneyed r-r-revolutionary phraseology. Its acts, nevertheless, aim at the very vitals of the present capitalist system.

Quite naturally, we are not ready to affirm that all the trade unions which have adopted this new course of action are fully conscious of the aims and the philosophy of these new tendencies. Some of them have been driven to adopt them as a matter of practical expediency in their fight against capital, but even under such circumstances this departure can hardly be construed as "making peace with capital." What concerns our own unions, the unions in the needle trades, we know that each step made by us, even if at times it may have impressed an outside observer as evidence of a will to "go hand in hand with capital," has, nevertheless, been thoroughly and definitely anti-capitalistic in its tendency. Each strike that has been averted, each contract that has been concluded between the Union and the employers, each board of arbitration that has been established, each undertaking by the workers of responsibility for production—all of this is being done with the sole objective of strengthening the arm of our organization, of enriching the lives of our workers—and, consequently, of weakening the power of capital in our industry.

We say again: There is no such thing as "trade-unionistic capitalism." The most conservative Labor unionism is essentially revolutionary. Each trade unionist is fighting for a better and fuller existence, for greater leisure, for a greater opportunity to study, to think and to widen his or her spiritual horizon. The new tendency in the trade union movement can lay even wider claims in this direction. It is, indeed, an unforgivable oversight or a distortion of facts to impute to this trade unionism a desire to acquiesce in capitalism or to go "hand in hand with it." Capitalism has no greater enemy in the whole structure of our society than this new trade unionism. And if the capitalistic order will eventually have to abdicate and make room for a saner and more humane social order, it will be as a result of this rather unspectacular but very effective and revolutionary new trade unionism.

British Cooperators Buy Garden City

By HERER BLANKENHORN

(We reprint this article from the Locomotive Engineers' Journal for March. It should prove of particular interest to our members in view of the cooperative apartment construction plan recently launched by our international.—Ed.)

Every child in Woolwich old enough to talk knows that "R. A. C. S." means Royal Arsenal Cooperative Society, one of the largest "co-ops" in Britain, which provides bread and butter and shoes and everything else at cost for several hundred thousand persons in the populous London borough.

The Cooperative Society takes its name from the fact that Woolwich contains the royal arsenal, the most noted war-munitions establishment in the country. During the war this arsenal became Britain's most important industry. Thousands of munition workers crowded into Woolwich, and the Government had to do something to house them. So it constructed Well Hall, a model workman's village, just on the outskirts of the city. It's a most inhabitable little city, far more substantial than some of the "ship-building towns" created at a stroke by the American Government for its war workers.

The brick and stucco slate-roofed houses are of pleasing variety of design, flanked by little gardens along curving, roomy streets with "greens" or parks. The place is paradise compared with the "steel towns" of Pennsylvania, Indiana or Illinois, where our workers still "do their bit." The British Government spent \$208,000 (\$440,000) to build Well Hall; of this nearly \$500,000 was for land, streets, sewers, etc.; and the Government kept rents low.

The Government gouges the Workers After the war, Well Hall (like our war towns) became a drag on the market. Recently housing workers were no longer a "good buy" for the nation. The Government raised rents and slashed wages. The workers at Well Hall could "get out" so far as the owner (the Government) was concerned. Some "got," and some refused to pay the increased rent, so the Government found itself in a long row with renters. The Government was ready to sell to any housing speculator who'd care to bid. But the nearly two million dollars necessary wasn't within the reach of every housing speculator.

Some of the workers at Well Hall were cooperators, members of the old R. A. C. S. "We've got money," they said; "our society has." So when the Government offered Well Hall for sale last month, the co-ops put up the highest bid and bought the town for \$168,000 (\$1,840,000). Immediately some private speculators who were waiting for the Government to come down offered the R. A. C. S. \$125,000 more if it would just resell Well Hall to them. But the big cooperative society intends to sell the houses to its members, or to their present occupants, if they want to join the society and begin purchasing.

The Woolwichers believe no other co-op in Britain could have put up the resources to swing so large a deal. How did the R. A. C. S. come to do it? And what, exactly, in dollars and cents, does it offer to a worker wanting his own home?

Finners in Cooperative Housing The Society's history is not very different from the thousands of other cooperatives here; whose total membership in Britain is about 4,500,000. The R. A. C. S. started in 1869 with a membership of 47 workers. In twenty years later it had 1,507; another decade, 6,721; another, 14,424; another, 26,488. When the war broke out it had 39,744; when it ended, 68,558.

Since then it has added about 8,000 a year. Now, at the end of this sober, relentless, "Rochdale" growth, it has 104,468 members, of whom 85 per cent are women. The simply the revolution run by housewives.

This isn't the first time that the R. A. C. S. has provided homes for its members. Eighteen years ago it bought the Bostall estate, a great tract in Woolwich, and has improved it with street after street of homes owned by its members. The Society's complete success of cooperative housing on the Bostall estate led it to take over Well Hall.

The home hunter sees at Bostall 46 new houses now being added to the 1,078 already there. And what sound, substantial houses they are, entirely unlike the jerry-built shacks built by the real estate speculators.

The Society's building foremen and builders have been at it for eighteen years, directly employed. It is building at cost, so far as the labor is concerned. The houses are all of brick, varied with stucco over brick, generally with square bays and always slate roofs, "rear gardens and a "napkin" of grass in front.

A Home for Three Thousand Dollars

The typical Bostall home which I saw going up has an 18-foot front and six rooms plus bathroom and hall. On the first floor a parlor 12 feet 6 inches by 11 feet, living room 12 feet 6 inches by 10 feet 6 inches, and a scullery (kitchen) with water and gas, and built-in stove, three bedrooms and a man-size bath. Fireplaces in the four larger rooms (British, thanks to its mild climate, is still in the dark ages in heating arrangements. "Central heating? Nobody ever asks for it," says the Society's manager.) All partitions are of brick. None of your egg-cake houses where you hear every peep of the chick in the next room.

"And how much a week out of my wages would I have to pay to begin owning that—and quit throwing money down the rat hole, with no shelter over my family's head when I am old?"

Twenty-seven shillings a week (\$6.31). In 18 years the home is his; construction price \$3,000.

And it is an illuminating commentary on wage levels in Britain that hardly one of the cooperators now building his house at Bostall could have afforded to start without the Government grant of \$375 to house builders.

To start building, the worker must be able to put up 50 pounds (\$237). Here is how the R. A. C. S. figures it out for him:

Actual cost of construction, land lease, etc. \$620 (\$2,945)

Subtract Government grant \$75 (\$356)

Subtract mortgage \$500 (\$1,375)

Which leaves 45 pounds plus 5 pounds for legal papers or 50 pounds (\$237) to start the house.

The weekly payment of 27 shillings, low as it seems to the American worker, is a stiff proposition here, even to the skilled mechanic in the arsenal; 80 shillings would be a high average wage (\$19); many are at 66 shillings. In Britain, which is not a high-cost country, 15 per cent of his income is generally reckoned the average of what a worker can afford for rent or home-building payments. However, there are young couples

among the arsenal mechanics, draftsmen, clerks, artisans, etc., now putting up houses. All of these proved to the Government their need of the grant allowed under the national housing act. They tell the Government their income, and the Government hands them a lump sum of \$375 for their house.

The Burden of Interest

In one respect the R. A. C. S. does not do all it could for its housing members. It has no facilities for handling the mortgage at a low interest rate. Builders have to go to a recommended private mortgage concern. The interest rate is five per cent. Another illustration of the lesson which the Labor Government Minister, John Wheatley, drove home in Parliament: "The principal cost of a house, under the system of rent, interest, and purchase, is not the land nor the labor; it is the cost of the money." At the end of 18 years the Bostall builder has paid the money lender \$3,000 in interest charges on the purchase of a \$3,000 house. We pay even more in America.

What the R. A. C. S. has bought at Well Hall for its \$1,800,000 is an estate, built up, of 90 acres, containing 212 flats and 1,034 houses. It proposes to sell these houses to society members, the same as at Bostall, on 99-year lease, the society retaining its outright land ownership. This prevents speculation in land values. Many of the society's members, now living at Well Hall and paying rent to the Government, will start in purchasing their house from their R. A. C. S. They will pay per house about half what it would cost now to reproduce it; for example, bricks cost 32 shillings a thousand when Well Hall was built in 1916; now bricks are 70 shillings a thousand. The net annual income from the estate, allowing for redemption in 40 years, will be 19,000 pounds, or five per cent of the society's investment. The place will be kept as a garden city. Comfort, security and beauty—they are to be kept for the workers.

The Well Hall flats contain two bedrooms, a living room, kitchen and bath, rent at present for 9 shillings 8 pence a week (\$2.23). There are 581 houses, each with three bedrooms, living room, kitchen and bath which rent at 14 shillings a week (\$3.32); also 344 houses having the above six rooms, plus a parlor, which rent up to \$4 a week. The seven-roomed houses are sold at \$36 (the 1924-25) and the eight-room house at 64 pounds (\$3,064) of the co-op's members. "This will be our contribution toward solving Britain's housing problems," says the cooperative society.

Cooperators Vote With Labor

Such is a bit of the activity of one group in the "universal republic of cooperation" with its tens of millions of members in Europe alone. The R. A. C. S. is not even the largest of the societies in London; the London Cooperative Society has 107,000 members. "Non-political" in their founding (it is just 80 years since the first modern cooperative store opened at Rochdale), the 1,314 present British societies have steadily become political, and, being a workers' movement, their politics are Labor and Socialism. In the present Parliament the five M. P.'s elected by cooperatives' funds are all members of the Socialist L. L. P. Hence the recent calls in the British business press for a "campaign to pry loose the cooperatives from the Labor party." But the whole drift of the cooperative movement is toward

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Sol Rosman, Jacob Halperin and Aldo Cerni have a call to "alienation" and "orderly tallers" in which they recommended the beginning of a big agitation movement among the workers in this branch of the trade. The officers of the Joint Board are instructed to take up complaints from these firms. The committee also proposes a reduction of the initiation fees to three dollars and forty cents in cases where whole shops desire to join the union.

After a five-day strike the children's dress makers return to work. The association in the trade had signed a union agreement; among the clauses of the contract are—the abolition of sub-contracting, no giving out of work to tenant workers, and a complete union shop with shop chairmen.

The downtown office of the Joint Board learned that the workers of the Grossman & Company shop at 209 Grand street, New York, are working on a strike. The workers were summoned to a meeting where they were instructed not to repeat this offense. Right after the meeting, however, they went back to work, locking the door of the shop behind them. A business agent followed the door with the aid of a policeman. The surprised workers fled in all directions. They were all sent to a complete grievance board and fined twenty-five dollars each.

closer relations with the Labor party. Of the R. A. C. S. 104,468 members, only 2,288 have refused to pay the three pence (six cents) political levy. The co-ops, like the unions, are in politics to stay.

Making Life, Richer and Fuller

In most of these societies two and a half per cent of the surplus must be set aside for the Educational Fund. The Educational Committee of the R. A. C. S. (six of its fifteen members are women) has \$14,500 to spend. Run through the educational program for 1925: it makes a fast little book of 40 pages. Page after page of study groups: Junior Cooperative Circles, Comrade Circles, Junior Teachers, Woodcraft Groups, Junior Choirs Orchestra and Dramatic Clubs; then Adult Study Circles, Men's and Women's Cooperative Guilds, Horticultural and Scientific Clubs, and Literary Conferences. All through the winter "One-Day Schools" are held—three sessions a day, with such lecturers as Alderman Emil Davies on "How Industry is Financed"; G. D. H. Cole on the "Values of Labor and Cooperative Research"; Mark Starr on "Should Education be Unbiased?" Harry J. May, Secretary of the International Cooperative Alliance on the "Ghent Congress"; J. F. Horrabin on "Democratic Education"; J. J. Worley on the "Future of Producers' Cooperation"; Dr. Albert Mannbridge, etc.

Plays, too, Shaw's especially, and concerts, at the "Preserve Factory Hall"; and handicrafts and art exhibits are given by the R. A. C. S. members. Lastly, international travel. Under the text, "World Cooperation," the R. A. C. S. organizes travel parties through Belgium, France, (Continued on Page 11)

Step By Step

"Step by step the longest march Can be won; can be won. Single stones will form an arch One by one, one by one."

"And by union, what we will Can be all accomplished still. Drops of water turn a mill, Single none, singly none."



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



The Labor Press for March

By SYLVIA KOPALD

The month of Spring, of beginnings. This sense of sprouts, of new buildings, of breaking soil characteristic of the season, has been reflected in Labor's journals. In them, too, are signs of new growth, of reappearance, of something that is not birth but rebirth. For Labor's forces are picking up threads cut by the shock of Gompers' death and continuing their weaving of a better life for workers. President Green has taken hold. The journals still mourn the dead and welcome his successor, still pay tribute to what is gone and still the promise of what is to come. But plans are being discussed again, the currents of industrial striving, of internal building and world affairs, move through the journal pages once again.

Transition Still

There are, of course, still signs a plenty of the transition. Tributes to Gompers are still being written and surveys of his career are still being made—as they probably will be for many a day. President Green is still "stepping into" the place made vacant. Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, for instance, has pronounced his impressions of these two men whom he has grown to know so well through his long associations with them under the title "The Old—The New." In these impressions he reviews briefly the contributions he feels the old chief had made to the movement and his impressive, surcharged leave-taking of it. From this he passes to the promise of William Green as written in his past career and extends the hopes and cooperation of Labor to him in his new. These impressions appear in several of the journals—in the American Federationist and the Carpenter and Joiner among others.

Together with these bridges between the old and new the journals feature President Green's address to the International officers resident at Washington at the dinner they gave him during the month. For in this address the "new" charts the course by which it will travel during the months to come. After paying tribute to the man who went before him, President Green outlines the main steps in Labor's program as he sees it. From the reprint of this speech printed in the Shoe Workers' Journal, it becomes at once apparent that President Green has set up three tests by which to judge the policies to be launched by Labor in the future. "Our work—t' this time and in the future," he said, "must be constructive in character, educational and progressive." Constructive, educational, progressive. The first constructive slogan proposed by President Green under this general program is primary indeed. "Organize the Unorganized," cries President Green. Carry on the work of organization in every unorganized industry and in every community in thorough-going, vigorous fashion. In addition, President Green puts forward as immediate aims the maintenance and improvement of the American workers' standard of living, his working and living conditions, and the recognition by both unionists and employers of the irrevocable obligation of contract.

The appearance of Samuel Gompers' autobiography just at this time makes a fitting accompaniment to this drama of transition. His "Seventy Years of Life and Labor" appeared off the press just as its author disappeared behind that inscrutable "final curtain" which is drawn in time over all lives—even the most crowded. The American Federationist calls attention to this Autobiography and recommends it to "all trade unionists and friends and students of our movement."

As Affairs Move On

Man has long since discovered the tenacity of life. Consequently, it is no surprise to learn that the currents of life in the Labor movement sped on even as its members gathered about the bier of their dead. The journals are recording the progress of these currents again, and thus it is that the March journals take up the tide of affairs where the December journals left off. There is once again the usual accounts of successes and defeats, of advances and temporary setbacks. The industrial struggle, internal and world affairs, find their reporters again.

Company Unionism

Apparently the outstanding success was by Labor recently, in the opinion of the journals—judging from the amount of space they give it—has come in the field of employees' representation. The reports issued by the Russell Sage Foundation recently, giving the results of its study of the Rockefeller Plan, have borne out many of Labor's original contentions on the matter, in the opinion of its leaders. President Green himself, for instance, contributes the feature article to the American Federationist on this subject. Under the title "The Challenge of the Union" he analyzes the findings of the foundation's "Employees' Representation in Coal Mines" by Ben M. Selkman and Mary Van Kleek. He points out, among other things, that a national union alone can protect the workers in nationally competing industries and that the need for local representation is met by the union's shop committees. Could any Rockefeller Plan, he asks, produce a scheme of such promise as the Baltimore and Ohio Plan? Between the workers' union and the company union there is all the difference that is between any natural and artificial creation.

Other journals give similar discussion to the findings of the investigation and their significance. The Machinists' Journal publishes an editorial upon it; the Illinois Miner, a feature article; the Industrial Weekly, an article; the United Mine Workers' Journal, a cartoon, which Labor Age reprinted, and so on. The American Federation of Labor and Weekly News Service sent out as one of its feature items a report of how "the tinsel of Rockefeller's company 'union' in Colorado is rubbed off by Ben M. Selkman, writing in the Nation on this widely-advertised substitute for trade unionism."

These findings were further pointed by the decision of the Supreme Court in the now famous case brought against the Pennsylvania Railroad by System Federation 90 of the shop crafts. The workers and the company for disobeying the decision of the Railroad Labor Board, and thus

the law, on the workers' right to their own union. In the report of the decision printed in Labor, Chief Justice Taft is quoted as saying, "The company is seeking to keep its employees free from the influence of an independent trade union. It is, so far as its employees are concerned, refusing to comply with the decisions of the board and is thus defeating the purpose of Congress." However, although the workers were justified in the charges they brought against the railroad, the Court held that the decisions of the Board carried with them no power of forced acceptance. Consequently the Pennsylvania could not be compelled to disband its company union and recognize the shop crafts. As President Green asks, "Eventually, trade unions—why not now!"

Child Labor

Apparently one of the most serious setbacks suffered by Labor, in the opinion of its press, is the present defeat of the child labor amendment. Almost all the journals carry stories on the child labor campaign. They emphasize, also, that the campaign is still hotly on, that rejections by earlier legislatures may be reversed by later. And to carry on the fight, the International Workers' Journal reports the speech in support of the child labor amendment delivered by John P. Frey before the Ohio Legislature. The Shoe Workers' Journal makes "Some Facts on Child Labor" the feature article. The Railroad Trainman repeats the catchings on the amendment issued by the National Child Labor Committee. And the Lithographers' Journal, the Carpenter, Labor, the American Federation of Labor Weekly, News Service, and many others present material on the question. Let Labor take heart. With such determination the amendment, which belongs not only to it but to the times, will yet become the law of the land.

The Postal Employees

The workers can derive encouragement in the fight from the heartening victory finally won by the postal workers' unions in their fight for long-overdue wage increases. The remarkably well-planned campaign fought through by these unions has been closely followed in this review of the press—for many of the journals recorded its program with warm interest and sympathy. Success has at last rewarded the postal workers' efforts. They have won their hard fight against bureaucratic opposition and difficult circumstances. The list of obstacles confronting them, one after the other, as recorded in such journals as Labor, the Industrial Weekly, the International Fire Fighter, etc., makes the final victory the more impressive. After the measure proposed by organized Labor was passed by both houses, President Coolidge vetoed it just before Congress adjourned last summer on the ground that no provision for revenue to cover the increase had been made by the bill. Upon the recommendation of Congress the veto was upheld after a long debate by only one vote. The "Lame Ducks" of the session made this outcome. Labor's representatives drafted a new bill with revenue provisions to cover desired wage in-

creases. After its passage by the Senate the House rejected it on the ground that all revenue bills must originate with it. This difficulty was overcome by the enactment of a House Bill, which, after committee negotiations, was passed by the Senate. The President signed this measure, a significant victory indeed. As the postal workers will say, "Organization did it."

In Other Industries

In other industries the unions also pursue their advancing ways. The United Mine Workers' Journal records the miners' stern struggle to maintain the Jacksonville agreement in the face of the bitter-end non-union competition of West Virginia. They reply to what they call the fake investigation of the West Virginia coal situation made by the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati and Cincinnati. Of course, it is needless to say that these investigators discovered that "this company resumed operations on the open-shop basis only after the request had been made by a majority of the old employees that they be given work. . . ."—presumably on the open-shop basis? The Illinois Miner describes the failure of the more than 200 indictments brought by West Virginia operators against union miners after the strike on Mingo. And, of course, the miners' papers describe fully the provisions being made to care for the sufferers from the terrible Sullivan mine disaster in Indiana.

The enterprises being undertaken by fellow clothing workers are recorded in Advance and in the Headgear Workers. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are busily launching campaigns in Philadelphia, Rochester and New York. The Headgear Worker draws an interesting lesson from the contention of the women minimum wage commission of Massachusetts. This Commission, after much paring, decided that the women millinery workers before it could live on \$13.90 a week. Its determination of such a level came after the most acrobatic balancing, which, one must agree with the editor, could only be done with workers' lives—never with commissioners'. After setting this sufficient wage—an absolute minimum, mind—the Commission pared off the 90 cents, as beyond the capacity of the industry to meet. Finally it extended even these below minimum \$13 wages to only a portion of the workers involved! The Free Voice of the Amalgamated Food Workers records the work carried on by the bakery workers' locals against the menacing anti-union trusts arising in their industry.

And so through the line.

Internal Affairs

The currents of internal affairs run evenly this month. Workers' education receives its usual—and increasing—need of attention. The Machinists' Journal, the Lithographers' Journal, the Illinois Miner, Advance, the Signalman's Journal, the Seamen's Journal, the Boilermakers' Journal, the Free Voice, and many others carry course outlines, educating articles and items for their members. The insurance company venture launched by

(Continued on Page 11)

DON'T

Suffer from BAD TONSILS

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Charge for Operation on Tonsils and Adenoids

\$25.00 FOR CHILDREN — \$25.00 FOR ADULTS



DOMESTIC ITEMS

Industry Is Deadly; Accidents Increase

The startling increase in industrial accidents is shown by a comparison of the Illinois statistics for the years from 1918 to 1923, published in the Monthly Labor Bureau of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In 1918, when factories were working under the stimulus of war needs, there were 38,247 accidents in Illinois. The number of accidents rose to 50,585 in 1920, fell off somewhat in 1921 due to business depression, increased to 46,772 in 1922, and in 1923 jumped to 61,816, an increase of 15,000 in one year. Fatal accidents have increased proportionately, the average for the five years preceding 1923 being 559, while in 1923, 675 persons were killed.

Although it is impossible to compute the economic costs of such accidents, the payments to Illinois workmen on account of accidents totaled \$48,000,000 in the six years. Accepting estimates of the committee on elimination of waste in industry that compensation payments amount to only twenty-two per cent of the total actual and prospective wage loss of those injured, the Monthly Labor Review says: "It appears that the direct loss in this one State alone amounted to \$218,000,000."

To meet the needs for better methods of prevention it is proposed to develop a technical division in the Department of Labor which will be able, through research and statistical analysis, to show not only the industries which have a high accident rate, but the individual plants.

Compensation Laws Improve

The State House of Representatives of Colorado has approved an amendment to the workmen's compensation bill which increases weekly payments from \$12 to \$15. The total compensation for accidents resulting in the death of a worker has been increased from \$3,750 to \$4,680.

Trade unionists in Michigan are supporting legislation that would increase compensation for fatalities and accidents in industry. Stricter State supervision over private liability companies is also urged.

Would Outlaw Strikes

Bills introduced in the Maine Legislature would outlaw every effort of the workers to improve conditions.

One bill proposes that a worker be jailed for not more than six months and fined not more than \$200 if he attempts "by force" to compel an employer to "alter his mode of carrying on his business, or to limit or increase the number of his employees, or the rate of wages or time of service."

Oppose Convict Labor

Officers of the State Federation of Labor of Missouri urge unionists and sympathizers to assist in the fight to abolish prison contract labor in this State.

The unionists insist that prisoners should work at productive labor for the use of the State and its political subdivisions, rather than compete with free labor.

Prison administration officials have expressed a willingness to co-operate with organized labor and Missouri manufacturers are in sympathy with this movement.

Serfdom Compels in Southern Mines

Working conditions in non-union mines of Tennessee is the best argument why workers should organize. Excepting West Virginia, it is doubtful if any section of the country can present such an appalling situation as exists in mining properties operated by the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis and the Tennessee Central railroads.

With a wage as low as in any the United States, pluck-me stores, "yellow dog" contracts, unlimited power to tax workers for powder and tool sharpening, and workers denied the right to watch weighing of coal, serfdom is complete.

No worker is employed in these mines who refuses to agree not to join a trade union. The State law provides for a check weighman at each coal tipple, but the miners must accept the ward of a company agent as to the amount of coal mined.

The miners can not move their families to other localities, as practically every one of them are in debt through the operation of pluck-me stores.

Steel Trust Workers Not Paid Living Wage

The steel trust does not pay a living wage to every employee, according to its annual report, which has been printed in pamphlet form.

The wage last year averaged \$1,794, or less than \$6 below the 1923 average. As this average includes foremen and highly skilled workers, the public must surmise what rate is paid to the so-called unskilled.

During this same period food costs alone increased three per cent, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

During 1924 the steel trust paid \$1,683,921 in pensions to retiring employees. This is approximately an average of \$200, or less than \$4 a week.

Labor Surplus in West

West coast cities are warning workers to stay away from this section because of unemployment. Central bodies in many cities have issued statements on the labor surplus in their respective communities. The labor excess is especially true in the large industrial centers of Washington and includes Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Bellingham, Everett, Gray Harbor, Olympia, Kelso and smaller cities and towns of the mid-state section.

FOREIGN ITEMS

BELGIUM**The Problem of Labor Exchanges**

Before the war there were no public labor exchanges in Belgium. The Government, at that time a Roman Catholic one, paid little attention to labor matters, and the workers were not strongly enough organized to exert any influence on the recruiting of labor. The Washington Labor Conference adopted a recommendation calling upon the working classes to suppress private employment offices run for profit, and to have Labor exchanges officially supervised. This recommendation led to a complete change of policy in this domain in many countries. Belgium, like other countries, proceeded to establish public Labor Exchanges on which both employers and workers were represented. Although these institutions have done invaluable service, the reactionaries could not admit their usefulness. As soon as they had recovered their breath, therefore, they instituted a campaign against them. On the pretext of coordinating the activities of the Exchanges, Moyersoen, the Belgian Labor Minister, issued in 1924 a decree which was intended to limit very considerably the workers' right to a share in the control of the Exchanges; this was to be the first step towards the reintroduction of the private employment office.

The Belgian Trade Union Center at once took up the matter. The result was that a new decree appeared referring solely to the clause attacked by Labor. It provides that the Exchanges are again to be managed by a Council consisting of representatives of the State, the employers, and the workers (manual and non-manual). The work of the Exchanges will moreover be supervised by joint commissions of employers and workers.

The Belgian trade unions have also formulated other important demands, among which may be mentioned the following: The organization of a National Labor Exchange, to co-ordinate the work of the Public Labor Exchanges and the trade union employment offices, the reduction of railway fares for persons travelling in search of work, the construction of homes in ports to promote the organization of employment exchanges for dockers and seamen, the establishment of a National Migration Department to co-operate with the Labor Exchanges and with the employers' and workers' organizations, the conclusion of reciprocal treaties with countries which are willing to give Belgium workmen the benefit of their social legislation.

FRANCE**Foreign Workers in France**

At a meeting held recently, the General Council of the C. C. T. discussed fully the question of foreign labor in France. An account was given of the stage reached in the negotiations with the Polish national centre concerning the establishment of an office in France to deal with the organization of Polish workers. When additional material has been collected and examined, final resolutions will be taken with regard to Poland and also to Hungary, with whom there have been similar discussions.

The Council also discussed the position of Russian workers in France. Measures must be taken to defend their interests. It was generally recognized that it was necessary to prepare a unified plan of action to be submitted to the Trade Union Congress to be held next autumn.

State Employees and Trade Union Organization

Herriot won a good deal of credit by promising when he came into power that civil servants should be allowed to form trade union organizations. It was generally believed that the civil servants' long and hard fight for the enjoyment of the benefits provided by the Trade Union Act of 1854 would at last be crowned with success.

A recent decision of the State Council, a public body whose function it is to determine the working conditions of civil servants and to settle disputes affecting them, seems to point the other way. The State Council has refused a petition of the Municipal Employees' Union of the City of Paris because it was presented in the name of an "organization." The matter was brought up in Parliament, when Chastenet, speaking in the name of the civil servants, uttered these words: "If the State Council refuses to legalize civil servants' organizations, it will force them to act illegally." He called upon the Home Secretary to make a declaration that the civil servants have the same rights as other citizens, and therefore can lay claim to the right to combine."

Chautemps, the Home Secretary, replied in the name of the Government: "The Government is in favor of the general recognition of the right to trade union organization, and the decision of the State Council cannot affect it. It pledges itself to introduce before long a bill providing for the right of civil servants to combine in trade unions. The strike must be regarded as an act of violence, and therefore the civil servant cannot be allowed the right to strike. The final decision will rest with Parliament when it discusses the bill in question."

AUSTRIA**The Organization of Women**

Forty-nine per cent of the fifty-seven trade unions of Austria organize women, only eight have no women members. In fourteen of these forty-nine unions, the women members are in the majority; in twenty-five more, more than ten per cent of the members are women. The fourteen unions where women are in the majority are the following: lawyers' assistants, bookbinders, hotel employees, silk nurses, cardboard workers, furriers, lithographers (including the workers in the cigarette-case industry), tailors and dressmakers, textile workers, artificial flower makers and feather workers, unskilled printing operatives, bookshop assistants, hat makers and ready-made dressmakers, and domestic employees. In point of numbers the trade union is as follows: textile workers (35,379); metal workers (25,094); hotel employees (18,437); chemical industry (14,459), and food workers (13,784). The artificial flower makers and the domestic employees consist almost wholly of women.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Last Saturday Night

The Annual Reunion of Students and Teachers

Students, Teachers, Friends, gather in the Washington Irving High School Dining Room on Saturday evening, March 28, for an evening of jollity in which they review the accomplishments of the past year and look forward to the coming one.

The one thing lacking to make our Students' Saturday party a perfect evening was the presence of Fannia Cohn. Sister Cohn, as one of the speakers of the evening, pointed out, has been a moving spirit in our Union's educational work and, indeed, in bringing the education message to all American unionism, that an educational department party without her is like a "watch without the works." Sister Cohn was taken ill last week and by doctor's orders could not leave her home. For the first time in the history of our parties she was not in place at the "head of the table." How much we all missed her was shown by the telegram we sent her in reply to her sincere regrets over her forced absence.

We were the more sorry over Sister Cohn's absence because of the enjoyable and successful affair our party this year proved to be. Each year at the end of the educational "class terms" students, teachers and friends gather to commemorate the completion of the year by a good time. The last dining room on Saturday was bright with festive hangings and the tables gay with softly colored trimmings. Bowls of fruit, grapes, bananas spread themselves temptingly before our members. The rows of tables at which they sat seemed to offer their good cheer eagerly. And our members were festively dressed, happy, smilingly in tune with the occasion.

The sight of this meeting, as Dr. Harry Laidler pointed out, brought home strongly the developments discussed in Dr. Levine's history of our Union. Clothing workers today have marched far from the sweat-shops, the weary days, the small wages, of ten, fifteen years ago. These alert, well-dressed union student-workers are quite different from the weary, overworked, poverty-ridden brothers and sisters who went before. Our own education, our own buildings, our own teachers, our own faith in ourselves—such things we saw clearly Saturday that our Union has brought us.

When we reach the fourth floor of our "Workers' University" you checked your overclothes. A student showed you to your seat. Happily, with a sense of renewing old friendships, you recognized this fellow student, that fellow shop comrade, your teachers. The Educational Department has provided a fine musical program for its guests. Mr. N. L. Sastavsky accompanied on the piano the young violinist, who played with spirit and fine feeling. There were folk songs, Brahms waltzes, Mr. Sastavsky sang Russian and Italian lyrics; ice cream, cakes, speeches, dancing.

Brother Young, secretary of our Students' Council, presided over the program. He announced each number with an appropriate introduction which gave you a sort of setting for what followed. In the speeches of the evening were revealed the great progress workers' education has made, the recognition accorded on all sides to our union for pioneering in this movement. Would that there were space

to reproduce in full the encouraging words heard. But even short hints can suggest the feeling hidden behind them.

Dr. Charles A. Beard, historian, humanitarian, first friend of workers' education, began the speaking. He spoke of the early pioneering days, pointing out the great progress that workers' education has already made in the brief span of its life. He hailed the International warmly as the pioneer and foremost exponent of workers' education in America. Brother Young, "hating to break up family accord by jealousy," as he put it, next called upon Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, author, among other things, of the well-known "Short History of the American Labor Movement." Mrs. Beard told the students of the inspiration she found in such a gathering. She said she sometimes passed in the street faces she saw before her here. And though they were among thousands of other workers pouring from the shops, she felt she could really recognize them as individuals. For she felt in them more than workers; they are students. A student-workers' face is different.

Mr. Fichandler, well known to our group, gave a deeply-felt little talk. He began with a warm tribute to Fannia M. Cohn, to her services, her devotion, her selfless contributions, and expressed the regrets of the whole meeting over her absence. He pointed out the importance of our union's educational work, not only to the union, to the student, to America, but to a "better world." For a new social order is aborning and the blind, headlong forces of reaction seek to say "No." War, poverty, waste, pain—or a better world. A race between education and destruction. Mr. Fichandler said we are doing our share in this work to make education the winner.

Dr. Harry Laidler pointed out how such a gathering is a living proof of the inspiring progress described in our union's history written through our union by Dr. Levine. In ringing words he pointed to the uprising of the twenty thousand and the Great Revolt. Then he contrasted these old conditions with such self-reliance, strength, social vision as is evidenced in the things our gathering stood for, and wished us a successful and long educational "career."

Mr. Wilbert of our teaching staff kept the meeting in continuous laughter. With a hearty tribute to Fannia M. Cohn and the inspiration she had given him among others, he launched into a series of really delightful stories which brought out all the significance of our work and our Saturday gathering. Dr. Theresa Wolfson of our staff told how much it means to her to be with us again at this year's party. Dr. Sylvia Kopald, after being introduced as a contributor to Justice, jokingly referred to her hope for her writings there did not make her appear to others before they knew her as they did to Brother Young, as a "disappointed old woman." Speaking as a teacher she said that two things especially had inspired her in the three-years she had been with our classes. First, she said, was the sense of continuous growth, the spread of the movement, its official acceptance by Labor, its growing classes, its surer methods. Second, was the movement's refusal to become complacent with this

"The Worker In Russia"

On Friday, April 3, the Russian-Polish Branch of the Cloakmakers' Union will hold a Russian lecture, arranged by the Educational Department, at 315 East 10th street. The lecturer is Mr. B. Douchakoff. His subject is "The Worker In Rus-

sia," a theme with which he is thoroughly familiar and fully qualified to discuss. It is expected that all the members of the branch will be present and will bring friends along. The lecture will begin promptly at 8 o'clock.

A Walk to the Museum of Natural History on Saturday, April 25

Our courses will soon be completed and the Educational Department is planning special activities. One of them will be a walk to the Museum of Natural History, 77th street and Columbus avenue, on Saturday, April 25, under the direction of Dr. Sylvia Kopald.

The place and time of meeting will be announced later.

Those who wish to join this walk should apply for further information to the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

Special Rates for Our Members for De Pachmann Concert

The Educational Department is in a position to inform our members that they can get tickets at special cut-rate prices for the farewell American concert of the celebrated virtuoso, V. De Pachmann, Monday evening, April 13, at Carnegie Hall.

The great pianist will render an all-

Chopin program. It is De Pachmann's positively final appearance in New York for all time. Members of the I. L. G. W. U. can obtain tickets at lower rates at the office of Joseph Mann, 22 Union square, Room 1203, by showing their union cards.

Hikes for Spring

Our Educational Department is planning many hikes during the spring. Needless to tell how important out-door life is, especially for our members who are working indoors.

The joy of coming in contact with Nature is inestimable.

Those who wish to join the hikes should apply for information to the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

TICKETS AT REDUCED PRICES FOR PHILHARMONIC CONCERTS

Sunday, April 5—3 P. M.—Metropolitan Opera House

Tickets for these concerts may be obtained at reduced rates from our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, New York.

growth. It refused to be "finished," it sought even greater improvement, knowledge, service. In its continuous growth and continuous lack of complacency, and in its striving to see the promise of a successful next year and next.

Brother Frank B. Palmer, of the Colorado Labor Advocate and of the Denver Labor College, brought greetings to us from the West. He made the gathering feel that workers' education had spread far beyond our "Harlem and Bronx"—that it had reached the land of "Indians and Cowboys and such." He pointed to the younger average age of our students as a great educational advantage. His was a fraternally encouraging and inspiring address.

Then we heard also from one of our Executive Board members and from some of our students. Brother David Dubinsky expressed his appreciation of our educational work. He felt it was most worth while and useful, and said that the officers now would always support it as a proved thing. Brother Hochman said that he was not a student now, but that he

wanted to dance. Well, surely Brother Hochman will admit that he might still have something more to learn. Sister Mary Goff also spoke for the students. She pointed to the demands her present work makes upon her and regretted that she had so little time left from it to go on with the educational work our union had started her on. She spoke, as always, of how much it had meant to her, and the influence of the activities of our Educational Department on her development in the Labor movement.

In the course of the evening, Sister Pearl Yanofsky read a long resolution expressing in the name of the student the value of our union's educational work, its accomplishments and its promise. The resolution called for its continuation. Sister Yanofsky also moved the forwarding of a telegram to Sister Cohn, which was done by unanimous vote.

A splendid evening, bringing clearly before us all the significance of our union and its education work. We looked before and after. We are ready to march on.

S. B. K.

P. S. The General Office will be open until 6:30 p. m. every Monday and Thursday to enable our members to purchase the book after work hours.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

That the conditions under which the agreement in the cloak, suit and skirt industry will be renewed on the expiration of the present agreement in June are unprecedented may be seen when the report of the Governor's Mediation Commission, made publicly recently, is scanned.

Many of Union's Contentions Upheld
The report is very bulky and to give it here in its entirety is out of the question. However, only some of the main features will be touched upon on this page. The members will do well to turn to the first pages of *Justice* for greater detail.

The report does not contain any recommendations. And none will be made until a number of hearings will be held before the Commission. The recommendations will be made after the conclusion of these hearings.

The report may be said to make any suggestions on the Union's main demands. The committee of experts which made the investigation goes no further than to lay a number of undisputed points. The subjects dwelt upon cover the limitation of contractors, minimum labor costs, unemployment, earnings and so on.

Contracting System Proven Chaotic
The contention of the manufacturers' association, that is, the jobbers and protective, that the growth of the jobbing and contracting system was mainly due to the week-work system, is discounted by the report. It is pointed out that a number of members of the Protective Association discontinued manufacturing and engaged in jobbing each year since 1917, which was long before the week-work system was effected.

No allusion is made with regard to limitation of contractors. But that some reform is necessary along these lines is practically borne out by the report. It is shown that in the spring of 1924 a jobber with a total production of \$827,991 employed only thirteen sub-manufacturers with an average production of \$63,692. Another jobber had a production of \$204,560 from sixty-one sub-manufacturers, setting an average of \$3,353 per sub-manufacturer.

Points Touched Beyond Dispute
There are a number of points which are practically beyond dispute, according to the letter of transmission. These points, in the main, relate to that condition in the garment industry which compelled the International General Executive Board to draw up its program for reconstructing the industry. These points were practically originally pointed out in the Union's program as a condition which menaces the well-being of the worker and the welfare of the industry.

The Commission found that the number of shops has been increasing and the size of the shops decreasing; that about one third of the sub-manufacturing shops in the industry go out of business every year; that the average annual earnings of the workers are nearly twenty-five per cent greater in the inside shops.

That some means of standardization is necessary in the industry is borne out by the fact that more complaints per worker are made by the Union against sub-manufacturers than against inside shops. The greater percentages of complaints against sub-manufacturers relate to working conditions and wages. Another important point is that some standard of cost is necessary.

Some time will have to elapse before the Commission will reopen its rings. In making the report on the findings public at this time, the Commission merely had in mind the giving of sufficient time to the Union and the manufacturers' associations in which to study the report.

Changes in Joint Board Personnel

A number of marked changes have taken place in the management of the cloak and dress departments of the Joint Board. In addition, the cloak department has been made into two departmental divisions from the three which existed heretofore.

International Vice-president Perlstein was elected by the Joint Board as Manager of the Protective Division, which takes in all the uptown independent shops. Brother Perlstein, until recently, was Western Organizer for the International. Brother Schuster, formerly manager of one of the three divisions, was elected assistant manager and complaint clerk for this department.

Brother Slutsky was chosen manager of District No. 2, which comprises the shops from 29th street down to 14th street, with Brother Heit as complaint clerk. Brother Perlmuter was reappointed manager of the Downtown Office, which takes in the shops below 14th street.

Brother J. Rubin, formerly manager of the Protective Division, will manage the Harlem Office; Brother Schechter the Brooklyn Office, and Brother Keelen will manage the Brownsville Office.

For the Dress Division of the Joint Board, Brother Julius Hochman was chosen Manager. Brother Hochman, it will be recalled, was prior to the consolidation of the dressmakers with the Cloak Joint Board manager of the Waist and Dress Joint Board. Lately he was appointed by the International as organizer for the Cloakmakers in Montreal. Brother Horowitz was re-appointed to his post as Chief Clerk of the Association Department.

No changes were made as regards the departments to which the dress business agents of Local 10 were formerly appointed. Brother John W. Settle continues as business agent for the Association department. Brother David Fruhling remains in the Independent department.

Local 10's cloak business agents also remain in the departments to which they were first appointed. But for his temporary appointment as acting manager of the cloak division of Local 10, Brother Isidore Nagler would at present be serving in the Protective and Uptown Independent Division. He will resume his work in this department upon Manager Dubinsky's return from abroad. Brother Sachs remains in Brother Slutsky's department, which comprises the Independent and American Association shops from 29th street down.

Cloak Shop Chairmen Hold Meeting

The present activities in the cloak industry are more or less normal. Except for the publication of the findings of the Governor's Commission there is little to indicate that within two or three months from now the Union may be faced with an upheaval.

There is no marked drop in work as yet. This may be seen from the few men who are unemployed. However, the Union is by no means sitting by idly in spite of the outward appearance of normality. The necessary preparations are being made for the hearings that will take place before the Governor's Commission.

Manager Perlstein, of the Independent and Protective Department of the Joint Board, called a meeting last Saturday of the shop chairmen at Stuyvesant Casino. Joint Board Manager Feinberg and Brother Perlstein addressed the shop chairmen, during the course of which the situation was gone into. The meeting was called primarily for the purpose of securing the necessary cooperation from the locals and shop chairmen, as well as members, to the end that the

Annual Ball This Saturday Night

This is the final reminder for the members of Local 10 to attend the Fifteenth Annual Ball of the organization which will take place this Saturday night, April 4, in Hunts Point Palace, 163rd street and Southern Boulevard, The Bronx.

Every member is provided with a ticket. However, the committee urges the members to bring their friends and families and purchase for them tickets in advance at fifty cents; as tickets at the door will cost one dollar each. An appeal was contained in these columns last week in which the purpose for which these affairs are arranged was stated.

By attending the ball the members will not only spend a pleasant evening but will also have accomplished a good deed. When needy members turn to the Union for aid it would not do to reject their appeals for lack of funds. On the other hand, the funds derived from the proceeds of a Ball is the only money which may be used for relief purposes.

The Arrangements Committee has made elaborate preparations to make the night one long to be remembered. It is an opportunity extended the membership of Local 10 to meet one another. The members are urged to attend and are asked to call the event to the attention of their fellow-members.

agreement should be properly enforced.

Temporary Office Appointments

In line with the granting by the Executive Board of a leave for Manager Dubinsky's trip to Europe, the committee which was appointed to make the necessary recommendations for the care of the office during the manager's absence recommended Brother Isidore Nagler to take charge of the cloak division. Brother Sam B. Shenker will have charge of the dress division.

This recommendation by the committee, reported to the Executive Board, was contained in the minutes of the Executive Board and was reported to the membership at the regular meeting on Monday evening, March 23.

Brother Nagler is spending a good deal of time in the office with the manager for the purpose of familiarizing himself with the necessary detail work. Dubinsky is also making a number of preparations so that the routine work of the office will go on during his absence.

The slack season in the dress industry, together with the hundreds of newly-organized shops, calls for a rigid control. This controlling is always done from the office of Local 10 every slack season.

Joint Board Honors Local 10

Recent elections in the Joint Board for offices made vacant by a change in the delegation of Local 2 resulted in considerable honor for Local 10 and its delegation.

Polling for chairmen of the Joint Board resulted in the election of Philip Ansel, President of Local 10, to that office. Prior to this he was vice-president and member of the Board of Directors.

Ansel's election to the chairmanship created a vacancy on the Board of Directors. Brother Max Stoller was elected to this post. Stoller's election as member of the Board of Directors created a vacancy on the

Appeal Committee, of which he had been a member. Brother Louis Freer, who, during the present term, was not a member of any committee, was elected to serve as a member of that committee.

Manager Dubinsky reported the outcome of the election to the members. And during the course of this he said that while Local 10 was always an important factor in the activities of the Joint Board, nevertheless, the honor conferred upon it this time is without precedent. In addition to the important posts occupied by delegates of Local 10 in the Joint Board, Dubinsky recalled to the members the occupation by Brother Joseph Fish of the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Joint Board.

Miscellaneous Activities

The end of the general strike in the Miscellaneous trades by no means brought an end to the daily problems. The number of strikes which existed has greatly diminished until at the present time there are perhaps less than a half dozen in the combined trades under the jurisdiction of Locals 62 and 91.

For the past two weeks the office has been taken up mainly with enforcement of the provisions incorporated in the last agreement. There are a number of shops which are seeking to evade the terms. Brother Ansel is devoting the greater part of his activities to controlling the shops and adjusting the complaints.

Recently a few more underwear association shops settled with the Union through the association. It will be recalled that about fifteen of these shops withdrew from the association a day after the agreement was signed. The Union continued the strike against these. Within the first two or three days a majority of these settled. The bulk of the balance settled in the succeeding two weeks. At the present time only two or three are still unaligned. These, however, are very small and unimportant.

CUTTERS' ANNUAL BALL

SATURDAY NIGHT

APRIL 4, 1925

Hunts Point Palace

163rd Street and Southern Boulevard, Bronx

Tickets:

In Advance \$5.50

At Door \$1.00

Music By

LOUIS ZWERLING'S

Orchestra

REGULAR MEETING Monday, April 13, 1925