

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. VII, No. 16.

New York, Friday, April 17, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

Hearings Before Governor's Cloak Mediators Arouse Widespread Interest

Hearings Started on Monday, April 13—Protective Association Revives Old Complaints at First Two Sessions—Morris Hillquit Opens Argument for Union—Jobbers and Contractors to Follow—President Sigman and Feinberg to State Workers' Case Later—Hearings to Last About Two Weeks

Union Demands A 32 Weeks' Guarantee of Employment

The hearings ordered by Governor Smith's Special Commission on Mediation in the cloak and suit industry of New York got under way on Monday evening, April 13, in the assembly room of the Bar Association. Promptly at 8 o'clock, George Gordon Battle, the chairman of the

commission, announced that the hearings will be held every evening during the next two weeks until every issue involved in the report of the investigators has been brought to a full and concrete determination. Raymond V. Ingersoll, the impartial chairman of the cloak and suit indus-

try, sat with the commissioners.

The first two evenings of the hearings, Monday and Tuesday, were given over wholly to the representatives of the Industrial Council of the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Protective Association. The argument for this group of employers, the so-called "inside" manufacturers, was delivered by Henry H. Finder, president; William Klein, counsel; Max Meyer, Jacob Rappoport, Louis Lustig and Samuel Kleis. In brief, these spokesmen for the Protective Association presented to the commissioners their viewpoint as follows:

1. They are opposed to the week-
- (Continued on Page 3)

Union Health Center Fifth Anniversary Dinner

Next Monday, April 20—Annual Report to be Rendered

The fifth annual dinner-meeting of the Union Health Center, which controls the management and operation of the dental and medical clinics owned by a number of I. L. G. W. U. locals in Greater New York, will take place next Monday evening, April 20, at Luchow's restaurant, 110 East 14th street.

Dr. George M. Price, the director of the Center, will present to the assembled guests the annual report of the Center, giving a detailed account of the work of the various clinics and their progress, singly and collectively, for the year.

Among the invited guests are President Morris Sigman, Secretary Abraham Baroff, several of the vice-presidents of the I. L. G. W. U., the main officers of the locals affiliated with the Center, and the entire staff of all the clinics.

District Council to Celebrate May Day at Meeting-Concert

Hugh Mass Meeting in Central Opera House—Six Locals to Take Part in the Celebration

May Day, this year, will be celebrated in New York City by the Miscellaneous Trades' District Council on Friday afternoon, May 1, at the Central Opera House, on East 67th street, near Third avenue. The District Council is making arrangements to make this festival gathering, on the day when international solidarity of the working class is celebrated the world over, an outstanding and memorable affair.

Taking part in this celebration are Local 38, the Ladies Tailors' Union; Local 30, the Haincoat Makers' Union; Local 41, the Tuckers, Platers and Novelty Workers' Union; Local 66, the Bonnet Embroidery Workers' Union; Local 90, the Custom Dressmakers' Union, and Local 91, the Children's Dressmakers' Union. Each of these locals is making a special effort to bring out large masses of their members to the big auditorium on 67th street.

The main speaker at this May Day meeting will be Vice-president Israel Feinberg, the general manager of the New York Joint Board. The locals affiliated with the Council have in the

past year undergone a number of struggles to maintain labor standards in their respective trades and to win better work conditions, and these efforts on their part will be stressed with emphasis by Vice-president Feinberg in his talk upon the significance of the Workers' Holiday, May Day, in the general fight of the wage-earners to secure for themselves and for mankind as a whole a better and a happier world to live in.

Vice-president Samuel Lefkowitz, the manager of the District Council, will preside at the mass meeting. An elaborate concert program, consisting of string, piano and voice selections, (Continued on page 2.)

Museum Walk Next Saturday Afternoon

On Saturday, April 25, at 1:30 p. m. our members will assemble in the West Assembly Room of the Museum of Natural History, 77th street and Columbus avenue. There they will be met by Dr. Sylvia Kopald, who will deliver a short talk to acquaint them with the objects they are going to see. From there the group will proceed under her leadership to the various exhibits.

It need hardly be emphasized that this visit to the museum will be of educational value to the group. Dr.

Kopald will also explain to the audience the meaning of the various objects of interest in the galleries.

Admission is free to members of the I. L. G. W. U. and their friends. The way to reach the museum is by Sixth or Ninth avenue E. or the West Side subway. Get off train at 79th street station.

Look for the West Assembly Room upon reaching the museum. For additional information apply to the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

Workers' Education Bureau Convention Meets In Philadelphia

Fourth Annual Meeting to Hold Sessions in Ben Franklin Hotel on April 17, 18 and 19—President William Green to Address Convention

The Fourth Annual Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau of America will be held this year in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadel-

phia, Pa., beginning Friday, April 17, and lasting over Sunday, April 19.

A large number of delegates from labor organizations and labor colleges from all parts of the country have signified their intention to attend the sessions. The I. L. G. W. U. will be represented at the convention by a full quota of delegates.

The fourth convention of the Workers' Education Bureau will have eight

sessions. The first session, on Friday morning, April 17, will be opened by Adolph Hirschberg, the President of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, who will be followed by Professor Holmes of Swarthmore College on behalf of the Philadelphia Labor College, and James H. Maurer, president of the Workers' Education Bureau. The second session will be de-

(Continued on Page 2.)

Forest Park Unity House Preparing for 1925 Season

Estate Now Owned by International—Vice-President Scheinholtz Made Permanent Administrator

Readers of Justice require no introduction to the Unity House of Forest Park in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Pennsylvania, now owned and managed by the International Office. The majority of our New York members have at one time or another paid a visit to this widely known recreation and vacation home of our workers.

The new management of the House has made known some new rules and innovations which it plans to introduce for the next season. To begin with, the new manager, Brother Scheinholtz, announces that rates have now been made uniform for all members of all the locals of the I. L. G. W. U. Secondly, the entire place is being thoroughly overhauled and renovated and everything is being put ship-

shape. It must be remembered that during the four years which Local 22 had owned the Unity House, the place has been managed each year by a different committee; as a result, the House has been run down considerably, and the International Office is now forced to spend a considerable sum of money to put it in first class order.

The present management committee consists of President Sigman and Vice-presidents Ninfo, Breslaw, Halperin, Amudur and Reiberg. Secretary Baroff is chairman of the committee. The new managers decided at once to place the House on a whole-year-round basis, which implies that it is to be kept up under proper supervision all through the year, instead of the

(Continued on Page 2.)

Sanitary Joint Board to be Formed In Toronto

Initial Meeting to be Held on April 25—President Sigman to Attend—Standards Will Be Adopted, Shops Inspected and Qualified for Sanitary Union Label

The first conference for the purpose of organizing a joint board of sanitary control for the cloak industry in the City of Toronto has been announced, according to Sol Polakoff, International Organizer in Toronto, on Saturday, April 25, at the King Edward Hotel, of that city. This luncheon meeting was attended by representatives of the Union and the manufacturers. It will adopt fixed sanitation standards for the Toronto cloak shops.

President Morris Sigman and Dr. Henry Moskowitz, secretary of the New York Joint Sanitary Board, will come from New York to attend this luncheon conference. Miss Lillian D. Wald, of the Nurses' Settlement of New York, is also expected to come to the meeting. Among the invited guests are Premier MacKenzie King of Canada, the Mayor of Toronto and four district commissioners of that city. Shortly after the standards have been

(Continued on Page 2.)

Local 38 to Have Banquet on May Day Eve

Dance and Concert to Follow Dinner—Local to Celebrate Its Second Anniversary

Local 38, the ladies' tailors of New York, in addition to participating in the great First of May mass meeting organized under the auspices of the New York Council, will usher in May Day festivities by celebrating the second anniversary of its organization at a separate organization at a banquet, concert and dance on Thursday evening, April 30, May Day Eve, at Carlton Hall, 111th street, near Fifth avenue.

There will be a concert preceding the dinner and dancing after it. The arrangement committee of the local, in

charge of Boris Drasin, the secretary-organizer of the New York ladies' tailors, is sparing no effort to make this anniversary dinner a memorable event in the life of the local. The committee has issued a request to all the members of Local 38 to make reservations in advance to aid in the smooth and efficient arrangement of the affair.

Shop chairmen in ladies' tailor shops who have tickets to dispose of have been requested to do this as quickly as possible and to report the results to the office not later than April 25.

Italian Dressmakers to Have Annual Election on April 23

Full List of Candidates Announced

The Italian Dress and Waist Makers' Union, Local 89, has announced, through its secretary, Brother Luigi Antonini, that the regular annual election of officers of the local, including that of the general secretary and of an executive board, will take place on April 23, 1925. The term of office in Local 89 runs from May 1 to April 30 each year.

The following members of Local 89 were nominated for office:

For General Secretary

LUIGI ANTONINI

For Executive Board Members

Operators:

Oreste Grassi; Salvatore Milazzo; Anna Alfano; Anna Radosti; Frank Milazzo; Frank Lo-Seluto; Joseph Salerno; Nicola Lauritano; Martino Apuzzo; Jennie Fabrizio; Leon Ga-

lasso; Rosa Ferando; Margherita Di Marco; Arturo D'Elia.

Finishers:

Clara Fabiani; Adele Carbonetti; Costanza Ghilini; Margherita Variale.

Pressers:

John Eggitto; Carlo Burrascano; Antonio Barone; Antonio Graziano; Giuseppe Di Mella; Giuseppe Provvidenti; Gastone Lisitano; Giuseppe Picciotti.

Miscellaneous:

Margherita Leonardi; Anna Rugiero; Grazia Di Marco; Sadie Sciaccia; Elvira Lodato.

The local has issued a special call to all shop-chairmen and chairladies asking them to cooperate with the officers in urging the members of the local to vote in large numbers for the candidates nominated for office.

Workers' Education Bureau Convention Meets in Philadelphia

(Continued from Page 1)

voted largely to the report of the executive committee of the W. E. B., and the third session will be taken up with the presentation of a playlet, "The Price of Coal," by the Drama Class of the Boston Trade Union College, and of two scenes from "The Weavers," by the Brookwood Workers' College Players.

The fourth session will be devoted to committee conferences devoted to such subjects as Teaching Methods, Publicity, Finance, Membership, etc. The fifth session will be given over to a general discussion of the report of committees.

On Saturday, April 18, a banquet will be held, with Matthew Will, vice-president of the A. F. of L., as toastmaster. The subject scheduled for discussion at the banquet is, "Education and Social Progress." President William Green of the American Federation of Labor will speak on "Education and Industrial Peace," and Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University will discuss "Education and International Peace."

The seventh session of the convention, on Sunday morning, April 19, will continue the discussion of committee reports, and the eighth and final session will conclude the report of the committees and will elect the officers of the W. E. B. for the ensuing year. Brother James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of La-

bor, will preside at all sessions, which are open to the public.

The convention call of the W. E. B. is signed by James H. Maurer, President; Fannie M. Cohn, Vice-president; George W. Perkins, Treasurer; Matthew Will, Chairman Executive Committee; John Brophy, John P. Frey, Frieda Miller, Harry Russell, John Van Varenenque, and Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary.

Forest Park Unity House

Preparing for 1925 Season

(Continued from Page 1)

former policy of shutting it up and leaving it without an overseer after each season. They have therefore appointed Vice-president Scheinholts as the permanent administrator of the House and have entrusted him with the task of remodeling and renovating the place. Brother Scheinholts is now at work on this job, with the aid of a small army of plasterers, painters and carpenters.

Sanitary Joint Board Formed in Toronto

(Continued from Page 1)

put into effect, a staff of inspectors will examine the local cloak shops and such of these as will qualify will at once be certified for the adoption of the Sanitary Union Label to be sewn on the garments produced in their shops.

Representing the public on the new joint sanitary board in Toronto will be Mrs. H. P. Thompson, President of the Red Cross of Canada; Prof. J. A. Dale, of the Social Science Department of the University of Toronto; Mrs. J. Wesley Bandy, leader of Women's Political Movement in Canada; Mrs. Anna Selick, of the Jewish Review; Dr. C. P. Fenwick, head of the hygiene department of the city of Toronto, and Prof. J. W. MacMillan, impartial chairman in the cloak and suit industry.

The committee also engaged an expert manager for the coming season in the person of Mr. Charles Tulipan, who for several years has been manager of Strunsky's Atlantic Hotel at Belmar, New Jersey. Mr. Tulipan is an experienced hotel keeper, and the committee expects, with his aid, to be able to give our visitors the maximum of comfort and recreation during the vacation season of 1925.

Representing the manufacturers are Messrs. B. Sutin, J. H. Winters, N. Shankman, A. Roth and A. Rovner. The Union will be represented by General Organizer Sol Polakoff, Abraham Krimer, Dr. Abraham Esser, Charles Shatz and H. Reingold.

District Council to Celebrate May Day

(Continued from page 1)

will be rendered in addition to the speeches. Among the artists will be such prominent performers as the New York Trio, under the management of N. I. Zaslavsky; Marcel Salinger, baritone from the Vienna State Opera House; Miss Helen Bergovoy, recitation with piano accompaniment by Sadie Becker, and Milla Dorsha, renowned dancer, who will present a number of inspiring misde dance interpretations significant of the spirit of May Day.

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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.

Hearings Before Governor's Cloak Mediators Arouse Widespread Interest

(Continued from page 1)

work system and desire a reintroduction of piece-work.

2. They are opposed to any raising of the minimum wage scales.

3. They are opposed to a guarantee of a fixed number of weeks of employment.

4. They are opposed to the unionization of designers and examiners.

5. They demand the right of discharge.

6. They demand the right to "re-organize" the shops at certain periods.

7. They are opposed to equal division of work.

8. They regard the sanitary label as superfluous and a failure.

9. They maintain that the policy of the Union encourages "sloddering" on the job and tends to stimulate non-productivity in the shops.

These grievances and demands presented by the Protective Association to the members of the Mediation Commission were motivated by them, as they stated, by the larger issue of the Union's interference with their right of management of the shops and of running them efficiently. They demanded a return to the conditions which prevailed in the industry before 1916 as a means of giving the manufacturers an incentive to increase the "inside" shops and thus gradually abolish the small shop and eliminate the jobber from the trade.

Hillquit Opens Case for Union

On Wednesday evening, April 15, Morris Hillquit, counsel for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, began the series of arguments for the Union. He presented to the commissioners a list of thirteen requests, embodied in the form of a memorandum in behalf of the Union. Among these requests, such as affect the members of the Protective Association, are as follows:

1. The Union demands the establishment of a guaranteed period of 25 weeks of employment a year for every worker.

2. No discharge of contractors by "inside" manufacturers during a calendar year except for cause, and equal division of work among contractors in all seasons.

3. A full listing of all contractors employed by members of the Industrial Council of the Protective Association with the office of the Union.

4. A collective guarantee by the Industrial Council of the Protective Association of the performance of these provisions by its members.

The amount of deficiency in the wages of all the workers receiving less employment than thirty-two weeks shall be paid by members of the Industrial Council for themselves, their contractors and sub-manufacturers.

5. Members of the Industrial Council who do jobbing shall employ or deal with a number of steady sub-manufacturers on the same terms and stipulations as regular jobbers.

The Union's position on the question of productivity, Mr. Hillquit stated, was that it was the duty of the workers to give a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, but that it imposed any plan which made for driving or speeding up, pointing out that there was only a time in the practice of clockmaking in New York when the workers were driven with superhuman intensity, and became human wrecks.

Mr. Hillquit emphatically told the representatives of the Protective Association that they would do well to disabuse their minds with regard to the return of piece-work in the industry. There was not a power on earth which could bring back a system of piece-work in place of the prevailing system of week-work. In discussing the request of the "inside" manufacturers for the right of discharge, Mr. Hillquit reminded them that they at one time did enjoy this right, but that they themselves preferred to modify it after the workers had voluntarily given up the right of free striking, and have introduced a machinery of adjusting grievances and complaints on the basis of investigation and mutual understanding. If the manufacturers would have back the right of discharge, the workers would, of course, exercise their right of striking whenever they deemed it necessary for rectifying a wrong and adjusting a grievance. This would bring back in the industry conditions that prevailed before 1916 and the industry as a whole would certainly suffer from it.

The principal remedy demanded by Mr. Hillquit for the Union was some method of steady employment and extending the period of work. He said that because of conditions in the industry many employees have to appeal to charity. This should not be necessary, he argued, as the cloak and suit industry represented an annual production of between \$250,000,000 and \$400,000,000 a year and was

the largest industry in New York.

Pointing to the appalling figures of under-employment in sub-manufacturing shops, he said that some shops gave their workers less than 15 weeks of work a year; 12.7 per cent offered their workers less than 20 weeks' employment; 51.9 per cent of the shops worked less than half the time, and more than 90 per cent of the sub-manufacturers' shops fell below an average of 40 weeks' work a year.

More fatal even than privation and misery, continued Mr. Hillquit, was the demoralization of standards caused by lack of sufficient employment. He said that the employees in the sub-manufacturing shops which offered them work only for fifteen to twenty-five weeks in the year were bound to enter into frenzied competi-

tion with each other for additional work. The Union could not help them and they were forced to take work wherever they could find it.

The Union, said Mr. Hillquit, urged the principle that the jobbers assume responsibility for steadier employment in the sub-manufacturers' shops.

On Friday evening, April 17, the Ladies' Merchant Garment Association, the jobbers' group, will have their first inning, and they will be followed by President Sigman and Vice-president Feinberg for the Union. Next will come the American Cloak Manufacturers' Association, the sub-manufacturers.

The hearings are expected to continue all through next week, until every side has been fully heard and every angle of the controversy has been thoroughly discussed. The complete memorandum presented by the Union to the Mediation Commission, covering every employing group in the industry, will be printed in next week's issue of Justice.

To All Local Secretaries

The present form of day-books is about to be abolished.

We are preparing now, to be issued shortly, a combination day and receipt book, which will prove a more practical and useful book than the one in use until now. Secretaries are, therefore, notified not to print or order any additional old form receipt or day books, as our combined book will soon be available.

All other forms of day books and receipt books will therefore no longer be considered official and legitimate.

Fraternally,

ABRAHAM BAROFF,
General Secretary-Treasurer.
I. L. G. W. U.

Labor Children Hold Convention

Children of union Labor members, representing more than twenty New York clubs of Pioneer Youth of America, at their first convention on Saturday, April 4, adopted a resolution urging all club members to see that their parents buy union label bread. They also urged all clubs to raise money and clothes for the striking West Virginia miners. The convention adopted a tentative inter-club constitution, instructed the clubs to elect delegates to a permanent central committee, and decided to send delegates to a New York Conference of Youth Organizations.

Of unique interest was the fact that the convention was managed entirely by the children. They had their own officers and committees, and their own Convention Committee had worked out all the recommendations which were later acted upon. The delegates, ranging in age from nine to seventeen years, were the children of machinists, printers, painters, carpenters, clothing workers and many other union members.

The convention, held in the auditorium of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th street, New York, was called because of the desire of the older clubs for the formation of a permanent central body representing all the Pioneer Youth children's clubs in the community so as to coordinate the work

of the various clubs and organize inter-club activities.

The convention opened with the singing of Pioneer Youth songs. Greetings were received from a number of trade union officers and active workers in the field of workers' education. The various clubs rendered reports of their activities, most interesting of which were those of the Nature and Athletic Club, which announced that it had collected five cents a week from each member until it had a total of \$5 to send to the West Virginia miners on strike; the report of the Leader Club that it was collecting money and clothes for the miners; and that of the Lincoln Progressives that they had voted to send \$1.50 out of their \$2 treasury to the tornado sufferers in the Middle West. It was announced that three bundles of clothes had already been sent to the West Virginia miners and that more were being collected.

Pioneer Youth, which proposes to develop an out-of-door club and camp program for workers' children, and to combine it with activities that will help in developing an interest in the social ideals on which the Labor movement is based, has been endorsed by numerous Labor organizations and is now beginning to extend its work to the State of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Local Secretaries:

¶ We deem it important to advise you that the per-capita tax to the Joint Board and all other assessments which are from time to time levied upon the locals are fixed upon the basis of the Locals' membership as it appears upon the books of the Record Department of the I. L. G. W. U.

¶ It will, therefore, be of material benefit to you to keep the Record Department officially and regularly posted of every case of suspension or expulsion of members—whether by transfer to other locals, for failure to pay dues, or for any other reason. This will prevent locals from being charged with tax and per-capita payments for members long dropped by them.

¶ Be sure and state in your return the number of weeks owed by the member at the time of cancellation.

Fraternally yours,

H. A. SCHOOLMAN,
Director, Record Department.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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One Hundred Years of Trade Unionism

By HERBERT TRACEY

(Conclusion)

Membership in the Trade Unions has fluctuated with trade conditions, but progress on the whole has been steady and continuous. It can be traced statistically for a generation. In 1887 there were 1,292 unions, with a combined membership of 1,622,918. It rose, with some slight fluctuations, to a total of nearly two and a half millions in 1910. It was troubled between 1910 and 1920. In the latter year the combined membership of the unions stood at the colossal figure of 8,495,000. The gross receipts of the unions in that peak year was officially computed at \$11,411,474, or an average of 25 shillings 9 pence per member. The reserves of the unions reporting either to the Registrar or the Labor Ministry amounted to over \$16,000,000. The financial strength represented by these figures is not, of course, a complete measure of the wealth of the unions as a whole. Enormous as it was, it proved barely sufficient to meet the heavy demands of the slump when unions found themselves with twenty-five or thirty per cent of their members out of work and drawing unemployment pay. It is estimated that in 1921 and 1922, the worst years of the crisis, the unions paid out \$20,000,000 to their unemployed members. Membership fell by nearly two and a half millions. That they have been able to weather the storm so well is a testimony to the strength, solidity, and skilful management of the unions during the years 1920-1923. The calamitous decline in membership and funds tested the weakness in industrial organization, and has led to a serious effort to consolidate and extend Trade Unionism, the full effects of which have not yet been reflected in Trade Union statistics. A century of hard work has brought into existence so powerful a movement that even the catastrophic slump in trade, the ruinous cut in wages, the defection of members by the hundred thousands, could not permanently impair it.

The capital event of Trade Union history, as we now realize it, was the establishment of the Trades Union Congress. It arose out of a crisis in Trade Unionism due to the uncertainties of the unions' legal position which the Acts of 1869-76 did not wholly remove. The founders of the Trades Union Congress were not dreaming of one big union, but essentially a sort of Parliament of Labor. It was a small beginning. At the first Congress in Manchester in 1868 there were thirty-four delegates, representing 119,367 members. Its growth, like that of the Trade Union Movement in general, was steady and continuous up to the outbreak of war; phenomenally rapid during the war, and suffering a set back during the trade slump of the last few years, which, nevertheless, left it substantially stronger than it was before the war. Its membership passed the million mark in 1899, and for a generation has been increasing by an average of nearly 50,000 a year. Congress dispenses this year of a total income of \$56,000, derived from the affiliated unions for the furtherance of a national policy and the development of national organization. When one remembers that at the beginning of its career Congress was entrusted with a total income of less than \$40, and that for a score of years its annual income remained below \$1,000, and did not average much more than \$100 a year, it is possible to appreciate the progress made by the movement towards the discovery of

a common purpose and the determination to make it effective. Congress is now almost co-extensive with the Trade Union Movement. There are only about 257 unions with a membership of over 100 each that are not affiliated with Congress, and their combined membership is not much in excess of \$600,000.

Nothing reveals more clearly the development of Trade Unionism than the widening of its range of interests in the course of the century. The original form of Trade Union organization was the local trades club. It is a far cry from these small bodies, limited in their action, to the great national societies, with their international affiliations. There are several important extensions of Trade Union interest which illustrate the change that has taken place in the outlook and spirit of the movement; the entry into politics, the relations with the international movement, the development of workers' education, and the claim to control in industry. It is impossible here to attempt a summary of the political action of the Trade Unions, both before the creation of the Labor party and since its appearance upon the scene. The unions had to fight hard to establish their right to take part in politics at all, and the Acts of Parliament which safeguard that right and define the power of the unions are milestones on the march; but not less significant are the great measures which protect, to some extent, the standards of the working people—the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Old Age Pensions Act, the National Insurance Act, the Labor Exchanges, the Trade Boards, and all other legislation must be attributed directly to the influence the Trade Unions have exerted upon Parliament.

This, indeed, a year of anniversaries—not only the centenary year of Trade Unionism. Eighty years ago the Cooperative Movement began, sixty years ago the International was formed, fifty years ago the first Labor Member (Bart and Macdonald) entered the House of Commons, twenty years ago the Labor party (then the I. B. C.) joined the Socialist International. These events mark the widening purpose of the workers, and emphasize the continuity of working-class history.

More laws are enacted and more decisions which have the binding force of law are rendered, vastly more, in the United States than in any other nation on earth.

It has become a positive mania with the ruling class.

The average Congress and State Legislature consist mainly of and are dominated wholly by lawyers, many of them of the shyster-breed.

Their principal business is to enact laws that no one understands; laws that fetter the people, deprive them of their liberty, and complicate their daily affairs, in all of which the lawyers thrive and out of which they multiply and swarm in increasing numbers.

There is a historic reason for the pitiful plight of this law-bound Republic. From the very beginning, in its earliest colonial history, the precedent was established to forbid everything by law, to regulate everything by law, and to punish everything by law so as to assure the freedom of the people to bow to the law, to be tied hand and foot by the law, to be gagged and muzzled by the law, and thus fulfill the duties of freemen in the great American Republic.

We learn from history that the magistrates in the colonies established by the Puritans "regulated the styles and cost of female clothing." We have it, moreover, that "The Puritan Elders who believed that everything could and should be controlled by law even attempted, until far into the eighteenth century, to decide just how women should array themselves. Both in Virginia and New England such rules were early given effect. Thus, in court records, one runs across such statements as the following: "September 27, 1653, the wife of Nicholas Maye, of Newbury, Connecticut, was presented for wearing silk coat and scarf, but cleared, proving her husband was worth more than 200 pounds."

"In 1651 the Massachusetts court expressed 'its utter detestation that men and women of mean condition, education and calling should take upon them the garb of gentlemen by wearing of gold or silver lace or buttons or poynts at their knees, or hats in great boots, or women of the same rank to wear silke or tiffany hoods or scarfs,'"

And these are the gentry who laid the foundations of the great Republic and who breathed of liberty into its institutions.

They were driven out of England because they believed in freedom, in worshipping God, as they declared, according to the dictates of their own conscience, and the very hour they landed and planted their puritanic banner on the soil of the new world in the name of liberty, they began to persecute others for attempting to exercise the right they claimed for themselves; they began to cheat and swindle the Indians in the name of their religion, and through their vicious and damnable blue laws to make a hypocrite and liar of every citizen, and to convert the new nation into a mass of penitentiaries.

The glorification of the Puritans in history has been based upon falsification of their character and their performances.

It can readily be seen what sycophants they were in discriminating against the poor and in catering to the rich. The poor woman who dared dress decently was arrested and made to give an account of herself, but the bell-haunts of the flint-faced Elders promptly touched the dust in the presence of the lady who had the coin.

From that time to this the spirit of Puritanism has had a controlling influence in public affairs and it has uniformly made itself felt in face of despotic regulation as if the people were wards, and against the exercise of the liberty which has been their boast and of which they enjoy actually less than any other modern civilized nation.

The outrageous gagging of Michael Karolyi, the Hungarian liberator, by our Puritanic State Department is a case in point. No other Government on earth would have been guilty of such cowardice and infamy. Every decent American ought to blush for it.

The colossal force of prohibition and the notorious fact that its chief agents and promoters are also the leading bootleggers is another case to make angels weep.

In all of this tangled and complicated development we see capitalism ripening and rotting for its own inevitable doom. It is strangling itself in its own blind and impotent attempt to perpetuate its foul, sordid, liberty-stifling and soul-destroying misrule.

Flint-faced Puritanic Despotism is steadily generating the forces that will sweep it from earth and clear the way for the real freedom and happiness of the human race in the triumph of Socialism throughout the world.

Klan's Power on Decline

Factional Disputes, Loss of Dues, Political Defeats Fatal to Klan

A striking decrease in the power of the Ku Klux Klan is reported by the American Civil Liberties Union, in a report issued this week, based on the replies of correspondents in Klan territory to a proposal for holding meetings in a half of tolerance in Klan strongholds.

According to most of the correspondents the Klan is dying out owing to "factional disputes within the organization, failure of members to pay their dues and lack of interest in its objects." The Klan has been further crippled by political failures, "unmasking" legislation and "the general apathy on the part of the public." Practically all the correspondents advised against holding the proposed meetings on the ground that they would strengthen the Klan through "compensation and publicity" on which it thrives.

"The growth of antagonistic factions in the Klan is common knowledge out here," writes a correspond-

ent from Indiana. "Many of the members have become discouraged and have quit paying dues."

Another correspondent in Oklahoma writes that "the Klan is dying and I left severely alone will be completely dead within another year or two." The Oklahoma correspondent informs the Civil Liberties Union that "the Klan's State paper, which had a large circulation, has been suspended and thousands who joined the organization are either publicly withdrawing or are refusing to pay further dues."

Similar reports have come from Arkansas, Georgia and Texas. In the latter State "the Legislature that has adjourned passed an anti-unmasking law that virtually puts the Klan out of business." The Texas correspondent also declares that "one of the Klan leaders, Willis Mayfield, who published a daily Klan paper that boasted of 200,000 circulation, and that at one time got out an issue of a million

copies, has just been sentenced to prison for two years, for slandering through his paper T. W. Davidson, one of the candidates for Governor. His paper suspended some time ago for want of patronage."

Correspondents from West Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York report that "the Klan is on the wane."

The Klan is reported to be still strong in Alabama, Colorado, and in parts of several Middle Western States. The conclusions expressed are summarized by the Civil Liberties Union in saying:

"The peak of Klan membership and activity appears to be reached in the second year of its invasion of any section, and after that it declines rapidly. Local political, racial or religious issues have kept the Klan going strong in a few centers, but these are all exceptions to the general rule of decline and decay after the second year."

The Civil Liberties Union, as a result of the opinions received, has decided not to arrange the proposed meetings in Klan territory.

A Nigger Who Was Hanged

By BEN HECHT

"After I had talked to him awhile in his cell I realized that he owed his impending death to his sideburns and his van dyke. They had crystallized the fatal illusion of his greatness."

A nigger about to be hanged is as a rule less interesting than a white man in a similar predicament. Mystery and terror seem not to denude the black of his character, but merely to accentuate it. Under their influence he grows mystical and tenebrous. Emotion does not twist his face into drama; he becomes like a child, graceful, malicieuxly awkward. Awaiting death poignant and expectant.

With the white man, the character changes are more vivid. He is wrenched out of the materialistic surfaces within which he lives and plunged into a character foreign to him. Terror and death are things he finds new. He finds no subtle similarity with his fate. Until the moment he drops through the gallows trap he struggles pitifully in a nightmare.

When I left the black in his cell I wondered if he were insane. Yet to label illusion insanity is a wholesale evasion. The man had been educated in American schools. He had started out to be a physician. His soul had not kept pace with his intellect. In a curious way he had become aware of himself, of his learning and of the sideburns and van dyke that decorated his black face.

Gradually a duality had developed. He had begun referring to himself in the third person. He felt fearful and puzzled of this thing that was in his head—thought. His soul was like a naïve face peering out of a dark and familiar wilderness. It watched this other thing striding authoritatively through a strange world. It watched men become respectful to this thing. It noted how there was a voice and a manner, a miraculous collection of words and ideas which the world deferentially greeted as Dr. Samuel Williams.

Nothing would have happened had it not been for this naïve face peering out of the dark. But when Dr. Williams stirred himself in a frock coat and a stiff white shirt and patent leather shoes, and when he turned his keen eyes and aristocratic beard to the mirror, the naïve one in a transport of adulation began to whisper.

The adulation was too much for Dr. Williams. At first he was content to pose and preen before this awed and murmuring one. But slowly a curious thing happened. The soul of Dr. Williams tipped out of its exile and took possession of the frock coat, the van dyke and the strange thing in his head—thought. And there was no longer a separate Dr. Williams—a clever, shrewd and learned man. There was instead a gibbering and exultant noise behind an incongruous exterior. The noise proclaimed, "I am Prince Malibou of Abyssinia, a man of royal blood. I will lead my people back to the dark and familiar place where I belong."

Things happened rapidly after this. Dr. Samuel Williams, who had been a convincing exterior, vanished rather swiftly. In his place walked an Abyssinian Prince, exuding opulent phrases and making regal gestures with the frock coat, the sideburns and the van dyke.

The doctor's friends were not unduly surprised. A few negro business and professional men shook their heads dubiously. But the others responded excitedly to the transformation. They pointed out that Dr. Williams was merely using his great learning and genius for leadership in

a new way. And thousands of them excitedly enrolled under his banner—for he had a banner—a colored bit of bunting which he identified as the flag of Abyssinia.

It was while marching under this banner in South State street that the trouble happened. The Prince was riding on a horse and to the frock coat he had added other regalia—medals, ribbons and royal haberdashery. A group of United States Marines appeared. The police had received instruction to "break" up the parade. Fanaticism was considered dangerous in the neighborhood.

It was the Prince who started the firing. Astride his horse and giving vent to mysterious and exultant war cries he blazed away at the uniforms of the enemy. There were several killed.

I watched the Prince of Abyssinia when they led him into the lowering, slot-like chamber of the county jail in which the scaffold is from time to time erected. He was dressed in his frock coat. His van dyke had been carefully trimmed. He wore no collar—a necessary physiological formality.

When he walked up the steps to the scaffold I noted that he seemed somewhat surprised. His eyes looked with a certain naïve questioning at the scene. His manner was restrained and apologetic as if he were an intruder. He regarded the sheriff with polite curiosity and when anyone whispered near him he turned quickly and stared at the person.

It was obvious that there was no Dr. Williams, nor even an Abyssinian Prince. The soul of the man that had been masquerading under the awesome exterior of the frock coat and van dyke had fled back to its origin. And now it was again peering anxiously out of the dark and familiar place in which it lived. It was watching something happen, something with which it had no connection. They were doing something to the awesome one who used long words and made mag-

Review of March In Industry

The most dramatic economic event of the month has been the sudden fall in stocks on the exchange. Concerning this we cannot do better than reprint a paragraph from our review of December, 1924, written in explanation of the rapid rise of stocks which was than taking place:

"It appear that the boom on the stock market has gone far beyond the reasonable expectation of improved business conditions; and is largely speculative in character. There was a great amount of money waiting to be used—much of it in idle bank balances of business men, and much of it in the enormous credit resources of the banks, to which the low interest rates attest. A combination of circumstances, of which the election was the last, prompted those who had access to this money, to use it in stock speculation, and the frenzied behavior of the market is the result. Withing are seeing in an extravagant inflation of stock prices, which sooner or later will probably collapse close to the former level."

The boom on the market during the winter is, perhaps fortunately, not being followed by an equal rise of prices, or an expansion of production and trade in physical commodities. There

is still a slight and gradual improvement in most lines, and there will probably be a slow growth in the number of persons employed and in general industrial activity for some weeks to come. Nevertheless, conditions are little if any better than they were last year at this time, and have not improved as rapidly as they did in the first three months of 1924. Something more fundamental than an election will have to happen before we can keep the factories busy and reduce the still large volume of unemployment. We shall have to have a sufficient expansion of popular purchasing power to keep the plants busy. That means either a reduction in retail prices or a further increase in wages and farmers' earnings, or both.

Until an adjustment of this kind occurs, we are likely to have moderate ups and downs of business, each swing being of a very few months' duration. The existing manufacturing equipment of the nation takes only a brief time to make up any deficiency of goods that may arise during the periods of inactivity. And as long as no inflation of prices occurs, no business man has the incentive to build up large stocks of goods faster than the retail buyers can take them away.

—Facts for Workers.

nificent gestures. They were fixing a rope about his neck.

"Have you anything you wish to say?" inquired the sheriff.

The naïve and bewildered one retreated still further. They were not addressing him. They were merely talking to the frock coat and the sideburns. And the frock coat and the sideburns grew somewhat puzzled. They turned around and seemed to be looking for someone—a familiar. But the familiar had fled. The sheriff was nervous.

"Anything you wish to say?" he repeated, stammering.

"No—not at this time," the frock coat answered. The puzzled, questioning eyes of Dr. Williams opened for an instant to an incomprehensible scene and then vanished behind a white hood.

Meeting of the "Company" Union



The High Cost of Ignorance

By JOHN M. WOKK

Under cover of the darkness of night the burglar pines his flimsy and the stick-up man relieves his victims of their valuables.

Under cover of the darkness of ignorance, the burglar and stick-up men of finance and industry ply their tricks and relieve the people of their earnings.

Without the protecting fog of ignorance the capitalists could not gouge the people and the capitalist politicians could not keep the gauging system intact.

Because of ignorance, the division of the people into struggling classes continues—the dependence of the useful masses upon the useless parasites for the opportunity to earn a living continues—and involuntary poverty with its train of woe continues.

It is ignorance that causes most of the people to be compelled to spend themselves in earning a bare living.

Ignorance perpetuates the conditions that put a premium on graft and corruption—that destroy the good incentives and increase the bad—that compel the violation of the golden rule.

In short, ignorance prevents the development of the proper race.

As the people do the best they know, we cannot blame them nor complain about it.

If there is any complaint to be made, it must be made against those who know better but fail to do their share in dispelling the fog of ignorance and leading the people into the sunlight of knowledge.

Are you one of the laggards?

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

NEW FACTS AND OLD LAMENTATIONS

One had a right to expect that in the discussions of the report of the investigators of the New York cloak and suit industry, at the hearings now being held before the Governor's Special Mediation Commission, our "inside" manufacturers would strike a note. One was permitted to hope that they would abandon their jeremiads on the hoary old theme that the "Union is robbing them of their inalienable right (sic) to 'hire and fire'; that week-work has all but impoverished them; that the "entire philosophy of the Union which protects non-producing workers is false," and so on, and so on. To us it seems indeed, as if some of our employers are constitutionally incapable of learning anything new and that for them the entire investigation has been in vain.

The facts unearthed by the report make short shrift of these lamentations and dispose of them as mere rubbish. If it were true that under the week-work system the workers are "soldiering on the job," as a spokesman for the manufacturers had stated, the cloak industry would surely have wanted today a great many more workers than it required in the balmy days of piece-work. Certainly the population of America has not decreased since 1919, nor has it become impoverished and less capable of providing garments for its female population. To be sure, the total value of the output in the cloak and suit industry is rising materially from year to year. The investigation, nevertheless, shows that the number of men and women employed in the industry today is considerably less than in 1919. Instead of the 42,000 workers engaged in New York in the making of cloaks in 1919, the trade employs now only 33,000. Fine "sabotaging" this, is it not?

The "inside" manufacturers continue the wall that the newcomers in the trade are better situated than they are, as the latter get their work done cheaper and are not obliged to pay their workers the "older" alleged higher scales. The facts brought out by the report, however, effectively silence this plaint, too. If it were true that the newer arrivals, the sub-manufacturers, are so prosperous, how can it be explained that about one-third of them are annually forced out of business? Again, if it is true, as the "insiders" complain, that they and only they are compelled to pay their workers far above the scale, how does this dovetail with the fact that fully 76 per cent of the workers are receiving more than the minimum and that only 20 per cent of them are getting the minimum rate? Don't forget, please, that these "inside" manufacturers employ but a small fraction of the workers in the cloak trade and that the overwhelming majority of the cloakmakers work in shops belonging to other categories of employers!

And the rest of their grumblings is just poorly founded on fact and just as completely out of accord with the realities of the industry. We are inclined to hazard a guess that if our cloak employers would consent to shoot off ammunition with such a careless regard for facts, the hearings will lead to nothing. We only hope that, as these hearings progress, the employers will see fit to abandon the line of thin elegies and will pick up enough sturdiness to look facts straight in the face. We hope to be able to report in the next issue of *Justice* of a new course in the cloak industry, of a new deal that the Governor's Commission might recommend to all parties concerned in it on the basis of the facts and data brought to light by the last survey.

"SELF-HELP"

In no branch of our activities is this term of "self-help" more applicable today than in the new division of our work, devoted to the practical enforcement of the sanitary union label in the cloak, suit and now the dress industry.

We have called the attention of our membership to this fact repeatedly right after the decision to introduce a sanitary label had been adopted. We pointed out that, important as the efforts of the officers of the Special Label Department and of all the other officers of our Union might be in furthering the rigid application of the sanitary label, it could only become a living reality if each and every worker within the shops would make it his or her business to act as label agitators and enforcers. The advice given to our members at that time is still good now, and it will hold good for some time to come.

We may be permitted to hope that some day, in the future, the buying public will become as rigidly insistent upon the sanitary label on women's garments as it insists today, for instance, upon prevailing styles or on "value for price." After the sanitary label has become the vogue in the trade it will not, of course, be necessary any longer for the workers to be as vigilant and as watchful as today. At present, however, the sanitary label

is still a young institution; the great consuming public knows little of it; and the great propaganda for its demand has still to be made. Today, therefore, it is tremendously important that the workers in the shops watch out that no garment leave their hands without the sanitary Union label on it.

It is because we realize this that we were immensely pleased to learn from the report of the Label Department that the sanitary label in making material progress. In the short period since the label has been inaugurated four and a half million garments with the label on it have been put on the market. In other words, that many persons in the country are already wearing clothes with the Union stamp upon it, which to us is convincing proof that the Label Director, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, the officers of the Union's Label Department and the shop custodians in the shops are doing the best they can to put the label on the map in the cloak industry.

The task of introducing the label in the cloak industry could have been made materially easier, of course, were our employers, who have adopted the Governor's Commission's recommendation with regard to the label, to have cooperated with the Union in carrying out this reform. This, however, would have been expecting too much from them. They are displaying next to no interest whatever in the label and are, perhaps, regarding it as but another Union "yoke" upon their necks.

Of course, this open or covert shirking is nothing short of sheer short-sightedness on their part. Had they but given the matter some thought, they could not have been so ready to let the label be to them a mere realignment. The sanitary label could, sooner than anything else, help rid the trade of the puny, pestilential shops, the nests of exploitation which degrade the industry and inundate the market with cheap, inferior goods. Our employers, however, have not yet risen to such an understanding; on the contrary, they are still hampering the success of the sanitary label and are laying obstacles in the path of its enforcement.

Moreover, it appears that even many of the workers in the shops seemed not to have grasped, during its earliest days anyway, the full significance of the sanitary label idea. According to the report of Brother Charles Jacobson, the manager of the Label Office, a great many of the workers have for a time consistently failed to insist upon the strict application of the label on all garments manufactured in their shops. That such an attitude deserves severe censure goes without saying. Not to demand that the label rule be invariably and strictly adhered to is not only laxity of Union rules, but a sign of ignorance and a failure to understand that the Sanitary Union label is one of the best means at our command for insuring a decent shop, decent earnings and a higher all-around standard of shop production for the workers and the industry.

Despite these obstacles—the reluctance of the manufacturers to live up to their obligations and the callousness of some of the workers—the sanitary label is making big strides and there is reason to hope that within a year the label will become firmly fixed in the industry. And with the general application of the label will inevitably come the final elimination of the non-union shop and of the sweat nests from the cloak trade in New York.

What we said about the label in the cloak industry holds good, in the same measure, for all our other trades. Within a few days, the sanitary label is going to be introduced in the dress industry, as a part of the contract recently entered into between the Union and the organized dress employers. We hope, of course, that the dress manufacturers will live up in good faith to their agreement with regard to the label in the dress trade. Just the same, if the label is to succeed in the dress industry, it will be, like in the cloak trade, largely due to the rigid and relentless watchfulness of the members of the dress locals in New York. It would be, indeed, an unpardonable blunder on the part of the dressmakers to underestimate the role of this label and its immediate and ultimate effects upon work conditions. True the label has no "revolutionary" glamor about it, but it is revolutionary enough in its essence not to require any such gloss. It is a silent but a very effective weapon in the hands of men and women who know how to use it and who know what they want and how to get it.

The garment which leaves the hands of the cloakmaker or the dressmaker must have the sanitary label on it. It should, however, be kept in mind by all our workers that this garment must not only bear the sanitary label but be thoroughly Union-made, every part and stitch of it. The cloakmakers and dressmakers should watch out, therefore, that the general Union label appear on all the auxiliary and component parts of the garments, such as embroidery, pleating, tucking, buttons, which as a rule are made outside their shops.

Our workers must never forget that though, for reasons of convenience and efficiency in trade administration, they are subdivided into locals, they are basically but units of one big Union, the I. L. G. W. U., and that the rights and disabilities of each of them are the rights and disabilities of the whole Union.

THE SPECIAL TAX

General Secretary Baroff's letter to all our locals informing them of the decision of the G. E. B. to levy an assessment of \$2.50 upon each member of the I. L. G. W. U., to be paid up within twenty-five weeks at the rate of ten cents per week, has been received, in all likelihood, with little enthusiasm by our members. Candidly, we are not inclined to censure them for it, except that we desire to assure them that the General Executive Board had not acted in a lighthearted, frolicsome manner in having finally reached the decision that this tax cannot be avoided.

:-: Labor and Control of Profits :-:

By CHARLES McKAY

THE question of devising legislation to prevent such evils as may be inherent in stock-watering must, it seems to me, resolve itself into the problem of regulating the distribution of profits. In the immediate future there will doubtless be much discussion there of need of regulating the financing of enterprises, and of regulating prices and thereby profits. Legislators will be prolific in schemes and businessmen will support them more or less sincerely, but largely because of the instinctive recognition of the fact that agitation of impractical propensities diverts attention from real issues capable of a practical solution redounding to the benefit of the working class. Under capitalism no scheme of regulating the general run of commodity prices and therefore of stock prices is practical, and I cannot conceive of any socialistic scheme of society under which the State could attempt to regulate prices generally with success. For Labor the supreme concern is not the regulation of prices or profits, but the control and regulation of the distribution of profits.

What method Capitalism may employ to make known and consolidate its ownership of profits—whether it issues bonds or bonus stock which is the usual form of watered stock—would be of little importance to Labor if Labor had a decisive voice, which it could only acquire by electing a Labor Government with a decisive majority in regulating the distribution of profits.

Where a company is engaged in a really competitive business it is of small consequence whether its capital is watered or not. Its profits are then regulated by competition, and as profits determine dividends the chances of its paying anything on its "water" are very poor. The only advantage of watered stock to such a company is that it is able to point with pride to the fact that its nominal dividends on its capitalization are very small when it is called upon to answer a delegation of its employees asking for higher wages or shorter hours.

Watered stock is always a potential charge upon the workers, but where competition really exists its influence or effect upon Labor conditions is inconsequential.

Where, however, a company operates under the direction of a combine, or enjoys some special privilege, permitting it to charge unwarranted prices for its commodities or services, then watered stock may readily become a serious evil. In the case of public utilities the public authority already presumes to deal with this evil, and if it does not eliminate it the fault lies less with legislation

than with the Commissions charged with the general oversight of public utilities. Public Utility Commissions are supposed to ignore watered stock and fix prices calculated to earn a specific dividend upon real investment. Public utilities which are usually natural monopolies are an exception to the general rule that it is impractical to fix or regulate prices of commodities or services, except under special circumstances.

Many companies now raise their required capital by selling bonds or preferred shares, giving common stock as a bonus to purchasers of bonds or preferred shares. The issue of bonus stock is, of course, mere watering of capitalization, but there is something to be said for this particular practice. Usually holders of bonds or preferred shares have nothing to say in the management of the enterprise in which they invested. If, when they purchase bonds or preferred shares, they receive some common shares, they thereby acquired the right to a share in the management and the right also to share in any profits over and above those necessary to pay the specified interest on the bonds or preferred stock. In a company where the bondholders and common stock holders are different groups or have no definite community of interest, there is always a certain danger of one or the other group playing their cards to crowd out the other.

In the "History of Canadian Wealth," Myers relates how certain Canadians who afterwards became famous as railway magnates conspired to crowd out the Dutch bondholders of an American railway, which eventually became the nucleus of a great system.

Another game which has been too often practiced may be described. Two or three men owning similar enterprises may be bitten with the passion for easy money. They organize a company to amalgamate their enterprises. The new company makes a loud noise about the economies effected by the consolidation, and reports huge profits. Then the two or three men, having issued to themselves bonds representing something more than the actual value of the combined enterprise, send out salesmen to dispose of common stock in the company representing something more or less than its bond issue. Usually the stock is sold at par, if the declared profits said to have resulted from the amalgamation are high enough. The stock is bought by small investors who know nothing about the actual workings of the company, and seldom ask for information.

In a year or so the men who formed

the company, having utilized the money derived from the sale of common stock in ways which may indirectly benefit them while adding nothing to the resources or capacities of the company, discover that the company is beset with difficulties. The common stock holders are informed that it can only be saved by additional stock subscriptions, and, being frightened, usually do not respond. Presently the company declares itself bankrupt, and the original owners who hold the bonds take over the properties and the investors in common stock are left with finely engraved but perfectly valueless certificates. This game in various forms has been played by highly respectable financiers and lawyers and fairly competent lawyers have been victims of it.

Where the bond or preference share investors receive common shares as a bonus this game is impossible. Again, the widely employed method of raising capital by the sale of bonds or preference shares with a common stock bonus has another virtue. The dividends paid on the bonus stock show what profits the company may be making over and above what is necessary to provide the returns which normally Capital is satisfied to receive. When the manager of such a company tells a Labor delegation that his common shareholders are only receiving a small dividend, it is easy to retort that they are getting something for nothing, that they were satisfied at the outset to invest their money at the rate of interest specified on the bonds or preference shares. It would be rather specious to suggest that capital by adopting this method of

financing is disarming itself, or putting its cards on the table, but the point is worth pondering.

All of which brings us back to the argument that the regulation of the distribution of profits is more important from the viewpoint of Labor than any schemes to regulate the financing of companies or to control the price of their products. In this connection, attention may be called to an article by Dr. Albin Small, a leading American sociologist, which appeared in the January issue of the American Journal of Sociology, published by the University of Chicago Press. Professor Small's views on the problem of profits are practically those expressed by the English economist, J. E. Hobsbawm, in a recent book on the problem of poverty. Briefly they may be summarized:

1. Stockholders should receive not more than a maximum rate of dividend calculated to be enough above the average rate of return upon securities to encourage investment in needed new industries.
2. Stockholders should be restrained from evading the prescribed dividend, limitation by voting salaries to themselves for services, mostly imaginary.
3. Premiums in the form of pro rata dividends on salaries and wages should be offered as inducements to increased output.
4. Net profits in excess of the prescribed dividends and premiums offered on salaries and wages should be divided in some proportion to be determined by experience between employees of all sorts and the State.
5. The State's share of the profits should not be available for governmental expenses, but should go to some holding concern, perhaps an adaptation of the Federal Reserve Bank, to be loaned to most desirable industrial enterprises—desirable from the standpoint not of private but of public interest.

In the Far South Pacific

The Sidney, Australia, "Labor Daily," founded just recently, already has a circulation of 80,000. The workers in Melbourne also have their hearts set on a daily. If the workers can do such things where a population is comparatively so small, what could we do in the United States if we really roused to our present opportunity. It might make English-reading American Labor blush if we knew what the Australian workers could do with an opportunity like ours. There is something genuinely heroic in the soul of Labor in the far-away South Pacific Ocean. This spirit seemed almost visible in the stride of the horribly scarred Anzac soldiers from that far-off land when they swung along through Fifth Avenue, New York, on their way home from the World War.

Labor has sworn to make Labor

triumphant in Australia. In Australia a scab simply will not be tolerated by organized Labor. The scab is given just one clear, quiet notice to quit. His next notice consists in having both ears trimmed close to his head. He is thus crushed and is thereafter everywhere known as a "croppy," with whom organized workers will not associate in any way whatever. He is marked, scorned and wrecked for life because of his willingness to betray Labor in the great class struggle. This is terribly severe. So is the class struggle. And in this struggle the Australian workers have sworn to win. Hence the "croppy." Hence also the powerful working class daily paper with 80,000 circulation which just started.

When American Labor girds itself and swears to win, this country's life will be electric.

The General Executive Board was confronted with the following alternative: Either to bring to a standstill the whole organizing activity of the International, to abandon several of the vital and highly important drives already begun, or to go on with the work and frankly to declare to our rank and file that they must help bearing the financial burden of organizing their unorganized fellow workers in our trades. The G. E. B. chose the latter course, the only course consistent with the tradition and the policy of our militant organization, and decided to levy the tax.

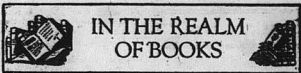
In the recent months a number of unions in various cities have been brought back to life by the International and a number of organizing campaigns have been fought out. These activities had to be financed wholly from the treasury of the International, and they proved to be costly enterprises. The great strike of the Chicago dressmakers, the strikes in Montreal, Toronto, Baltimore and other localities, the campaign in the miscellaneous trades in New York—all these conflicts obviously could not be supported from the regular revenue of the International Office, which has shrunk materially owing to the uncommonly protracted wave of unemployment which has struck our trades.

We hope that our members will be able to see eye to eye in this matter with the General Executive Board and, upon con-

sidering the driving urgency of completing the tasks facing us and of launching other just as important organizing work in the immediate future, will master their first feeling of unpleasant surprise and will, like loyal and devoted members of our International family, acquiesce in sharing this burden.

Simultaneously, we desire to remind all the locals and organizations within our International which have made this tax inevitable, that it is our fervent hope that they will soon prove that the sacrifices made by the International for their sake have been fully earned by them. They can prove it, first, by becoming financially self-supporting and by steadily acquiring strength and stability by dint of their own effort and self-reliance, and second, by displaying the same readiness to help other, younger organizations in our midst as they themselves had been aided by the International and their sister organizations affiliated with it.

For our part, we are hopeful that the unions which were so generously helped by the International in the hour of their direst need, will now strive to become strong and influential divisions of the parent body, ever ready, willing and able to help carry on our mutual work, and, let us hope, without the necessity of resorting to special taxes, always an onerous, though at times an inescapable duty.



Et Tu, Canada

JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING CONSTITUTIONAL VALIDITY
OF THE INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT, 1907.
Department of Labour, Canada. 305 pages.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

On January 29, 1925, the Privy Council of Great Britain declared the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act unconstitutional. And thereby hangs an interesting tale. The decision has already revealed the important place the Act now holds in the program of Canadian Labor. It suggests important tactics for incorporation into the program of labor in the United States. And these things are undoubtedly significant. But in addition this decision has been reached by a line of reasoning that recent developments have shown to possess increasingly wide support.

The Lords of the Privy Council admitted the hesitation with which they declared invalid an Act that had functioned successfully in Canada for almost two decades. But one primary consideration overcame that hesitation. The operation of the Act was a clear breach—"of states' rights." The Dominion Constitution defines specifically, they held, the respective powers granted to the Federal Government on the one hand, and to the Provinces on the other. No Federal law, however successful, can be accepted if it encroaches upon fields definitely assigned to the Provinces.

This same type of reasoning has just been urged in the United States against the acceptance of the Child Labor Amendment. Public-spirited men and women, who desire strongly the regulation, and finally, the abolition of child labor in industry, opposed the Federal amendment because they regarded it an unwarranted encroachment upon "States' rights." The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act has come to be regarded by almost all concerned in its workings as a noteworthy piece of legislation. It has weathered the period of experimentation and trial; it has weathered the stress of the war period. It has defeated two previous attacks upon its constitutionality. Yet today the highest court of Great Britain declares it invalid because through it the central government is treading upon the legislative territory of the smaller governmental unit. This tendency away from centralized government in all political realms since the beginning of the post-war period seems to point to a definite world-wide movement. It suggests important questions. Have our growing political units become unwieldy? Is the movement toward decentralization a harbinger of fundamental changes in our underlying material culture, such as, for instance, super-power development? What in our experience accounts for this general suspicion of central governments, of this wide unwillingness to grant further powers to the larger governmental units? So important an incident in this whole movement in the recent decision upon the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act that it merits careful review. Its importance to labor strategy, of course, adds another most persuasive argument for Labor's careful study of the whole situation.

The decision of the Privy Council upon the Canadian Act grew out of an interesting case. During the summer of 1923, a dispute arose between the Toronto Electric Commissioners

and the Canadian Electrical Trades Union, Toronto branch, over wages and working conditions in power transmission and distribution. The electrical workers applied for the establishment of a Board of Conciliation and Arbitration under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. The Board was constituted and began its sessions in August, 1923. Thereupon, the E. T. Commissioners applied to the Supreme Court of Ontario for an injunction restraining the Board from interfering with their business. They said: "This injunction on the grounds that the Act interfered in a most direct and positive manner with the civil rights of employers and employees and with the municipal institutions of the Province. They held that such matters had been placed within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provinces by the British North American Act. The injunction was granted and the Commissioners immediately sought to make permanent this temporary injunction they had won.

But at this point the Canadian Courts brought to bear upon the case all the industrial changes effected in Canada by the passing years as well as the previous history of the Industrial Disputes Act. In refusing the injunction, the judges based their decision upon the line of reasoning. By the changes in industrial conditions that have taken place since 1867, provincial lines have been erased from all matters affecting industrial disputes and Labor organizations. It is true that the British North American Act omitted the power to regulate such matters from the jurisdiction of the Dominion. But this had been done, not from conviction, but from the fact that all strikes at that time were local things. Consequently, the workings of the Act could be justified under the general powers granted the Dominion to safeguard the peace and well-being of Canada.

However, dissent from this opinion was recorded by minority judges and the case, therefore, was referred to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario. Once again, the constitutionality of the law was upheld. But the Electrical Commissioners, apparently, were determined to obtain final decision upon their case. They carried the records of it straight to the Privy Council of Great Britain. In reversing the decision of the lower courts, the Lords ended the significant and hard-fought litigation and began a new campaign for the Act they had destroyed.

From the outset the Lords of the Privy Council were careful to make entirely clear the grounds of their decision. They were not attacking the workings of the Act. In fact, it was with great hesitation, they declared, that they declared invalid an Act which had functioned successfully in Canada for almost two decades. But their task was simply and purely an interpretation of the British North American Act. And by that Act the Industrial Disputes law, in their opinion, was clearly unconstitutional. Sections 91 and 92 of this Dominion Constitution set forth specifically the powers granted, on the one hand, to

the Federal Government and, on the other, to the Provinces. Civil and property matters were placed under the jurisdiction of the latter. All the subjects treated by and in the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act related to civil and property questions.

This fact is proven, they held, by the very provisions written into the Act. By it the Dominion Government is empowered to appoint anywhere in Canada a Board of Conciliation and Investigation to which disputes between employers and employees may be referred. Such boards have the power to enforce the attendance of witnesses, to compel the production of documents, to enter premises, to interrogate the persons there, etc. These powers are clearly interferences with civil rights. The law, again, demands a thirty-days' notice before any contemplated changes affecting wages or hours of work or working conditions are definitely broached. The Board that is appointed to consider a dispute (one member chosen by the employers, one by the employees, and one by Labor) is to render a report upon it. No strike or lockout may be declared prior to or during the reference of the dispute. These powers are clearly interferences with property rights. Civil and property rights have been clearly brought within the jurisdiction of the Provinces. Consequently, any law, such as the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which gives to the Federal Government jurisdiction over these matters is unconstitutional.

Thus the movement to keep as large a field of activity as possible within the scope of the smaller government unit apparently has passed beyond national borders. The judges of the Privy Council, indeed, felt its force so strongly that they rejected all the other arguments advanced in the course of the case to overcome it. They did not feel that the provision of penalties in the Act for breach of

its restrictions made it a criminal rather than a civil law. Nor did they feel that the provision of penalties for striking under certain circumstances brought it under the Common Law with its attitude towards strikes as conspiracies. Nor did they feel that the specific power granted the Dominion to regulate trade and commerce could render valid the Industrial Disputes Act. Nor, finally, did they regard the power granted the Canadian Parliament to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada a sufficient basis for the continued operation of the Act.

And thus, the Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act is no longer law in Canada. Twice before, in 1912 and 1913, the constitutionality of this Act was upheld by Canadian courts in cases that attempted to attack it. But now, in 1925, the same fight has ended in defeat of the law. And thereupon, significantly, Canadian organized Labor is becoming one of the primary advocates and propagandists for an amendment bringing the law definitely within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. Labor's journals and councils since January have been deeply concerned with the problem of reestablishing the Act. It is more than interesting to note how Canadian Labor is thus becoming a proponent of the Act it once opposed. It will be interesting also to follow the course of their struggle to re-establish it. This much is already clear. They will have to be shrewd, not the opponents of the Act itself, but the advocates of the rights of the provinces. Just so the advocates of the child labor amendment in the United States must meet in argument, not the opponents of amendment's purposes, but the advocates of States' rights. Labor will watch closely, therefore the progress of the struggle in Canada, not only for its bearings upon Labor strategy but also for its developments in the international movement toward greater decentralization in government.

Social Attaches of Mexican Labor

The suggestion of the International Congress of Trade Unions of Amsterdam, in 1919, that governments should appoint a representative of the trade unions to serve on their diplomatic corps led to the nomination of Social Attaches by Germany, Norway and Sweden. Since the death of Jansson, the Swedish social attaché at Berlin, and the election of Sassenbach, who for some time had held the position of German social attaché in Rome, to the secretaryship of the I. F. T. U., and the recall of Bonnerie, the Norwegian attaché from Berlin, no new appointments in this field have been made. Mexico is now, however, reviving the practice. The Mexican Press publishes the following statement on the subject:

Mexican Labor has entered the ranks of world diplomacy. President Calles this week issued a decree which provides that hereafter there shall be attached to all Mexican embassies and legations abroad a representative of the Mexican working class, to be known as a Labor attaché.

All other modern Governments recognize the power of the employing

class by including commercial attaches in their diplomatic staffs abroad. Mexico is the first country to decide that Labor is entitled to all the advantages which come from being officially represented in foreign capitals.

It will be the duty of Mexico's Labor attaches to familiarize themselves with Labor sentiment and conditions in the countries to which they are accredited, to associate with the friends of Labor there, and to report back everything of interest and value to the Mexican Labor movement.

The first appointment made under this decree is that of Canuto Vargas, who has for many years been associated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor at Washington. Mr. Vargas will now begin his service as Labor attaché in the United States.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

Death Control Urged by Western Unionist

Much has been said about birth control; but too little has been said about death control in industry, said Frank C. McDonald, President of the California Building Trades Council, in his annual report.

"Annually, millions of men, women and children who toil in order to feed, clothe and shelter the people of America are crippled and maimed in industry, while millions of other men, women and children are poisoned and diseased in industry. Human life is too sacred to be thus destroyed.

"The vital factor in industry is the human factor. There is no excuse for wasting it or neglecting it."

Compensation Bill Signed by Governor

Governor Hunt of Arizona has signed the Workmen's Compensation Bill, which creates an industrial commission of three members. The commission will enforce all laws for the protection of life, health, safety and welfare of every employee where such supervision is not otherwise delegated.

A State compensation fund is created for the purpose of insuring employers against liability in personal injury cases. The rate of compensation shall never be lowered nor any industry eliminated except by initiative referendum.

As the bill includes changes in the State Constitution it will be submitted for popular approval next September.

Non-Union Workers Join Miners' Strike

Thousands of unorganized miners in West Virginia joined in the observance of John Mitchell Day, under the auspices of the United Mine Workers of America.

President Green of the A. F. of L. spoke to meetings at Morgantown and Clarksburg that were marked by large delegations of non-union miners. At Clarksburg another meeting of record size was addressed by President Easton of the State Federation of Labor, and district officials of the mine workers.

John Mitchell Day commemorates the establishment of the miners' eight-hour day, but on this occasion it served to inaugurate the campaign to organize West Virginia. This movement will be carried into guard-controlled Logan and McDowell Counties.

Union Bank Prospers

The Federation Bank of New York is preparing its second anniversary with a "birthday party." The principal speakers, it is stated, will be Governor Smith and William Green, President of the A. F. of L.

The bank closed the first quarter of 1925 with resources that total \$9,100,000.

Prison Labor Ends; State Use Installed

The State Legislature of Iowa has abolished contract labor and established the State-use system. The surplus convicts will be employed by the State Highway Commission upon public highways and in State parks.

Organized Labor is jubilant over this ending of the exploitation of convict labor by private contractors. Hereafter, prisoners will manufacture goods for the use of State institutions and be employed in the building of good roads and the beautifying of parks. The agitation for a State-owned cement plant will be renewed by organized Labor.

Injunction Wild Man Is Pitiful Spectacle

If Congress were in session it would be possible to acquit the nation with methods employed by Federal Judge English, now being probed by a Congressional committee.

During the shopmen's strike, this judge was an injunction wild man. He was in the front rank of law and order defenders. Daily the newspapers printed long accounts of his table-thumping denunciations of working men who dared to strike.

Now, English whimpers before his probers that he did not know his son received interest on money belonging to bankrupt persons. This champion of law and order was forced to admit he was a director of a bank in which he ordered funds of bankrupts deposited.

He was shown to be intimate with a referee in bankruptcy, whose fees swallowed the assets of bankrupts, leaving nothing to creditors.

With his mumbling and pleading of ignorance of the law, English presents a different picture from the days when he would terrorize workers.

Unions to Contest Picketing Decision

The Central Labor Council of Tacoma has called upon other central bodies in the State of Washington to join in a campaign against the recent anti-picketing decision by the Washington Supreme Court.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. will be asked to take such steps as are necessary to secure Washington workers the rights accorded them under the Clayton Act.

The decision was made in the case of a Seattle theatre. A court in that city refused to enjoin picketing, but this was reversed by the State Supreme Court, which held that picketing is unlawful.

Ford's Surplus Grows

A statement filed by the Ford Motor Company with the Massachusetts Secretary of State shows that the surplus last year increased \$100,400,000. The present surplus is \$542,476,496, as against \$442,041,081 the previous fiscal year.

It is estimated that Ford made an average profit of \$47 on every car, truck and tractor he sold last year. This compares with a \$37 profit in 1923.

FOREIGN ITEMS

DUTCH EAST INDIES

The Trade Union Movement in the Dutch East Indies

The Trade Union Movement in the Dutch East Indies consists of two sections: the natives and the European workers. Manual work is as a rule done by the native workers, and such Indo-Europeans as are on much the same level of civilization as the native workers. The European Trade Union Movement mainly comprises non-manual workers, (administrative and supervisory workers, etc.). The difference of race is reflected in a corresponding difference of outlook. The native workers' unions connect the race question with that of the employers and the ruling classes. The European employees take sides with the employers against the native workers in any industrial dispute. Even in such fundamental demands as the recognition of the native unions by the employer, the European union leaders are reluctant to admit that they are concerned also. Then, again, the sectarianism which is so strongly marked a feature of Holland finds its echo in the Dutch East Indies. In 1924, there were 112 unions with a total membership of about 58,000.

Fifty-nine of these are affiliated to some federation, the other 53 are independent. There are four national centres: the Federation of Civil Servants, with 21 organizations, and about 10,500 members; the Federation of European Workers, comprising eight organizations and 4,100 workers; the National Centre of Associations of Higher-grade Civil Servants, with 11 organizations and about 700 members, and the Indian Trade Union Centre, with 19 organizations and about 33,000 members. The first three centres cater for non-manual workers, the Indian Centre consists mostly of native workers. The Goerabaya Branch of the Railwaymen's Union has now submitted to the Union a proposal to put an end to the present chaos by forming a single national federation comprising all four existing federations, the Constitution for the new Federation to be drawn up later on. The Railwaymen's Union Executive has approved the proposal, which will be discussed at the next congress.

POLAND

Refusal of Research Tour to Russia

The Federation of Polish Trade Unions has refused the invitation of the All-Russian Trade Union Council to send a delegation to Russia to study the economic position of the Russian workers on the ground that, in view of "the political conditions prevailing in Russia," they feel no confidence that the delegation would have freedom of movement.

RUSSIA

Unemployment in Russia

On March 7th, "Trud" (the Russian trade union journal), published an article on unemployment in Russia, from which the following information is taken:

On January 1, 1925, 658,000 unemployed persons were on the unemployment registers. Of this total, 29.1 per cent were industrial workers, 31.8 per cent non-manual workers, and 25.4 per cent casual workers, while 15.7 per cent belong to various other groups. 22.6 per cent of the whole number were receiving unemployment benefit from the Public Unemployment Funds. The percentage of those receiving unemployment benefit from the trade unions is not known to the writer of the article, but he believes it to be only small, and in any case below the percentage receiving unemployment benefit from public funds.

With regard to relief work, it is stated that in the year 1923-24, work was found for 51,371 unemployed persons in 14 towns for a total of 1,289,448 days. The average was one rouble and 70 kopeks. Throughout Soviet Russia, 2,450,000 roubles was expended in the year 1923-24 on wages for unemployed.

During the year 1924-25, 4,000,000 roubles have so far been paid in wages to 50,000 unemployed for a total of 3,000,000 days. It may be assumed that this amount has been increased by 50 per cent from local sources, so that the total sum will have sufficed to pay for 4,500,000 working days. But in general the amount of work provided was insufficient. In order to supplement it, collections had to be made throughout the country for the benefit of the unemployed. By October 1, 1924, 1,448 collections had been organized, in which 50,000 persons took part. The amount collected was sufficient to employ 50,000 unemployed with a monthly allowance of 32 roubles and 50 kopeks for a whole year.

But in the opinion of the writer all these efforts to provide the requisite assistance for the unemployed are inadequate.

VENEZUELA

The Position of Trade Unions in Venezuela

The president of the Venezuelan Working Men's Union, B. Suarez, attended a meeting of representatives of the Pan-American Federation of Labor at Washington, which elected President Green chairman of the Federation in the place of Mr. Gompers. On the occasion he stated that trade unionism is not permitted in Venezuela, the executive committee of his union being compelled to function in Washington. No trade union activity, no free meetings, and no free speech or free press are allowed in Venezuela. "Venezuela," said Mr. Suarez, "is rich in natural resources. Its oil resources are only equalled by those of Mexico. It has extensive gold fields and its vast area is covered with fruit and cocoa plantations. This has made us the victims of exploitation, especially by United States capitalists."



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



The Coming Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau

Problems to be Considered by the Delegates

The Fourth National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau of America will be held in Philadelphia on April 17, 18 and 19. The readers of our educational page are acquainted with the work of the Bureau, and doubtless realize its importance as concrete evidence of the growth of the movement for workers' education in America.

Many of us remember the beginnings of the Bureau. A few enthusiasts met and decided that the time was ripe to start something definite to promote workers' education in this country. Arrangements were made for a meeting place. They engaged a small restaurant for an evening gathering, scarcely hoping that enough would meet to fill it. But a thrilling surprise awaited them. The meeting room was filled. The restaurant could not accommodate all who came. The Bureau was born, and has grown more rapidly than the most optimistic dared hope.

Four years ago there were but a few labor colleges in this country. Today they may be found throughout the land. Four years ago these colleges struggled to maintain themselves. But a few enthusiastic workers, a small group of local unions, and only our own International saw the possibilities and importance of workers' classes, controlled by workers.

Today the movement has the support both moral and financial of the American Labor Movement, as shown

by the actions of the last few conventions of the A. F. of L. It has recognized the overwhelming importance of workers' education, and is lending powerful efforts to insure its growth and development.

The support of Workers' Education by the American Labor Movement has placed additional responsibility on the W. E. B. The Bureau must exert continued vigor in its work of organization and education. It has already made an enviable record for itself. But the coming convention must add to this record by devising methods which will produce more schools and more classes, better methods, more competent instructors and suitable text books. It must concern itself with other pressing problems that confront the American Labor Movement. For example, the increasing importance of organized labor in our social structure demands corresponding study. The scope of workers' education should be widened to include not merely academic study, but also the organization of all activities through which the energies of workers may seek an outlet.

The Workers' Education Bureau has now increased opportunities for service to the Labor Movement of America. Now that it has secured recognition and endorsement, it can use all its energies in making Workers' Education in America one of the most powerful weapons in the struggle of American workers for human rights.

Development of Workers' Education

By FANNIA M. COHN

The activities of our Educational Department for the past season reflect the condition that exists within the Workers' Educational Movement in this country. Everywhere there is a continuous modification of plans. Changes are being made constantly in the curriculum, the methods of teaching, and the subject material. Change is the law of life, and change is part of youth.

It is now proper to ask ourselves what was the distinctive characteristic of our educational program of this season, and in what was it different from that of the previous season? On the surface the difference may be hardly noticeable, for it is not easy to note the growth of any movement over the space of but one year. To be worth while, an inquiry into our activities must go back to beginnings. Only then can we discern the direction of change.

An evaluation and appreciation of the achievements of our Educational Department cannot be made without considering its relation to the Labor Movement as a whole. It took quite some time before the organized labor movement took some kind of a definite form; and it is still in process of formation. This is natural with a living movement whose development depends upon many circumstances, and on different internal and external influences.

If a movement is to succeed, it must have a policy, one which is, however, constantly subject to change and modification. This policy will be formulated in accordance with the aims and object of a movement.

P. M. This enabled them to keep their evening engagements, including meetings of their local unions.

The courses and lectures in the Extension Division met at different times and in different parts of the city where our members reside. Classes were organized for our active members who wanted to study English, but as a text they used Mary Beard's "Short History of the American Labor Movement" published by the W. E. B. They wrote compositions on the basis of this book. This means that in our English classes the students studied not only the language but the American Labor Movement as well.

The social affairs arranged by the Educational Department were most successful. More than three thousand of our members came to the opening exercises of our Educational Season in the Washington Irving High School, on November 14, 1924. At our New Year's affair in Brownsville, nearly 3,500 of our members attended, and hundreds of them had to be turned away. A very successful social affair was held in Harlem on January 17. The final Get-Together of the season was the most successful in our experience.

The audiences consisted of men and women, young and old, Jew and Gentile. Members of different local groups who seldom meet came to these affairs arranged by their International Union, and spent a few pleasant hours

The aims and object of the Workers' Education Movement in this country are to serve the American Labor Movement as a whole, and the masses of individual workers.

In the beginning, the pioneers in this movement were confronted with many difficulties. Some of them still exist. Firstly, they had to secure the interest of the leadership and of the active membership of the Labor Movement so that they would be willing to support workers' education morally and actively. The second problem was to interest the membership in an educational program. In many instances the difficulty lay not so much in getting workers into the class room and lecture hall, as in keeping up their interest in study.

The first essential was to stimulate in the workers an interest in our curriculum; the second, to develop in them the habit of study. To achieve this it was necessary to compromise on the subject matter and to arrange the curriculum so as to satisfy their "inclinations" and "preferences." After several years of effort, there has grown in our group an appreciation of study. As a consequence, we are approaching the second period in the Workers' Education Movement, when we can formulate a suitable program, one that will include increasingly a study of the problems of the industry in which the workers are engaged, and of the Labor Movement in general and of society as a whole. We must aim to acquaint workers with the mechanism of the industry in which they are employed, its management, and all its phases.

enjoying a musical program and meeting each other socially.

Our courses in Yiddish were very successful. The halls were crowded and we were compelled to turn many away at our first lecture.

Outside of New York City we cooperated in educational work with the Philadelphia Trade Union College. In Boston we continued to cooperate with the Boston Trade Union College, which is under the supervision of the Central Trades and Labor Union of that city.

We look back with satisfaction on the achievements of the past season. We are at work now planning the program for the next. It will be our aim to exert all possible effort to make the work of next year even more successful. We shall profit by our experience in the past, and shall continue our endeavor to make the educational work of our International a inspiration to all who understand that Workers' Education is the main hope of the wage earners for a better and happier world.

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.

2 West 14th Street
Chelsea 3146

Our Educational Work for the Past Season

Our educational activities for 1924-1925 are practically over. For the remainder of the season we shall have a few lectures, discussions and excursions. We can now take stock, and report what has been accomplished during the past year.

There was a steady development in the activities of the Educational Department. This was reflected not merely in the larger number of classes and lectures, but also in the quality of the work done.

The student body was more permanent, the attendance more regular, and the use of text books more general. At the suggestion of the teachers, many of the students wrote papers on the subjects they studied.

It was most encouraging to note the success of the activities of our Extension Division. These included the courses, lectures and social activities arranged outside of the Workers' University and the Unity Centers.

For many years our educational activities were mostly concentrated within these two institutions, the Workers' University and the Unity Centers, but we constantly made efforts to extend them to other parts of the city and also to other places.

Most of the students of our Workers' University and Unity Centers were of the younger generation of our membership, but the other activities attracted the older generation as well.

Eleven groups of our members met weekly outside of the Workers' University and Unity Centers, in different parts of the city and at different

times, to study social, economic and Labor problems of society in general and of the workers in particular. Five of these courses were given in Yiddish, and one in Russian. In addition, seven courses were given in the Workers' University and Unity Centers.

Many of these groups met in our own I. L. G. W. U. Building and in the headquarters of many of our local unions. It is significant that the headquarters of our International Union has become an educational center of our large membership.

Through the Educational Department thousands of our members came in touch with the headquarters of their organization, and through the numerous classes that met in our building many more of them utilized our headquarters for their cultural and spiritual development.

These classes were attended by the most active members of our organization. Among them were members of the executive boards of our local unions, shop chairmen and those active in other capacities. We expect these to apply the knowledge they have gained in our classes in the daily work of their union, and to share this knowledge with their fellow workers whom they meet by virtue of their official position.

The classes in the Unity Centers met evenings during the week, and in the Workers' University on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning. For the convenience of many of our members, the classes in our I. L. G. W. U. Building met from 6:30 to 7:30

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

В ОТДЕЛЕ.

На последнем очередном собрании членов Р. П. О. были обсуждены следующие вопросы:

1) Прочитаны и приняты протоколы Исл. К. Р. П. О. от 23-го марта и протокол регулярного собрания Отдела от 30-го марта.

2) Протокола Дм. Борда от 13, 30, 27-го также были прочитаны и приняты.

3) Выслушаны и приняты доклады делегатов Р. П. О. в Дм. В. В. Копылова и В. Назарова. Выслушан и принят доклад делегата в локал 2 Анановского и доклады делегатов в л. 35 В. Колоско и И. Звержковского. Делегаты локала 35-го доложили, что среди членов Р. П. О. был отправлен локал 35-м на работу в субботу после обеда. В связи с этим докладом возник вопрос о необходимости требовать от локалов, к которым принадлежали члены, чтобы они уведомляли Р. П. О. о каждом члене отдела, найденном виновным в нарушении правил кинома. После обсуждения этого вопроса решено поручить секретарю отдела написать в локалы соответствующие письма.

Секретарь Отдела доложил о результатах изучения киномастерской индустрии Комиссией Губернатора Смита, о текущей контрольной работе и о том, что Организационный Дел. Юниона Клаусмекеров требует от Р. П. О. несколько волонтеров для бесплатной работы по контролю мастеровских.

После этого был выслушан доклад Комиссии по устройству первомаяского концерта. Комиссия рекомендовала пригласить ораторов на русский и польский языки, которые охарактеризовали бы значение для рабочих дня Первого Мая. Кроме этого Комиссия рекомендовала концертную программу. Выслушав доклад Комиссии собрание решило не приглашать ораторов, а ограничиться только концертной программой.

ОБ АДРЕСАХ ЧЛЕНОВ ОТДЕЛА.

Несмотря на неоднократные просьбы правления Р. П. О. многие члены до сих пор не заявили в который Отдел о переезде своего местожительства. В настоящее время, выходя того, что в скором времени начнется выдача пособия на безработного фонда, а в самом скором времени, как на страницах этой газеты, так и возможно через посредство посылок писем, члены будут уведомлены о том, как получить это пособие. Поэтому в интересах каждого члена сообщить свой новый адрес в который Отдел и потребовать высылки ему газеты "Джюсти".

О СОБРАНИИ.

Вследствие того, что день очередного собрания членов Р. П. О. выпалает на вторник, а не на пятницу, как это было в прошлой неделе, как собрания Совета Директоров, так и собрания Джойнт Борда не было, то Исл. Ком. решил собрание членов отдела перенести на понедельник 27-го апреля.

НАЛОГ М. Ю. П. Ж. О.

Интервал. Юн. Портмелл Жеск. Отделом разослан письма всем управляющим локалами, информируя их, что на экстренном собрании Ген. Исл. Ком. Инт. Юниона было решено наложить на всех членов Юниона в Соел. Шт. в Канаде налог в сумме 2 д. 50 с. Уплата этого налога начнется 15-го мая 1925 г. с расщепкой платежа на 25 недель, т. е. по 10 центов в неделю.

Ассесмент этого налога согласно праву Конституции Юниона на покрытие расходов по забастовкам и локаутам.

За последний год Инт. Юнион покинул успешных организационных кампаний имел большое число забастовок в Торонто, Монреале, Чикаго, Бостоне, Квебеке и Фи-

ладельцах и на покрытие расходов на эти забастовки регулярные доходы Инт. Юниона оказались недостаточными.

"ЛЭИБЕЛ".

Директор Сантаприно Юнионного отдела, что в настоящее время его отдел контрактирует 1501 мастерскую в Коук Индустрия, что составляет более 90 процентов индустрии, не употребляет этикетки только мастерские, которые находят нажикнуе большинство на закрытых мастерских по другим причинам. До последнего времени продава 4,338,000 этикеток.

Директор также доказывает, что пятая часть следующего сезона будет вестись успешная кампания на популяризации этикетки среди покупателей публики.

ОБРАТНО К СДЕЛЬНОЙ РАБОТЕ.

В понедельник 13-го апреля началось слушание перед Губерна-

торской Комиссией контрверсии между кинома и хозяевами в связи с требованиями кинома о восстановлении улучшения труда в мастерских. Пока высказался только представитель фабрикантов (протекста) г. Калли, который в длинной речи признавал на голом рабочем гром и молнии и старался доказать, что ни одно из требований кинома не поддается доказательству. В заключение он заявил, что единственным выходом из запутанного положения и спасением для индустрии является возврат к сдельной работе.

ЛЕНЦИЯ.

В пятницу, 17-го апреля, в 7 ч. 30 м. вечера в помещении 315 Шт. 10-ая ул. состоится последняя в этом сезоне лекция Р. П. О. Тема: "Рабочее движение в Европе в настоящее время". Лектор Александр Брайкович.

И. Шевченко, секретарь.

РЕГУЛЯРНЫЙ ПЕРВОМАЙСКИЙ КОНЦЕРТ РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКОГО ОТДЕЛА ЮНИОНА ПОРТНЫХ ЖЕНСКОЙ ОДЕЖДЫ
состоится в пятницу 1-го Мая в 7 час. вечера, в зале Общества Провосенне, 9 Втораа алава.

Выступят лучшие русские артистические сланы в Нью-Йорке. Имена исполнителей будут объявлены на следующей неделе.

Будут бесплатны.

Latvia and Her Fascists

Since Mussolini seized power in Italy, the Latvian Fascists have founded an organization aiming at the destruction of Labor organizations, and the Labor movement generally in order to set up a dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. In 1922, the "National Club" was established; it consists mainly of young people, students, etc., but has also a good sprinkling of adventurers, Communists, anarchists, etc. The Fascist movement also comprises the following organizations: the Fascist Youth Organization, known as "The Owl," the sports organization called the "Defenders of the Fatherland," and various nationalist youth organizations. Labor takes no share in this movement.

The Latvian Fascist "movement"

has begun with rowdiness in Labor meetings, the tearing down of the signboards of Labor organizations, etc. On May Day, 1923, the Fascists attacked unarmed Labor demonstrators at Riga, wounding twenty of thirty persons. In March, 1924, they forced their way into the rooms of the Labor organizations, and went in with knives two members of the Labor Sport Union and the Social Democratic Labor party. On September 21, 1924, they organized an attack on the Anti-War Demonstration which was being guarded by the Labor Sport Union. Fascists have often tried to break up the workers' meetings, or to fall upon individual comrades in the streets. On several occasions the windows of the editorial offices of the "Socialdemocrat" (the national journal of the Social Democratic Party) have been smashed, and in October, 1924, a bomb was thrown at these rooms. On October 10, 1924, the Fascists provoked a collision with the Labor Sports Union, revolvers and bombs being used by them on the occasion. On January 18, 1925, they made an attempt to blow up the offices of the above-mentioned newspapers; on January 3 they tried to destroy the rooms of the Labor organization at Riga, and on February 3 they organized a demonstration and fired revolver shots at the District Court of Justice, for which offense nine of their members were tried and sentenced.

The Fascist organizations get financial and moral aid from the reactionaries. The "Activists" of the National Club are provided with special sticks and revolvers; in Riga they also have the guns of the "Owl". Hence the workers have been forced to found special organizations to defend their meetings and demonstrations. This duty has been undertaken by the Labor Sports Union, which now numbers 45 sections and over 3,000 members, and works in close collaboration with the Social Democratic party and the National Trade Union Center of Latvia.

The workers of Latvia find themselves, therefore, engaged on two fronts, that is, fighting both the black and the red dictatorships. They do not shrink from the challenge, but hope to emerge victorious, feeling sure that International Labor will sympathize with them in their fight for democracy and Socialism.

OUT ALREADY.

The Women's Garment Workers

A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

A Book of 640 Pages, Excellently Bound

by Dr. Louis Levine

Author of "The Syndicalist Movement in France," "Taxation in Montana," etc.

The Price of the Book is Five Dollars

Members of the International may obtain it at half price, \$2.50, from the General Office directly, at

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Out-of-town members can secure it at half price through local secretaries.

The Book contains several

excellent illustrations

—from the early days of

the organization, to the

last Boston Convention.

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

It was a meeting that will long be remembered by those who participated in it on Monday, April 13, in Arlington Hall. That the large meeting room was crowded to capacity with men standing in the aisles was largely due to the desire on the part of the membership to be present at the last available opportunity to bid Manager Dubinsky bon voyage on the eve of his departure for Europe.

It was fortunate that the regular meeting of the Union took place on that day, for he sailed on Wednesday morning, April 15.

Incidentally, this large gathering once more heard Dubinsky masterfully defend some important recommendations of the Executive Board. Towards the close of the meeting, after a short report by President Ansel on the hearing which he attended earlier in the week, the manager in an address wished the members farewell.

Hearing on Union's Demands Under Way

The first hearing following the publication of the report of the Governor's Commission in the cloak industry took place on Monday night, April 13. In addition to the presence of the Union's counsel, Morris Hillquit, International President Morris Sigman, Meyer Perlestein, Manager of the Protective Department of the Joint Board; Israel Feinberg, General Manager, and other officers of the Joint Board, there were present for Local 10, Isidore Nagler, acting manager of the cloak division, and President Philip Ansel. Manager Dubinsky was not present due to the fact that he was eager to attend the membership meeting.

At these hearings the balance of the Union's demands presented some time in June, 1924, will be argued. The employers also will be afforded the opportunity of insisting upon their points. It will be remembered that the majority of the Union's demands were postponed and an agreement was signed for one year, within which time the Commission could investigate the industry.

The report which was made public made no recommendations. The various sides contend will first be given a chance to interpret the report in the light of their demands. The Commission, at the conclusion of the hearings, will make their recommendations in the light of the report and the interpretations of the Union and the three associations.

The conference held last Monday night, the first of a series, was given over to arguments by the Protective Association. The hearings which are to follow will give each side the opportunity to defend its positions. The representatives of the Protective Association consumed the time of the first hearing in a defense of their demands for the right to reorganize shops, which is, in plain words, the right to hire and fire, and a reversion to piece work. Brother Nagler will attend all of these conferences for the cutters.

Members Oppose Minimizing Effect of Penalties

The recommendation of the Executive Board which made for very interesting discussion was the one which found two members guilty of attempting to minimize the effect of the penalties imposed upon members found guilty of violations.

Members of the Union will no doubt recall the decision of the General Executive Board which made it a violation of the International constitution to participate in meetings conducted by outside organizations which are held for the purpose of taking up matters directly affecting the Union. A member of Local 10

found guilty of violating this decision, after even members of the local had subscribed to the decision at a meeting, was fined.

Under the guise of not being able to raise the fine, booklets for a rally were printed and some members of the local were selling coupons with a view to raising the fine. Were the Union to allow this precedent to be established the Executive Board felt that every member found guilty of a violation could gather his friends in the Union together and raise the fine in this manner. It was also felt there was a stop not put to it in time, that the imposition of a fine by the Union was intended as a source of revenue rather than penalty upon the violator.

In the light of this reasoning three members were summoned to the Executive Board and charged "with attempting to nullify the decisions of the Union approved by the membership." Two members who admitted having collected money to pay for a fine were found guilty and instructed accordingly; the charges against the third man, who denied them, were dismissed.

A futile attempt was made by one or two speakers against the decision of the Executive Board to bring in the issue of free speech. This was easily riddled by those defending the action of the Executive Board. Brother Maurice W. Jacobs, chairman of the Executive Board, pointed out that the ends of justice would not have been served were the Union to tolerate such action by the members in question.

On the issue of free speech the manager pointed out that every member had unrestrained opportunity to have his say at the meetings and insisted this by recalling to the members the meeting which was given over a few weeks before the last election and which was called for the purpose of having the issues involved aired. At the meeting last Monday when the question was discussed complete leeway was given the few who were opposed to the action of the Executive Board to voice their opinions.

The opinion was also expressed by those that the two members were really not found guilty for their action but that the action of the Executive Board was really aimed at preventing them from running for office for two years. This caused the manager to suggest that an amendment be incorporated in the Executive Board's decision that these men should not be barred from running for office because of this offense. This was taken up and acted upon accordingly.

Dubinsky said that the Executive Board did not wish to make martyrs of the men in question. No other issue was involved except as it befell the members by the Board. The overwhelming adoption by the decision of the Executive Board's decision accomplished that which was aimed at.

Manager bids Members Farewell Following the conclusion of the business before the members for the evening, the president called upon the manager to render his report.

As was expected, the report consisted of a farewell address by Brother Dubinsky to the members on the occasion of his departure for Europe. In reviewing his activities in the cutters' union and in the International as vice-president, Dubinsky said that these were not his first experiences in the cutters' union.

At the age of 18 he was the secretary of a Labor union in Russia and at the outset of his activities he was imprisoned by the Government. It was quite natural, therefore, for him upon his arrival in

the United States to throw himself into the movement on the side of Labor.

There are many things, he said, of which he is proud, with respect to his activities. However, what he considers his proudest achievement was instanced by the wholesale and wholehearted good wishes evinced on the eve of his going abroad. There was another time when the attitude of the vast majority of the members expressed itself in exactly how they felt towards him. That was when a group of officers and active members tendered him a surprise testimonial dinner.

Speaking of the progress of the Labor movement in this country he recalled to the members the conditions under which he was compelled to work as a knee-pants operator. The hours of labor were from 7 a. m. until 6 in the evening. And then he became a cutter.

Compares New Conditions With Old

One of the saddest days of the week for him as well as hundreds of other cutters was Saturday, when he was fearful of being laid off and the only prospect in view being weeks of unemployment. In these days no such thing as equal division of work was known. A few underlings of the foreman were favored with work during the slack season. The men of independence were compelled to go about unemployed for an entire slack season.

Later, when the system of equal division of work was effected, Saturdays no longer were dreaded. He as well as hundreds of other members felt that a lay-off meant one week. The prospect of another week's wages was never out of sight. What is true of the progress of the cutters' union and the International is true of the entire American Labor movement.

Dubinsky said that while it was his brother who invited him to make the trip to Europe, he feels that such an opportunity would be meaningless and very likely unavailable were it not for his activities in Local 10. The send-off given him and the credentials with which he is armed, one of which is from the Secretary of State of the United States, lend a glamor to his trip and make it possible for him to acquire such an experience as is afforded few people. And he expressed his appreciation of this.

The concluding remarks consisted in his expressing confidence over the fact that the affairs of the organization will be well taken care of by the officers of the Union as well as those in temporary charge. He also said it was a foregone conclusion that the members would extend to these men the same cooperation he so enjoyed. In bidding adieu to the officers he said that it was a pleasure to have been associated with them because of the cooperation existing between them. He said that this was mainly responsible for the progress of the Local.

Committee Sees Manager Off

Having concluded his address, President Ansel took the rose and in the name of the organization wished Dubinsky a pleasant journey. Brother Joe Herman thereupon immediately rose and made a motion that a committee be appointed for the purpose of seeing Dubinsky off on his trip on Wednesday morning, April 15, the day of his departure.

The committee which was appointed consisted of the following: Joe Herman, Henry Leibowitz, Abe Reiss, Morris Gold, Sam Greenberg, Joe Fox, Meyer Friedman, "Dolly" Levine, Max Goldenberg, Elias Ben, Aba Blechstein, Jacob Fleischer, Isidore B. Gross, Victor Neufeld, Jack Hoffman, Louis Gilbert, Sam Weiser, John C. Ryan, Joe Rosenthal and Julius Levine.

Of course, on the day of sailing many more were down at the pier to see Dubinsky off. In addition to the committee there were International President Morris Sigman, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Abraham Baroff, and a number of vice-presidents of the International. Among the officers of the Joint Board were Israel Feinberg, General Manager and Joseph Fish, Secretary-Treasurer. Officers of other departments of the Joint Board were present, as well as business agents. All of the officers, including Executive Board members of Local 10, were present. Shop chairmen and committees of various shops in the cloak and dress trade were on deck, too, to see the manager off.

The cabin occupied by Brother Dubinsky on the "Berengaria" was flooded with flowers, baskets of fruit, and gifts sent by individual members as well as by cutters of various shops. The International, the Joint Board and the Executive Board of Local 10 sent remembrances also.

Miscellaneous Members to Meet

The regular meeting of the Miscellaneous cutters will take place on Monday night, April 20, in Arlington Hall. This meeting is important in that it is the first since the general strike in the miscellaneous trades was completed.

When the last meeting took place there were still quite a number of shops, particularly in the underwear trade, out on strike because of the failure on the part of a number of employers in this trade to abide by the agreement concluded with the Association. Since then these were all settled and the one was taken up good deal with routine work, such as controlling the shops and adjusting complaints.

At the coming meeting the office will be enabled to render a report of the normal activities of this division. It is expected that the members will all attend.

To Begin Dress Control

In line with statements in these columns, during the past few weeks to the effect that preparations are being made for a control by the office of the dress shops, the office intends to begin this control within the next week or so. What is prompting the office mainly to this work is the fact that a few hundred dress shops were recently organized.

It was not possible to make a control sooner because of the difficulties encountered by the refusal of the jobbers to abide by the agreement, and also because unemployed men were not available for this work. Now that the slack season has been in the office will place a few active members to controlling the cutting departments.

The cutters are urged to turn in their working cards upon being laid off and to report any firm that to their knowledge does not employ a cutter or that one of the firm is doing the cutting.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.....Monday, April 20
REGULAR MEETING.....Monday, April 27

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