

"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."

Vol. V, No. 37.

New York, Friday, Sept.

Price 2 Cents

CHICAGO MAYOR WILL EMPLOYERS TO CONFER

Mayor Dever of Chicago received at his office in the City Hall last week, a committee from the Dressmakers' Union, Local 100, headed by Vice-president Perlestein. The committee was presented to the Mayor by Alderman Nelson, who is also the vice-president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Vice-president Perlestein, the spokesman for the committee, gave the mayor all the details connected with the present organizing activities of our International in the dress and waist trade of Chicago and of the 5,000 workers employed in it. He explained to Mayor Dever that the union is determined to win for its workers a wage increase and better treatment in the shops and, while the union does not court a repetition of the 1917 dress strike, it feels that it will have to declare a stoppage in the trade if the manufacturers do not improve the work conditions of the men and women employed by them.

Mayor Dever promised the committee to call the dress manufactur-

ers to a conference with the union at City Hall in order to aid our Chi-

Philadelphia Cloak Contrac- tors Strike Against Jobbers

In Philadelphia, as in New York, the sub-manufacturers in the cloak trade are in the throes of revolt against their actual masters, the jobbers. The Philadelphia sub-manufacturers have suffered as long as they could, but finally their patience reached its end, and, though advised against it by the union, they declared a strike against the jobbers last Monday.

True, the union in this case is in sympathy with the contractors, as they know how mercilessly these have been exploited by the jobbers and how this exploitation indirectly affected the workers in the shops. But the union, nevertheless, was against a stoppage at this moment and the accomplished fact of the contractors'

DRESS A UNION

organization in preventing the coming strike.

strike, which amounts to no less than a lockout of the workers, has put the union in a peculiar position.

It is not yet definitely known how the union will act in this case. It will probably exert its influence to bring the jobbers and the manufacturers to a conference and will mediate a settlement, as was the case in New York. It is difficult, however, to predict the stand the jobbers will assume and how they will be willing to treat the intervention of the union. It must be mentioned that the Philadelphia contractors first made an effort to settle their troubles with the jobbers in a peaceful way, but after their overtures were ignored, they formed an association and carried out the stoppage.

Open Meeting of Designers this Saturday

An open meeting of cloak, skirt, dress and reefer designers will take place this Saturday afternoon, September 8th, in the Garden Room of the Hotel Martinique, Broadway at 32d Street, at 1 p. m.

This meeting will be the final open meeting and those designers who have not joined the organization yet will be given a chance to do so for a reasonable initiation fee.

The agreements in the cloak industry with the various employers' associations are about to expire. The Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union is formulating plans for eliminating a number of evil trade conditions which are at present undermining the living standards of the cloakmakers, including the designers. The designers' union is deeply concerned as to what should be the standard of work of the designer in the cloak industry. The Joint Board, as well as the International, realizes that the designer cannot work any longer under the present conditions.

The agreements in the cloak industry are to run nine more months. During this time the designers' trade must be organized if the designers want to get better conditions.

This meeting will be addressed by International Vice-presidents Israel Feinberg, Joseph Breslaw, Jacob Heller, Harry Wander and the secretary of the Joint Board Louis E. Langer.

Al Broadfield, the manager of Local 45, the Designers' Union, will be chairman.

8, at the Hotel Martinique, Broadway at 32d Street. The first session will begin on Friday at 10 o'clock in the morning and will be attended by our delegates.—President Morris Sigman, Vice-presidents Israel Feinberg, Jacob Heller, and Salvatore Ninfo.

A New Conference for Needle Trades

Our readers are probably quite familiar with the story of the plan for the formation of an alliance of all unions in the needle trades in the United States for the purpose of defense and offense.

Our Chicago convention in 1920 unanimously passed a resolution to the effect that the International undertake the initiative for the establishment of a needle trades workers alliance. A conference of the various unions in the needle industry was called by the International in December, 1920, to discuss such a plan. Unfortunately not all the delegates could agree on the plan proposed by the International in conformity with the Chicago instructions, which was to the effect that an alliance giving

full autonomy and independence to all its component members be formed on a federative basis. The delegates from two other unions insisted upon a complete amalgamation with one treasury, one directing body, etc.

Our delegates, acting upon the explicit instruction given to them at the Chicago convention, and considering the counter-plan as visionary and totally impracticable, declined to accept it and, after a lengthy debate, a needle trades workers' alliance was formed on the basis of the Chicago instructions. Unfortunately the delegates from the other organizations who originally opposed the plan, though they finally consented to accept it, were at heart opposed to it and as a result the alliance was from

Workers' Alliance

its very inception, a stillborn affair.

At the Cleveland convention, the report of the general officers explicitly stated the reasons for the failure of the General Executive Board to carry out the Chicago resolution. The convention again instructed the General Executive Board to continue working for such an alliance on the basis of full autonomy for all participating unions. The other internationals in the needle trades also kept up their interest in the alliance, and recently the Capemakers' Union at their international convention decided to take the initiative in calling the needle trades unions into a new conference to form a workers' alliance. This conference will take place on September 7 and

Registration for Unity Centers this Week

Those of our members who wish to join the Unity Centers should register either at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, in person or through mail, by sending us their names and addresses and local number, or at the office of their local

unions or at the Unity Centers, telling the person in charge that they wish to be assigned to the I. L. G. W. U. classes. Registration started on Wednesday, September 5, and will be continued until Monday, September 10. For further details, please look on page 10.

Our A. F. of L. Delegates to Leave for Portland Shortly

The annual convention of the A. F. of L., to be held this year at Portland, Oregon, is drawing near, and owing to the distance of the convention city from these parts our delegates to that convention are already beginning to make preparations for the long transcontinental trip.

The I. L. G. W. U. delegates this

year, besides President Morris Sigman who is delegate ex-officio, are Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Louis E. Langer and Louis Pinkovsky. As usual, the delegates of the International will present a number of resolutions this year too, touching on problems in which our organization is most vitally interested.

Custom Dressmakers Ready to Renew Trade Agreement

The agreement between the Custom Dressmakers' Union, Local 90 and the employers in the trade expires on September 15th, and Local 90 is now beginning to make all necessary preparations to renew the contract.

The new agreement proposed by Local 90 contains but one new clause, namely, an increase in wages for the workers. All other classes remain as heretofore; week-work and the 44-hour week continue unchanged. The union has begun simultaneously an organization campaign among all the private dressmakers for the purpose of getting the unorganized workers

The regular quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board will be held at Chicago, right after the A. F. of L. convention at Portland which was adjourned so that President Sigman might attend it.

into the local. There are a great many of these non-union workers in the trade and there is plenty of work ahead for Local 90.

According to Brother Bernadsky, the manager of Local 90, the wages in the non-union shops are much lower than those in the union shops, and the interesting thing about it is that many of the girls working in these open shops consider themselves privately as "advanced thinkers," idealists and even "revolutionists."

The union is calling a series of mass meetings of all the workers in the trade, the first of which already took place on September 6 at the Harlem Center, 62 East 104th Street. Local 90 appeals to the active members of the union to help the officers in this organization campaign. If a serious effort is made, there is no reason why, after the agreements are signed, the preponderant majority of the workers in the trade will not belong to the dressmakers' organization.

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

AN ALLIANCE OF FRENCH AND GERMAN INDUSTRY

AT LAST some real news is beginning to leak out on the Ruhr situation.

We are referring to the advance information contained in dispatches from Paris that Poincaré plans to declare in the near future that France is willing to enter into economic accord on a very large scale with Germany. The making of these "cooperative" arrangements between the industries of the two nations, which has been suspended for eight months by the German industrial magnates, headed by Hugo Stinnes, appears now to be near achievement. The Comité des Forges, a group of French steel and coal magnates, has had an agreement with the French government that they would undertake no big business arrangements with the Germans before Paris signifies that the right time has arrived.

The hour of peace between the French and German capitalists of industry is now getting closer at hand. In this light the grandiose announcement from Berlin that the Stresemann cabinet is ready to revoke the Ruhr resistance orders is quite significant. When an accord is reached between French and German industry in the Ruhr, naturally on French terms, Stresemann will find it impossible to end passive resistance and Poincaré will find it entirely compatible with French honor to withdraw his army from the Ruhr. Which in turn substantiates very strongly the suspicion of those in the knowing, who from the very beginning asserted that the invasion of the Ruhr was but a chapter in the struggle between the French and German kings of iron and steel with the major trumps now in the hands of the French.

THE COAL STRIKE

THE coal strike is on.

After parleys lasting for days at Harrisburg, where both the miners and the coal operators were summoned by Governor Pinchot to discuss the terms of an eleven-hour effort to avert the strike, the anthracite colliers shut down.

According to newspaper accounts, both factions are far apart and both have rejected Pinchot's terms. The union appears firm in demanding the "check-off" system, though it is evidently conciliatory with regard to the Governor's offer of the eight-hour day and the ten-per-cent wage increase. The operators still insist on arbitration of the wage dispute and seek assurance of a four-year agreement. Nevertheless, the general public expects the strike to be of short duration. As a matter of fact, in the industrial world it is confidently expected that coal mining will be resumed before another week is over. At any rate, the Pinchot conference and the terms of settlement suggested by the Pennsylvania governor have greatly strengthened the miners' cause before the public and improved their chances of victory. It is now palpable that the strike was precipitated by the operators who would not grant a wage increase notwithstanding its apparent urgency.

The supplementary report of the United States Coal Commission issued at the end of last week which charges the speculating middlemen with a large share of the high cost of anthracite coal, has also lent strength to the case of the striking miners. This report charges the coal jobbers and speculators with reaping profits up to \$4.75 a ton during last year's shortage and bluntly accuses them of maintaining these high prices and unheard-of profits up to date.

The general impression concerning the coal strike today is that within a short time the miners will return to work, having won an eight-hour day for all workers employed in coal mines, a substantial increase in wages, and with the union shop definitely assured.

IRISH ELECTIONS AND LABOR

THE elections in Ireland are over, with the result of placing the present Free State administration in entire and, as it would seem, unchallenged control.

With the exception of the arrest of De Valera, the only touch of dramatic interest in the early part of the election campaign, the entire canvas appeared as a dull and listless show. The Irish people wanted peace and an opportunity to get to work, and so, discounting the return of a few of the more popular Republicans, the election was in advance conceded to the upholders of the Free State.

The disappointing feature of the Irish election consists in the setback received by Labor. Forty-one labor candidates had been nominated in the strongest industrial districts, as well as four independents who were running on the program of the Dublin Trades Council. It was hoped that the Labor Party, alone standing for big human questions that override all racial and political distinctions, would return to Parliament greatly strengthened. But when the votes were counted, it turned out that Labor trailed in far behind the republicans and will in the next Dail be one of the minor parties, unlike England where the Labor Party today is practically the decisive factor in the political arena.

The cause of this startling decline is found in a terse cable from Dublin: "The arrival of James Larkin, a communist leader from America, has split the Laborites, and aided the government cause; where the Larkin element appeared to be strong, many Labor candidates have left the party, standing independently. The net result is a staggering blow to the hopes of the labor campaigners."

Enough said.

ANTI-KLAN RIOTS

"THE biggest anti-Klan demonstration in the East thus far" is the way the newspapers describe the fighting in Perth Amboy between the mob of 10,000 persons and police, firemen, state constables and every other uniformed representative of law and order in that section of New Jersey.

This outbreak of wild disorder incident to Ku Klux activity in a community lying so close to the biggest metropolitan centers, is a subject that commands serious attention. Violence, of course, breeds nothing but vio-

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lence, and the depredations of the Klanmen in the Southwest and in certain sections of the Middle West where they feel themselves strong, can produce only vitriolic reaction in sections where they are hopelessly outnumbered. On the whole the situation lends itself to the possibility of a recurrence of civil wars in miniature throughout the length and breadth of the land.

So far the Klan problem has been either the plaything, football or the bogaboo of the politicians. The startling growth of the Klan and its activities in sparsely settled communities and the corresponding increase in the larger centers of anti-Klan feeling is fast becoming a burning national problem. As yet the only section of public opinion that has adopted an intelligent attitude towards Klanism is Labor. Labor can tell its enemies from a mile—hoods, shrouds and shibboleths notwithstanding. Labor has long ago classed the Klan on a par with the open-shoppers, the "hundred per cent Americans," and other overt and covert enemies of Labor.

But the Klan question affects not Labor alone. It is aiming at the domination of huge strata in the American social structure by a minority of "blue-blood" nativists and religious sectarians and demagogues. Its widespread and well-financed movement aims to subjugate the Jew, Catholic, Irish, Italian and Negro in the United States by the tar-kettle, the whip and the wolf if necessary. Against this there must be a rally of every element in America that stands for a fair deal, of all who make up this land—our America certainly as well as "their" America.

STUDENTS OF UNITY CENTERS AND WORKERS' UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE CHANGED RESIDENCE ARE REQUESTED TO SEND NEW ADDRESSES TO OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

Members of our International who wish to join the Workers' University, the Unity Centers or the courses of the Extension Division, should register at once in person, or send in their names to the office of their local unions or the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

The establishment of a Joint Board for all the locals of the International in Boston is now engaging the minds of the active members of the different unions. From all appearances it looks as if its realization is near at hand. Some few months ago, an attempt was made by President Sigman and Vice-president Perstein to organize one Joint Board in Boston. But like all new ideas, it met with a great deal of opposition. As a sort of a compromise, a District Council with limited powers was established. Somehow this District Council did not function very well, and during its existence it met but once, and that only for the purpose of electing officers.

The District Council proved to be a failure from its very birth. The suggestion for a Joint Board was opposed by many for various reasons. The main contributing factor was the strained relations between the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers and the Executive Local 49. Since then a great improvement has taken place in these relations and the exceptional busy state in the dress trade has created a situation where almost all of the members of Local 24, the skirtmakers, have requested the General Executive Board of the International to bring about the establishment of one Joint Board for all the locals in Boston.

This resolution of Local 24 was also accepted by the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers. The latter fully agreed with this resolution and to expedite matters called a special meeting of all the Executive Boards of the locals affiliated with it, where the entire question was thoroughly discussed and unanimously approved. The next step will be a call for a meeting in the very near future of all the Executive Boards of all the locals of the International in Boston. With a little aid from the International, a joint board of cloak, suit and dressmakers can and will be an established fact within the next few weeks. That a joint board will be more efficient, less expensive and, in general, more

beneficial to the members, there can be no doubt.

One cloak and suit situation in Boston is like everywhere else in the country. Not a suit is being manufactured and even coats are not made in as big a volume as was to be expected. The result is almost complete idleness for the cloakmakers. The situation is a little more aggravated because of the fact that our jobbers purchase coats in the New York and other markets and quite a few of the members of Local 56, cloakmakers and finishers, were compelled to migrate to the dress shops. To the credit of both the members and officers of Local 49 it must be said that these "immigrants" were received with open arms in true brotherly fashion, and everything possible was and is being done for them. Local 49 feels that the cloakmakers and skirtmakers are confronted with a crisis, the like of which wasn't experienced here in many years, and that at a time like the present these cannot be a question of my members and your members. As a matter of fact, the office of Local 49 is trying its utmost to place as many idle cloakmakers as possible in dress shops. All this has brought about a state of better feeling between the members of the different locals.

As mentioned above, almost all the members of Local 24, skirtmakers, are at present employed in dress shops. This fact creates an anomalous situation. While working in shops which are under the jurisdiction of Local 49, the skirtmakers are affiliated with the Joint Board of the cloakmakers and are not in any way represented in the Executive Board of Local 49. The members of Local 24 decided to remedy the latter situation somewhat at a special meeting.

Two conferences were held between the Union and the Jobbers' Association. The union insisted that just so long as the cloakmakers here had not sufficient work, all garments be made in Boston, so that our members may be at least partially

Our last report in JUSTICE has had a very good effect upon our members: During the last few weeks we have received a number of complaints from samplers, all of them practically of the same nature—unequal distribution of work in the shops.

It is with a sense of sincere satisfaction that we may state here that all these complaints have been adjusted by the office promptly and efficiently. All the samplers have been reinstated to the full satisfaction of every man concerned as well as to the office. Upon this occasion we wish to call the attention of the samplers to the fact that every time they are sent down from the shops together with the old designer they have a good cause for complaining and they can be reinstated. We have had such cases already—and the outcome of these was that the samplers were left to work with the new designers. Samplers must always keep in mind that they are working not for the designer but for the firm.

The last meeting of the local was also better attended than many a previous one. Those present have displayed an unusual interest in the problems of the samplers and took an active part in the discussions. In the last few months we have been sending out hundreds of letters to our members calling upon them to come to the local meeting. So far the re-

employed. It was finally agreed that another conference be held during the coming week, at which representatives of the Cloak Contractors' Association will also be present. We all hope that right after Labor Day conditions will improve.

The general strike of the raincoat makers is now completely settled. The agreement reached last week at a conference between the Union and the Boston Raincoat Manufacturers' Association was ratified unanimously by the members of Local 7. The last of the independent employers signed

agreement has not been great, and we certainly would like to see a greater attendance at these meetings. The executive board was instructed to take steps in the direction of attracting larger numbers of members to the regular meetings of the organization.

We expect to hold a general member meeting in the near future to receive a full report of the last year's activity of our local, and also a report of the finances as well as of the sick benefit fund. We shall, in our next letter, advise the members of the date of this meeting.

Owing to the bad season in the cloak trade, our executive board has ratified the recommendation of the organization committee that our tailors refrain from working overtime unless every machine on the floor is occupied and busy. We are calling upon all the shop chairmen to take steps to carry out this order and not to allow overtime in the shops as long as there are idle men in the trade.

We are also calling upon all the members of our local to come to the office and pay up all their dues and arrears and to change their semi-annual cards. The color of the new card is green. Chairmen are being advised of this fact and are asked to cooperate in enforcing the rule that all men in the shops are in good standing and have green cards in their possession.

up last Friday. One of the best features of the present settlement is that all manufacturers had to deposit a cash security with the Union before the signing of the agreements. We congratulate the members and officers of Local 7 on the splendid victory they achieved. It is remarkable indeed that the raincoat makers scored such a clean-cut gain at a time when the trade is not very busy. All this was possible to accomplish because of the solidarity of the members and is in a great measure due to the tireless efforts of the leaders of the local.

Cooperative Notes

"BE A COOPERATOR AND OWN YOUR OWN HOME"

British cooperators believe in owning their own homes, so they have built up a great Cooperative Permanent Building Society to make it possible for the average man.

With assets of over \$5,000,000, the Cooperative Permanent Building Society forms not a safe institution in which workers can invest their pennies, but it is a powerful agency in making possible the ownership of workers' homes. The cooperative lends its money to fellow-cooperators at cost and pays interest at the rate of five per cent from the time the first cent on the \$50 shares is deposited with it. Its \$5,000,000 assets are invested primarily in small mortgages spread over 47 counties of England and Wales. The average sum due on each property is less than \$1,000. Reserve funds of over \$200,000 have been built up.

No industry or business in existence offers such a great opportunity for the exploitation of consumers as building. A thousand people are concerned with the building of every house, at each stage is reached great tolls are exacted by profiteering contractors. Banks, mortgage com-

panies, and insurance companies make still more difficult the purchase of constructed homes. Through the agency of the cooperative building groups construction costs are being kept down to a minimum. Through the Cooperative Permanent Building Society cooperators are making their joint resources available at a low rate as capital for the building of houses.

COOPERATIVE BANKING TO PENETRATE BOSTON

Boston is to have a labor bank within a year. That's the good news sent to the All-American Cooperative Commission by the Order of Railway Telegraphers who mean to carry cooperative banking into that stronghold of respectability and conservatism. Leonard J. Ross, the grand secretary of the Order and vice-president and cashier of the Telegraphers' National Bank of St. Louis, which opened for business a few months ago and has now mobilized more than two million dollars of the workers' money, has been stirring things up in Boston. He reports that the locals of the Order in the Massachusetts city and the surrounding States are at work now on the organization plans.

Chicago Joint Board Elects New Officials

At a meeting of the Chicago Joint Board held a week ago Friday, the following newly elected officials were installed: Brother Max Novack, chairman of Local 5, as chairman of the Joint Board; Brother Sherr, chairman of Local 59, as vice-chairman; Brother Rapaport, of Local 54, recording secretary; S. Kaufman, of Local 100, as trustee; D. Glick, of Lo-

cal 18, inner guard; D. Glassman, of the cutters' local, as chairman of grievance committee; H. Hancock, accountant, as bookkeeper and treasurer.

Owing to the absence of Vice-president Perstein in Chicago, Brother Bliall, the labor manager of the Joint Board installed the new officers, emphasizing in his talk the big task and duty resting upon them.

Power and prosperity go hand in hand with the workers' control of their credit and financial institutions. Boston workers know that. That's

why they are lining up solidly behind the railroad telegraphers in the plans for a sound cooperative labor bank in their city.

JUSTICE


A Labor Weekly

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Debs Repudiates Disrupters

By ABRAHAM TUVIM

A conference with Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman of the Socialist Party, Samuel Kramer of the Chicago Daily Forward, Otto Branstetter and Bertha Hale White, of the Socialist Party, and Meyer Kerlestein and Abraham Tuvim of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was held in Chicago on Sunday, September 2. The conference was called at the request of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and was occasioned by the tendency on the part of the Trade Union Educational League, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the Workers' Party to use various statements with their program and policies.

Special mention was made during the conference of the recent statement emanating from Trade Union Educational League sources that at a recent meeting held between Foster and Debs, assurances were given that Debs would co-operate with Foster and others in their educational plans and their activities for a "united front" of labor. When asked about this Debs made it clear that at no time has he ever refused to lend an ear to all sides of any movement, controversy, or a helping hand to those who were subject to persecution due to their activities in behalf of labor.

"Even in those cases wherein I am at complete variance on questions of tactics and policies, I have cast aside political and economic differences, and have been guided solely by the fact that these people were working and striving in behalf of labor."

Debs made it clear that he had given no assurance to Foster with regard to the activities of the Trade Union Educational League. He said that the purpose of the meeting with

Foster was to discuss, at the request of Foster, the recent Federated Farmer-Labor Party Convention in Chicago. Foster requested the conference so that he could have an opportunity to "clear up certain misapprehensions which have grown out of the break in the Chicago Convention." Debs said that the questions of the united front and workers' education were discussed as a secondary matter, but that no conclusions were arrived at, nor were any plans laid. He resented the implication that he is in sympathy with the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers' Party activities in the needle trades unions, and more especially the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

Debs was told of the claims made by the Trade Union Educational League that he was ready to aid the league in its work, and was also told of the activities of the league in the radical sections of the Labor Movement. It was pointed out to him that in none of the so-called conservative groups of the labor movement has any effort been made to organize sections of the Trade Union Educational League, and that the League was so completely out of touch with the basic interests of the workers that it could find no possibility of attaching itself to the rank and file of the American workers. He was told of the activities of the League in the Needle Trades Unions, and its methods of spreading disension and distrust, of dividing the workers and setting them against each other at a time when all the energies of the workers are needed to combat the open shoppers and injunction lords.

When it was explained to him that

the League was using the recent conference at Terre Haute between himself and Foster to create further division in the needle trades, Debs issued the following signed statement:

"I have always stood ready, and now do, to extend a helping hand to any man or woman persecuted in any manner for activity in the Labor Movement, and this totally regardless of their affiliations, and due to this fact it has been made to appear in certain instances that I have favored and supported the particular organizations to which these persons belonged and the policies to which they were committed, which is utterly untrue.

"I am a Socialist and, as such, a member of the Socialist Party and no other. As Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party my position is obviously clearly defined, and any attempt to misrepresent it carries its own denial.

"It is assuredly not necessary for me to say that I stand unopinionably for the Unity of the Workers, and that I am opposed to any attempt to divide them and oppose them against each other, and reduce them to a state of impotency under any pretense whatsoever."

In a further conference held between the representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Bertha Hale White, Acting Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, the position which the Party has maintained and its attitude toward Trade Union problems was made clear. Mrs. White referred to the various resolutions adopted at conventions of the Socialist Party and to which the Party strictly adheres. She also pointed to the activities of the Party in times of economic disputes, stressing the fact that the energies of the Party have always been at the command of the

Trade Unions, and that at no time has the Party attempted to force its ideas or will upon the Unions in consideration of its assistance to them. Following is a resolution adopted by the Socialist Party at its last convention governing the attitude of the Party toward the Trade Unions:

"It is the duty of the Socialist Party, its press and its auxiliary institutions, to give whole-hearted support to the labor organizations in all their struggles for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, and in all their efforts to increase their membership, to maintain and enlarge their legal rights, and to spread a correct understanding of their purposes. . . .

"It is neither the right nor the interest of the Socialist to attempt to dictate to the unions concerning their international affairs nor to interfere in the jurisdictional and other disputes which sometimes, unfortunately, divide the labor movement. The only service it can render in this direction is to spread such knowledge and such a spirit as will tend to lift these controversies above the level of personal and factional strife, and to promote their settlement on grounds of principle. . . .

"The Socialist Party specifically points out the error into which sincere, but too impatient, Socialists or persons reputed to be Socialists, have sometimes fallen, of seeking to capture the unions, or to force their own ideas upon them by schismatic organizations within their ranks, and by factious attacks upon their leaders. These methods have seldom, if ever, yielded good results and they have often done grave harm, both to the unions concerned and to the Socialist Party. It is by convincing the rank and file and not by dividing them, nor by discrediting their officers, that progress is made."

Sabotaging Local 2

By H. DARDICK

The chairman of the Joint Board of the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union has authorized me to report in the columns of JUSTICE all that occurs in our organization. We want the members, who have been estranged from the meetings—thanks to the scandalous behavior of the lefts at our regular gatherings—to know the exact facts and the daily happenings in our trade and ranks.

The state of affairs in the Philadelphia cloak trade is deplorable indeed. The general cloak situation all over the country is, of course, not bright, but Philadelphia appears to have suffered more than any other market. Shops without number have gone out of existence, and what is worse—the making of suits, Philadelphia's principal item of manufacture, has practically stopped in the last few seasons. Another cause is that Philadelphia is too close to New York.

In a word—there was cause enough for our members to become embittered from time to time and to demand from their officers things which the latter could not possibly obtain for them. And when you add to this the appearance of the lefts—with their incessant incitements, their malicious lying and misrepresentation—the sad picture is complete.

Right now, after they had been so badly defeated, these lefts are behaving like veritable madmen; they simply do not allow the members to have regularly conducted meetings. At the gatherings of Local 2, no coun-

ter does an officer make a statement concerning anything at all, you may be sure that a left will rise to declare that it is a lie. What they purport by such tactics is merely to create disorder and tumult. One of these lefts actually declared the other day that as long as a "right" Joint Board will remain in office, they will continue to break upon the meetings.

At other meetings they have tried to excel the record of even this meeting. They just behaved like rowdies. When the chairman rapped for order, they laughed in his face. They yelled and screamed when Brother Amador, our manager, rose to speak. They broke up the reading of the minutes by the secretary and made it impossible for him to proceed. The result was that many left the meeting in disgust, and the chairman seeing that he could not proceed, was compelled to close the meeting.

Yes, such are the new sabotage methods employed by our lefts, and our members might do well to consider where such tactics will bring us to. A few more such meetings and the union will pretty nearly be smashed up—which is, of course, their noble wish. The Joint Board will have to take a firm attitude in this matter. We are passing through a desperate period in our trade just now and all our energies should have been devoted to trade questions and problems. Our members should realize that without discipline and harmony no organization can exist. Our shops should be left to their politics for your political organization, and devote your work in the union to solving your problem of how to make a living.

Danish Cooperation Wins Uphill Fight

Whenever the little cooperative commonwealth, Denmark, makes its report on the progress of cooperation within its bounds, everybody sits up and takes notice. The little country, only twice the size of Massachusetts, and less than a third of the size of New York State, has demonstrated the possibilities of economic democracy through its hundreds of cooperative stores, dairies, banks and factories. Despite the enormous financial and economic difficulties encountered by all business in Europe, the Danish cooperatives were able to withstand the strain and are as sound and as secure as they ever were.

A business of almost \$250,000,000 was done on during 1922 by the consumers' cooperatives, through the retail shops, supply societies, and wholesale cooperatives. Three hundred thousand members are organized in the consumers' cooperatives. Hardly another enterprise in Denmark has a sounder financial basis than the Cooperative Wholesale Society, which during the war was foresighted enough to build up great reserves to stay them in times of stress such as the past year. As a result it has been able to record profits and pay dividends, whereas private enterprises have had to meet their full strength to cover losses. In 1922, 1,799 societies were affiliated with the Wholesale whose profits amounted to \$1,250,284. New cooperative factories including a shoe factory, tannery, wooden shoe factory, and saddlery have been started, and the great industry displayed by the workers in them guarantees their success.

Excelling all the other prosperous branches of cooperative enterprises in Denmark are its cooperative dairies and creameries. Cooperative butter

goes almost all the way around the world; Great Britain buys thousands of pounds as do France, Belgium, and Switzerland. In 1921, over 2,500,000 head of cattle were owned cooperatively. An experimental farm, equipped with the most up-to-date machinery and supplies, was established last year to improve the already high quality of Danish dairy and farm products. Plans are now being made to establish a bacteriological laboratory in connection with the farm.

Prosperity and cooperation go hand in hand in Denmark. This doughy proving to be the world the ability of the common people, no matter how humble their walk in life, to direct their economic and industrial affairs both efficiently and justly. In Denmark each worker enjoys the prosperity of the whole community; and the whole community benefits from the prosperity of each citizen.

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The Cloak and Dress Industry

Its Problems—Past, Present, and Future

By BERNARD ACKERMAN

(Continued from Last Week.)

A little further comment on the growth of the jobber. Conditions as we have examined them favor his expansion. This season or next will produce the ten-million-a-year jobber. The 25 million a year jobber is in the course of evolution. Great silk and cloth houses interested in the growth of such tremendous markets for their raw products, are beginning to invest in jobbing houses, and vice versa—jobbers are procuring interests in raw material concerns. Mergers creating a community of interests between material firms and jobbers are due in the not distant future.

The vast bulk of the women's wear business will eventually attract the serious attention of the financial world, and the industry will be en route to concentration or trustification. The smaller jobbers and manufacturers will be crushed remorselessly by the overwhelming competition and the gigantic survivors, the super-jobbers, probably a half a dozen or less in number, will control the volume of the business of the industry. The smaller commercial organization will be unable to compete even though its labor were donated to it. The remaining few mammoth concerns will be able to unite in a working group and present solid front to the consumer, on one hand, and to the workers on the other.

We have followed the fortunes of the manufacturing jobber since the entry of union labor. We have seen him boring his hole in the wall of union control with the tool of the subsidiary shop. We have watched his ceaseless labor towards economic liberty, his rise to power and the reaction upon the subsidiary shops, upon contractors and upon his workers. He has breached the wall of control and is making his escape. No longer is the outside manufacturer subject to fixed standards of labor costs; he is now buying his labor on the market at a cost fixed by the supply and demand.

In the slack season the worker receives a subsistence wage, no more. The industry is rapidly assuming the classic state of the open shop industry with all its elements as outlined at the beginning of this article. The jobber has established the right of hire and fire over the workers of his 50 or 100 small shops which comprise his actual factory. He removes work from one shop and automatically discharges thirty union workers; he gives work to a non-union shop and thirty non-union workers are hired. The gains made by the workers in a general strike are but temporary, being later snatched from them through the inexorable grind of competition between the workers of contractor and contractor. The jobber pitches his union shop divisions into competition with the open shops, and at the same time plays union shop against union shop. This process demoralizes all control.

The pressure of organized labor against the manufacturer in pushing against the jobber through the contractor, is of little avail.

This method has never served satisfactorily as a weapon against the capitalist employer, and the development of the industry has made its utility of daily lessening power.

The urgency of this momentous problem gives food for thought to intelligent workers. All kinds of reasons are advanced as to its causes, and many are the remedies that are being proposed. But the constant tendency is to blame one of the symptoms or consequences of the disease and not the disease itself. Workers

speak vaguely of the jobbing problem as one of their many other problems, whereas there are no other major problems. The jobbing problem is the problem, the only one, and other so-called problems are mere eruptions in comparison with this constitutional disease which ravages the industry unchecked and which no soothing syrup or makeshift remedy can check.

THE SOLUTION

When a situation grows in complexity it is sensible to revert to first principles. Let us do so. All traditions must recognize the existence of the class struggle in fact if not in principle. It is an axiom that two classes exist, the capitalist class and the working class. But has many classes are there in the cloak and dress industry? There are three—the working, contracting, and jobbing classes. And if it is so, then one of these classes must be eliminated. Our investigation has stripped the jobber of his alias and disguise and has shown him to be the manufacturing or capitalist class. We must then eliminate the contractor, whose position of dependency has already been illustrated.

The worker must then strike for the means of life and its betterment against the capitalist, the jobbing class, which has heretofore managed to escape the brunt of battle with the working class. This admitted, the road is clear, and we can apply ourselves to ways and means for fixing the responsibility upon the jobbers and for compelling them to yield to the workers what is right and justice should be theirs.

The first requirement in approaching any unorganized shop is its unionization. This must likewise be the first approach to the jobber.

This can be accomplished not by attacking isolated and scattered shops but by concentrating force upon the total number of shops working for each individual jobber and by controlling every machine turning for the jobber, regardless as to the location of that machine. The jobber and his ten, twenty or one hundred and fifty shops must be recognized as a unit, one shop in fact as well as in theory. It is of no consequence whether the jobber has twelve machines working on West 17th Street under the name of the Rex Garment, and fifty machines at West 20th Street which he has named the Goodwear Costume, and forty-eight other shops elsewhere. The fifty sub-shops are one and are to be tackled as one, if the greater shop is to be subjected to any kind of control. The entire procedure of indiscriminate organization of open-shop contractors must give way to jobber organization, as pointed out above, and unorganized contracting shops are to be unionized not "at random" but only when such open shops are part of the producing machinery of a specific jobber or number of firms undergoing organization. We thus begin to consider the jobber only in his relationship to his working machinery and the contractor not as an independent unit but only in relationship to his employing jobber. Accepting this theory as sound, and reshaping organization machinery and strategy to attack from this new angle, manufacturer after manufacturer (jobber) must be brought under union control bringing with him union shops and being compelled to cut away from non-union units. The general strike would as a result be waged primarily against the jobber, and secondarily against the contractor. The multiplication of such work would ultimately destroy the non-union shops

through the control of the source of work.

Experience in the dress union has demonstrated the feasibility of such control. Jobbers employing as many as 50 per cent of non-union shops have been beaten by stoppage of work in union shops and the concentration of organization efforts upon the production of the open shops employed by the struck firm, with the result that non-union shops were unionized or left workless. Experience brought into daylight the surprising weakness of the jobbing organization when struck at by the union. In truth the jobbing machine is a delicate one. The typical jobber may have an investment of one quarter of a million dollars and yet do an annual business of 3 to 4 million. In time of strike he may have 30 or 40 thousand garments scattered in shops beyond his direct control. A serious stoppage of work may cost him his season and cause staggering financial losses.

The full pressure of organized labor directed against jobbers collectively in general strikes and against jobbers individually, as a matter of persistent routine, must result in the ultimate capitalization of the outside manufacturers as employers of non-union shops. It is tremendous labor but nevertheless quite possible of accomplishment.

With this objective obtained, what situation would we be then facing? The jobber would begin to assume identity, would begin to worry just a bit more about his shop divisions. Part of his liberty would have been abrogated. He might attempt a violation of the agreement by employing some hungry non-union contractor, but the union would find him out at it and would impose a fine sufficiently large to hurt, or by a strike, would inflict damage which would threaten his solvency. In the end he would be weaned from the habit of using non-union labor.

Let us assume that this process continues until the jobbers as a class are forced to give up the use of open shops entirely. The trade then, one might say, would be unionized. But rejoining would be premature. The trade would be technically unionized but not controlled. Many believe that the nominal unionization of the entire industry would settle the problem completely. This is a grave error, for the factors which have produced the lowering of standards would still be active.

(End next week)



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EDITORIALS

WHO SHOT AT FOSTER?

No person alive, if honest towards himself and others, can answer this question firmly and positively. In such a case as this—when there prevails even a belief that no shooting whatever occurred in the hall, when one is heard to maintain that he saw two "gunmen" firing away at Foster while another testifies to having observed three men aiming in his direction,—it is neither decent nor honorable for anyone to come out with a positive declaration placing the guilt at the door of this or that particular person or group of persons. A statement of that sort, under such conditions, can only emanate from individuals without the least sense of responsibility, whose sole object is to raise tumult and disorder so that they might catch some fish for themselves in the muddied waters.

We cannot, therefore, with any degree of positiveness state who shot at Foster. We can only presume, but even a temporary presumption along these lines must be based on lines of sound logic and nothing else. We say temporary, for we are aware that even common sense is not always the true pathfinder in such a wilderness. But as we have no alternative and as the shooters have vanished entirely and the witnesses to the affray appear to be so confused that they cannot give a correct account of how and what has happened, we are bound to take our chance with the dictates of common sense and of logic for the time being.

A few months ago Foster spoke before a group of Columbia students in New York City and some of the students threw rotten eggs at him. We deemed it, at that time, our duty to protest against the action of these rowdies which exhibited as nothing else perhaps could their mental and moral poverty. We had at that time no more love and respect for Mr. Foster than we have at this time. We regarded him at that time as we regard him now,—as a mere agent of the Russian rulers who has undertaken upon himself the job of breaking up the unions of America for the sake of "revolution." Nevertheless, we considered arguing with him by the rotten egg method as common, and utterly disgraceful.

And we say now, too, if any labor union had any particle of guilt in the shooting at Foster on August 27 at the Ashland Auditorium in Chicago, it has committed a revolting act and such a union should be exterminated root and branch from the labor movement. It would lend strength to the assertions and charges that the Fosters on the one hand and the employers on the other are making against the trade unions and their leaders. And so in view of the fact, as we have already stated, that the perpetrators of the affair have disappeared and the testimony of the eye-witnesses is hopelessly conflicting, it becomes terribly important for us to reach a conclusion whether any labor union could have had even a small interest in this affair and any motive whatever for taking part in it.

Let us consider the facts carefully.

Never in the history of the cloak and dress trades in Chicago was the workers' organization in these trades as popular as it is today in that city. It made itself respected and valued for two principal causes: First, it has waged and is now waging one of the strongest organization campaigns ever conducted in that city. In their desperation the employers are clutching at the weapon of injunction in the hope of smothering the efforts of the union. But the Chicago Joint Board remains undaunted in the face of this terrific attack from the federal and state bench. It is valiantly defending itself and the entire press is full of the account of its efforts. Despite the crass reaction of the day, our Chicago union has succeeded in winning public opinion to its side with the result that these injunctions have been modified and their beneficial influence upon the legitimate work of the union has been materially eliminated.

In a word, the Chicago organization of our workers, with the aid of our International, has come out on top in this strenuous fight with the employers. And so we ask: Would a union which has shown so much strength and vitality, so much fighting ability and courage, plunge into such a crazy, stupid adventure which might cost it its very life and existence?

For, let us assume that Foster had actually been shot dead, and it were found out that Foster was a victim of the union,

What would then have become of the union and of its leaders? Can any one for a moment believe that this union, now at its height of fighting popularity, would risk its honor and its very life, even in order to put out of the way its bitterest enemy? Let us assume another hypothesis. Let us say that the shooting did not aim to kill Foster but to break up the meeting. But any person with even a spark of common sense might easily figure out what that might involve. A shooting into a crowd three-fourths of which are women with rather weak nerves is sufficient to cause the greatest of panics which could end in the trampling down of hundreds of persons. How can it be even imagined that a union of our workers and its leaders would have the least connection with such a barbarity?

And now let us consider the second factor which has contributed to the revival of our Chicago unions in recent months. Unemployment, as well as the incessant propaganda in favor of various new quick remedies such as "amalgamation" and "shop delegates," has not failed to have its influence on the Chicago unions and for a long while they were in pretty bad shape. The decision of our General Executive Board to launch an all-embracing organization drive in every one of our trades in Chicago and the appointment of Vice-president Perlestein to carry out the task infused new life into the Chicago locals. Nevertheless, they still found themselves suffering from a malignant growth which would not let them come back to full health. This disease was contracted in the days of their weakness and humility when every demagogue could have voice and sway in the union.

Our weakened Chicago unions fell victim to the epidemic of leftism, of Fosterism. And though recently they began to show signs of returning health, the root of the disease was still deeply lodged within the body. The General Executive Board thereupon determined to make the necessary operation, to cut the malign cancer root and all out of our Chicago organization. The operation was performed and it was very successful. The entire propaganda of the "Trade Union Educational League" was displaced before the world in all its naked ugliness and Fosterism received its deathblow. So the question arises, why should our union which has won such a decisive victory over Fosterism now attempt to bring this corpse back to life by shooting at him?

Foster alive today is a "has been," a matter of the past. Had he been killed, he would have become truly dangerous. He would have canonized a martyr and an object of everlasting worship for his followers. To suspect that the union would have even the slightest connection with such a wicked and crass stunt means to lose track of all facts and realities in this case.

The union has eliminated the rotten layer within itself which has threatened its existence. Its members are through for good and all with Fosterism. And even the few among them who are still not entirely cured have ceased going around boasting of their affliction. Foster received his deadliest blow in the place which he regarded as his citadel—our Chicago locals. He is bankrupt and it would be absurd to believe that the union would make him solvent again by attempting to shoot at him.

And if not the union, who then? Two suppositions arise in this connection,—either the "capitalist interests" or that Foster and his own "league" could have staged this show. It is quite worthy to stage both these suppositions. It is true that capital would not halt before such a trifle as killing a person that stands in its way. It appears to us, however, that Foster serves too well the interests of capital to deserve being shot by it. Who, indeed, of capital's paid agents has had such an influence in the realm of union-breaking as Foster, who drapes himself in the mantle of idealism? Foster and his work are worth a treasure for the "capitalist interests" and it would be nonsense to presume that they would shoot their best friend.

Again, had capital wanted to "get" Foster, they could have got him through the various trials instituted against him. Persons who wrote and spoke not one-hundredth part as "revolutionary" as Foster have been sentenced to many years of imprisonment. Foster, nevertheless, always managed to squirm out of the hands of the prosecutors. It is too clear, indeed, that Foster was always worth more to capital and its servants outside than within prison gates. And besides that, the "capitalist interests" would not have had to employ three gunmen against him at an open meeting where was delivered a venomous attack against our International, a labor union which has so embittered the life of our Chicago employers. So firmly convinced as we are that capital is capable of committing the meanest of crimes, we are certain that it would not perpetrate such a colossal stupidity in killing one of its most loyal and best friends.

We must therefore reject this supposition as entirely illogical. There remains only the last supposition, that Foster and his "league" have themselves carried out the entire spectacle. And before we consider this last hypothesis, we must declare that we should not be very readily inclined to accept it. Little as we think of Foster, we somewhat revolt against the idea that a human being could have sanctioned a stunt that might have cost the lives of tens and perhaps hundreds of human beings.

We should have been inclined to reject it but all circumstances so far point in this direction, and it is the only supposition that common sense permits of acceptance.

Let us analyze it. In order to wage his fight against the unions, Foster has formed his Trade Union Educational League which, under the guise of a "school," would gradually bore its way into the unions and break them up from the inside. His "educational league" has never had any success in the general labor movement, but it must be admitted that in a few of our

Ellis Island

Some Observations

By A. LEBEDIGER

America does not know what to do with her immigrant.

She needs him—but she does not want him.

She could make great use of him—but she is afraid of him.

America is kicking around her immigrants in particular and her aliens in general in mean, ugly fashions.

America, which has become what she is today, by immigrants, through immigrants, and thanks to the energy of immigrants—wants no more immigrants. The immigrant of yesterday would not have the immigrant of today. It is a tragedy tainted with comedy—it is the behavior of a parvenu.

Now it is planned to abolish Ellis Island entirely, the last home of the immigrant. Little by little the traces of an immigrant nation will disappear in America. It is probably well that Ellis Island, designed as a house of first welcome for the immigrants, should be scrapped now that the original purpose, the original intention of

welcome, has vanished. All we have today of that Ellis Island is an Island of Tears, an equitation station for immigrants.

The abolition of Ellis Island will, however, not mean the removal of the stain upon American liberty. It will mean still harsher treatment of the immigrant, of the alien; it will mean another crust of shame upon the fair name of the land. For, no matter how inquisitorial the conduct of the Ellis Island officialdom, Ellis Island is on American soil, and the immigrant always has felt that he too was, with one foot, upon American soil and that after his tortures were over he would finally see the coveted land.

But without an Ellis Island they will "investigate" the immigrant on the other side of the ocean; they will investigate him during the trip across, and they will place him wholly under the arbitrary, unappealable will of the petty bureaucrats in charge. Yes, they are planning to abolish Ellis Island, but in this they are not actuated by humanitarian, finer motives but by augmented hate and anti-bu-

manity, by a desire to dodge the cry of the wronged and of the aggrieved.

Why, indeed, should America be compelled to listen to the protests of England and Norway that Ellis Island is worse than Hell, that Ellis Island is more detestable than the Chicago stockyards? When Ellis Island is abolished there will be no more cause for grievances, no more cause for protests. And we therefore suggest further:

Why should not America remove the Statue of Liberty?

Who wants it? This statue at the very shores of America is today an additional joke upon what was formerly regarded as American hospitality. This statue in former years stood as a symbol of welcome and good-fellowship. It spoke: Come to us, settle in our midst, all ye persecuted and aggrieved men and women of the older lands—America is ready to give you all a home! The torch in the hands of the huge Lady in the Gateway beckoned to the peoples across the ocean and poured light in their path.

Today it is only mockery—and it should be removed.

unions and particularly in such where the female element predominates, Foster's "school" has succeeded in creating dissension, tumult and factional fighting.

The Foster league has hoped to continue gaining strength in these few locals until its destructive work would be completed. Of a sudden, like a bolt from the clear sky, his entire plan was struck at and destroyed by the decision of our General Executive Board. In the course of a brief space of time, the rot which has accumulated within some of these locals was thoroughly cleaned out and Foster was left without a "school" and without disciples. One can easily visualize his desperation; we that was left for him to do? To again call meetings and pass resolutions—but what do such things amount to? Foster has recently had "protest" meetings in New York and his wall fell upon deaf ears. Something stirring and sensational was needed to galvanize the deadened interest in Fosterism. And the logical conclusion is a clownish attempt upon the life of the Prophet without regard to consequences and the horrors that might ensue from it. Desperation is a bad counselor, but desperation deadens logic, and it stunts the heart. This is what leads us to believe that the supposition that Foster himself had staged the shooting is about the only one acceptable.

Another circumstance must be taken into consideration. The entire Communist movement in America is beginning to fall apart. It is in a state of decay and moral bankruptcy. The few labor unions which in the beginning veered in their direction have now come to realize what the propaganda of the "educational league" amounts to and are shaking its dust from their shoes. Yet the will to live still persists and, if real martyrs are rare, would-be-martyrs dressed up and properly served might, perhaps, serve as a rallying cry, as a means of bringing back to life what has been adjudged as dead and gone.

What has led us most in the direction of this last supposition is the behavior of Foster himself after he was shot at. Admitting that Foster is a hero, yet he is a person of flesh and blood and, intrepid as one might be, one cannot help displaying some nervousness in the face of death. Tolstol in his "War and Peace" remarks somewhere that the greatest heroes after all are great cowards at heart when the moment of parting with life arrives. Foster, if he did not get scared out of his wits by the shooting, should, at least, have shown some signs of nervousness. Nevertheless, as it is reported, he remained on the stage and in the calmest of tones declared to the audience, the very moment after the shooting occurred, that the "summers" have gone without hitting their mark, that they did not aim at any one but him, that they are being paid for by his enemies, and that the movement for which he stands will continue to go on and on, etc.

Would any person in the full possession of his senses believe that Foster could have delivered such a consummate heroic speech a few moments after he had been saved from imminent death? Does not the entire speech sound like a well-prepared and memorized sermon? This speech, which was quoted in all the papers, appears to us to be the strongest proof that Foster must have known in advance of all that was to come. Had the shooting been a shock and a surprise to him, he could never have been so deliberate, so calm, and so ready to make capital out of this shooting as he was.

Nevertheless, regardless of all the circumstantial evidence, we frankly would have rejected even this supposition if we had any belief in Foster's personal honor. But, considering Foster's career, we are inclined to doubt very strongly in Foster's ordinary honesty. We still remember the time when Foster was an anarchist and,

much as we believe in the aptness of a person to change, we cannot admit that one who has been for so many years such a staunch anti-centralist would of a sudden become such a zealous disciple of this huge bluff and nonsense which parades under the name of "one big union," or what they now call "amalgamation."

We still remember the time when Foster became a trade unionist and how he got along so well with all the leaders of the American Federation of Labor that he was entrusted with part of the leadership and the organization work in the great steel strike of 1919. How he could have worked for years with the "fakers" and then again of a sudden discover that he must wage a war of extermination against them is beyond our ken.

And by way of conclusion, we should like to put to Foster a few open questions and we pledge our word that, if Foster will give a satisfactory answer to these questions, we shall openly withdraw every charge and every suspicion against his honesty as a man which we have entertained in these columns.

We ask:

1. When the Steel Strike, to which our International union contributed the sum of \$60,000, came to an end, Foster brought to the office of the International a testimonial, not for \$60,000 but for \$65,000. This document still hangs on one of the walls of our general office. Where did he get this additional \$5,000? And how could he with such startling bookkeeping reconcile the accounts of all the monies he received?
2. When he founded his Trade Union Educational League, who made him secretary-treasurer of that league? Did he elect himself or did any one vote for him? Was he the only candidate or were there any others?
3. What is his salary as secretary-treasurer and who fixed this salary for him?
4. If the work of secretary-treasurer is being done by him, without compensation, what other income has he?
5. Who pays for his frequent trips and tours from city to city?
6. What does the membership of the league consist of—mere workers who can barely pay their union dues, or well-to-do persons who can contribute substantial sums?
7. The league has large expenses. We understand it issues publications and from time to time publishes pamphlets, handbills and books. Who pays for all these?
8. Can you give a clear account of the annual income and expense of your league?
9. Would you be ready to allow a committee of the various sections of the labor movement to investigate all your books so that they might beyond a doubt fix clearly the character of your organization and of all those with whom you are allied?

We are putting these questions to you without any back thought. We believe that it would be better for you and for your movement if you could give a clear answer to these questions. We hope that you will be able to supply a satisfactory answer to these questions and not threaten to beat us up as you have threatened Vice-president Perlestein at a recent meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor. On this last occasion you challenged Brother Perlestein to a debate. Well, this is not a bad plan. The writer of these lines will debate with you whenever and wherever you may desire. But before he will do this, he would like to be sure with whom he debates. We believe our entire labor movement would be strongly interested in receiving a clear answer to these nine questions which we have put to you.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Ladies' tailors in Rochester go out on general strike demanding a 10-hour working week, recognition of the union, etc.

New York cloak and shirt makers participate in Labor Day parade. All marchers are dressed in special uniforms made for them. Raymond Gramscin is grand marshal, Harry Wagner, assistant, and D. Isaacson, second assistant.

The Cleveland Federation of Labor taxes every member of organized labor in the City of Cleveland 10 cents per week in favor of the striking cloakmakers. The Federation also adopts a resolution calling upon the cloak employers to arbitrate the demands of their workers.

The "New Post," the weekly organ of the New York Cloakmakers, appears printed on red paper to celebrate the first anniversary of the settlement of the great cloak strike in New York in 1916.

The Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union issues an appeal to all the workers in this trade to join the union and to begin fighting for better labor conditions.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Labor and Banking

(Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Investment Bankers' Association of America, 1923.)

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Labor organizations are going into banking. Indeed, everybody is going into organization. First, as Bonomi has shown us, the employers formed their various "unions"; then came the American Bankers' Association; and finally the Investment Bankers' Association of America. Employers and bankers, apparently, believe that unionism is wicked and evil—for labor. Hereafter when they call us names and demand that we be licensed and controlled and regulated, we need merely turn and say, "Well, you're another."

It is amusing—and revealing—to see how similar are the concerns of bankers' unions and employers' unions, and labor unions. Of course, the investment bankers don't strike. They don't have to. For the investment bankers are the economic lords of our world. Instead of withdrawing their labor power through a dramatic and unceasing walk-out of thousands of men, they quietly and matter-of-factly withdraw their money and credit power. No strike can have more far-reaching and drastic results than this bankers' sabotage. Going businesses halt, "hatching" unborn businesses remain in the shell, farmers lose money on their crops, workers lose jobs. And who is there to weep for the poor public?

Who are the investment bankers? They are the men who decide what business should obtain money for equipment, buildings, "iron men" and all the other various and necessary parts of fixed capital. Commercial or discount bankers furnish the money to keep the business going from day to day and year to year. Investment bankers, after investigating the business character of a new venture and

deciding it is good, underwrite its stocks and bonds and sell them—in other words, they decide what successful ventures shall receive funds, how much and when. And this is a very necessary function. For industry today is a round-about process in which vast sums of money for machines, factories, wages, etc., have to be spent before any return on the finished product comes in. The men who control the money bags control the labor power of the race.

So the investment bankers (as well as the commercial bankers) have unionized. They became an important part of industry about 1900. By 1913 they were organized. And in their last annual congress they were functioning most efficiently. Their bare membership list, carrying names from practically every State of our country, fills 22 quarto pages. They are governed by a board of governors, constitution, by-laws and executives. They discuss and take action upon interest rates, security quotations, blue-sky laws, high grade securities, the railroad situation, "labor problems," advertising, excess profit taxes, Liberty Bonds, etc., etc., through all the other phases of bankers' "wages, legislation, working conditions, and general interest." And, oh yes, the association even has its education committee which prepares text-books on such subjects as "Courses of Study in Corporation Finance and Investment," "Railroad Securities," Stock Exchange Business," and so on. Shades of Workers' Education!

The formidable and unimpeachable pages of this huge volume will repay any bold reader who braves their seeming coldness sufficiently to skim them over. For between their lines

they contain both valuable lessons to Labor on how to do it and an indictment of our present economic system.

There can be little doubt that the bankers have effected for themselves a far more complete and thorough organization than they are willing to grant to Labor. The smooth functioning of their "union" as revealed by the proceedings of their meetings is itself impressive. Undoubtedly investment bankers know pretty well what they want and just how to get it. There is a beautiful class-consciousness apparent in their every reaction to current issues. They want "blue sky laws," they favor an abolition or lowering of the excess profits tax, they generally favor the Transportation Act of 1920 (The Esch-Commins Bill), they establish central bureaus for the dissemination of information and the spread of "trade" education. Whole sections of our workers could take lessons from them in class-consciousness.

But there is more to the compactness of their organization than this. It must be remembered that the members of this association, as the membership pages reveal, are not individual men (as are the labor unions) but corporations. A corporation is an organization that enjoys the advantages of both, union and individuality. It is undoubtedly a union—of individual stockholders (sometimes running into the hundreds of thousands) and of pooled individual fortunes. Before the law it is an individual—the famous so-called "artificial person" with whom the unorganized individual worker in West Virginia and elsewhere signs a "yellow dog," in the name of freedom of contract.

But even this is not the full story of bankers' unionism. For bankers are the rulers of our present economic world. Credit power rules that world and credit power today is in their hands. Perhaps it is that fact, or perhaps it has been deliberate conjunction that has placed the entire business structure under their control. The corporate form of organization has permitted "banker" directors and by such interlocking directorates to extend their control until it embraced all worth controlling. Congressional investigation has recognizable must be set against the direct loss of some of our best workers."

COST OF LIVING AND DOCK STRIKE

No doubt the official announcement that the cost of living has gone up since the last estimate of a month ago, and as much as three points in the case of food alone, has had something to do with the return of the London dockers to work. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that this circumstance has made it easier for them to find a reason for going back, since it is probable that they could not have held out much longer, with their own official leaders against the strike, and all the other ports failing to stand by them. They can say now with a good show of reason that, with the cost of living down again, the case of the employers for the wage cut that caused the strike is so much weakened that there is a good chance of its being dropped altogether for the present. Certainly, if the strike has done nothing else, it has cast doubt on the official method of judging the cost of living, and this will probably have to be revised if wages are to depend on it. For it is obviously little comfort to a docker, suddenly deprived of a shilling a day, to be told that clothes and furniture are cheaper. His living now depends when he goes out to shop with six shillings less than last Saturday, his finds tea and sugar and cheese all dearer than they were a few weeks ago. The psychological effects of the dockers' unauthorized strike are less

vealed, for instance, that the eighteen most powerful investment banks hold in all 746 directorships in 134 corporations having total resources or capitalization of over 25 1/2 billions. Five of these banks hold 341 of the directorships in 126 of the corporations valued at over 22 billions. This control covers banks, trust companies, transportation systems, public utilities, producing and trading corporations. Certainly banking is our key industry and the organized investment banking corporations form a more powerful union than any Governor Allen or President Coolidge attempted to curb.

From this aspect of the whole banking situation one draws the indictment on our present economic order. The bankers own and control modern industry. They decide what businesses shall live and which shall die. They make the largest fortunes. They are truly our democracy's uncrowned kings. And by what right? Their proceedings certainly reveal no dominant social aim motivating their deliberations. They control and rule for that by which all business men guide their efforts—profits. And what are profits? A reward for risk-taking, as the old economists used to say! But the investment bankers have virtually removed that element of risk-taking from new ventures and the discount bankers have at least standardized it in the old. Thus banks have slain the individual entrepreneur. Are there any motivating factors? Look at the figures for interlocking directorates and the absentee ownership implied in them. So, today profits stand forth nakedly—a reward for mere ownership. The banks control the world because they control the credit power which makes the machines which makes the goods which maintains the people. And credit power is only the discounted future proceeds of the race's labor power.

Thus it is that such a volume as the Proceedings burts the big question at our present system? By what do our present powers that be, remain in power? How much longer shall they continue to break the world on the wheel of their own interests? Let Labor answer.

England's Workless and The Coming Winter

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

"The government can help Britain and do something to settle the lamentable troubles in Europe only insofar as it comes near the unshakable truths of labor policy," said J. R. Clynes, the labor leader, speaking at Cambridge at the sixth annual council meeting of the National Federation of General Workers. In the same speech he commented on the fact that, while unemployment was merely slight, the employers did not trouble about it, because a certain amount of unemployment is good for trade under the capitalist system; but now that it is increasing rapidly, Big Business is growing alarmed. Through its mouthpiece, Sir Allan Smith, M. P., it is calling upon the government to start works of national utility to absorb the workless during the coming winter. But here the conservative industrial group in the House of Commons has merely stolen the thunder of the labor party, who have been demanding this ever since the unemployment problem became acute.

The prospects for the coming winter are certainly ominous. In one week the total number of registered unemployed in Great Britain—by no means the whole total of workless—has increased by 20,674, and there is

no prospect of any improvement. An additional evil is the growing tendency of skilled workers to emigrate, a tendency that reminds one irresistibly of historic parallels, such as the loss of culture and skilled industries occasioned to Spain by the exodus of the Moors, and to France by the expulsion of the Huguenots. From Birmingham, Coventry, Manchester, Glasgow, everywhere comes the same story, that the best men, tired of waiting while the government pursues its policy of inactivity as regards unemployment, are going away to the States and to our own Dominions. Low wages as well as want of jobs are accountable for the stream of emigrants now leaving our shores. Here again, not only do the skilled trades unions recognize the danger, but Big Business is also waking up to it. In the report of a special committee appointed by the shipping industry, to be presented to the forthcoming Imperial Conference, it is pointed out that to increase in this way the manufacturing population of the Dominions will tend to decrease the power of that Dominion to export raw material and food. "And," continues the report, "the benefit to this country from helping the Dominions to acquire . . . the strong, healthy and

easy to estimate. If it is true that the new rebel union formed on account of it really has 10,000 members already, it does look as though confidence in their two leaders, Harry Gosling and Ernest Berwin, had been badly shaken. On the other hand, the excellent record of both in the past, especially of the veteran Harry Gosling, may well help them to weather the storm in the end.

The building dispute, in which a serious strike was averted by both parties agreeing to arbitration, would seem to be settled fairly satisfactorily by the conditions of the award just published. The general attack on the 44-hour week has been repelled, although although modification of the existing agreement have been made to suit the employers, a saving clause prevents any general extension of hours until unemployment is reduced to a small given percentage.

In regard to these wage disputes, it is interesting to note that at next month's annual Trades Union Congress a real attempt will be made to extend the powers of labor's general staff on the industrial side. At present, the General Council of the Congress has power to promote common action between unions and to assist unions, when disputes occur with employers. If certain resolutions on the agenda are passed at the Congress, the council will be given power actually to intervene in a dispute where negotiations have broken down, where the deadlock affects workers by 10 other
(Continued on Page 9)



LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

POSTAL WORKERS' WAGES.

At a Conference of the Postal Inspectors' Association in Glasgow on August 6, it was estimated that wages in the postal service were falling at the rate of \$100,000 a month, that the starting pay of postal workers was lower than that of general workers and amounted to no more than 1 shilling an hour.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY; LAND VALUES TAXATION.

An international conference on the taxation of land values will be held at Oxford on August 13. Eleven countries are sending representatives.

IRON ROAD DEATH TOLL.

The number of persons killed in 1922 in connection with the working of railways in Great Britain, was 728, compared with 765 in 1921; the number injured was 19,462, compared with 18,973 in 1921. The need of a system of automatic train control, for want of which so many accidents occur, is thus still proved.

A MINISTRY FOR CHILDREN?

A Ministry for Children, to replace the present Board of Education, was proposed by Mr. Frank Rose in an address to teachers, on August 6, on the subject of "New Ideals of Education."

CLEANSING PRESS REPORTS.

The Parliamentary Committee (Select) to whom the Matrimonial Causes (Regulation of Reports) Bill was referred, has reported in favor of the Bill, adding the recommendation that it should not apply only to divorce cases but also to other classes of cases in which the publication of "polluting details" is calculated to injure public morals.

DEATH'S TOLL IN MINES.

The number of fatal accidents in mines in Great Britain in 1922 was 1,109. There were also 4,805 cases of serious injury.

INJUSTICE TO ENGLISH WIVES.

Sir John Simon drew attention in the House of Commons on July 26 to the hardships endured by English wives of Germans or Austrians, married before the war, whose property was forfeited though it might be drawn from British sources. He urged that the treaty should be revised in this respect, also that a small committee should be set up to consider the cases of young men of double nationality who had fought on the British side but had their property forfeited while they were in the army.

ITALY

SOCIALISTS EXPEL SERRATI.

The Executive of the Socialist party recently expelled Serrati and his personal assistants from the party. For some time, Serrati, through his organ the "Pagine Rosse," has been agitating for the fulfillment by the Executive of the Congress resolution for adherence to the Communist International and amalgamation with the Communist party. Serrati claims that the membership of the party is behind him and demands that the matter be referred to the party conference. This the executive has refused to do, and further announces that any branch that elects Serrati shall be expelled. These dissensions have only further weakened the Socialist and Labor Movements in Italy, to the profit of Mussolini, who is steadily working to attract away to Fascism the workers who are still loyal to Labor.

FASCISTI AND LABOR.

The Fascist Grand Council in Rome on July 26 noted with satisfaction the consolidation of Fascist trade unions which "lead the masses away from the destructive ideals of Marxism." It also affirmed the desirability of securing permanent contact with the General Confederation of Labor led by Aragona, and considered the measures taken to spread Fascism in Europe and America.

AUSTRIA

SOCIALIST AGRARIAN POLICY IN AUSTRIA.

The Socialists have introduced a bill whereby the present temporary arrangements affording protection to small tenants in Austria are rendered permanent. There is also a movement on foot in Socialist quarters to check the wasteful policy of the large landowner, who leaves uncultivated his less fertile ground; the bill remedying this grievance would empower the local authorities to lease such land for 10 years to small farmers, who would cultivate it intensively. A third reform advocated by the Socialists is the abolition of the burdensome "servitutes" many of which date back to the Middle Ages; such as, for instance, the obligation incumbent on certain farmers to supply the parish priest with a fixed quota of eggs, etc. These agrarian reforms have, however, hitherto been blocked by the Catholic and Nationalist land-owners.

FRANCE

LESS DRINKING.

The French Minister of Labor ordered, some time ago inquiries to be made on drunkenness in the working-classes. The result has just been published as regards the Department of the Nord—one of the coal-mining centers of France. It says that drinkings of alcoholic liquors has steadily decreased since the Armistice. There are, it is stated, fewer cafes and bar rooms open to the public, and arrests for drunkenness are less numerous.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

HALF-TIME OPERATION DOES NOT STOP DIVIDENDS.

Fall River, Massachusetts, cotton mills, while operating but four days a week, distribute quarterly dividends amounting to \$677,675.

HIGH TARIFF FAILS.

The Roger Babson Institute through Mr. Babson, when interviewed as to the reason why certain mills and factories in the East are shutting down, replied that those mills which are forced to close are subject to keen European competition. The high American tariff fails, to benefit them.

BROWBEATING MINERS IN UTAH.

Union coal miners of Utah filed a brief in which they ascribe the causes which led to the strike last year to a "campaign of the coal operators of Utah against Utah organized labor and to the unionizing of the Utah coal fields. They charged that the operators resorted to armed force in their efforts to monopolize coal production, control prices plunder the public and pauperize labor."

SOUTHERN WORKERS FOR SUPREME COURT CASE.

Adoption of resolutions calling for legislation designed to better labor conditions and speeches by prominent labor leaders featured the opening session of the North Carolina Federation of Labor at Greensboro, N. C. Edward F. McGrady of the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. urged the Federation to endorse the proposed amendment to the constitution of the U. S. "so that when the Supreme Court nullifies an act of Congress and Congress repeals the act over the veto of the Supreme Court then such an act shall be the law of the land."

SEPTEMBER WHEAT RISING.

September wheat in all markets, except Kansas City and Winnipeg, advanced above \$1 yesterday for the first time since July. As applied to the entire crop, it represented an increase of \$50,000,000 in value to the producer.

STEEL ORGANIZING GOES ON.

Steel organizers sent to Cleveland by the American Federation of Labor and representatives of local unions at a meeting appointed a local committee to help in the campaign to organize the steel workers and declared that their efforts would be in no way affected by the United States Steel Corporation's move to put into effect the eight-hour day.

COST OF LIVING STILL INCREASING.

The cost of living in the United States on July 15, 1923, was 69.9 per cent higher than in July, 1914. Between June 15 and July 15, 1923, there was an increase of 1.8 per cent. This was brought about by the continued advances in the cost of food and clothing and the further increases in rent, according to the National Industrial Conference Board.

THE MASTER PRINTERS A TRUST.

The United Typothetae of Chicago, and affiliated organizations have been ordered by the Federal Trade Commission to cease using a certain cost accounting system on the grounds that it tends to promote a uniform price to employers. A statement explaining the order says that the members of the Typothetae direct and control more than fifty per cent of all the commercial printing in the United States.

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWING IN UNITED STATES.

A decrease of 1.8 per cent in the average number of employes in July as compared with June, was shown in a report made public by the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. The figures were given for 6,739 representative establishments and 41 manufacturing industries. The total amount of wages paid in a month showed a decrease of 4.7 per cent, while the average weekly earnings of the 2,353,000 employes were 2.9 per cent less.

England's Workless and The Coming Winter

(Continued from page 5)

unions, and even to raise a strike fund by a levy on all affiliated unions, in such a case.

WOMEN IN COUNCIL.

The second annual congress of the International Federation of Women Workers, just concluded at Vienna, has been particularly interesting, in spite of the fact that the German and Austrian women refused to attend on account of their objection, which will be shared by many in segregating men and women in separate trade unions. Japan, China, Great Britain and 15 other nations were represented, and interesting discussions took place on Mrs. Raymond Robins' (U. S. A.) reference to Senator Borah's resolution in the American Senate suggesting the outlawry of war in a legal sense: on

Miss Shin Tak Hing's account of conditions in Chinese industry, where women work 12, 14 or even 16 hours a day for a monthly wage often as low as 16 shillings, and on Miss Tako Kato's even worse account of conditions in Japan where as many as 100,000 women work in coal mines, carrying heavy baskets of coal to the pithead. Three important resolutions were the outcome of the congress, affirming severally the Federation's opposition to the Ruhr invasion, their determination to bring pressure upon governments for the outlawry of war, and their endorsement of the opening of negotiations with the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions for the purpose of affiliation with it.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Our Activities

(Report Submitted to the Conference of the Workers' Education Bureau)

(Continued)

4. STRIKE ACTIVITIES.

During the strikes of the Waitmakers' and Cloakmakers' Unions, the Educational Department was active in arranging programs for entertainment for strikers. Musical talent was secured, and in many cases lecturers were assigned to address small as well as large groups of newly organized strikers on the different aspects of the labor problems in which they were interested at that particular time. Lantern slides were also shown, illustrating and describing our activities.

5. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES.

The Educational Department has always realized that it is not sufficient to appeal only to the intellectual interests of our members. Workers are human beings and have emotional, artistic and social needs as well.

For this reason, the Educational Department conducted entertainments. At each of them an artistic program was rendered and addresses were made by speakers prominent in the labor movement and the educational world. They were followed by chorus singing and dancing. In all cases, a family spirit prevailed throughout.

6. GET-TOGETHERS

The Educational Department helped to arrange get-togethers at the end of each educational season. These were directed by committees selected by our students and were attended by the students in the Unity Centers and Workers' University, the teachers and their families and officials of our Union. They were financed by the students.

7. HIKES AND OUTINGS

The Students' Council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers with the assistance of the Educational Department arrange hikes and outings during the summer months.

The hikes have always been most interesting. Many of our members belong to different local unions and do not know each other. At the hikes they become acquainted, make friends and spend a few hours in sociability and good fellowship, called forth and influenced by beautiful natural surroundings.

It is needless to emphasize the importance of these open air recreations to our members who spend most of their working days indoors.

D. LIBRARIES

An important factor in the development of labor education is the labor library. In classes, students are referred to books dealing with the subjects studied. Many purchase such books. Others obtain them from libraries. These libraries are particularly equipped to meet the needs of the entire membership,—of those who are interested in books. They are also a stimulus to others to read books dealing with current labor and social problems.

To satisfy the needs of such persons a great many of our local unions have equipped their headquarters with libraries. In all cases there may be found standard books dealing with the history, problems and philosophy of the labor movement and with social and political subjects. There is also usually a plentiful supply of standard books of literature, particularly by novelists and dramatists who deal with important social problems.

The Educational Department of the International has been useful in suggesting to local unions books to be purchased for their libraries and in obtaining them at wholesale rates. The Summer Unity Home in Forest Park, Pa., the Unity House at Philadelphia, and the Italian Waitmakers' Union have many thousands of volumes in their libraries which are utilized extensively by the members.

The movement for building up libraries in English and other languages is spreading among all the locals. Before long, libraries will be a permanent feature in every local union.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the above that an attempt is made to provide educational activities for as many different groups of our members as possible. Much more can and will be done in time.

The Announcement of the Activities of the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U.

As has been reported on this page, the announcement of our Educational Department for the year 1923-24 is out. This consists of a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, written in the English, Italian and Yiddish languages. The pamphlet in itself is of educational value, as there is a description of every course which was specially prepared by the instructors for our members. These descriptions give our students an idea of what they can expect to learn from each subject. A copy of this pamphlet will be mailed to the homes of those of our members who attended the educational activities last year.

It will be noticed that the courses are numbered, and we advise our members to read the pamphlet carefully and select the course or courses which they desire to take up. The number of the course or courses selected should be sent to the office of our Educational Department, together with the name, address and local number of the student, and we will notify him in due time when the courses selected begin. Those who do not receive this pamphlet and are interested in our educational activities are advised to apply at our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, where they can obtain a copy free of charge.

Announcement of Our Courses for 1923-1924

(Continued)

Course No. 3—American Labor in Modern Civilization — David J. Saposs.

The internal readaptations which Labor is called upon to make in view of the changing conditions is a direct outgrowth of the role it aspires to play in the readjustment of modern civilization. Because Labor's influence in the course of this transition has been assuming larger proportions, it finds itself confronted with new problems. Consequently, the atmosphere in labor circles is surcharged with discussion of aims, policies, and tactics, that will best serve Labor in fulfilling its historic mission under modern civilization. During such critical periods it behooves all thoughtful participants to reappraise the past accomplishments of Labor, gauge its future possibilities, and determine on a mode of procedure, that will enable it to realize its ideal.

With this aim in view the course will analyze and discuss such subjects as the philosophy and tendencies of the American Labor Movement, strength of unionism, racial composition and distribution of union membership, problems of organizing the unorganized workers, federation and amalgamation, dual unionism, educational activities of unions, labor control of industry, nationalization of industry, labor bank movement, etc.

Course No. 4—Economic and Social Developments in Europe — Louis Levine.

There are pessimists who see Eu-

rope on the way to decadence and who foresee the complete collapse of European civilization. Such pessimism is unjustified and is explained by the fact that many people and whole groups in Europe can not visualize any other forms of political, economic and social life than those under which they grew up and lived.

What is taking place in Europe is a profound transformation in economic organization, in social relations, in the relative distribution of national and international power, in ideas and ways of social behavior, in ideals and methods, in short, an economic and social revolution in the widest meaning of the term. The Russian Revolution, the revolutions in Germany and elsewhere are the more spectacular and significant phases of a movement in which all of Europe is involved.

It will take decades before the new economic and social forms are sufficiently crystallized to serve as the foundations of a new civilization. But the trends and tendencies are discernible, and one who tries to study them objectively may succeed in forming a clearer picture of the outlines of the future. This course will take up some of the most significant developments, such as the rise of new agrarian relations, the internationalization of financial and economic control and the new position of Labor, and will consider them as steps in the direction of a New Europe.

Opening of the Unity Centers Monday, September 10th

The Unity Centers of our I. L. G. W. U. opened for registration on Wednesday, September 5. Members of our union who wish to join the Unity Centers will have to register at once, either at the offices of their local unions or at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, from 9 o'clock in the morning till 6 o'clock in the evening, in person or by mail, giving their names, addresses and local number. Those of our members who wish can register at our Unity Centers in the following public school buildings:

Public School 63, Fourth Street, near First Avenue, Manhattan.

Public School 40, 320 East 20th Street, Manhattan.

Public School 171, 1034 Street, between Madison and Fifth Avenues, Manhattan.

Public School 61, Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Bronx.

Public School 42, Washington Avenue and Claremont Parkway, Bronx.

Public School 43, Brown Place and 135th Street, Bronx.

Public School 150, Christopher Avenue and Saekman Street, Brooklyn.

Public School 147, Bushwick Avenue and McKibben Street, Brooklyn.

In every Unity Center will be organized classes in English for advanced and intermediate students and for beginners. In addition to this courses of six lessons each will be given on labor, economic and industrial questions. Once a week instruction will be given in physical training, under the guidance of competent instructors.

Admission is free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U. For further information consult the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

Encouraging Word from Solon De Leon, Instructor at Our Unity Centers

(Extracts from a communication received by our Educational Department.)

"It has given me great pleasure to look over the impressive curriculum prepared by the I. L. G. W. U. for its members in the coming season (1923-1924). Every worker who seriously attends a well-selected group

of these courses will be one more evidence that Labor is intellectually rising to its responsibilities under a rapidly changing social order. The varied work offered this year will, I hope, serve as the basis for a carefully rounded and coordinated curriculum as the need for more systematic study makes itself increasingly felt.

Manager Hochman's Final Report on Dress and Waist Industry

A Retrospect and Survey

(Continued from Last Week.)

CUTTERS

Believing, as I have on one occasion expressed, that by permitting an employer to do away with the cutter, we lay the beginning of undermining union conditions in the shop, we have made a special effort to check up where cutters are employed and consistently appealing to our chairmen and active members placing upon them the responsibility to see that cutters are employed in their shops.

In each and every case where our attention had been called to the fact that employers were doing their own cutting we have not only placed a cutter to work but collected liquidated damages for the amount of cutting done by the employer. We succeeded in collecting more liquidated damages for this violation than for any other. In this manner, we succeeded in giving employment to hundreds of cutters and greatly improved the conditions of the cutters in the dress industry.

ATTITUDE TOWARD OFFICERS

I believe that, with our policies, we succeeded in developing a better relationship, understanding and mutual respect between the officers and the members than ever before.

STRIKES OF 1923

The strike of 1923 is too fresh in the memory of most of us to need any detailed report here. We want, however, to emphasize the very difficult conditions under which this strike was conducted. It was eight months prior to calling the strike that we decided to start an agitation for the introduction of week-work in our industry.

This was done with the belief that piece-work is the cause for a great many evils which have an unhealthy and demoralizing effect on the industry and work great hardships on our members. So we immediately started to propagate the idea of week-work. Each and every local meet-

ing was addressed, special circulars giving in detail the evils of piece-work and showing the benefits of week-work were published by the tens of thousands in all languages and distributed in the shops. Nevertheless, the referendum taken later showed a very small majority in favor of week-work. This was a great disappointment and did not help matters very much.

When we came to the final decision and had to face the issue, it unfortunately happened that Brother

Schlesinger resigned and the International remained for a while without a president. This helped to complicate matters and make the situation even more difficult. In spite of all the difficulties, we succeeded, after a two weeks' strike, in reaching a settlement, the main feature of which was the introduction of the 40-hour week, instead of the 44-hour week, as heretofore.

Thus we were again the first ones to introduce the 40-hour week in the needle trades.

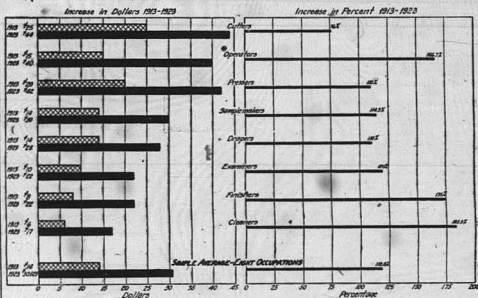
We have accomplished the following:

- The agreement of 1909 limited the hours to 54.
- The agreement of 1913, to 50 hours.
- The agreement of 1916, to 49 hours.
- The agreement of 1919, to 44 hours.
- The agreement of 1923, to 40 hours.

A reduction of 20 hours, a reduction of 1/3 of the time our people worked in the industry in 1909! who can measure a r-J who can weigh and who can value the amount of joy and happiness and longevity and the opportunities for culture and mental development this reduction of hours brought to the workers! If nothing else had been accomplished, who could

COMPARISON OF MINIMUM WEEKLY WAGES IN THE DRESS INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK CITY 1913 and 1923

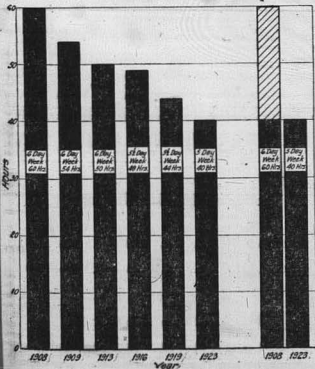
Prepared by
JOINT BOARD-DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION OF THE I.L.G.W.



(Weekly wages of operators computed on basis of hourly base rate.)

FULL TIME HOURS PER WEEK IN THE DRESS INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK CITY 1908-1923

Prepared by
Joint Board-Dress and Waistmakers' Union of the I.L.G.W.



Under these difficulties, the task fell very heavy upon the leaders of the strike, and as one who had the honor for the first time to share in the responsibility of it, I feel that whatever has been accomplished, was mainly due to the wonderful cooperation and self-sacrificing work on the part of our officers and active members.

GENERAL SUMMARY

In their book of the History of Trade Unions, Sydney and Beatrice Webb start out by saying, "A trade union is a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives." And if we are to accept this conservative definition and measure the accomplishments of our union in this light, I believe we can present a record which may very well gratify us.

WHAT OUR UNION HAS ACCOMPLISHED

Hours:

Unquestionably the greatest gain to the workers is a reduction of the number of working hours. Every other gain is subject to economic changes except in cases where a 100 per cent organization is in control of the situation. From the point of view of the reduction of hours, I think we can compare with the strongest trade unions in the world.

Before we started our strike of 1909, hours in the industry were unlimited. In an inquiry conducted among workers who worked on wages before 1909 (and I found very few such workers) figures differed from 60 to 65 hours. The better shops we infer worked 66 hours a week.

say that all our efforts and struggles had not been well repaid?

Wages:

We have no record of minimum scales before the year of 1913. There had not been any in the industry. Each worker had to struggle and bargain and fight for his wages each and every week. In the year 1913, when we entered into our first agreement with the Waist and Dress Manufacturers Association, we introduced the first minimum scale which was based upon an investigation of the prevailing conditions in the industry and was as follows:

MINIMUM WAGE SCALES IN THE YEAR 1913

Week-Workers:

- Cleaners; Grade A \$ 5.40
- Cleaners, Grade B 6.00
- Cleaners, Grade C 6.00
- Finishers 8.00
- Examiners 10.00
- Joiners 12.00
- Drapers 14.00
- Samplemakers 14.00
- Ironers (women) 12.00
- Ironers (men) 15.00
- Pressers 20.00

Piece-Workers—Hourly base rates:

- Cleaners30

Cutters' Scale:

- Full fledged cutters 25.00
- Full fledged cutters, 2d grade 25.00
- Cutters doing pattern grading 25.00
- Apprentices, Grade A 6.00
- Apprentices, Grade B 12.00
- Apprentices, Grade C 18.00

(To be continued next week)

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

To all outside appearance, with the removal of the offices of the Dress and Waist Joint Board into the Cloak-makers' Union, the amalgamation seems complete. However, that is not the case actually. For Local 10 the mere moving is not the completion of the amalgamation.

One of the problems which confronted Local 10 was the matter of representation at the Cloak and Dress Joint Board. When Locals 22 and 89 sent their delegates to the Cloak Joint Board for the first time as representatives of the dress industry, Local 10 was represented by the first cloak delegates. The dress delegates, were, so to speak, "left out in the cold." This, of course, was the result of the dissolution of the Dress Joint Board.

At the meeting of the Executive Board on August 16th, Manager Dubinsky took this matter up and suggested to, or rather sought the advice of, the Executive Board as to the possibilities of Local 10's adopting a more feasible plan of representation which would be fair to the dress as well as the cloak members, in view of the amalgamation.

The Executive Board saw at once the feasibility of the manager's ideas, and decided to call a special meeting for August 23d, at which the delegates of the Cloak Joint Board should be invited, where the matter should be discussed in conjunction with them, with a view to adopting some plan in line with the opinion expressed by the manager.

When this special meeting was held a discussion ensued, during the course of which the Executive Board expressed its opinion and gave its reasons therefor. The Executive Board pointed out that it had no doubt that the interests of the workers in the dress industry would be well taken care of by the Cloak and Dress Joint Board. It further contended that the delegates representing the cutters would have at heart the interests of the cutters working in the dress trade.

However, the Executive Board pointed out that there were peculiarities within the dress trade with which the former dress delegates were familiar. It was also pointed out that it would be a matter of fairness for the union to adopt a means of representation which would give the members of the two industries proper representation.

The delegates representing the cloak branch at once saw the fairness of the proposition and suggested that they resign in a body and thus afford the president an opportunity to select a delegation which would accord Local 10 representation in harmony with the sentiments expressed at the meeting.

The five delegates, Louis Forer, Harry Zaslowsky, Ignatz Fieschner, Louis Pankin, and Louis Scheinman, thereupon tendered their resignations. At the same time they expressed their hearty approval of the suggestion of the Executive Board. The delegates suggested that two dress cutters and three cloak cutters be appointed. This, they thought, would be a satisfactory means of representation.

It was expected that President Ancel would make his appointments at the general meeting on Monday, August 27th. The reports of the Executive Board were to be read at this meeting, and the board's plans and the resignation of the delegates would be presented for approval. However, due to the unexpected ending of the meeting, the chairman was not afforded this opportunity.

At the meeting of the Executive Board on August 30th, however,

President Ancel appeared and presented this problem to the Executive Board. He pointed out the fact that, in view of the resignations which were accepted by the Executive Board, unless a delegation were appointed that at the next meeting of the Cloak Joint Board, Local 10 would not be represented. He therefore told the Executive Board that he had decided to make his appointments in its presence, so that Local 10 will have a delegation at the coming joint board meeting.

The following three delegates were appointed from among the cloak delegation: Louis Forer, Louis Pankin and Harry Zaslowsky. Brothers Henry Robbins and Charles Stein No. 2 were appointed from among the dress delegates.

There are other problems confronting Local 10 which are an outgrowth of the amalgamation. These will be dealt with by the Constitution Committee, which was appointed for the sole purpose of adopting the necessary by-laws which would make for the same equality with respect to the rights of dress cutters in the cloak trade and vice versa, as exists in the Cloak and Dress Joint Board. Meetings will shortly be held for the purpose of having the Constitution Committee report to the members on the measures adopted.

Among other things which the Executive Board took up at its last session was the question of the ruling handed down by the chairman at the last general meeting, which resulted in its sudden adjournment.

It will be recalled that mention was made in these columns of this ruling. The chairman contended that he would not entertain a resolution presented which, if adopted, would have been a protest against the decision handed down by the General Executive Board, outlawing all members of unions within the International who belong to organizations the purpose of which is to act upon trade matters. The General Executive Board's decision is directed at these organizations, which, it found, attempt to force at regular meetings decisions adopted in outside gatherings.

The chairman based his ruling on the fact that, since the International was the union's parent body, its decision was final and binding, and an appeal from this decision could only be made at a convention.

During the course of the meeting, Manager Dubinsky succeeded in getting order enough to speak to the members. He pointed out to them that the chairman had a right to be wrong and that those who were dissatisfied with the ruling could find regular channels through which to appeal and to take up the question as to whether he was right in his ruling.

However, the few unruly ones, numbering about six, persisted in shouting and clamoring that the resolution be put to a vote.

Nevertheless the Executive Board, feeling that it would not want to see any arbitrary steps taken, and believing in order and discipline, decided to place this matter of the ruling before a higher body.

This suggestion was made by both Manager Dubinsky and the writer. That the Executive Board had taken a stand worthy of the highest commendation can hardly be disputed by fair-minded people. The Executive Board proves to the disturbers at the meeting that it is ready at all times to submit its rulings and actions to a test. What the Executive Board is doing here could surely have been done by those who were not in favor of the ruling handed down by the chairman. It is really not the busi-

ness of the organization to appeal from its own rulings. It is a well-known parliamentary rule that only those dissatisfied with a ruling of the chair can appeal. However, in this instance the union is ready to go a step beyond ordinary procedure and will itself appeal against the decision, at least seek advice on the question. And it is ready to abide by any opinion handed down.

In accordance with the suggestions and opinions made by the secretary and manager, the Executive Board appointed its chairman, Brother Benjamin Evry, Secretary Fish and the President, Brother Ancel, as a committee to submit this question between now and the next general meeting to International President Sigman. Should President Sigman rule that the members would not be violating the protest by acting on a motion to decide, it will be reported to the Executive Board and in turn submitted to the members. Should the ruling be in favor of the chairman, the matter will then end.

WAIST AND DRESS

Little time was wasted by the union in perfecting its machinery for the attention of complaints and of the affairs of the dress and waistmaking industry. At the present time only the Organization Department is still situated at the offices of the extinct

Waist and Dress Joint Board. The two departments, the Independent and the Association, were moved some two or three weeks ago to the offices of the Clakmakers' Union, 130 East 25th Street.

The Board of Directors in a recent session appointed Brother S. Prizant as the manager of the Independent Department. Brother I. Horowitz continues in his capacity as manager of the Association Department, Brother Spielman, formerly the complaint clerk for Local 23, has been appointed complaint clerk for the Association Department. Miss Sarah Camen, formerly complaint clerk of the Dress and Waist Joint Board, now acts in that capacity for the Independent Department. Miss Campanelli, the assistant clerk, acts in that capacity, for both departments. Her duties are mainly as an interpreter for the Italian workers.

It is somewhat too early to expect a report of the industry under the new arrangement. One of the first acts of Manager Prizant thus far was to secure a transfer of Business Agent David Fruhling to the Independent Department. Under the old arrangement both dress cutters' business agents, the other of whom is Brother Settle, were with the Association Department. The transfer gives both departments a cutter as business agent.

MEMBERS OF LOCAL 10

SPECIAL ATTENTION

All cutters are hereby warned against working on Sunday to make up the Jewish Holidays. In addition, cloak cutters must not work on Saturday afternoon; dress cutters must not work Saturday all day.

Permission to this effect has not been granted to any member of Local 10 through any source.

Committees will be scattered throughout the districts, and cutters found going to work or working will be summoned to the Board.

By order of
EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 10.

WANTED

Ambitious young men and women who are tired of working in the factory and would devote all or part of their time to a well-paying proposition.

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9-10 A. M. Tel. Madison Sq. 10365 4-5-45 P. M.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS.....Monday, September 17th

GENERAL.....Monday, September 24th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place