

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."

—Job 27.6

# JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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New York, Friday, January 2, 1925.

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## Conferences In Cloak Trade Begin Next Week In Chicago

Vice-President Perlstein Leaves For Chicago to Begin Conferences With Employers — President Sigman to Join Him on January 9.

Vice-president Meyer Perlstein, international representative in the Middle West, who is at present acting as administrator of the consolidated Cloak Operators' local of New York, No. 2, will leave next Tuesday, January 6, for Chicago to begin negotiations with the local cloak manufacturers' associations for the renewal of the agreement in the Chicago market.

President Sigman will quite likely join Vice-president Perlstein in Chicago on or about January 9 to take part in the final conferences leading up to the conclusion of the agreement. The Chicago workers are confident that the new agreement will contain several important improvements in work conditions in the cloak shops.

While in Chicago, Vice-president Perlstein will take steps to start new

organizing activity in the dress trade. The dress workers of Chicago, despite the disappointing outcome of the last strike, are as eager as ever to resume the fight against their Union-baiting employers at the point where it was left off last spring and are clamoring for a renewal of activity.

President Sigman is also planning to engage a permanent organizer for the Chicago territory to take charge of activities in the dress field as well as other trades. This is particularly urgent now that Vice-president Perlstein is engaged in work in New York City where he will remain for some time to come.

## Cutters Install Officers at Impressive Meeting

President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and Vice-president Feinberg Address Cutters

The annual installation meeting of the Cutters' Union, Local 10, last Saturday afternoon, at Arlington Hall, proved as inspiring a gathering of trade unionists as the New York cutters ever had for a number of years past.

The big Arlington Hall was crowded to the doors. The feature of the occasion was a talk by President Sigman, who performed the ceremony of installation. President Sigman was in fine fettle as he addressed the cutters, who paid diligent attention to every word he said. He went extensively into the history of the cutters' achievements for the many years of the local's existence, pointing out that they owed all their gains to their solidarity and their collective recognition of the fact that they are primarily a trade union and that as such only can they expect to succeed in winning for themselves higher standards of life and labor. He praised the rank and file of the local for their indomitable spirit and the officers of

the local for their straightforward and loyal leadership of the men in the cutting rooms of the ladies' garment industry of New York.

A detailed account of President Sigman's speech the reader will find on page twelve of this issue.

Manager Dubinsky of Local 10 delivered an interesting speech which was greeted by warm applause. Vice-president Dubinsky dwelt in particular on the spirit of fair play and impartiality which has guided him and every other officer of the local in their treatment of the members, regardless of views and adherence. He promised for himself and his fellow officers a similar course of action for the coming year and unceasing, tireless efforts to maintain the present standards of labor in the craft and to strive constantly to improve them.

Among the other speakers at the meeting were Vice-president Israel Feinberg and Brother S. Yanovsky, editor of *Gerechtigkeit*.

From Chicago, Vice-president Perlstein will go to Cleveland to take care of a number of matters which have recently required the attention of the impartial chairman in the local cloak industry and will meet with the Joint Board and some of the local executive boards.

## Dressmakers' Install Executive Board

Sigman, Baroff and Yanovsky Talk to New Officers

The new executive board and the other local officers elected by the Dress Makers' Union of New York, Local 22, for the 1925 term, were installed in office last Saturday afternoon, December 27, at a well attended meeting, in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street.

The meeting was opened by Max Bluestein, the outgoing chairman of the committee, who requested all present to rise in memory of Benj. Witashkin, one of the pioneers of the dress and waist makers' organization

## Local 20 Elects New Officers for 1925

The Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, held an election for officers, paid and unpaid, last Saturday, December 27. The following officers were elected for the 1925 term:

Manager, David Gingold; secretary, Abraham Weingart; chairman, Samuel Baroff; vice-chairman, Max Kaplan. Members of the Executive Board — Sol Berkowitz, Hyman Bick; Louis Zolotaroff, Sam Freedman, Hyman Goldstein, Joe Kusler, Gabriel Lavitt, Nathan Friedman, Me Levy, Arthur Rubin, Nathan Abrahams, Louis Zimmerman, Israel Klein.

The executive board of the Local, through Secretary Weingart, desires to express its gratitude to Brother Harry Greenberg, chairman of the Miscellaneous Trades District Council, who aided Local 20 in conducting this election in the finest possible order.

The installation of the new officers will take place on Saturday, January 3, 1925, at 4:30 p. m., in the Council Room of the International, 3 West 16th street. All the members of the local are invited to attend the installation meeting which will be addressed by President Morris Sigman, General Secretary Baroff, and Vice-presidents Feinberg, Lefkowitz, Fannia M. Cohn and Halperin.

## Workers of Eleven Trades To Meet In Cooper Union

Great Mass Meeting To Be Held on Thursday, January 8

The great drive initiated by the District Council of Miscellaneous Trades in New York among the unorganized workers in the smaller dress and novelty trades of this city is making steady headway. The widespread literature and shop-meeting propaganda carried on for the past three months is beginning to show appreciable results. The message of the Union is reaching the unorganized masses and is bringing daily new converts and members to the affiliated locals.

A culminating point of this agita-

tion will be reached shortly in the big mass meeting which the District Council has arranged for next week.

Both union and non-union workers have been invited to get together in a big rally in the great hall of Cooper Union, 8th street and Third avenue, to consider the conditions of labor in the miscellaneous trades and the elaborate plans of the Council for their improvement. The invitation has been extended to all embroidery workers, miscellaneous trades' makers, raincoat makers, waist makers,

ladies' tailors, lickers, pleaters and hemstitchers, white goods workers, custom dress makers, children's dress makers, bathrobe and kimono workers, button makers and salespeople.

The big meeting will be held right after work hours. It will be addressed by some of the best known leaders of the New York Labor movement, including President Morris Sigman of the I. L. G. W. U., Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff; Luigi Antonini, Secretary-Manager of the Italian Dressmakers' Local, No. 89; Sarah Conboy, General Secretary of the United Textile Workers of America; Samuel Lefkowitz, Manager of the District Council. Brother Harry Greenberg, Chairman of the District Council, will preside.

A great crowd is expected to be on hand. In order to accommodate it the District Council has arranged, if necessary, to hold overflow meetings in adjacent halls where the workers who might not be able to get admission into Cooper Union will be addressed by the same speakers.

in New York and at one time a vice-president of the I. L. G. W. U., who died last week. The meeting also elected a committee to represent the local at Brother Witashkin's funeral.

The standing committees of the outgoing executive board then rendered complete reports of their activities for the past year. The reports of Secretary Sobusholts and of Chairman Bluestein concluded with an appeal to the new administration of the local to heed the facts placed before them and to endeavor to do all in their power to strengthen the organization and maintain it on a sound financial basis.

Chairman Bluestein then introduced General Secretary Baroff, who installed the incoming local officers. He expressed the warm thanks of the workers to the outgoing officers for their loyal efforts on behalf of Local 22 and briefly stated to the incoming board the duty and responsibility which their election placed upon them. After Brother Baroff's talk the meeting elected Brother Abe Lupin as new chairman of the executive board of the local.

President Morris Sigman was then introduced and delivered a short inspiring talk to the new officers of the dress makers' local. He spoke highly of the outgoing officers of the local and stated that their reports reflect a splendid record of useful work which the new officers may very well strive to emulate. No matter what their point of view with regard to other matters may be, their duty as officers of a trade union clearly points the way as to what the workers expect them to do and what they must refrain from doing as labor union officers. They must be guided in each of their activities by considerations of the union's welfare and must above

## Local 22 Extols Record of Vice-President Schoenholtz

Adopts Resolution Praising Achievements of Retiring Secretary

The new executive board of Local 22, the Dressmakers' organization of New York, appointed a committee consisting of Brothers D. Becker, N. Margolis and J. Rabinowitz, to draft a resolution expressing the senti-

ment of the organization and of the workers in the dress industry with regard to the work and achievement of Brother Isidore Schoenholtz, the retiring secretary of Local 22.

(Continued on page 2.)

(Continued on page 2.)

## Local 22 Extols Record of Vice-President Schoenholtz

(Continued from page 1)

The committee drafted the resolution given below which was approved by the board and forwarded to the Labor press for publication. It reads:

### Resolution Adopted By Executive Board of Local 22

The members of this executive board are government with Brother Schoenholtz's work and achievements for our Union for the past ten years. Those of us who have stood close by the dressmakers' organization know well how unsparring in his efforts and energies Brother Schoenholtz has been through all these years, first for Local 25 and later for Local 22. Since the formation of Local 22 as the dressmakers' union, Brother Schoenholtz has stood watch over our organization giving it the care of a doting parent. Schoenholtz has built

up the local and never missed an opportunity to help putting it on its feet and to strengthen and solidify it.

His intense activity within the local, his unquestioned devotion to the organization and his love for the union to which he gave his all—are invaluable contributions to the cause of our workers which we can hardly adequately appreciate at this moment nor fully reimburse him for it.

Schoenholtz always stood at his post as a loyal sentinel in the ranks of his fellow workers. The various committees within the local always knew that with his aid, by word and act, they would be guided aright, and he has been regarded by all of us not only as the best secretary the union ever had but as a teacher and a director as well.

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## Women's Trade Union League Lecture Courses

The Women's Trade Union League of New York announces several lecture courses for the winter season, to which both league members and non-members will be admitted.

Mr. Clement Wood, poet and writer, will deliver a series of lectures on modern literature under the heading—"What is Good in Modern World Fiction." Mr. Wood will handle his subject from the viewpoint of the sociologist and scientific development. He will discuss Ibsen, Romain Rolland, Anatole France, Henry Barbusse, Jules Romains, H. G. Wells, Samuel Butler, Gilbert Cannan, Frank Norris, Sherwood Anderson, Ben Hecht, Abraham Cahane, Theodore Dreiser and Jack London. This course will be given on Monday evenings and will commence on January 5.

Another course in Social Hygiene will be given by Miss Laura E. Garrett, Tuesday evenings, beginning

## Dressmakers Install New Executive Board

(Continued from page 1)

all avoid being dictated to by any outside elements or factors. President Sigman also paid attention to the present state of the industry and pointed out the duty of the upcoming officers with respect to organizing the numerous unorganized shops in the dress trade and placing them under union control.

Among the other speakers who addressed the meeting were Brothers Isaac Feinberg, general manager of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board; S. Yanovsky, editor of the *Gerichtigkeit*; and Luigi Antonini, secretary-manager of Local 89, the Italian Dress and Waist Makers' Union.

January 6. All classes are held at the Women's Trade Union League Club House, 247 Lexington Avenue, New York.

## Miliners Thank Louis Maggio

Dear Editor, Justice:

The Executive Board of Local 24, Millinery and Ladies' Straw Hat Workers' Union, at its meeting held October 21, 1924, acting on a report of Brother Alex Rose about the settlement of the strike of the Miracle

## Pauline Newman to Investigate Safety Standards in Baltimore Shops

Miss Pauline Newman, of the New York Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the women's garment industries, will leave next week, at the request of Dr. George M. Price, the director of the New York Board, for Baltimore to investigate sanitation and safety standards in the Baltimore cloak shops.

It will be recalled that at a conference attended by a number of women's civic bodies, the union, the manufacturers, and representatives of

the Baltimore City Government, a few weeks ago, a sanitary board on the lines of the New York organization had been formed in Baltimore. On Thursday next, January 8, the second meeting of this sanitary board will be held at which definite sanitary standards will be adopted for the local industry.

Dr. William Henry Howell of Johns Hopkins University is chairman of the board.

## To All

Embroidery Workers, Miscellaneous Cutters, Raincoat Makers, Waistmakers, Ladies' Tailors, Tuckers, Pleaters and Hemstitchers, White Goods Workers, Custom Dressmakers, Children's Dress, Bathrobe and House Dressmakers, Salespeople and Button Workers.

## A BIG MASS MEETING

for All Union and non-union workers will be held THURSDAY, JANUARY 8, 1925, right after work, in COOPER UNION, Eighth street and Fourth avenue.

### IT IS THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE

for every worker working in the above trades, whether Union or non-union, to come to this Mass Meeting as the future welfare of the workers working in these trades will depend upon this meeting.

The following Speakers will address you:

MORRIS SIGMAN ABRAHAM BAROFF  
President of the I. L. G. W. U. Sec.-Treas. of I. L. G. W. U.  
LUIGI ANTONINNI SARAH CONBOY  
Sec.-Treas. Italian Dressmakers, Sec.-Treas. of the United Textile Local 89 Workers

SAMUEL LEFKOVITS  
General Manager of the District Council  
Chairman of Meeting—HARRY GREENBERG  
President of the District Council

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## -:- Ammunition from the Enemy -:-

Testimony in support of the value of trade unionism to the worker is not often forthcoming from the employers' camp. Unionism, we are accustomed to hear, may have served some useful purpose in the dark days of the sweatshop with its starvation wages and long hours, but this enlightened era the good intentions of the bosses are enough.

Occasionally, however, some one lets the cat out of the bag, and the longer the feline has been imprisoned the livelier he is once he gets out. Mr. John G. Walber is a high official of the New York Central Railroad Company. He is Vice-president in Charge of Personnel. In this capacity, and formerly as Chairman of the Bureau of Information of the Eastern Railway, he has for many years conducted wage negotiations on behalf of the carriers. He has always been known as a man of unusual frankness. Recently he outdid himself.

Last summer the classes of employees on the New York Central represented by the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks requested an upward adjustment of their wage scales. The train service men on this system had already been granted an increase but the demands of the clerks were refused by the company. In October the case came before the United States Railroad Labor Board. The proceedings were moving with the usual scientific monotony—statistical counts and figures, charts—when Chairman Hooper of the Board asked Mr. Walber to explain the road's difference in policy toward the train service employees and the clerks.

Mr. Walber, after preliminary sparring, started to untie the bag. Replying to a question of the Chairman, he explained the increase to the engineers, and others, as follows: (1)

We are told that the New York Central had been selected because of the fact that the engineers felt they had the best chance of getting an increase on that railroad, because we had the last argument on earnings, etc., to combat them.

We were convinced that they would go to greater extremes on our property under the circumstances than they would on any other property, because the success of their whole movement depended upon their success on the New York Central. . . . We felt perfectly confident that the organization, on account of the path it had blazed out for itself would have to go to extremes, and no doubt it would. . . . We also felt we could not justify any attempt at a strike condition on the New York Central. We did not believe the public would sustain us in it or anybody would back us up in it.

We also considered what was the cheapest basis we could get out on, in view of all the circumstances. We did not do this impulsively. We felt we must get all the facts. . . . We reasoned and concluded that we would be able to make a cheaper settlement in cost to the railroad at that time and before any crisis might be developed than we would be able to do after a crisis. I do not know any official on the New York Central who could have done any other thing but what he did. . . . I believe the public would have bought a ticket to ride on that train. . . .

Then Mr. Walber finished the job of setting the cat free:

Chairman Hooper: Mr. Walber, your answer rather convinces me that if the organization of clerks on your property were in a position to utilize the same economic power against the railroad and, as you have argued, against the public in connection with the demand they are making now for an increase, that the railroad would necessarily use the same line of logic that you would apply to a demand which you say at the

same time you did not consider a just one.

Mr. Walber: I don't disagree with you on that reasoning, governor. I think you are sound, but there are things that the operating officials here in wages and conditions.

The conclusion is too obvious to require statement here. Tons of union-made propaganda could not outweigh the simple admission of Mr. John G. Walber. If the Board grants an increase to the classes represented by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, it will be, to a large extent, because the power of the train service unions has made such action unavoidable. But if in spite of this it should refuse to do so, such refusal will be a stentorian message to the clerks that they must develop their economic strength further if they would hope to get justice. Any worker to whom this situation does not seem of the prime importance of organization will never learn the lesson. Mr. Walber's picture should hang high in labor's Hall of Fame.

### Organized Labor Setting High Wage Pace

What unionization of an industry means to wage-earners is brought out from a somewhat different angle by a recent action of the Dutchess Bleachery at Wappingers Falls, N. Y. The Dutchess Bleachery has a plan of employee representation which is considered to be genuinely democratic and honest in its purpose. It was not devised to reduce unionism, but to make up for the lack of an employee organization in the plant. If we may accept as authoritative the statement of Mr. James Myers, Executive Secretary of the Board of Operatives of the Dutchess Bleachery, the concern would not fight the unionization of its plant if its workers wished it. Yet there is no effective organization throughout the bleachery field.

Recently the Board of Management of the company, consisting of representatives of the workers and the management, reduced the overtime rate of certain operatives from time and one-half to time and one-quarter. The explanation of this action which follows in "Bleachery Life," (2) the Company's House Organ, as follows:

The Board of Management has been investigating for several months, the market wage overtime rates paid by the list of eighteen companies agreed upon by the Board of Management as our competitors. The Partnership Plan calls for paying the market wage and after obtaining the fullest and most up-to-date figures to the satisfaction of all members of the Board, it was discovered that in paying time and a half to all workers, we have been paying more than the market wage. An adjustment was therefore unanimously voted by the Board. . . .

In view of what we know of the general fairness of the company's attitude, it is reasonable to think that the Board of Management was convinced of the necessity of the reduction on account of competitive conditions. But if an appreciable portion of the entire bleachery industry had been unionized there would probably never have been a question of a reduction, because the wages in competing plants would have been re-estimated. General market conditions define within very narrow limits the conditions in any given plant, and the union is one of the strong influences controlling wages, hours and working conditions. Mr. Walber's statements testify to this and Mr. Myers confirms it clearly in the following passage from his book, "Representative Government in Industry." (3)

It has indeed been a fact that Organized Labor has supplied most of the initiative and push to the gradual elevation of standards for the workers and the development of de-

meracy in industry. In fact, Organized Labor has not only been the practical instrument of raising the real wages and advancing the status of the worker in industry, but its general pressure on employers has indirectly caused much of the development of the employe representation movement itself. And Organized Labor still forces the pace. The local nature of employe representation as we have indicated makes the workers councils powerless to affect the wages, hours and conditions obtaining in the entire industry. The wages and conditions of the entire industry, on the other hand, largely determine the wages and conditions in each shop. The writer knows of no instance in the history of employe representation where wages have been raised by the pure initiative of the work's council. Either wages in employe representation shops have "followed the market" where a general increase has taken place due to the pressure of the unions and often at the conclusion of a strike, or the industry as a whole, or else the work's councils have been used merely as the formal instruments of the company to install

a wage increase which is a wise move in the business judgment of the management during a period of labor shortage or to forestall general union action on a rising market. Directly or indirectly, the international union has been at the bottom of most of the wage increases granted under "industrial democracy." It is to be hoped that an initiative may be made possible through the widening and legalizing of employe representation, but in this, meantime it would be a blow to human progress if the open shop movement were to succeed in crippling Organized Labor. For Organized Labor seems to be as yet the most effective force working toward democracy and raising standards for labor in industry. It takes upon itself the unpleasant task of initiative and bears with courage the inevitable cross and stigma which society has always put upon those who have refused to cry "Peace, peace," when there is no peace! Labor forces the pace with its uncompromising demand for human freedom.

If all employers were as frank in expressing their real views as the two who have been quoted, all talk of the uselessness of unionism would be quickly thrown on the bunk heap.

## Executive Bureau of Clothing Workers' International to Meet in London, Jan. 16

The Executive Bureau of the International Clothing Workers' Federation, which the I. L. G. W. U. is affiliated, will meet in London, England, on January 16, 17, 1925, to consider a number of important matters which have accumulated since the last meeting of the Bureau in Vienna after the congress of the Federation in May, 1924.

Among the subjects to be considered will be the secretary's report, the request for affiliation from the Clothing Workers' Unions of Rumania and Yugoslavia, amalgamation with the International Furriers' secretariat, and the publication of a bi-monthly paper. The Bureau will also discuss the proposal of the Eng-

lish Tailors and Garment Workers' Union to make a survey of conditions of labor in the wholesale and retail clothing trades with regard to piece rates, time rates and the use of pressing machines.

The I. L. G. W. U. has been allotted a place on the Executive Bureau of the Federation, but it is doubtful if its member will be able to attend as only two weeks remain before the holding of the January meeting. E. Kupers is still the Acting Secretary of the International Clothing Workers' Federation, as Brother Van der Heeg is still convalescing from a lingering illness and unable to attend to secretarial duties.

## Women's Conference on Cause and Cure of War

Women of America feeling that more is required of them in the cause of world peace than a hazy idealism of a former day, have decided to make a serious study of the whole question of international difficulties. This movement toward an impartial facing of facts will be initiated at the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War to be held in Washington, D. C., January 18 to 24 under the auspices of eight national women's organizations, no one of which is primarily a peace society.

The summons to the conference, which is addressed to an electorate of a population of 17,000,000 women throughout the country, was signed by the American Association of University Women, the National League of Women Voters, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Board of the Y. M. C. A., the Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions in North America and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Women's organizations, it states,

which have been working for an ordered human society, feel deeply their responsibility in the realm of war and peace and believe that it is time to unite for a study of the subject. The aim of the conference will be to give an impartial and accurate presentation of authentic data upon which to base more effective programs of work in peace education.

Thirty experts and specialists will address the conference on subjects relating to the causes of war and proposed cures. Addresses will be followed by open forums for adequate discussion of the subject matter presented.

Two committees will endeavor to bring before the conference a program of work based on the findings of the discussion sessions. One committee will prepare a plan of united action, which, if it is accepted by the conference, will go to the participating organizations as the recommendation of the conference. Each cooperating organization is entitled to 100 voting delegates.

Mr. Curtis Chapman Call is presiding officer of the conference.

## JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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(1) This and the subsequent quotation form the stenographic minutes of the February 1924 meeting of the Board of Directors. Dockets No. 6214 and 6215, pp. 561-565.

(2) October 20, 1924, p. 2.

(3) Pp. 229-41.

## The Water Power

By DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER

The water power now owned by the public is among the most valuable and significant of our national resources. It was estimated in 1913 that it was possible to develop on our rivers and streams in the neighborhood of 60,000,000 horse-power and this amount could be greatly increased through the storage of flood waters. On the other hand, less than one-seventh (8,000,000) of this amount was at that time actually available.

Fortunately, most of the potential water-power of the nation is still in public hands. The greatest reservoirs of power are on the St. Lawrence and Niagara Rivers in the East, at Muscle Shoals in the South and on the Colorado and Columbia Rivers in the West.

In the early days of the West, before it was known that electricity could be generated from water-power, rights to the use of water on streams running through public lands were freely given away for milling, agricultural, manufacturing and other purposes. The earliest hydro-electric projects in this country appear to have been built about the year 1890, a little more than a generation ago. Six years later legislation passed by Congress empowered the Secretary

of the Interior to issue permits for the generation of electrical power from streams on public lands and reservations. These permits, however, could be revoked at will. Various other bills were passed in later years, none of which, however, mentioned a specific time during which the owner could operate without having his license revoked by the Government.

On June 10, 1920, during the last days of the administration of President Wilson, the Federal Water-Power Act was approved. This act created a Federal Power Commission consisting of the Secretaries of War, Interior and Agriculture, with power to grant licenses to private corporations for any period of time up to fifty years. If at the end of fifty years the Government wished to take over the plant, it could do so, providing that it paid the private corporation a sum equal to the net investment in the properties. Among the conditions on which a license is granted under the act is that the company has complied with the laws of the State in which its plants are situated.

(Note: How our water-power is being given away under this act will next be told.)

## In Italy—Rome

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

How convey our impressions of Rome in a limited number of words? How decide what to omit? And while asking ourselves these questions, we wished that we might have space not only for what we have to say, but for reproducing some of the very works of art from the hands of the beautiful painters, sculpture, and greatest masters Italy had produced. Moreover, we wished that we might be able to put down on paper the thoughts and emotions we had on entering the city of Rome! What visions one conjures up—visions of battles fought for the glory of the Empire or the personal advancement of an individual leader; visions of religious strife, cruelty, hatred and bigotry; visions of the many sancts of whom were sacrificed because of intolerance toward a belief of which Rome was to become the foremost convert.

.....  
Inexplicable as the feeling is, in more numerical terms of population, Rome gives one an overwhelming sense of its bigness, as though one could never reach its limits nor see and know it completely. The census gives it a mere 500,000 inhabitants, but the absence of numbers cannot alter the effect of size, which may have its explanation in the mansplashed past that still hovers over its streets, its buildings, and its monuments. Here, sheltered in the midst of the Seven Hills, lies the Forum, a silent open book, from which one can mentally reconstruct the home of the Republic.

None is the tremendous mass of the Coliseum, vividly recalling the festivals of the Empire and the Christian persecutions. Or one may wander on and on in the Borghese Gardens, lost in the woods that survive here in the midst of the city, proud witness of the grandeur of a great medieval family; or the marvelous evidences of the power and greatness of the medieval church. Perhaps, too, the many houses, big squares, and the unbroken expanse of the blue sky above, helps one to a sense of spaciousness.

Realizing the impossibility of giving a complete picture of Rome, we must confine ourselves to a few of our adventures there. One experience that can never be forgotten, and that can be appreciated only by those who have been on the spot, is the sight of the Church of St. Peter! First of all, the approach—an immense open court, with two handsome 16th-century fountains, and bordered by marble columns and pillars—so in the glaring sun. The dome is the work of Michael Angelo—need anything more be said? Except that its beauty and the lightness, which one feels despite its size—captures the admiration even of the ordinary observer. There are no fancy architectural decorations on it. Instead, it seems to have chosen for itself the loveliest of all decorations—the bright sun! The interior is profoundly impressive. The vastness of the place, both in width and height, leaves one almost bewildered. The beautiful marble and ceiling decorations by the Italian masters; the paintings of the various episodes of the story of the Bible; the splendor and magnificence of all that is part of the church, leave one in wonderment and meditation.

However, the thing that leaves one almost breathless is the interior of the dome and the crypt of St. Peter. The wonderful impression it makes is gained by the tremendous flood of light it throws on the interior of the church. The mosaic portraits of the Saviour, the Virgin and the Apostles; the gilded columns, the Confession, enclosed in a balustrade with eighty-nine ever-burning lamps—all this gives one a realization that neither time nor money was spared to make this the greatest of all churches. In one of the aisles is Michael Angelo's "Pieta"—the grief of the Madonna, who holds in her lap the dead Christ. A bronze statue of St. Peter, with its big toe worn off from occupations all these years—but enough of this. Only one wonders why this great church was dedicated to, and named

## Power of Love and International Understanding

By Prof. VLADIMIR KARAPETOFF

Given a task of demonstrating that humans are more or less treacherous, and basely to their own kind than any other living creature on earth, one would have little trouble in filling several volumes with narratives of the past and the present to prove this contention. On the other hand, one could, with equal ease, fill volumes with stories of heroic self-sacrifices, conversions to sublime devotion, intelligent care of weaker ones, spiritual visions, and divine creations of art, for which we know of no parallels in the animal kingdom.

A decision between these two views, as to what humanity is, is a matter of immense importance to anyone, in that it determines one's mode of behavior and life program. Since both conflicting views can be substantiated by numerous proofs, and therefore, both must have elements of truth in them, a conciliation of the two, acceptable to our reason, must be sought. One way of compromising such views, suitable for an active life program, is that humanity is "in the process of becoming." To put it in other words, humans, while still endowed with the strong and cruel biological instincts of self-preservation and propagation of the species, in common with other animals, seem to be undergoing a long and very slow, deep-rooted process of modification of such traits into what may be called specifically "anthropological" traits. This is probably the reason why we often look, in our actions, like a squirrel in the midst of shedding its summer fur for a winter one, or like a left-handed person, who is trying to become dextrous with his other hand.

The childish view that the tiger is bloodthirsty, while the pigeon is loving and meek, gradually gives way to a rational interpretation of their behavior in biological terms. So it is time for educated persons to begin interpreting human history, politics, economics, religious movements, and personal and group behavior in terms of dominant biological instincts, at the same time pointing out such timidly-sprouting higher anthropological traits as are discernible. While we are still infinitely far from becoming truly human, we have accomplished at least the following step of incalculable importance in our spiritual progress: We begin to be ashamed of open and naked manifestations of biological instincts, and not being as yet able collectively to suppress or to modify them, we give to our selfish

after, the man who, at the time when Christ was most in need of all those who professed to believe in His gospel, denied knowing Him!

.....  
The other churches, especially that of St. Paul Outside the Walls, are similarly impressive in their magnitude. There is, for example, the "Scala Santa" or the Sacred Stairs, in memory of Christ's ascent to Pilate's judgment-seat. We watched men and women in their penitential journey up the stairs—on their knees, the only way in which they may be ascended. To this day pilgrims from all over the world come to perform this penance. A curious sight, indeed! In another of the churches stands the immortal statue of "Moses," by Michael Angelo. The strength, the determination and power of this face and figure are more wonderful than anything I ever had seen. "Rome is the city of churches; some are great in their splendor, others are less imposing. We saw many of them.

actions. Various deceptions names, such as bringing the light of civilization to backward peoples and helping them to develop their natural resources, spreading the true religion, maintaining an open door, making the world safe for democracy, etc. In spite of their hypocrisy, I welcome these statements, for they all have a truer and broader connotation, which is a worthy program for our children's children. Let them give us credit at least for having invented the names.

As soon as you take a biological point of view, many movements will become clear to you; persecution of Jews and clunians about them, the Ku Klux Klan, the yellow peril, torturing of pacifists during the War, the Herrin massacres of England in Egypt—all these are as simple to understand (even though mysterious teleologically) as why the cat eats mice and fights the bulldog. Only the cat does this automatically and not in the name of high-sounding principles.

Interpreting social phenomena biologically, and believing that humanity will forever be governed by the two great animal instincts, are two different things. Small observed anthropological traits of love, service, human brotherhood, and forbearance point unmistakably to the existence of new hidden forces which are destined to become powerful springs of action in a generation to come. An observing youth saw a little steam lift the lid of a tea kettle, and powerful steam engines, aggregating millions of horse-power, sprang up in a few decades and revolutionized the physical aspects of our lives.

Just as a natural scientist observes a barely perceptible secondary phenomenon and then magnifies it many times by suitable surroundings, so the present problem for the optimists among us is carefully to discover, to study, and to magnify to even higher human traits or call them divine ideas, if you wish. The practical program thus is: To place groups of humanity under such conditions that there will be less and less occasion to exercise their brutal animal propensities and where more and more accomplishments and satisfaction will result from love and cooperation.

I feel sure that many of those now engaged in brutal strife, competition, and oppression, are groaning and travelling within for a practical guidance to a realization of life, of love, and of international cooperation.

.....  
We wondered what He would say to all this gilded glory—It to whom simplicity meant more than all the gold in the world!

.....  
Another memorable experience was our visit to the famous Coliseum. A ruin now, but what pictures it brought to mind! As I looked down into the arena, I remembered all the stories I had read of the early Christians who were thrown to the lions for the amusement of Nero and his followers. A queer feeling that, of standing on the spot where so much cruelty, suffering, endurance and courage had been exhibited! The size of the building is tremendous, and one could almost hear the shouts of laughter when the lions were at work! This, then, was one of the stages where so much of the world's drama had been played—the place where the new ideas of religion battled a stone wall of paganism! Have the new ideas conquered? I wonder.

## Developments in Unemployment Insurance

Approximately 134,000 industrial workers in the United States are now protected against the ravages of unemployment, to some extent at least, by unemployment insurance established and maintained by contract between trade unions and employers. This is but a small fraction of the total union membership, but when it is re-

called the first plan of any moment was instituted as recently as three and one-half years ago, the rapid spread of unemployment insurance will be realized. Below is a tabulation of the ten cases of contractual unemployment insurance actually in effect today.

Industry	Location	Union Involved	Approx. No. of Workers Covered
Clothing (men's)	Chicago, Ill.	Amal. Clothing Workers of America	35,000
Clothing (men's)	New York, N. Y.	Amal. Clothing Workers of America	40,000
Clothing (women's)	Cleveland, Ohio	Internat'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	4,000
Clothing (women's)	New York, N. Y.	Internat'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	50,000
Curtains (lace)	Scranton, Pa. & Kingston, N. Y.	Amal. Lace Operatives of America	100
Hats and Caps (cloth)	St. Paul, Minn.	United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America	200
Hats and Caps (cloth)	New York, N. Y.	United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America	3,000
Hats and Caps (cloth)	Philadelphia, Pa.	United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America	500
Hats and Caps (cloth)	Chicago, Ill.	United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers of America	700
Wall Paper	Nineteen Scattered Plants	United Wall Paper Crafts of North America	400

The plans, of course, differ from each other to a greater or lesser degree. Some of the significant differences are as follows:

The systems in effect in the Cleveland women's clothing industry and in the wall paper industry provide for a guaranteed period of employment during the year with benefits to cover part of the normal earnings if actual employment falls short of the guaranteed period. Most of the others do not give any employment guarantee but call for the payment of certain benefits for any time up to a stated maximum.

In some cases the insurance fund is maintained solely by the employers; in others both the workers and the employers contribute. In the former category fall the Cleveland women's clothing industry, the wall paper industry and all the hat and cap industry schemes; in the latter are the others. Where there are joint contributions from workers and employers, the shares of the two parties are equal, with the exception of the women's clothing industry in New York where the employers have agreed to pay a sum equal to two per cent of their weekly payroll, whereas the workers pay only one per cent of their weekly earnings.

In certain instances, each shop in an industry is treated as a separate entity, responsible only for its own employees; in others, all the establishments in an industry are treated as a unit, all contributions being lumped and all workers receiving benefits from the one fund.

In addition, the various plans differ from each other on such matters as eligibility provisions, rate of benefits, length of benefit period, waiting period required before benefits are paid, amount of contributions and many administrative details.

An employment exchange under the control of the union exists in the men's clothing industry in Chicago and will exist in the men's and women's clothing industries in New York. Such an exchange helps greatly not only in keeping records of employment and in paying benefits, but also in co-ordinating the demand for and supply of labor and in eliminating much of the

lost motion usually attendant upon the search for a job.

To date, contractual unemployment insurance has been confined almost entirely to the needle trades where the aggravated nature of the unemployment problem has most forcibly demanded a remedy, but interest is spreading to other industries and developments in other fields may be expected in the near future. In the meantime, come down important re-organized plants like the Dennison Manufacturing Company and the Procter and Gamble Company have voluntarily installed unemployment insurance systems. These are all more or less paternalistic in their nature, and whereas they do offer some measure of protection they are unsatisfactory in other respects. In addition, three or four small international unions and some few local bodies insure their members against unemployment without arrangements with the employer, but this type of unemployment insurance has not proved very feasible in this country and seems to be on the down-grade. Compulsory unemployment insurance established by legislation has not as yet secured a footing here though it is flourishing in England and several of the Continental European countries. However,

## The British Way In Egypt

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

Eight hundred and fifty years ago the rough and ready William the Conqueror, the big-tick ruffian of Normandy, looked across the English Channel regarding the handsome real estate, now called England, with the gentle sentiments of a hungry lion, lying in wait, ready to seize what "belongs" to him. England looked good, and easy, to the big Norman brute—just as a wage slave child looks good, and easy, to a Massachusetts Christian cotton mill master. The battle of 1066 was right soon fought; and William the marauder became the "owner" of England.

He had a right, a perfect right, to this real estate, by modern British-Empire standards. His right was founded on might, the might sufficient to win the decisive battle of 1066, the right of the heaviest fist, the right of the iron heel, the right to create a right by might. On this basis of right, William, the new "owner" of the lovely real estate, proceeded to parcel out the country to his friends. Lord this, Lord that and Lord the Other—to them and their heirs as defenders of his right so long as the new swarm of parasites had sufficient brass and cunning to keep up the bluff of their rights. On this basis of might, the right of victorious imperial parasitism, Scotland, Wales and Ireland also became the real estate of new "owners," brutal and bluish international thieves. And the parasitic progeny of these ancient raiders, they and their kind, still "own" nearly all of the British Isles; and with every advance of the workers toward power these "owners" strut and fume and fuss in the schools and the church and the press about their sacred property rights—no more inclined to loosen their hold on their lands and on the lives of the workers than a hungry tiger is inclined to cease sucking blood from the throat of a struggling doe.

Thus on the social-parasitic basis of might was the British Empire proudly built up through long, long centuries of rape and ruin of those with rights without might. And thus is the British Empire extended today. This is the English way, the proud way of the proud Briton in this our twentieth century after more

than 850 years of the softening, fraternalizing influences of Christianity, of universities, of libraries, of art, of superior British culture. This social-parasitic right has the same basis as the right of the shark to slay, the shark ruder that rules beneath the waves and "owns" all upon which he can fasten his jaws.

Now, to illustrate this vicious parasitic right of might in national imperial practice in our day, take Britain in Egypt today, with her battle tanks, fleets of fighting planes, poison gas bombs, machine guns, heavy artillery and all else necessary in her blood-sucking thirst for profits developed through the centuries, holds and extends her parasitic iron grip on her Egyptian victims. From the days of William the Conqueror until now the parasitic right to seize by might to hold and rob by might, to rule or ruin or rule and ruin by might, has steadily been asserted and practiced by Britain. Right by might is the code supreme. Hence the League of Nations is flouted by British statesmen. Egypt? Sudan? "In God we trust"—just so long as God recognizes our right of to seize and hold and enjoy. This is our code.

A Parasite's Code

Whoever does not know at least a few of the fundamental things of biology cannot understand parasitism in Egypt and Sudan. For one does not go far in biology before coming upon the ugly fact: Parasitism. And parasitism is parasitism according to the natural biological laws of parasitism, including not only the behavior of the *apicomplex* but of the silk-baited British lord as well. The British bombing plane roaring over the Egyptians, threatening is the lion's task, ready to rip his victim.

England demands that the Egyptians agree that England shall be free to take water from the Upper Nile to an "unlimited extent" for irrigating the larger part of 1,000,000 square miles of cotton lands, a total irrigable area more than twelve times as large as Pennsylvania, even though the Egyptians on the Lower Nile be ruined for the consequent lack of water. England demands freedom of discussion of this whole matter be suppressed throughout Egypt as being "harmful to order and British interests!" England demands that all Egyptian officers and Egyptian army units in the Sudan get out of Sudan. England demands that the Egyptian Government be refused to submit "Law and order" made by a marauder is fine for the marauder. In addition to law and order the marauder occasionally does the rough stuff to "produce morale." The international parasite bearing a flag and sword in one hand and a cross and prayer-book in the other is not essentially different, morally, after 850 years.

The Sudan cotton country attracts the British capitalists today just as the British Isles attracted William the Conqueror 850 years ago. William insisted upon "law and order" long ago—and had many a patriot speared because he refused to submit. "Law and order" made by a marauder is fine for the marauder. In addition to law and order the marauder occasionally does the rough stuff to "produce morale." The international parasite bearing a flag and sword in one hand and a cross and prayer-book in the other is not essentially different, morally, after 850 years.

during the past five years unemployment insurance bills have been introduced in five states—Wisconsin, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Minnesota. It is expected that agitation in this direction will be continued, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that workers will eventually be protected against unemployment by law as they now are against accidents in most of the forty-eight states.—Facts for Workers.



By Mark Van Doren

THE PERIL OF ARMAMENT

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# JUSTICE

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## EDITORIALS

### WISHES FOR 1925

More unity, more solidarity, more understanding between local and local, between the members of the union and the union officers—this is the most fervent wish we could offer our members for the New Year.

May the word union—which connotes unity of action, sympathy and mutual aid—represent not an empty sound in our midst but a true reflection of our feelings towards each other. Last year, some of our locals made of themselves an exhibition that was anything but peace and harmony. They resembled a battle ground with two warring camps, bitterly opposing each other though both belonging to the same organization.

May peace and harmony again prevail in our ranks. Our members must finally learn that the only sense and meaning of a trade union is battling against the common enemy by common effort. They must finally grasp the truth that we shall never achieve our immediate or ultimate aims if we continue to split our forces and squander our strength.

Let us have our differences of opinion and judgment, but let us keep them within the bounds of decent and fair discussion and may they never pass into the realm of mudslinging and demagoguery. Let us learn to respect the motives of those who are opposed to us and let us have a little more faith in their integrity.

Let the campaign of slander come to an end. One cannot forever throw mud at his neighbor without soiling himself in the process. Let our members bear in mind that the unconscionable outsiders who are inciting them to such actions are only inspired by selfish motives but never by the welfare of our Union.

Let the mistrust of member towards member and of some of the members towards their leaders cease. It is but poison spread by ill-wishers from the outside and it serves to undermine the basis of our organization. Suspicion and lack of faith will sooner or later send our union crashing to the ground and bury underneath it the result of decades of self-sacrifice and fighting.

And above all—let our members learn not to be too hasty in their judgment. Don't condemn rashly even if you don't like certain things. Learn to think and analyze—for you will never be too late in condemning. Deliberate carefully, in particular, as you deal with your own brothers and sisters, and train yourselves not to act upon the impulse of the moment.

And may the leaders of our Union also learn that their main duty is to serve the interests of the members without distinction or discrimination. The Union has no favorites and all within it must be served equally. May our leaders never forget that abuse of power means hurting the union, hurting it as no outsider ever could injure it. May they disabuse themselves of the idea that they are the Union. For such a folly a French king once had to pay with his head.

Let all of us remember that we are facing a very earnest moment in our Union. In the immediate future we shall have to deal with the reconstruction of our entire industry. The intolerably long slack periods must be ameliorated; the competition between worker and worker spurred on by the present producing system in the industry must be done away with. We need, for these cardinal reforms, the maximum of effective effort on the part of everybody.

Let us cease wasting time on petty, undignified "politics" within the Union. We can, without much effort, cut out the rot which is accumulating in our midst, and make more room for the wholesome and sound to expand.

Let us all, members and leaders, stop thinking of getting out this or that from the Union and devote more time to giving something to the Union. In the nature of things our reward, as union members, will soon be doubled and trebled.

May the New Year indeed open a new page in the life of our Union, and may all of us strive ambitiously, fervently, not to benefit at the expense of our fellow members but to make the Union a stronger and more effective weapon to benefit the entire organization. This can be done only if we keep inviolate among us the spirit of solidarity, unity and good will towards each other.

### THE DRESS CONFERENCES

Unless we misread all signs, a fight between the workers and the employers in the dress industry of New York will be averted this year. Our policy, as known, is to avoid strife

wherever it can be honorably averted, though we are always prepared to meet a conflict that is forced upon us.

The employers in the dress industry, unless we are badly mistaken, are not in a fighting mood. Perhaps they know that the dressmakers' unions, united with the cloak organizations in one Joint Board, are in better shape today than ever before and that under such circumstances the precipitation of a fight would be nothing short of folly.

Besides, there is hardly any real ground for fighting in the present situation. The demands of the Union, true, are of great importance to the workers, but they are admittedly fair and justifiable. The dress manufacturers themselves agree in principle that the piece workers ought to obtain a guaranteed minimum wage; it is only a question of fixing the amount of such a wage, and this, we honestly believe, can be adjusted without friction.

It stands to reason, of course, that in speaking of a minimum wage the Union has in mind a wage that would enable a worker to make a living in accordance with American living standards. We have a minimum scale in the cloak trade, and the dress employers surely cannot expect the dress operator and finisher to agree to get along on less than what his fellow worker in the cloak trade is receiving for his or her labor.

The line of demarcation between the cloak and dress makers in general is being fast wiped out and the Union is fully in the right in seeking to equalize earnings in both trades. We find today cloak manufacturers producing dresses and dress employers manufacturing cloaks, frequently on the same floor. The employers themselves appear to realize this change in the industry and that is perhaps one of the reasons why in principle they have agreed to a minimum wage for piece workers in the dress trade. In this they have already far outstripped the old-time dress manufacturer who never seemed to understand that his workers were entitled to the security of a living wage.

We are equally optimistic with regard to the outcome of the Union's negotiations with the dress jobs. The Union demands of the dress jobs no more than what the jobbers in the cloak industry have already conceded. The jobber in the dress industry today occupies the identical position his counterpart plays in the cloak industry and what the latter had accepted, upon the recommendation of Governor Smith's Special Commission, with regard to unemployment insurance, a sanitary label, a guarantee for contractors' wages and a guarantee of protection in union shops only, the former cannot refuse to accept as applicable and just for the dress industry as well.

All of which leads us to believe that a new agreement will soon be consummated in the New York dress industry through the medium of the pending conferences. Nevertheless, we do not desire to appear overconfident. Last-minute disruptions, in ostensibly peaceful negotiations have happened more than once before in our own history. The Union, the organized workers in both the dress and cloak industry, therefore, stand ready to meet every development and emergency.

### THE NEW YORK DISTRICT COUNCIL AT WORK

The New York District Council of the Miscellaneous Trades, organized but a few months ago, is going on with its organizing drive at a rapid pace. The Council has, during the past few weeks, distributed literally hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature among the unorganized workers in the smaller dress and novelty trades in the Greater City calling upon them to join the Union. Now an effort is being made by the District Council to bring these workers together at a mass meeting where the message of organization could be delivered to them directly in inspiring, eloquent words.

A meeting on a large scale for this purpose is being called by the District Council for next Thursday, January 8, at Cooper Union. This meeting will be addressed by President Sigman, Secretary Baroff, Vice-president Lefkowitz, the manager of the Council, and several other speakers of prominence.

It is of supreme importance that the thousands of workers in the miscellaneous trades who still find themselves at a distance from the Union attend this meeting. It will benefit them directly and it will have a salutary effect upon the local unions affiliated with the Council. Every union man and woman in these trades in particular is urged to come and to bring along as many of their friends and co-workers in the shops as they can possibly reach.

### THE LATE BENJ. WITASHKIN

Few of the older members of our Union in this city and elsewhere did not know Brother Benjamin Witashkin who died last week in New York City. He was one of the pioneers of our organization, and all his life remained a true friend and a staunch supporter of our Union.

Witashkin played an important part in the life of the Waitmakers Union, but his interests were not limited to this local only. He was a vice-president of the International Union for some time, and was invited as a guest of honor to address the last jubilee convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

He was a modest man, keen, amiable and a loyal friend. He leaves a host of friends who will cherish his memory for many years to come.

# "The Women's Garment Workers"

The Women's Garment Workers; A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; By Louis Levine, Ph.D.—Published by B. S. Huebsch & Co., New York

Reviewed by S. YANOVSKY

My only objection to the title of Dr. Levine's very important book is not its length but that it gives only an inadequate idea of its contents. The book, in fact, deals not only with the history of the women's garment workers organized and led for the past quarter of a century under the banner of the I. L. G. W. U., but it is likewise a history of the whole ladies' garment making industry in which the employers should be interested not less than the workers.

True, the book was written throughout from the point of view of the workers. It seems to me, however, that even this should prove of special interest to the employers, as from this history the more intelligent among them might learn to understand the basic forces which have called into life the big organization against which they have often fought so bitterly and almost always without success. They might discover, for instance, from this history of the I. L. G. W. U. the great secret, that the entire development of the women's garment industry which is today one of America's biggest industries, has been greatly accelerated by the struggles and the efforts of its workers. Moreover, they will find out that it was this ceaseless fight of the ladies' garment workers which has brought about the present magnitude and importance of this industry. In other words, the workers in this industry, with all the fighting they had waged against their employers to improve their own lot, have, nevertheless, actually contributed a great share toward the remarkable growth of the women's garment trades in America.

This, however, does not, by far, exhaust the contents of this book. For it is not, as its name would have it, a history of the women's garment workers only, but to a considerable extent the history of the garment workers in general. I am convinced that not only cloakmakers or dressmakers or any other members of the I. L. G. W. U. could read this book with immense pleasure and benefit to themselves, but that all men's clothing workers, cap makers and all other

needle trades' workers would discover upon reading it that the history of the women's garment workers and their fight for humane standards of life and labor is after all their own history, with some slight variations.

I maintain furthermore that this book mirrors faithfully our whole Labor movement for the past thirty or forty years, and it is therefore entitled to a far greater reading public than such as is interested in the workers in the garment industry alone. Yet, notwithstanding the width of its scope, the book does full justice to the history of the I. L. G. W. U. Quite the contrary: the recital of the development of the International is told in this book with greater clarity because it is woven into this general background. It is quite obvious that the I. L. G. W. U., from its inception and to this day, could not be separated from the general life of the immigrant workers in this country, being itself a substantial part of this life and a vital one of its vertebrae.

Let it be remembered that the Jewish unions in America have, from the beginning, been reared on a totally different basis than other Labor bodies. It was not only the economic misery which drove the Jewish immigrants to combine into big unions, but another potent factor, the spiritual, the idealistic motive which in the early days of its history played a substantial part in its development. Most of the workers who had taken a leading part in the upbuilding of these unions had more than the temporary economic gain in mind, urgent as this may have been in those days. The ultimate aims of the Labor movement, the final emancipation of the worker, from all manner of exploitation, received in that period greater emphasis than the immediate improvement of the lot of the workers. As a result, the trade union movement wholly remained under the influence of either the socialist, the anarchist or other idealistic movements of that period. And in order to elucidate the history of the Jewish trade unionism, the author had to throw a powerful light upon the various social movements

of that day, a task of which he acquitted himself, I believe, better than anyone who has ever attempted this task before.

The reader might by this time readily grasp what a tremendously difficult task our author was confronted with when he set out to write this history. Bear in mind that most of the material which went into the making of this book, especially its early parts, consisted of scraps and bits of paper, scattered minutes of meetings written in haphazard, a task which must have proved almost as difficult as the compiling of a history of an ancient vanished race from hieroglyphics and mysterious script upon bits of old pottery. Dr. Levine had to interview scores of people who had contact with the Labor movement more than a generation ago seeking to extract from their memories details often grotesque and contradictory, and out of these bits of nondescript information to construct a convincing and graphically told history of the I. L. G. W. U. The book is of particular value because its author knew how to sift this material and pick the wheat from the mass of chaff, eliminating the fantastic and improbable and making use only of essential and relevant facts.

It cannot, of course, be maintained that the book is throughout its length permeated with the spirit of impersonal objectivity. The author is, as the foreword claims him to be, "in full sympathy with the strivings of the masses and their struggles for a fuller and richer life." He naturally could not remain an onlooker when describing the various struggles waged by our workers. Every line in this book testifies that the author is with the workers heart and soul. The chapters dealing with their struggles are, in fact, the best written in the book. Nevertheless, any reader would have to admit that the author has tried earnestly to be just to all sides involved. This history is certainly not a pamphlet reflecting the viewpoint of but one side, it is history in the best sense of the term.

It is quite likely that some promi-

nent workers within the I. L. G. W. U. might take offense because their personal efforts or influence have not been sufficiently taken notice of in this book. They are, however, quite wrong. According to the plan and scope of the book its author could not have written it otherwise. The book does not fail to take cognizance of the activity of every person who has contributed to the growth of the International, but the author never loses sight of the fact that all the actors in this history are only the products of the Labor movement as a whole. He always remembers that the foundation of the International and all its achievements are due to the "self-sacrifice of the great mass." And like a true history this book is not a serious of life stories of individuals but is a recital of the growth of the International and its workers' organization essentially.

The author rises to a height of impartiality especially when he deals with the inner struggles within the union which would break out and shake it materially from time to time. One cannot escape the impression that the author had thought deeply into the causes and background of these various struggles and has endeavored as far as possible to fathom the truth, regardless of his personal sympathies or antipathies. To me personally, at least, Dr. Levine's treatment of that upheaval in the I. L. G. W. U. which is known as the "Hourwich Affair" is the best written and most objectively considered statement of this internal outbreak.

Dr. Levine displays the same impartiality in discussing the Local I affair. The reader is aware of the same objectivity in the account of the story of the recent fight between "rights" and "lefts." I am sure that all the participants in this recent struggle, no matter of what camp, will read the chapters devoted to it with absorbing interest and benefit to themselves.

The history of the "Protocol" and of all its consequences in the cloak and dress industry of New York and in other places should also prove of special interest to our workers.

Why did this protocol, designed to bring perpetual peace in the industry, fail in the end? Who was chiefly responsible for its failure? Was this failure inevitable or was it due to some individual whim of this or that Union leader? These are questions of extreme interest to cloak and dressmakers even today, for who but knows better we are not again approaching a second protocol-period in our history? Our members should become thoroughly familiar with the theory and practice of the protocol; they can learn a great deal about it from this book, and I confess that although I had taken a keen interest in the affairs of the cloakmakers in the days of the Hourwich affair, I have acquired a considerable amount of information about the protocol from reading the chapters devoted to it in Dr. Levine's book.

I can say that much for myself practically about any other event of importance in the history of the International. As I remarked already at the outset, this book should prove to be of absorbing interest to every intelligent worker and to every student of the Labor movement. But it is an absolute necessity, I maintain, to every cloakmaker, dressmaker, embroidery worker and to the many other kinds of workers affiliated with our I. L. G. W. U. These workers should have the history of their Union always at their elbow and read it often and carefully. They must know their own history for their own good and for the good of their Union.

This much for the time being. I shall return to Dr. Levine's book from time to time to discuss the many things which I perceive had to leave out in this brief and wholly insufficient appraisal of it.

## "OUR CHILDREN SHALL BEHOLD HIS FAME"







# IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



## Union Made

A Short History of the American Labor Movement. By Mary Beard. Second Edition, Volume V, of The Workers' Bookshelf. Published for The Workers' Education Bureau of America, New York: George H. Doran Co. 1924. Price \$5.00.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

The volumes offered to union workers through the Workers' Bookshelf continue to hold for that experiment an outstanding place among the many notable experiments now under way in our movement. Labor did not enter into banking, into model home building, into management sharing, into research, publicity and all the varied rest. All these experiments are winning for Labor that are hand so essential to those who would ultimately steer the complex industrial craft of modern times. But Labor's ventures into workers' education have, significantly enough, preceded and now embrace all these others. For an intelligent mass is the prerequisite of a functional democracy (much abused word). If Labor is to carry its many plans and ideals to success it must have a membership which understands both the difficulties and ultimate destinations of the journeys upon which it is embarking.

The aims set itself by the Workers' Bookshelf are a trustworthy promise of aid in the achieving of this major end. A concise attempt to interpret our complex modern social order to the workers. It reveals each worker in his relations to the industry in which he works and the society in which he lives. It uses all the media available for the communication of knowledge—the arts, history, science, etc. Its language is simple, its requirements at once adequate and yet possible, its methods scientific and humanitarian. Its philosophy and goals dominantly collective. The subjects with which it has thus far concerned itself are ample indication of the workers' philosophy which animates it: public speaking for workers, wages, union organization among Government employes, women in industry, the democratic movement, learning to read, lists or subjects of importance to workers, leaflets, pamphlets, etc.

And now comes this revised and enlarged edition of Mrs. Beard's well-known little "history" of American

unionism. No volume could make a more fitting choice for the Workers' Bookshelf, center that it is of a workers' library and text-book collection. For this little volume is not only a well-written, easily read story of what every unionist should know, it is the only volume of its type now existing among histories of American Labor. Fuller histories we have that spread their abundant details through thick masses of closely-written pages, and some specialized also with their highly detailed accounts of the I. W. W. or the A. F. of L. or the "Socialist movement in America" or what not. But here we have a history that tells about all phases: the I. W. W. and the K. of L.; the American political ventures and economic; colonial days and the very present, and tells it all as one union man to another. A union-made volume written for union sympathizers and students, it tells the story of how our national past made our American Labor movement what it is today.

This remarkably compact statement of a fascinating workers' epic, offers the essential outline of American Labor history in some 200 easily read pages. It offers not only the final results of long working forces, but explains the forces themselves that lay behind the end facts. It is simple and unaffected; straight forwardly it unravels a highly complex tale. Its thirteen chapters spread the meat contained in them in neatly labeled little packages; each new step in the development of their thought is neatly headlined. One begins to read about "The Nature and Significance of the Labor Movement," and finds black sign-posts at the head of each new idea that tells him he is about to see now the "definition" of a Labor movement, then its "origin," the "peculiarities of the movement," its significance, etc., all down the line until the last chapter, telling of "Recent Developments," ends with its story of "workers' education." Mrs. Beard is an able guide through the forest which is American Labor history. One

goes straight through with her, and yet sees all the trees on the way.

And what a trip it is! I doubt whether any phase of labor's story the world over holds an interest as compelling throughout as the story of American Labor. In the century and a quarter in which our nation has existed as the United States of America, it has been changed from a band of hardy pioneers circling a landed aristocracy to a vast continent among the, if not the, leading industrial nations of the world. The vast expanse of free land in the West, which offered escape to the discontented workers long gone; our rich national resources are all well tapped, railroads bind the oceans about us; factory and mill have swept away virgin forest and field, our workers burrow underground and over ground and ever found their strength above the earth in the vastness of the continent. Europe has poured its tides of millions upon our shores, practically every language upon the earth can be heard among our workers; problems of race and color add nationality complicate our basically complex social order.

Mrs. Beard's narrative describes Labor's struggle against these terrible problems. How could Labor gain a footing against the tremendous sweep of our industrial development? It had gained footing, but at the costs of what struggles we learn from Mrs. Beard. After our colonial forefathers had won independence from Great Britain, they thought they had established their right to be free men. But they soon found that the European men saw they must produce more cheaply. They took the first way open—wage reduction. Against this trend the first real trade unions, the local craft unions arose in America.

In the progress of their fight these early unions soon developed most of the weapons of the general movement of labor. The collective agreement appeared, the strike, the boycott, the trapping committee (early business agents or walking delegates), the closed shop, apprenticeship control, and the minimum and standard wages. The employers replied by forming their own anti-Labor associations and curbing the rights to union. Mrs. Beard's quotations from these first court records show how early the question of legal status became a burning issue.

Labor turned to politics in 1827. Many factors underlay this new trend

which continued intermittently until the great panic of 1836-37 and the Jacksonian era which followed. During this attempt labor tried many things: the formation of parties and party platforms; "philosophical" and "utopian" radical propaganda, and what not. New economic problems put emphasis upon direct industrial action for a time during the thirties only to give way to politics once more. During these years labor won many things through political action; but the great panic which convulsed industry and the rush of a people across a continent—west, always west, blighted further advance. The panic brought with it the usual recourse of disappointed men to daydreaming: They formed utopias of what might really be in the bleak world of what was. But the utopias failed in the real activity of work on the Civil War and the new America.

Mrs. Beard's story gives us some notion of the new America that arose after the war. A threefold revolution laid its foundations: the development of transportation, machine industry and machine agriculture. Unions tried to grapple with this new America—with trusts and industrial kings and panics and immigration and disappearing fractions. Panics, politics and labor clash. The first grand national unions, the Knights of Labor, industrial, revolutionary union essays. The American Federation of Labor and the familiar development of the familiar present. What a stirring story it is! Mrs. Beard recounts the opposition to the new philosophy to this development—of De Leonism and I. W. Wism and boring-from-within. She carries the story through the Great War to the recent labor developments of Labor party, labor in the courts, banking, research, international affairs, new collective bargaining trends, industrial education, workers' education and so on.

There is no greater inspiration to labor effort than this story of Labor's developing within a developing nation. In a measure we have conquered national-size industrial concentration, the great problems of immigration, color differences, industrial upsets, economic revolutions. Our economic environment has set; our labor movement is on the march. The way ahead is still long and hard; but if we have come so far over so many difficulties we may take courage in the future before us.

The Workers' Bookshelf has done a real service to union workers in offering this second edition of a standard. They should avail themselves of the opportunity offered. Buy and read and study Mrs. Beard's history.

## The New Year and Workers' Education

By FANNIA M. COHN

The beginning of the year 1925 marks a new epoch in the workers' education movement of our country, and this is expressed in the following extracts of the report of the Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor at its convention held in Effingham last November:

"Your committee is of the deliberate opinion that the time has arrived when, in addition to endorsing and recommending the service of the Workers' Education Bureau to the trade union movement, some plan should be adopted whereby this bureau of education for the workers should be financed by the workers.

"This workers' educational service should reach and include every union of every national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Adequate provisions should be made to make this possible, for education is an investment in the future growth and

progress of the trade union movement.

"... We therefore recommend to the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor the following plan of financial support for the Workers' Educational Bureau:

"1. That each national and international union provide each year an educational fund equivalent to one-half cent per member per annum.

"2. That this educational fund be paid quarterly to the Workers' Education Bureau for the educational service to their membership.

"3. That the local unions be urged to undertake active affiliation with Workers' Education Bureau, and pay as annual membership fee of one dollar for the regular educational service of the bureau.

"In this manner an educational service to every trade union in the American Federation of Labor can

not only be made possible; it is guaranteed.

"The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"On study classes the committee reported as follows:

"Your committee notes with deep interest the report of the encouraging growth and development of trade union colleges, study classes, and institutes for the workers during the past year. The active participation in satisfaction that these workers' education enterprises are for the most part co-educational. We believe that it is sound in principle and practice for working men and women to study together. This sort of training and education will aid in promoting mutual understanding and will afford a splendid opportunity for working men and women to comprehend and analyze the problems with which they will be confronted in the industrial field."

"Of the recommendations submitted as an expression of endorsement of the committee of this splendid work is as follows: That the workers be recommended to the workers of this country the establishment of

study classes, institutes, summer schools, on a co-educational basis, for the free and impartial study of such problems are of interest to them, and that they avail themselves of the educational service of the Workers' Education Bureau in the organization and conduct of such study classes and summer schools."

This means that the Convention of the American Federation of Labor not only recommended the Labor movement to workers' education but definitely deciding that the education of its members is the concern of the trade unions, but that it definitely provides a plan for financing the movement.

By this decision the Labor movement recognizes that if workers' education is to achieve its aim it must give a new intellectual and practical meaning to adult education, and this must be education for service to the cause of Labor in particular, and society in general. By this decision the Labor movement admits that adult education is under its influence. Certain interests which were often do not work for human progress, and this

(Continued on Page 11)





# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### Coal Strike in Spring Favored by Operators

The average miner knows that if he worked for nothing, there would be no more coal sold, the *Mine Workers' Journal* declares in discussing the plan of bituminous coal owners to force a strike.

"It develops that certain soft coal operators, unable to make profits that they thought they should make, are seeking some other way to garner big dividends. To this end they are hopefully working toward a general strike in the industry next April.

"President Lewis is cognizant of this situation. The United Mine Workers as an organization is aware of it. The only other alternative to a strike is a reduction of wages to the 1917 level—which means a cut of thirty per cent or more below the prevailing scale.

"If this effort, led by the non-union crew of soft coal producers, is successful, it means that a general drive against wage scales in other basic industries will follow.

"But the miners are going to stand pat on the agreement made at Jacksonville. The average miner is of the opinion that if he has to starve to death he will not do it working for those who wish to starve him.

"There is just so much coal consumed in the course of a year and nothing will induce extra sales.

"But if the non-union coal operators could force a strike next year in some of the organized fields it would enable other producers to profit by the local shortage through raising prices and give all producers a chance to build up their profits when the miners did resume. It's a neat little scheme to plunder the public and make the union coal miners the goat. It should not be permitted to pass unchallenged."

### Bankers' Commission Totals \$1,000,000

A bankers' commission of nearly \$1,000,000 in a deal that involved the merging of southwestern roads was condemned by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Then the Commission voted to allow the claim.

The huge fee was divided between three New York financial houses. A minority of the Commission opposed the fee. Mr. Campbell declared that he could not sanction "a transaction which is to be consummated by wasting hundreds of thousands of dollars belonging to security holders, which, if it is to be recovered at all, will have to be recovered at the expense of the shipping public."

### Southern Pacific Settles

As a result of a strike declaration by ninety-six per cent of its engineers, the Southern Pacific Railroad has raised wages of these workers \$500,000 a year, dating back to September 1. When the vote was being taken, the chairman of the railroad's executive committee earnestly waived it aside with the statement that the brotherhood "leaders" were compelling the men to vote, that they might have a club to force the Howell-Barkley Bill through Congress. When the strike vote was announced, railroad officials began to talk sense.

Simultaneous with the wage increase announcement, the Southern Pacific stated that in the last ten months all records have been smashed for train operation. Train loads were increased, percentage of locomotives to trains were cut down and the locomotive load raised.

### Business Men Oppose Child Labor Amendment

The New York State Chamber of Commerce condemned the Federal Child Labor Amendment at its monthly meeting.

A small minority, led by Joseph M. Price, opposed the resolution. Mr. Price declared that he was "amazed and shocked" at the committee's attitude. "If the employers realized that long hours and dangerous employment do not work for good business, child labor legislation would be unnecessary," he said. "The only right the State would give up under the proposed amendment would be the right to neglect its children. This amendment gives the State unlimited power to protect its children."

Robert Alfred Shaw cited powers the Constitution now gives Congress and said that with such powers entrusted to them no one should be afraid to delegate authority as proposed in the amendment.

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## FOREIGN ITEMS

### AUSTRIA

#### Customs Duties to Promote Eight-Hour Day

A short time ago the Austrian National Council determined to establish a new customs tariff. The new Customs Act is noteworthy because, in accordance with a proposal from Dr. Bauer, Socialist ex-Minister, it enables the Government, by means of a decree to be approved by the Finance Committee of the National Council, to raise the customs rates by not more than one-third provided that the country of origin has not ratified the Washington Labor Convention, and whenever its labor legislation lags considerably behind the provisions of this agreement.

### DENMARK

#### The Forward Movement of the Danish Labor Government

On December 3, Borbjerg, the Home Secretary of Denmark, laid before the Danish Parliament five new bills on social questions, and at the same time moved the ratification of ten of the conventions adopted by the International Labor Office of Geneva, one of which dealt with the eight-hour day. All Danish workers, except land workers and seamen, have now acquired the eight-hour day; it is an integral part of the agreements now in force. In spite of this, however, the employers are opposing its establishment by law.

Of the new bills, the most important is undoubtedly that for the introduction of workers' councils; it provides for the formation of a workers' council in all enterprises representing industry, handicrafts, commerce, agriculture, forestry, or horticulture, which employ at least ten persons over eighteen years of age; and it also prescribes that the workers' council shall have a share in the management of the enterprise. Any enterprises of the above nature which employ from five to nine persons must elect a committeeman, who will enjoy similar rights.

### GERMANY

#### The Return to the Eight-Hour Day in Germany

In May last the German General Federation of Trade Unions organized an inquiry into working hours, which was conducted by the local trade union branches all over the country. The same process was repeated at the end of November last, the same seven industries being selected, namely, the building trade, the printing trade, the chemical industry, the wood industry, the metal industry, the boot and shoe trades, and textile industry. The total number of workers affected was 2,359,616, of whom 1,969,224 are now working over forty-eight hours a week, or 45.3 per cent as compared with 54.7 per cent in May.

The number of workers working over forty-eight hours per week has thus fallen considerably. This applies to all the seven industries. In the printing trade especially there has been a decided change for the better; in May last almost half the employees were working over forty-eight hours a week, and now the proportion has sunk to a quarter. In the metal industry the number has sunk by more than ten per cent; the textile industry, in which working hours very often used to exceed forty-eight per week, there is a decline from 82.4 per cent to 66 per cent. The November statistics of the German General Federation of Trade Unions show that the trade unions are now in a position to take up the fight against the lengthening of working hours with good prospects of success.

### GREAT BRITAIN

#### Trade Union Funds in England

There are 1,135 trade unions in Great Britain, of which only 491 make returns of their funds, but these 491 (with a membership of 4,368,877) contain four-fifths of the total trade union membership.

A recent report by the Chief Registrar of the Friendly Societies shows that although the membership of these 491 unions is not much more than 1,000,000 in excess of pre-war membership, yet there is a doubling of income from members' subscriptions, which in 1913 was about \$4,000,000, and in 1923 about \$8,000,000. Much the heaviest expenditure during the last ten years, apart from management expenses, has been in unemployment benefit, for whereas in 1913 the unions spent \$405,000 for this purpose, in 1923 they spent \$1,084,000. The cost of trade disputes is very variable; in 1913 it was only \$247,000, and in 1923 \$721,000; but in 1921 it was no less than \$3,427,000, the largest amount ever so spent.

The political expenditure, which is now a feature of special interest, was probably not much more than \$40,000 in 1913, whereas in 1923 it was \$228,000, \$80,000 of which was spent by the miners and \$56,000 by the transport workers. The year 1923 marked a definite recovery in trade union funds, after the disastrous drain of the great strikes of the two preceding years, during which the funds were reduced by nearly \$6,000,000. Last year the funds increased by nearly \$1,000,000, and the current year should show an even greater advance.

### ROUMANIA

#### The Roumanian Trade Union Movement in 1923

According to official statistics, the Roumanian Federation of Trade Unions comprised in 1923 seventeen unions with a membership of 59,743. Apart from these organizations, there are also ninety-three local unions with a membership of 18,463. In comparison with the year 1922, there is a loss of 3,916 members. This is mainly due to the split of the trade union movement which took place in 1923. Since this split took place, the Communist unions have been declining in membership, while those affiliated with the I. F. T. U. have made good progress in 1924. The income of the unions was some 14,000,000 lei, and the expenditures close upon 17,500,000, while the funds amount to 6,000,000. Some sixty per cent of the expenditure is devoted to the costs of administration.



# EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



## Courses and Lectures in Yiddish and Russian in Different Parts of the City

### BROOK

Friday evening, January 2, 9:30 p. m., in the Club Rooms of Local 2, 1581 Washington avenue; Joseph J. Cohen will lecture on "What Samuel Gompers Achieved in the American Labor Movement."

On Sunday morning at 11 o'clock in the same place, Max Levin will lecture on "The Industrial Development of Modern Society."

Next Friday evening, January 9, at 8:30 p. m. (Zivion) Dr. B. Hoffman will lecture on "Workers' Governments in Europe—Their Political and Economic Achievements."

### HARLEM

In the Cloak Makers' Center, 1623 Lexington avenue, corner 132d street, on Sunday, January 4, at 10:45 in the morning, Dr. B. Hoffman (Zivion) will start a course of six lessons on "Twenty-five Years' Labor Movement in America." This will be a historical review on the various phases, aims and achievements of the Trade Union Movement in this country with special emphasis on the I. L. G. W. U.

### DOWN-TOWN

In Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, Room C, on Friday, January 2, at 8 p. m. (Zibien), Dr. B. Hoffman will lecture on "The First Attempt of American Trade Unionism in an Independent Political Campaign."

Next Friday, January 9, at 8 p. m., in the same place, H. Rogoff will lecture on "The Cultural Development of America."

### BROWNSVILLE

Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Room 301, on Thursday, January 8, at 8 p. m., Alexander Fichandler will start a course of six lessons in "Social Psychology." The first topic will be "The Individual as a Social Animal."

These courses are especially prepared for our members by the lecturers and instructors together with our Educational Department.

They will be continued throughout the season in the same place and at the same time.

Admission is free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

## Courses in Workers' University to be Resumed January 10 and 11

The classes in Workers' University, after a short vacation, will be resumed in the Washington Irving High School, Room 630, on Saturday, January 10, and Sunday, January 11, 1925.

Mr. Stolper will give a course "Clear Voices in English and American Literature," at 1:30.

At 2:30 the course on "Trade Union Policies and Tactics" will be given.

On Sunday, January 11, at 10:30, Dr. Overstreet will give his course on "Psychology of Conflict."

At 12:30 p. m. Dr. Carman will continue his course, "Development of Modern Industrial Circumstance." Through some unforeseen circumstance, Dr. Carman missed his class for the first time since he is with us, last Sunday, December 21, but he will positively be with us this coming Sunday.

### ALEXANDER FICHANDLER AND SYLVIA KOPALD WILL RESUME THEIR COURSES IN THE I. L. G. W. U. BUILDING

Alexander Fichandler will resume his course on "Psychology and the Labor Movement," on Wednesday, January 7, 1925, at 6:30 p. m., in the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 15th street.

Miss Sylvia Kopald will continue her course on Thursday, January 8, at 6:30 p. m.

These courses will continue in the same place and at the same time throughout the season.

### LECTURE IN RUSSIAN FOR THE RUSSIAN-POLISH BRANCH

On Friday evening, January 9, at 8:15 East 10th street, 7:30 p. m., M. Karpowich will lecture on "Universal History," in Russian.

### LOCAL 9 BUILDING

In the auditorium of our Cloak Operators' Union, Local 9, 67 Lexington avenue, on Saturday, January 3, at 1 p. m., Max Levin will conduct a class in "Discussion Method."

### ALEXANDER FICHANDLER BEGINS COURSE ON "SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY" IN BROWNSVILLE

Alexander Fichandler will start a course on "Social Psychology," on Thursday, January 8, at 8:30 p. m., in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Room 301. The first topic will be "The Individual as a Social Animal."

The topics for the following lessons will be as follows:

January 15—"Approval and Disapproval."

January 22—"Fighting Instinct." January 29—"Leaders and Followers."

February 5—"Ownership." February 12—"Creative Instinct."

This will be followed by other courses in Brownsville.

Admission is free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

For information and bulletins, apply to the office of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Makers' Union, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, or at the Educational Department, of the I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th street.

the beginning of our educational season in Harlem.

For this occasion an excellent musical program has been arranged. The details of this program will be announced in Justice later.

Admission will be free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

## WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School  
Irving Place and 16th St.  
Room 530

Saturday, January 10

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

Saturday, January 17

2:30 p. m. David J. Sapos—Trade Union Policies and Tactics.

Sunday, January 11

10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Psychology of Conflict.

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

### INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' BUILDING

3 West 16th Street

Wednesday, January 7

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

Thursday, January 8

6:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement: Wasting Industry.

### UNITY CENTERS

Tuesday, January 6

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61  
Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street

8:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Changing Economic Institutions: The Economic Maladjustment—the Industrial Crisis. Discussion of Business Cycle, Wastes, etc. Causes ascribed by Henry George, Marx, Mitchell, Veblen.

Wednesday, January 7

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63  
Fourth Street near First Avenue

8:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Social and Economic Forces in American History: Natural Resources.

### EXTENSION DIVISION

#### YIDDISH

Friday, January 2

Club Rooms of Local 2—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx  
8:30 p. m. Joseph J. Cohen—What Samuel Gompers Achieved in the American Labor Movement.

Sunday, January 4

Club Rooms of Local 2—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx  
11:00 a. m. Max Levin—The Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Friday, January 9

Club Rooms of Local 2—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx  
8:30 p. m. Dr. B. Hoffman—Workers' Governments in Europe—Their Political and Economic Achievements.

Friday, January 2

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street  
7:45 p. m. B. Hoffman—The First Attempt of American Trade Unionism in an Independent Political Struggle.

Friday, January 9

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street  
8:00 p. m. H. Rogoff—The Cultural Development of America.

Saturday, January 3

Local 9 Building—67 Lexington Avenue  
1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Discussion Method.

Sunday, January 4

Harlem Socialist Educational Center—62 E. 106th Street  
10:30 a. m. B. Hoffman—Twenty-five Years' Labor Movement in America.

Friday, January 9

Russian-Polish Branch—315 E. 10th Street  
7:30 p. m. M. Karpowich—Universal History.

Thursday, January 8

Brownsville Labor Lyceum—Room 301  
7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement. In these discussions we shall study some of the fundamental laws of human behavior. We shall analyze some of the instincts that urge us to want to fight, to create, to lead, to follow, etc. We shall also analyze some of the laws which underlie the progress of human reasoning. Illustrations will be drawn from the workers' experience.

### OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

#### PHILADELPHIA

Friday, January 2

431 Pine Street  
7:40 p. m. John B. Leeds—Sociology.

## Concert and Dance in Harlem on January 17

Saturday Evening, January 17, 1925, in P. S. 171, 103rd Street, Between Madison and Fifth Avenues.

Prominent Artists Will Participate. On Saturday evening, January 17, our members and their families residing in Harlem will assemble in the auditorium of P. S. 171 to celebrate



# The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

In the presence of 600 members who filled the spacious assembly room of Arlington Hall, on Saturday afternoon, December 27, the newly-elected officers were obligated for the new term of 1935.

## Pay Tribute to Departed Head of American Federation of Labor

Before proceeding with the installation, manager Dubinsky, who was the temporary chairman of the installation ceremonies, called upon the members, without the formality of a motion, and with the tap of his gavel, to rise in memory of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who passed away recently.

As the temporary chairman's rap sounded on the table the members massed in the large hall rose as one and stood in deep silence, attesting to the place which the deceased leader of the American Labor movement has in the hearts of the members of Local 10.

## President Sigman Leads Local 10

It was an impressive ceremony that attended the obligation of the men elected lately. These annual meetings of the cutters after election are model gatherings of union workers made so because of the manner in which they are conducted.

During the past three or four years the installations have been attended by the largest number of members at each meeting. At these gatherings, as at the present one, addresses are delivered by officers of the International and the Joint Board and by local officers. The activities of the past year are reviewed, stock is taken, and policies are outlined.

That the installation held last Saturday was an impressive one and that it merited words of admiration and congratulation was instanced by the statements made by International President Sigman. The president said that it was his desire to have the other locals of the International institute the same form of installations, in ceremony and spirit.

## Union Meetings Should Be Center of Activity

Immediately upon opening the meeting the chairman of the organization, Philip Ansel, turned over the gavel to Dubinsky, whom he designated as temporary chairman until his obligation for the new term.

The keynote of his opening remarks to the members was an appeal to make the meetings of the union the center of their activities. He branded as lies statements made in a circular issued by some group which questioned Local 10's method of election.

Manager Dubinsky said that the cutters' organization was the only one which gives the membership the right to determine as to how the election is to be conducted. The local's balloting is entirely under the supervision of an election board, elected by the members at a meeting called for that purpose. This method is different from that in vogue in other locals in that the Executive Board elects their election boards.

He read from another circular which he assumed was written by the same person or group of persons because of a similarity of the labels. One of the circulars touched upon the system of equal distribution of work, in which it charged favoritism in enforcement. Because of the similarity of two circulars and because one of the circulars was signed by a member, the manager said that he was justified in his assumption that the charge of favoritism emanated from the individual who signed his name to this circular.

He recalled to the members an instance which probably led to the charge of favoritism in distribution

of work. When the case in question was presented to him, Dubinsky said that he was asked by this individual to decide the case in his favor. Upon the manager's failure to do so, because it would have been an act of downright injustice to decide the case in favor of the one who demanded it, this was termed favoritism.

Of the 600 members present there was not one who rose when Dubinsky sought to know if there was anyone in the audience who was denied his right to equal division of work, and whose right was lost to him because of favoritism to another.

## Result of Election Final Verdict

However, the manager's object, as he stated it to the members in speaking on the subject of the circulars, was not because he regarded this as a grave problem. Nor were his remarks elicited by an eagerness to pacify the few behind the circulars. He even doubted whether this group was made up entirely of members of the union. He said it was plain to him, as well as to the membership, that behind these circulars were those outside organizations which had been banned from activity within the union by the International. There was no doubt in his mind as to where the great, or rather, the overwhelming mass of membership are with regard to their attitude towards the organization. This was manifested in the results of the election, in which nearly fifty per cent of the membership participated, giving the administration almost eighty per cent of the vote.

That the authors of the leaflets are either thoroughly ignorant with respect to the affairs of the union or are not members is evidenced by the recent meetings, particularly the one on the subject of good and welfare, which was practically a forum, and which invited to all who had anything to say for or against the administration to voice it. Neither at this meeting nor at other meetings did the members of the union even hint at such conditions as were contained in the leaflets. This alone is sufficient to brand them as lies.

## Laude Local 10's Healthy State

Dubinsky introduced International Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff as one who is admired and well-liked by the membership of the International in spite of the "financial difficulties which he inflicts" on the local unions.

Brother Baroff admitted that to keep moving the financial obligations of the local unions is his most important task. And if, therefore, he causes any hardship in this regard it is not because he finds it pleasant, but because conditions demand it. He recalled his early activities as a waiter with the wash makers' union. In those days, he said, a worker was satisfied with two dollars' strike benefit. But the greater needs of the workers, the increased leisure afforded them by the shortening of hours, has changed them materially and psychologically, with the result that their needs of today far outstrip their needs of years ago.

Turning to the subject touched upon by the manager in his opening address, Baroff said that "Local 10 can afford itself the pleasure of a few lunatics. It gave your manager the chance to make a good speech. The man who wrote the leaflet with his name signed to it is not one possessed of a normal mentality."

In concluding, he said that he has confidence in the cutters and their ability to maintain their organization.

## Urges Cutters to Conduct Their Own Affairs

International President Sigman's first remarks were of warm words and congratulations upon the impressive

gathering which met his gaze as he entered the hall. He said that the cutters always conduct their affairs admirably. What caused him most gratification was the manner of the installation of the Cutters' Union. He compared these annual gatherings of the members of Local 10 with a banquet. He said that after a year of meetings at which routine is acted upon, the installations were like a rare dish set before a group of diners following the ordinary repast.

He said that the cutters could rightfully boast of a most effective organization. Whenever he spoke of the cutters he was always reminded of his first experience in a shop in which he first secured employment shortly upon his arrival in the United States, in 1902. He found only one union worker in this shop who never began his work before eight in the morning, was punctual in leaving at six, and observed legal holidays. This one worker was a cutter.

Touching on the subject of outside influences and the ambitions of the groups behind them to run the unions, the International's President said that he always detested cliques for that reason. He said he respected opponents. And he considered it important that the wishes of the members should be respected, who, he claimed had a right to be wrong. But the group with which he had some experiences sought standing in the organization offices. He welcomed newcomers as leaders of the organization but he brought them to come in as men.

When Manager Dubinsky introduced Sigman, he introduced him as "our president." It was, he said, Local 10's telegram which made him come to the firm decision to accept the presidency of the International when it was vacated by the resignation of Schlesinger. Sigman did not deny this.

## Cutters Urged to Be Prepared

The address of the International's president dealt mainly with the affairs of the organization which he headed. He spoke of the many difficulties which beset him as he wanted to work. One of the first tasks to which he set himself was the amalgamation of the two joint boards, the dress and cloak. This, the head of the International said, was made necessary by the similarity of the work which the workers in these two branches of the ladies' garment industry were engaged in.

Right now, Sigman said, the International and the Joint Board are engaged in conferences with the manufacturers and the jobbers in the dress industry for the renewal of the agreement. One of the weightiest problems with which the union is confronted is the coming into style of the ensemble suits. This, he said, is what prompted the union's consideration of the question of demanding uniform agreements in the cloak and dress trades.

These problems, the speaker said, in turn call for many internal

changes. In order that this should be accomplished, the first task which presents itself is the wiping out of unions within unions.

In fact, President Sigman pointed out, the entire structure of the organization must be rebuilt with regard to methods of procedure. A Labor organization, he said, is a sacred institution, for it is concerned with very important economic aspect of the life of the workers. He urged upon the members to give thought to these problems and not leave the solution of them entirely to their officers.

## Union Faced With Important Problems

That Local 10 will acquire itself with credit on this score is a fact which he did not doubt. This, he said, is instanced by the activities of the cutters. He said that a local union with a membership of even 10,000 could not boast of an attendance half the size of the meeting at which they were gathered.

In conclusion, he congratulated the officers on their election. He particularly commended Brother Dubinsky for his activities and said that Local 10's manager was no newcomer to him as an officer. He said he had his differences with him long before he became manager of the Cutters' Union. He stressed upon the members the importance of close contact with the organization.

Aside from the dress situation, Sigman pointed out, in which the union is now negotiating the renewal of an agreement, the cloak situation is yet to be faced. In the first month of the coming year the Governor's Committee of Experts is to report its conclusions of the investigations with regard to some of the important demands referred to them by the Commission. After that, within six months' time, the agreement in the cloak industry will expire and the new agreement is to be signed, based upon the recommendations of the Commission.

President Sigman pointed out that for that reason there must be the strictest cooperation between the membership and the officers.

It was the manager of the Joint Board, Israel Feinberg, who, following his opening remarks, obligated President Philip Ansel upon his assumption of the same office for the next year. Feinberg expressed gratification with regard to the attitude of the cutters towards the Joint Board. He said that they render full support to this organization and welcome new thoughts and new ideas. He finds no justification in the charge that the cutters are backward. He expressed the wish that those in opposition should be fair and should respect those whom they oppose.

As regards the situation in the industry Feinberg said that the union was making progress in its efforts to bring the industry out of its chaotic situation. He said that financiers must be made to realize their obligations towards those who supply the man-power.

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## CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

### Notice of Meetings

REGULAR MEETING . . . . . Monday, January 12th

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