

"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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CLEVELAND CONVENTION GLORIOUSLY ENDED

Convention Ends After Two Weeks of Constructive Work—President Schlesinger, Secretary Baroff and the Entire General Executive Board Re-elected—Brother Ninfo of Local No. 48 Becomes First Vice-President—Touching Scenes at the Final Session—Schlesinger's Acceptance Speech Deeply Stirs Delegates—Artificial Barriers Collapse Under Pressure of Genuine Fraternal Feelings.

The sixteenth biennial Convention of our International ended in a blaze of glory Saturday night, May 13. The last minutes of the convention in the Moose Temple were filled with even greater enthusiasm and inspiring scenes than the opening session on Monday, May 1, at the Engineers' Auditorium.

When the convention opened and the President's gavel first fell upon

more than one delegate. "The beginning is very solemn and beautiful, indeed. Who knows how it will end!" The newspapers have added to these apprehensions by their persistent magnifying of the fight between the "rights" and the "lefts" in our International, worrying our friends and giving comfort to the enemies. As it progressed, however, the convention offered a number of surprises, pleasing and heartening to us and sadly disappointing to our ill-wishers.

Day after day it became clearer and clearer that the opposition within our Union, which was so artificially and assiduously nursed and fostered in the columns of the enemy press, was, as a matter of fact, but superficial and weak. And on the day when the convention ended the scenes of fraternizing and of manifestations of truly brotherly feeling towards each other among the delegates, gave final proof of the stone wall of solidarity that surrounds the breastworks of our International.

When the time for nominations came, President Schlesinger handed over the chairmanship to First Vice-President Sigman, who delivered a short speech and called upon the delegates to place their candidates in nomination. Delegate Feinberg, who rose to nominate President Schlesinger, was greeted with a salvo of applause that thundered for many minutes throughout the auditorium. As there were no other nominations made for President, a delegate moved to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Schlesinger as President. Before accepting the nomination, President Schlesinger delivered

a gripping speech, explaining the reasons why he finally decided to change his mind and to again accept the office of the Presidency of the International. (We reproduce President Schlesinger's speech on the third page of this issue.)

One after the other, the nominations of Secretary Baroff and of Vice-President Ninfo for Secretary and First Vice-President, respectively, were made and the unanimous vote of the convention was asked for in regular motion to be cast for these candidates. On a rising vote, President Schlesinger received 198 votes,

was elected in a similar way.

The nominations of seven New York Vice-Presidents and seven out-of-town Vice-Presidents then took place, and a printed ballot with the names of the candidates, which was prepared post-haste while the nominations were being made, was soon distributed among the delegates and the ballots were then turned over to a



President Schlesinger

the table announcing the preliminary session of the great meeting, a feeling of uneasiness over its outcome may have stolen into the heart of



First Vice-President Ninfo

with 14 opposing, mostly from a few women delegates who have come to regard themselves as bitter-enders among the "left" group at the convention. Brother Baroff received three opposing votes, also from the same group, and Vice-President Ninfo



SECRETARY
A. BAROFF
GEN. SEC.

committee of tellers, consisting of Brothers Harry Lang, correspondent of the "Jewish Daily Forward," William M. Feigenbaum, correspondent of the "New York Call," and Manny Weiss, Manager of the Swiss Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 6.

The General Executive Board, as constituted at present, consists of President Schlesinger, Secretary Baroff and the following fifteen Vice-Presidents:

Salvatore Ninfo, First Vice-President; Fannie M. Cohn, Meyer Perls, Jacob Halperin, Jacob Heller, Israel Feinberg, Harry Wander, Joseph Breslaw, Sol Seidman, David Dubinsky, H. Schoolman, Max Gorenstein, E. Reiberg and Fred Monson.

Of the candidates who failed of election, Brother Bernard Shane, of Local 1, received the largest number of votes—190.

The following persons were elected as delegates to the American Federation of Labor conventions: President Schlesinger, Luigi Antonini, Local 39; Louis Langer, Local 35; Louis Pinkowsky, Local 23; Harry Greenberg; and Max Amshur, of Philadelphia.

Conditional Wage Reduction Granted by Cleveland Referees

Ten Per Cent Decrease Allowed Employers Who Supply Full 41 Weeks of Work Annually—Twenty-five Per Cent of Weekly Wages Must Be Put Aside as Unemployment Fund—Decision Is Optional and Will Affect Only a Few Cleveland Shops

The long-expected wage decision of the Referee in the Cleveland cloak market was finally made public on May 16. It is the result of a series of hearings which took place in Cleveland on April 22 and 23, and which

were fully reported in these columns.

Last December the Cleveland cloak manufacturers demanded a wage reduction of 20 per cent. The Union has fought this demand vigorously, and presented to the Board of Ref-

erees a mass of facts and statistics to prove that this reduction was not justifiable, as the workers in the industry earn barely enough to make a decent living, even in the busy season. The Referee's decision is in the nature of a compromise. It is a conditional reduction which affects only those few manufacturers in Cleveland who are able to guarantee their workers full 41 weeks of work annually. The manufacturers who cannot supply the workers the stipulated number of weeks will have to continue to pay the same wage scales as heretofore.

There is another very important qualification attached to this award. The few manufacturers who are entitled to this reduction will have to deposit 25 per cent of the weekly pay roll as an unemployment fund, and will not be able to recover this

(Continued on Page 11)

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

FROM GENOA TO HAGUE

FOR over a month representatives of 33 nations sought at the Genoa Conference for a way out of the chaotic and intolerable conditions in Europe. The chief problem was, as it had been for the past several years, the resumption of relations with Russia. The British government began to realize that there can be no peace, nor reconstruction, without the co-operation of Russia. So Lloyd George planned a great reconstruction congress, where all nations, including Russia and Germany, should participate. America refused to join. France reluctantly agreed to send a delegation. The conference finally opened on April 10. It passed through a series of convulsions, deadlocks and crises, until it reached its end on May 14, when the Allies issued a call for a brand new conference to take place in Hague, on June 15.

No official declaration has as yet come forth as to the death of the Genoa Conference, but there is little doubt that it is as dead as a door nail. For a time it seemed as if France, the implacable militaristic nation in Europe, would come out defeated. There were reports of the pending separate treaties between Russia, Great Britain, Italy, Czech-Slovakia, and many other nations. France was on the verge of being isolated. A realignment of the great powers seemed imminent. Then the scene shifted, the Allies emerged united again, with the French victorious.

The underlying reason for this change seems to be entirely due to the United States. Although the Washington government officially adopted an attitude of aloofness, it had actively supported the militaristic policy of France. It has gone so far as to demand the abrogation of the Russo-German treaty and all other existing treaties of a financial character and to prevent the making of separate agreements between Russia and the outside world. It proposed the creation of a commission in which Russia should not be represented, which should undertake to supersede the giving of credits and to control the flow of foreign capital to Russia.

"Strangely, I find the United States the most hostile nation," declared Chicherin when he heard of the American plan. "The American proposal," he continued, "is a new blockade, a new boycott of Russia. It is intolerable." The arrogance, meanness and stupidity of the American policy toward Russia is generally recognized. But America is a creditor nation, is rich and powerful and the European nations must listen to her proposals. France is particularly jubilant at the American stand. Great Britain, shifting and compromising, is ready as usual to retreat and assume a new position, only to change it on the following day.

No one had expected that the Russians would agree to the Allied terms. Yet their memorandum of May 11 was surprisingly moderate and conciliatory. They asked for a loan, and were willing to negotiate through a commission of experts the question of compensation for confiscated private property, in return for important concessions. But the French, now backed by the American government, declared the reply "insolent in tone," and refused to go on with the conference. But it is bad diplomacy to bring such a conference to a sudden end, so the Allies suggested The Hague.

The proposed Hague Commission will be composed of experts appointed by the several governments, not by the Genoa Conference. It will not include any Russian representative, but in effort to make the plan palatable to the Russians another commission of similar composition, except that Russia will be represented, will gather also at The Hague, on June 26. While Russia was treated as an equal at the Genoa Conference, her position at Hague will be that of a subordinate nation to whom terms are dictated. The Russian delegation is inclined to reject such humiliating conditions. On second thought, however, the Russians will probably accept any form of negotiation where they will have the opportunity to place their case before the world.

If The Hague Conference will take place as scheduled, nothing more can possibly happen than another exchange of views between Russia and the Allies. The formal refusal of America to participate at The Hague and the presence of France there are sufficient guarantees of the futility of the plan.

CHILD LABOR AND THE SUPREME COURT

SINCE 1919 we had a federal Child Labor Law which intended to regulate the employment of children in any mill, cannery, workshop or factory under the age of fourteen, or in any mine or quarry under sixteen years, by imposing a tax of 10 per cent upon the net annual profits of those employing such labor. This law has been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court last Monday. The barrier erected by Congress to protect children against the insatiable appetite of the employers for greater profits has been destroyed. Employers now have the sanction of the highest court in the land to exploit children.

The decision of the Supreme Court was rendered in a case brought by the government against the Drexel Furniture Company of North Carolina, and was one of three cases brought in that state testing the validity of the law. The Supreme Court found that the law prohibiting child labor is violating the constitution of the United States. In 1916 this court found the first federal child labor act unconstitutional on the ground that the act of Congress was invalid when it excluded from interstate commerce products in whose manufacture child labor had been used. The present decision was based on a similar technicality. Congress, Chief Justice Taft explained, has no right to encroach upon the exclusively state functions, and must not, therefore, interfere with the practices of the local business undertakings. Now, as in 1916, the Supreme Court has put the letter of the law above the rights of children. It has come to the aid of the most ruthless profit hunters. It will encourage the movement to substitute children in place of adult workers in the factories and mines of those states which have no child labor laws.

But, while the federal taxing power when used for the protection of children has been declared unconstitutional, the same power has long been used to protect manufacturers, bankers and other interests, and was regarded as perfectly lawful and in harmony with the constitution. Constitutional guarantees have been constantly violated by the government as well as by the moneyed interests, with the approval of the Supreme Court. But, as

Justice Van Sicken of New York declared, the kind of justice one can find in the courts is distinctly of the capitalist brand.

POLICE RAIDS ON LABOR IN CHICAGO

THE Chicago police has unearthed a brand new conspiracy of labor. The bombing of an open shop construction work, followed by the killing of two policemen, was made the starting point for wholesale raids made upon headquarters of building trades unions, which resulted in the arrests of more than 400 labor leaders, business agents and others. Chicago was declared to be in a "state of warfare against law and order." The Chief of Police in that city declared that "we are in a state of anarchy that approaches in intensity the condition that existed during the Haymarket riots." The Citizens' Committee and various other "public" spirited agencies have subscribed big sums of money to make it possible for the police to go on with their undertaking to restore order by running down labor.

The Citizens' Committee has been conducting an active campaign for the establishment of open shop conditions in the building trades of Chicago. It based its campaign upon the wage-cut award of Judge Landis, which the workers rejected. It employed the customary tactics to break up the unions, Edward Neckles, Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, sees in the police terrorism an attempt to discredit organized labor and to break the Chicago Federation of Labor. He declared that police and prosecutors were working hand in glove with the open shop advocates, that "framed" evidence by highly paid detectives attempting to divert labor led to the wholesale arrests, and that Citizens' Committee has three million dollars with which to carry on its fight.

Among the labor leaders arrested in the raids are: Fred Mader, President of the Chicago Building Trades Council; "Big Tim" Murphy, head of the Gas Workers' Union; "Con" Shea, leader of the Theater Janitors' Union, and others. Some of the building trades union leaders are of the Brindell type; some have been denounced by the police as "ex-convicts." But that was not the reason for the round-up of union headquarters.

Thus far no evidence was given to support the charge that union leaders were responsible for the bombing or the killing of the two policemen. The police are boasting of course that they are in possession of damaging evidence to "prove" that organized labor was about to inaugurate a "reign of terror" in Chicago. But they nipped this "conspiracy" before it proved too menacing. As a matter of fact, it was the "wish" of the Chicago police to run down a conspiracy. There was a "conspiracy" in the case of the Wall Street explosion a few years ago. West Virginia has now a conspiracy or treason trial. Why not Chicago?

LAW AND RELIGION IN WEST VIRGINIA

A LITTLE group of women and children from West Virginia came to New York last week to appeal for funds to aid 80,000 starving people in the New River coal field of West Virginia. They came to ask for help in the miners' struggle against the terror of the coal barons and their auxiliaries, the state officials. They represent the West Virginia Miners' Relief Committee, who appealed for subscriptions to enable them to send carloads of food, not to starving Russia, but to the miners and their families in West Virginia.

The coal barons of West Virginia and their privately owned government are now conducting a trial in Charles Town, charging the miners with "treason." But even this trial indignantly reveals to what extent private interests own and dominate the state with all its officials, from the Governor down to the Special Deputy Sheriff.

But the coal barons are not satisfied with the ownership and domination of the state government, they also want religion and the church to support their "cause." They therefore imported the famous heavenly acrobat, the Reverend Billy Sunday, to do some of his evangelical stunts among the miners. What the state officials are doing for the mine owners in the practical realm of law and order Billy Sunday is expected to do on a higher, spiritual plane. It is to bring to the miners the gospel of the coal barons as the only spiritual salvation for the miners. But there will be little difficulty to see the meaning of this religion of the coal barons.

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ATTENTION!

A regular meeting of the Sample Makers' Branch will be held on Saturday, May 20th, at 1:30 P. M., in Labor Temple, 14th Street and Second Avenue.

It is very important that every member of the Branch should come to this meeting. — Fraternally yours,

S. LEFKOVITS, Manager-Secretary.

President Schlesinger's Speech of Acceptance

Fellow delegates, Sisters and Brothers:

Those of you who know me, know that I am not easily moved. I have gone through certain things in my life which have, in a way, hardened me. But the way you acted towards me a few minutes ago has actually moved me, and it may be difficult for me to say the few words that I have been thinking over since yesterday.

I want to say first, that I never imposed myself upon the International. There is not a man or woman, whether I agreed with them or not, who can say that I, at any time, have tried to impose myself upon the organization. I remember in 1903, in Cleveland, I was elected President because the whole delegation practically insisted upon it. I have never used politics.

The same thing occurred in 1914, again in the City of Cleveland, and I can say with a great deal of pride that a delegation from Locals No. 1 and 7 actually insisted that I go as delegate to that convention. I was at that time manager of the Forward, and day after day committees urged upon me and insisted that I go as delegate to that convention. I felt honored because, although there was friction in the movement in those days—it was immediately after the Hourwich affair—both sides insisted upon my being a delegate, with the idea, I presume, that when I came to the convention, they would elect me as President. The very same thing was true six years ago in Philadelphia, and four years ago and two years ago. And the reason you had to request me to accept this office was not because I wanted you to coax me, but for only one reason: You know that I am not a very strong person physically. I work very hard, and when a term would elapse I would feel that I ought to do less strenuous work. But this time it was not only because of my health, but for a much deeper reason. I like the work. But when it comes to fighting around with our own people it wears me out and I find it hard to stand. Everyone is entitled to his opinion but when that involves fighting around, I cannot do it.

I had already made arrangements, immediately after this convention; to

go with the New York Call as manager. I did not intend to go out selling cotton or to do anything else that would make my livelihood dependent upon the employers. The office of president carries dignity with it and I felt that even as ex-president, I should not do anything to hurt the dignity of the office. (Applause.)

You will know the Call is struggling for its existence and the Board of Directors of the Call came to me a few days before the Convention and asked me to accept the position of manager, and my intention was, after a little rest, to accept that offer, and to continue working in a different branch of the labor movement. During the Convention various persons have spoken to me asking me to remain with the organization. I want to assure you that I did not in any way ask or intimate to any of the persons that addressed this Convention that I wanted them to speak about me. I say that only because some newspapers have come out with a story that President Gompers had been purposely brought to this convention in order to make an appeal for me. If the Ladies' Garment Workers were to elect me as President only because Samuel Gompers had made an appeal for me, it would be a dark day for this International. I have absolutely nothing to do with it. Of course, I was complimentary to A. F. of L. I came down personally, instead of sending one of his lieutenants, and spoke the words he did; but I assure you that I never solicited it. The same thing is true of the addresses delivered by Hillquit and Cahane. I assure you that it was not solicited.

The reason that I have decided to accept the office for another term is, first, because of the conditions in our industry. The agreements expire in a couple of weeks and I really felt that for a new man to undertake negotiations with the employers at this time would be detrimental to the organization. (Applause.) My second reason is the following: Some people have been trying to make the impression that the reason I wanted to resign was because a group from outside and within our organization, whose opinions differ from mine, had ousted me. I want to say that if the majority of our members, or if even a strong minority does not want me, I am the last man in the world to impose myself upon them. And it is because I don't want to give anybody the opportunity to state that they have driven me out of the International, that I have decided to accept the nomination. (Great applause.)

It is very seldom that I have an opportunity to speak to you confidentially and so I will take this opportunity now. I came to this country when a boy of twelve or thirteen and was immediately thrown into the sweatshop. I never had the opportunity to go to school, except for about a year or a year and a half. I came here in 1889, worked in a sweatshop during the day, and whatever knowledge I have was not obtained in public schools, or high schools or colleges or universities. I got it in the shop, and what I was able to pick up outside of the shop. I joined the Socialist Labor Party in 1894, and I remained a member of it until 1899 when the party split and the present Socialist Party was organized and I have been a member of this party ever since.

In the opinion of some of the brothers, I am not radical enough.

I believe in free criticism and I presume that I deserve to be criticized. Nobody is infallible. But I never expected the slanderous attacks that were made upon me during the last nine or ten months. You know that I was in Russia. When I returned I wrote a series of articles which were as friendly to Russia as any articles that were ever written on Russia. They were written not in a Communist way, because if a Communist were to write his impressions, everyone would expect him to write a favorable article. My articles were printed in several influential English papers. Four or five months after I returned from Russia, a certain young man connected with the Tailors' Union in Russia came here. Brother Baroff and I received him as though he were our own brother. At about that time we had a meeting of our General Executive Board and I suggested the proposition of sewing machines for Russia. At that time we were out on strike and we could not undertake to make a collection of a half-day's or a day's pay as we had discussed. After a few weeks, this man came to our office and he said to me that he was fully familiar with the conditions in America and that he wanted our International to join the Red Internationale. I told him that even if our membership were ready to join it, I did not think that it was advisable or possible. Finally he said, "If you will not do it, we will organize a new international of ladies' garment workers in America." Of course I told him to leave the office at once. A few days afterwards the attacks upon me began.

As I stated before my first reason for deciding to remain in the International, is because of the conditions of the industry. The employers are preparing to come to you with the same demands they had made several months ago, and if I should not take part in the negotiations, they would interpret it in all kinds of ways.

Some might say that I am away because times were getting harder.

The employers might say that the workers are so unreasonable that even Schlesinger had to go away. And secondly, I have decided to accept the nomination in order not to give an opportunity to my slanderers to say that I was thrown out of the union.

But it must be understood that I expect from you your co-operation. You have a perfect right to criticize. You may be anarchists or communists or members of the Socialist party, or Republicans or Democrats, and I do not want to have anything to do with your political beliefs. But as far as our organization is concerned, we must confine ourselves to progressive trade unionism, and to organizing our workers into one solid union. (Great applause.) And this will require your whole-hearted support.

I assure you that I will have no hard feeling towards anybody who votes against me. That is your privilege. But if I am elected, I want you for the benefit of the hundreds and thousands of workers that you represent, to work together with those that you elect. You must co-operate with me in order to maintain the standards that we have secured and to make the organization stronger and stronger. If you are ready to do this, I shall be glad to remain as your president. (Prolonged applause.)

Members of the I. L. G. W. U. who wish to join the Unity Centers where English for beginners, elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school English, History of the Labor Movement, Applied Economics and Physical Training are taught can register at the offices of their Local Union, or at the office of the Educational Department, Room 1003, 21 Union Square.



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JUSTICE

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A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

It would be interesting to know how large a percentage of the populations in the countries concerned are aware of the immense importance of the issue that has now been reached at Genoa. Most people's minds are occupied with the purely political significance of France's intransigence. Will M. Poincaré's blustering attitude towards both Germany and Russia bring about, not only the break-up of the conference, but also a break of the long last in diplomatic relations between Great Britain and France? That is what most concerns the capitalist press here today, even the more advanced section of that press. But as labor recognizes, and as its one daily newspaper points out, the real crisis that has been reached at Genoa is much more than a political one. For the real point at issue is not whether France will withdraw from the conference, but whether Russia will withdraw—whether, in fact, those with whom she is negotiating are going to insist on the restoration of private property in Russia, or whether they are going to accept this, the basic principle of the Soviet Revolution, and be content with reasonable compensation for private property that has been expropriated. For on that principle the Russian revolution stands or falls, and it is just as well that it should not be glossed over at Genoa, even if its demonstration by the Soviet delegation should involve their withdrawal from the conference and its temporary failure.

The political significance of what is happening at Genoa is not, of course, to be minimized. Mr. Lloyd George's sensational message to the British public, rejecting M. Poincaré's

recent speech, accepting a Russian-German understanding and practically warning people against believing what they read in the *Norfolk* papers, is a complete swing round from the disastrous policy he has pursued since the Versailles conference in 1919. It may lead to anything—a new grouping of European peoples, to a complete rejection of the French militarist and reactionary policy towards Russia and Germany. It is almost certainly paving the way for Mr. Lloyd George's appeal to the British electors with a political and foreign program which labor will find it difficult to quarrel with, unless they counter it by a perpetual reminder to the nation of our versatile Prime Minister's past career, which is a shambles and disgruntled form of political tactics. Certainly, the political aspect of Genoa is not to be overlooked.

The Power of Labor.

But all this makes it doubly important that the economic, the sociological and the ethical aspects of the crisis should not be overlooked. It is a thousand times more essential that the basic principle of the Russian revolution should be maintained than that Europe should be temporarily patched up by a discreet avoidance of that issue. Here has labor been fulminating in every country, at countless conferences, for countless years, against the power of private property to enslave the workers, create war and arrest progress. For the first time in modern history, a great country has challenged the rights of private property; brought to the verge of starvation, it is struggling to maintain the great step forward it has

thus taken; and one wonders what labor in other countries is going to do to back it up in its negotiations with prosperous powers who hold its very life in their hands.

Labor, in one small instance, has just demonstrated its power to act subtly and dramatically. The one-day strike all over Southern and Northwestern Ireland, to protest against the militarist tactics, and civil strike of the two Irish parties now striving for pre-eminence in the country, that has only just been freed from a foreign tyranny, was so complete even in districts supposed to be faithful to De Valera, that hopes are at last entertained of a settlement between the two combatants. Irish labor has at least shown that it can, if it likes, hold up the activities of the country for a still longer period, rather than endure a civil strife with which it has no sympathy. At the conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions now meeting most opportunely at Rome, while Genoa makes crises among the powers, Robert Smillie, the veteran British delegate, yesterday infused a breath of life and realism into the rather academic proceedings by securing the strengthening of an academic resolution about "economic peace." In a great speech he declared, "There can be no lasting peace—unless it is a peace of death—until the land and the means of production, distribution and exchange are in the hands of the people. That alone can secure happiness for the world." He was, of course, loudly cheered. Yet the only country of which it can be said that a real attempt has been made to secure those same ideals was at that very moment struggling to maintain them at Genoa in the face of the opposition of governments that rested in every case upon the consent of the peoples whose delegates cheered Smillie at Rome. Cheers are all very well, but one may be pardoned for

wishing that they sometimes would inebriate.

The engineering workers belonging to the Amalgamated Engineering Union are still locked out, and the breakdown of the negotiations between the employers and the forty-seven other engineering unions have broken down at exactly the same point as in the case of the A. E. U.—on the right of the employers to control the workers rather than the works by imposing what overtime and other conditions they choose and allowing the changes to be discussed afterwards—it is now probable that another 600,000 engineers will be added to the ranks of those already out, and to the shipbuilding workers who are locked out for refusing to accept a drastic cut of 26 shillings a week. In the reassembled House of Commons today, the Labor Party is asking the government to use its powers under the Industrial Courts Act, and to establish a Court of Inquiry into the engineering dispute—a request which this executive of a House of Coalition members refused before Parliament adjourned for Easter. Unless some attempt is soon made to end this intolerable situation, in which it seems that Sir Allan Smith, the employers' spokesman and negotiator, is by no means always expressing the views of all his colleagues, it appears likely that 850,000 engineers will continue idle indefinitely, or until starvation forces them to agree to a settlement that settles nothing—to say nothing of the 300,000 in the allied trade of shipbuilding. In view of the bitterness prevailing among miners on account of the unsatisfactory settlement extorted from them by the coal owners, a year ago, when starvation had done its work among them and their families, it is greatly to be hoped that the wiser among Sir Allan Smith's colleagues will not allow matters to proceed to the same extremity in the engineering trades.

French Clothing Factories

By DR. GEORGE M. PRICE
(Special Correspondence to Justice)

Paris, France, May 2, 1922.

Today I had the opportunity to visit several factories where men's and women's clothing is manufactured. The first thing that struck my attention was the way in which the workers sat; in one tailor shop the 30 workers sat on tables with legs crossed, "Turk fashion"; naturally their posture is much worse than that of our tailors in America, and the bad results of the peculiar bent backs and round shoulders is inevitable. Tuberculosis clinics of Paris have informed me that the French tailors are the most frequent victims of the "proletarian disease"—consumption. In these shops light and ventilation were fairly good, but there was no such thing as cleanliness or sanitation; washing, drinking, and toilet facilities were ridiculously below the standards which we have set in our factories. Indeed, the French have no sanitation worth the name, for even in the best hotels, trains, and shops the ubiquitous roller towel can be found. As for toilet facilities, they are almost negligible; some of the shop toilets which I saw were nothing but an enclosure, without seats or running water; merely a hole in the floor, which was usually immediately above the ground. There is no separation between the toilets belonging to the two sexes, and this lack of sanitation is most offensive to those of our views and habits.

The small shop which I am describing is one of the high-class tailoring establishments on the Boulevard de Sébastopol. The men tailors, considered highly skilled, earn on the

average 175 francs a week, and receive in addition a bonus of from 25 to 40 francs a week, making the average weekly earnings about 200 francs, which is considered the average wage. The yearly earnings cannot, of course, be calculated upon the same rate, inasmuch as the tailors never earn 10,000 francs, for that would be the salary of a minister of the government.

A factory inspector receives only from 4,000 to 8,000 francs per year. In the factory which I described all the cutting is done by hand, the pressing by electric irons, and the work was done in order, approximately from \$25 to \$60 being charged for a suit. A women's clothing and "mantle" shop, with the same number of female workers, presented nothing new; fairly good light and ventilation; wretched sanitation; 48 hours per week, and wages for women slightly lower than wages for men. No fire-drill kit, no fire drills, none of the "frills" so often found in our metropolitan clothing factories.

The most interesting inspection which I made was that of the Society Parisien Confection, considered one of the most progressive and modern factories, which is housed in a very beautiful building belonging to the corporation owning the Galerie Lafayette, the well-known department store of Paris. The building is unique in that it is practically a one-story building, all the work being carried on on the first floor, while the machinery, etc., is located in the basement. This factory employs over a thousand men and women.

The first floor is divided in the

middle throughout its length by a corridor, lined with steel lockers, dividing the men's clothing from the women's dress department. One great glass dome covers the top and the sides of the building; the light is perfect, the ventilation is excellent with the open sections of the glass dome; although additional provision is made for artificial ventilation by filtered air. The work is apparently done very efficiently, the latest machines and devices having been introduced by the enterprising and progressive employer. Ironing is done by compressed gas and air, with the use of plain irons and also by American machines. Women do most of the pressing, though much of it means great physical exertion on their part. Machines and cutting machines, as well as motor shafting, are not protected, and the statement was given, upon my inquiry, that there were never any accidents; the inspector accompanying me thought I might take this statement with a "grain of salt." Even in this modern shop no first-aid facilities were found; although I was told by one of the employers that they were thinking of establishing an infirmary, as well as to build cheap homes for their workers.

My attention was particularly

called to the number of young children working in the factory. In France the age limit for a child worker is 13 years, although children of 11 years may work with a certificate. The girls I saw working seemed to be under age, and all seemed pale and haggard, some doing quite difficult work which required much strength. The sanitary facilities in this factory are surprisingly good, although roller towels disgrace the washing rooms, which are otherwise clean. On the whole, this modern factory reflects an attempt to follow progressive tendencies in factory construction and equipment, which is certainly a step forward for France, inasmuch as the entire clothing industry, I understand, is like the first factory I visited and not at all like this model shop last described.

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The Efficiency System and the Workers

By L. BORODULIN

About fifteen years ago there appeared in American industry a new method which was christened "efficiency." Like every innovation, "efficiency" saw very slow development in its early stages. During the war years, however, when the outbreak of the great conflict came to be dependent upon a systematic and scientifically calculated application of the physical, moral and financial forces of the nation, the efficiency system began to be used for the first time on a broad scale, and produced remarkable results. Since then the system of efficiency has spread wider and wider to a great many of the most important branches of the industrial and economic life of the nation.

As an industrial method, the efficiency system means the using of the maximum amount of raw materials, the maximum measure of physical power and the maximum degree of human energy in general, which the owner of an industrial enterprise purchases or hires.

The efficiency problem branches out into three distinct parts: One having to do with raw materials; one relating to coal, oil, winds, waterfalls and other natural forces that aid or produce motor power; and third, all that has a relation to the human energy, to the productive power of hired labor.

The question of efficiency should interest the workers as taxpayers and as consumers of products which are being manufactured cheaper every year, even though the price of these products is not being reduced in proportion to the lessening of the cost of production. But principally, this question must interest all workers as one of the elements upon whom the efficiency method is being practiced. The question arises: How will the efficiency system affect the workers as a class and as individuals? Do they stand to lose by it? or gain? Shall they support it or shall they resist it? Again, there might be some forms of efficiency that could be useful for the workers and others that would be detrimental. The organized workers, therefore, must be on guard to react in the proper manner towards this or that form of these new methods of production that are beginning to invade the workshops.

We shall begin with the first element of efficiency, with the extraction of the maximum use from raw materials from which various products are manufactured. Practically in every industry there is waste, pieces of materials remaining after the product is completed. These remnants, as a matter in what industry, cannot, as a rule, be utilized for the making of the major product manufactured in that industry. The efficiency theory, however, forbids the wasting of these remnants. It seeks a way for their application; it creates a by-product or a by-industry where the waste of these remnants can be applied again as raw material. In other words, it calls for the search and invention of new and useful products that could be created from the industrial waste.

In ready-made clothing shops, for instance, there are remnants of cotton, silk and wool which are called "tags." These remnants are sold to peddlers. These pieces are ground into pulp from which the cheap grades of woollens are manufactured. The

silk remnants are also remade into cheaper grades of silk; the cotton remnants or pieces are made into paper. This is an instance where factory waste is respilled as raw material for another existing industry.

There are, however, such kinds of waste which cannot obviously serve as raw material for other products. In such cases expert chemists are called upon and these chemists seek and search for new useful commodities that could be made from this waste. The results that are often reached thereby are wonderful indeed. The great public does not know it, it does not suspect it, but it is a matter of fact that the retailing market—the drug stores, the department stores and other merchandise establishments, receive almost weekly new products not known before. We have today a much greater number of useful products than we had a few years ago, and most of these products are made of the waste in certain industries, of materials which used to be discarded as "useless."

Take, for example, coal. There was a time when coal would be used only for the purpose of heating. About 120 years ago the invention of producing illuminating gas from coal was first made. The coal is burnt in a certain manner in special furnaces. The gas which issues from the burning coils is purified through certain chemical processes and is piped into pipes through which it is distributed in homes where it is being used for heating and lighting. What remains in the furnaces is not ordinary ashes, but is called coke and is used again in metallurgical plants.

As we see, the burning of the coal, according to a certain process, produced two products, gas and coke. Before the gas is purified, however, it passes through certain apparatus where a certain semi-fluid mass is collected, which used to be thrown out as worthless. In the course of time, however, scientists began to seek how to produce new materials from this by-product. First, a certain tar was manufactured from it, and later they began to produce from it lubricants for machinery and wagon wheels. Subsequently, a number of other useful products were manufactured from this waste, so that today the remnants from the coals burnt for the production of gas and coke are being applied for the making of about 290 various by-products. They are making vinegar, naphthalene, perfume, dyes, explosives and many other things that apparently have no relation to each other, and which could hardly be attributed to the one and same source.

Here is another characteristic example: One of the by-products that resulted from the production of illuminating gas was a transparent fluid called tallow. Only a few years ago this waste matter was absolutely worthless. In the course of the last war a method was found to combine this tallow with other elements, and so resulted in the celebrated TNT, one of the most powerful explosives in our day, and which played such a prominent role in the last war. During the war there was a great demand for this material and large quantities of coal were burnt to produce it. And here is an interesting phenomenon connected with this industry. At first they used to burn coal in order to produce gas and coke, while tallow

was merely a by-product. During the war, however, they would burn coal in order to produce tallow, and the coke and gas became, so to say, the by-products.

A second interesting instance of what the chemists in the industrial laboratories are accomplishing, is the history of petroleum, or oil—the same oil that made Rockefeller famous. They used to make kerosene, gasoline, tar, lubricant oil and a few other similar products from oil. During the last few years the Standard Oil Company began producing a number of refined oils for various medical purposes. One of these oils is known as Nujol, and is being used for digestive disorders.

At the chemical exhibition last year in New York, I spoke to a person who was representing a well-known chemical factory. He showed me, among other things, a small bottle containing a certain fluid. It was a by-product coming from his factory, which was being wasted, as they could not apply it for anything useful. Nevertheless, he brought it to the exhibition in the hope that some chemist or manufacturer might some time be able to use this fluid for production purposes. It is possible that in a few years this fluid will be found to contain productive elements and will be made into something useful. Such instances are numerous in the history of industry during the last few decades.

This tendency to utilize by-products of industry, or to create new and more useful products from the same raw materials, became so general at present and such a great source of economy and profits, that there is hardly a big factory which has no special laboratory where a staff of engineers and chemists is employed for scientific research. The General Electric Company in Schenectady, N. Y.,

for instance, has one of the greatest scientific laboratories, employing a staff of dozens of expert chemists and engineers under the direction of the celebrated Dr. Chas. Steinmetz. The expense of maintaining such a laboratory is enormous and the research and experimentation that is carried on is of such a purely scientific order that an outsider can hardly notice the relation, for instance, between the bulbs and storage batteries and the other products and by-products of this huge establishment. The expense involved in having such a laboratory, however, is well worth the money as from time to time such important discoveries and inventions are made in these laboratories that open up for the company new sources for huge profits.

Here is an example: One of the gases which is part of our atmosphere is called argon. It is one of the most useless gases around our planet, and only recently a practical application of this gas was found. Several years ago the chemists working in the General Electric new products found out that if electric bulbs are filled with this gas, it adds light and durability to them. It was also found out that with the aid of this gas it would be possible to make electric bulbs of a size that was impossible before. Needless to say, this invention has returned to the firm more in profits than all the money ever spent by it on its laboratory.

As a result of this branch of efficiency, each year there are being created new products from materials which practically cost nothing to the factory owners, and new valuable products are being made from materials that would be applied heretofore for the making of cheap products. That much for this branch of industrial efficiency. We shall discuss the others in our next article.

A Baby Clinic at the Health Center

The Union Health Center of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will open a Baby Clinic on July 1st. Members of the Union may bring their babies to the clinic every day in the week except Sunday. The hours will be from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M., Mondays to Fridays inclusive, and on Saturdays from 9 A. M. to noon.

An expert nurse will be in constant attendance to give mothers advice as to proper feeding, clothing and bathing of babies, and will also weigh babies.

The new department of the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th street, has been made possible by the cooperation of the Department of Health.

Orthopedic Clinic of the Union Health Center Very Successful

One of the most successful clinics in the Union Health Center, 131 E. 17th street, is the orthopedic clinic carried on by Dr. S. Brody, under the immediate supervision of Dr. S. W. Boorstein. Much constructive work has been done with our pressers, cutters and operators who have been suffering from weak ankles, flat feet, rheumatic pains, etc.

It is necessary for members of the Union anxious to receive the advantages of this clinic to make their appointments ahead of time, for the applicants to the clinic are exceedingly large.

Remember, the day of the orthopedic clinic is every Tuesday, from 6 to 7 P. M.

RUSSIAN-POLISH CLOAKMAKERS

ATTENTION!

The Mass Meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch will take place on Friday, May 26, at 8:00 P. M. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th Street.

At this meeting a representative from the Joint Board will give a report of the Convention.

It is the duty of every member of the Branch to be present at this meeting.

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

OUR RE-ELECTED GENERAL OFFICERS

PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER

We are certain that the enemies of our International and the personal opponents of Benjamin Schlesinger are disappointed. How they hoped for and cherished the idea that Schlesinger would remain firm in his decision not to re-accept the office of President of the International! We have no quarrel with these gentlemen. It is so natural for each and every creature upon this terrain to seek to improve its own condition in one way or another. Is a cloak manufacturer who had hoped that with the retirement of President Schlesinger he would "heave a sigh of relief," or the mischievous lip-heroes who are desperately clinging to the fringes of our labor movement, who, too, were hoping for the elimination of President Schlesinger, to be blamed for having been eager and anxious for it?

And now that their hopes have not been fulfilled, their disposition is quite justifiably soured. But in exact ratio to their consternation there is joy and jubilation in the ranks of our entire International over the fact that Schlesinger had consented to accept office again and was re-elected for the next administrative term.

Not because even one among our big membership believes, even for a moment, that Schlesinger will bring the millennium. At every opportunity President Schlesinger openly declared that he has never undertaken and would never undertake accomplishing "the social revolution," and that he could not if he would. He stated this at the final session of the Convention, but promised the delegates instead that he would devote every ounce of his strength, first, to the retention of all that our International had gained for our workers in the past, and, secondly, to raise the living conditions of our workers to a higher degree. And everybody knows that what President Schlesinger promises he will try to accomplish. They know him for the many years that he has been with them and worked for them. This explains the general gratification which prevailed in our Union after it became known that our old, tried, experienced and able leader, Benjamin Schlesinger, remains with us.

The contentment of our members is even greater because a great many of them have already believed that Schlesinger has definitely decided to withdraw. It is something like regaining a loss,—this coming back of Schlesinger to the presidency of the International. We are, therefore, certain that Brother Schlesinger will find his task a great deal easier than heretofore. The admiration and respect that he always received from the membership of our International has become even more augmented now. The last Convention has displayed his full ability as a labor leader in the best sense of the word. His tolerant attitude towards his opponents has won for him the admiration of all, without exception.

We hope that this general feeling of esteem will find expression not merely in words, not only in well-couched telegrams, but in the active co-operation of the entire membership. Strong as Schlesinger was until now, he will become a hundredfold stronger after he learns conclusively that the membership is with him to a man, ready to give him the fullest co-operation in all his plans and undertakings.

In the farewell remarks made at the Convention by the writer of these lines, to the delegates, to the President and to the newly elected General Executive Board, we have expressed a hope which we desire to reiterate here. We stated our wish that the President of our International ignore for all times the malevolent campaign of vilification directed by some elements against him and against our International; that now, after he had become convinced that this campaign of lies and slandering has not made the slightest impression upon the big membership of our International, that he rise far above this coterie of vilifiers and character assassins.

We have expressed this hope because we know that it was these infamous attacks that have, for a time, almost influenced him to retire from his most precious and dearest life work. In his final speech President Schlesinger promised that henceforward he will ignore this handful of charlatans who are besmirching our movement. We are confident that if President Schlesinger acts and feels in this spirit now, that his usefulness to our International will become even greater and more enhanced.

We have every right to expect, therefore, that the next two years will be the most important ones in the work of President Schlesinger for our International. We congratulate him upon his re-election to this great post of honor and responsibility in our Union, and our International has every reason to feel deeply grati-

fied that its best and most loyal leader is still with it in its march towards greater success and progress.

GENERAL SECRETARY BAROFF

Our Secretary, Abraham Baroff, is again with us. It is true, his own local did not elect him as one of its delegates to the Convention, yet it is quite likely that this was precisely the reason why he was almost unanimously re-elected by the Convention. The Convention accepted this as splendid testimony of his ability, his usefulness and his unexcelled devotion to the International, and decided that our organization need not and cannot have a better general secretary-treasurer.

Those who know Secretary Baroff as intimately as we know him will agree that the Convention, by its almost unanimous selection of Baroff, has displayed a remarkable sense for judging people and things according to their true value. We congratulate our General Secretary upon his re-election to his great post, the second in importance to the presidency, for the next two years. We also congratulate our International that it will have again, for the next two years, the old "team," Schlesinger as President and Baroff as General Secretary-Treasurer; a team which has, because of the differences in their temperaments, been able to make up such a splendid whole that it feels, at times, that the General Office of the International would have been badly incomplete if one of them were missing.

THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Convention decided that the new General Executive Board be increased by two members, so that instead of thirteen vice-presidents, as heretofore, we shall now have fifteen. This decision was adopted for the following reasons:

First, the International has undertaken to enlarge its organization activities, and a well-distributed carrying out of this responsibility will require a somewhat enlarged General Executive Board. Second, the experience of the last few years has taught us that it is not always certain that all the vice-presidents complete their full term. It occurs that one or two drop out for this or that reason, which often interferes with the carrying out of various plans. As membership in the General Executive Board is not a paid office there was no harm, of course, in adding two more active men to the executive staff of the International.

Third,—and this perhaps is the most sound reason of them all,—a few men in our ranks have displayed, during the last few years, particularly striking abilities, and it was deemed that their co-operation on the General Executive Board would be a distinct gain for our International. It was therefore good logic and common sense for the Convention to draft them as members of the General Executive Board.

These were the principal reasons for enlarging the General Executive Board. Aside from the old and tried veteran members of the Board, we have now several new members, to be sure, five new recruits. The new members of the Board are Israel Feinberg, the manager of the New York Cloak Joint Board; Joseph Breslaw, the manager of Local No. 35; David Dubinsky, manager of Local No. 10; Elias Reisberg, manager of Local No. 15, Philadelphia, and Fred Monosson, the manager of Local No. 7, Boston.

The complete personnel of the General Executive Board is therefore as follows:

For New York—Salvatore Ninio, manager of the Italian Cloak makers, Local No. 48, First Vice-President; Jacob Halperin, manager of the Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union; Jacob Heller, manager of Local No. 17; Samuel Lefkowitz, manager of Local No. 3; Harry Wander, manager of Local No. 23; Israel Feinberg, manager of the New York Cloak Joint Board; Joseph Breslaw, manager of Local No. 35, and David Dubinsky, manager of Local No. 10.

For outside of New York:

Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of our Educational Department; Meyer Perlstein, manager of the Cleveland Cloak Joint Board; Hyman Schoolman, secretary of the Chicago Joint Board; Sol Seidman, of Cincinnati; Elias Reisberg, manager of Local No. 15, Philadelphia; Max Gorenstein and Fred Monosson of Boston.

The two new out-of-town members of the Board take the place of two old members who have retired: Kodofsky, from Toronto, and Brother Posen, from Boston, whose health of late prevented him from continuing his membership on the General Executive Board. Three new members had to come from New York, as our well-beloved former First Vice-President, Morris Sigman, retired from his activities and left for Iowa to try his luck as a farmer. It was an old and fond dream of Brother Sigman's to try to make a living from the soil and to be able to serve voluntarily the labor movement to which he had devoted many of the best years of his life.

It is our opinion that the Convention has elected an ideal General Executive Board. We know of all of them, with the exception of Brother Monosson, who has a very good reputation in his home town. The old and the new members of the Board are all well-known leaders who are devoted, heart and soul, to their International, and who have displayed uncommon abilities in more than one conflict and during numerous negotiations at the conference table. With such an experienced leadership, our International can be safe that whatever it is possible to accomplish for our members will be done.

A. F. OF L. DELEGATES

The Convention elected five delegates to the A. F. of L. conventions, namely, Brothers Louis Langer, Louis Pinkofsky, Luigi Antonini, Max Amdur and Harry Greenberg.

It is an honor to be a delegate to a convention of the American Federation of Labor, but it involves the task and the responsibility for bringing our unions in closer contact with the general labor movement of the country. It is one of our most important tasks,

The Spirit of the Cleveland Convention

By S. Y.

As these lines are being written, the Cleveland Convention is already a matter of history.

Everything seems quiet and undisturbed, yet through this quiet I hear from time to time the loud response of the convention to an apt remark or a striking idea. It still seems as though I am listening to the stormy debates over the various resolutions, and the tumultuous and passionate hubbub and talk among the delegates is still buzzing in my ears. I experienced the same feelings that I had when I first came to America after a long ocean trip. I was already treading the soil of the city, yet it appeared to me as if the vessel was still rocking under my feet.

This metaphor is by far not exaggerated. It was a stormy convention in the true sense of the term that we had in Cleveland. Spirit collided with spirit and the clash filled the atmosphere with thunder and lightning. The waves of debates surged at times so high that it seemed that in another moment our convention vessel would strike a rock and all will end in a tragic shipwreck. But lo, and behold! The captain at the wheel waved his hand, and the panic-stricken passengers, as if by a miracle, are calm and pacified again. The beautiful rays of the sun appear again and our craft sails on upon its regular, quiet course.

Indeed, the last few days of the convention were highly turbulent but they made it ever more clear for all of us that our vessel is strong and that its leadership and crew, with the captain at the head, is able to weather any storm. And because these events have made such a deep impression upon me, I find it hard to tell this convention story in rotation, just as it occurred. All seems to me to be entangled in one great knot, and, perhaps later I shall be able to dwell upon particulars and emphasize details. At present, however, I can only give you a general impression in scattered thoughts, which certain occurrences at the convention call out within me.

The first committee that made ready its report was the Committee on International and National Relations with Garment Workers' Unions. I do not know how it impressed others; but as far as I am concerned, the report of that committee meant to me the spiritual key to the entire proceedings of our convention. The great idea of labor unity has finally arrived. I listened to the report of the committee, to its arguments, and a feeling of indomitable faith in the realization of the idea of labor united the world over, came over me. There is not much "hooraying" in that report, not much of the old, threadbare slogans that sound like empty phrases these days; but I discerned in that report the earnestness and deliberation of our International in approaching the task of translating into actuality this wonderful idea. The committee was not misled or influenced by fear that, perhaps, in some circles it might be reproached for its guardedness of expression, for its lack of sharpness in defending the plan of a federation of all the needle trade unions in

America. The committee knows that words alone can not create such an alliance. The committee is aware of all the rocks and pitfalls that lie in the way of such an alliance; the committee knows that this question has two sides, a practical side and an idealistic one, and that not all that is colored with idealism can be carried out at once into practice.

The report is clear, simple and without a trace of faltering, I would say. It says to those delegates who are held in the grip of the "idealistic" side of the question: We are all inspired for unity. Nevertheless, inspiration, beautiful phrases alone can accomplish but little. If we desire a true alliance of the workers in the needle industry, we must approach it as practical men. I was eager to listen to what the other side of the coin brought in the resolutions for "one big union" of all the garment workers' organizations—had to say. I am interested to know what an impression this report and the speech of President Schlesinger had made upon them. I want to hear whether the enthusiasts of the "one big union" idea are still as obstinate or whether the irrefutable facts presented by the committee have made an impression upon them. Instead of that, however, I hear from all sides an insistent call for "question," which means that the bulk of the delegates have already made up their minds on this question and are ready to vote upon the recommendation of the committee. The President puts the question to a vote, and what a victory for the practical appraisal of these facts and realities! The convention unanimously decides to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

A feeling of true joy permeates my heart. This first decision was, so to say, the key and the forerunner of our entire convention. Had we been confronted with an abstruse opposition, an opposition that would blindly and fanatically oppose anything and everything as long as their point of view was heard or paralleled, such a unanimous decision would be unthinkable. It is apparent, however, that there is no such opposition at the convention. Our "lefts" are amenable to argument and irrefutable facts, and in a flash it became clear to all that the fear of a blind opposition, bent on tumult and troublemaking, was unfounded, and this feeling immediately led the "right wing" to adopt a totally different attitude towards the so-called "left wing." It stood to reason: if the so-called "lefts" can think and act rationally on one question, if they are sensible enough not to remain obstinate on "dead letters" and could see the spirit or the soul of a proposition even though it does not emanate directly from them, then we can manage to find common ground with them.

I declare that if everyone had, at the beginning, given any thought to the idea of building up a "machine" to fight the "lefts," this plan was given up as superfluous and useless right after the unanimous decision for an alliance of the needle trades' work-

ers. The convention, consciously or instinctively, understood that sooner or later the opposing sides will come to an understanding through debates and mutual exchange of opinion. And indeed, soon after we reached a stage when one did not know who was "right" and who was "left." Common sense was in the ascendancy, and in the debate that soon ensued on the question of a Needle Trades Department in the A. F. of L., we found Delegate Berlin of Local 10, on the side of the opposition, and Delegate Hyman of Local 9, a widely advertised "left," entirely for the recommendation of the committee and in solidarity with the statement of President Schlesinger, that "by adopting this resolution you may kill the idea of a needle trades' alliance."

From that moment the spirit and physiognomy of the convention was definitely changed. It became apparent that our convention is not to be anything but an assembly combined along the lines of the widest tolerance; it became clear that just as the entire International had displayed in its past activity a spirit of lofty strivings and high ideals combined with a healthy and practical sense—a happy mixture of ideals and practicalities—our convention would duplicate this picture of our every-day activities. Of course, no one expected that the opposition would consent to everything as it had accepted the first resolution regarding the planned Needle Trades' Alliance. It was known that many of the delegates came to the convention pledged to certain resolutions and action, and as such, would be compelled to fulfill their pledges. There were some who have still retained their old suspicions against the administration, and these smoldering sparks of distrust flared up quite strongly from time to time. Nevertheless, it became apparent that with each step the convention was making these embers of hate become more and more extinguished. And when the convention ended and the debates were closed, and the delegates, under the leadership of the heretofore austere chairman, began to sing jubilant revolutionary songs, the entire convention participated in this joy, expressing the spirit of complete harmony, of peace and of an end of all splittings and wranglings in our powerful organization.

The best illustration of how far the convention had contributed to this complete change in the minds of many delegates was supplied by the debate on the question of the resolution for the liberation of the political prisoners in Russia. It was inevitable that this question should come up before the convention. First, there were several resolutions for the freeing of the political prisoners in America, and it would have been, to say the least, strange if the delegates, who were so much concerned about political prisoners in this country, should forget about the political prisoners in Russia. Secondly, there were among the delegates many who have felt strongly a burning shame for these acts of the Russian Soviet regime, the policy that fills the Russian jails with political prisoners. I doubt if a demand from any side of the convention to smother this question would have succeeded. It had to be presented and decided upon.

Yet, anyone who knows how strong an influence Russia exerts upon our men could understand that the strongest opposition would be expected against this resolution. It is painful, indeed, to have to admit openly that in the very land where one might have expected to see the

sun of freedom and justice rise, that such an open and brazen repression of the spirit of humanity should reign; that injustice has spread there far and wide and that Soviet Russia has no other place for some of its best and noblest minds than a prison or a muzzle for their lips.

It must have been a bitter pill for persons who had only until recently hoped so much for Russia and with which they are united by deepest sentiment, to discern this shameful stain upon its banner. We had reason enough to expect a very heated debate, yet heated as it was, it was even greater and nobler in many other aspects. The heart and the mind, triumphed over blind fanaticism, no matter how heretical many of the arguments of the infidels sounded to the faithful. The result was that this resolution was adopted with an opposition of only 41 delegates and the convention went on record demanding from the Russian Soviet Government the restoration of freedom of the press and conscience, the liberation of the men and women who are detained for their opinions and political activities, and that they give a fair and open trial to those political prisoners who are being held for trial in Moscow.

With the adoption of this resolution at the Cleveland Convention, freedom of thought has won its greatest victory. No other resolution was as characteristic, as typical of the spirit of our last convention, as this. For, let it be stated here, this resolution was not drafted in a spirit of enmity towards Russia. Quite to the contrary, it expressed deep love and attachment to Russia, and its framers feel the shame even stronger because of that. I believe it is in place to quote here this resolution, word for word, as it was introduced by Israel Feinberg of the New York Cloak Joint Board, Joseph Breslaw, Harry Wander and Louis Pinkofsky:

WHEREAS, the labor movement of the entire world has gone emphatically on record in favor of complete amnesty for all political prisoners in every country because without the absolute freedom of conscience and of expression progress is impossible, and

WHEREAS, there still are many political prisoners in Russia, while sections of the labor and Socialist movement being suppressed, their leaders jailed and their members terrorized, their press suppressed and their activities outlawed, long after the menace of outside attack has passed and at a time when the wholehearted support of the entire labor movement in Russia and outside are vital for the success of the Russian revolution, a situation that makes it difficult for the Socialist and labor movement in every country to work for the amnesty of their own politicals and for recognition for Russia, therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in Convention assembled, in the name of its long devotion to the cause of the Russian revolution, in the name of its thousands of members who have come from the Russian revolutionary movement, in the name of the hope and inspiration that we have felt in the achievements of the Revolution, that we call upon the Russian Soviet government to immediately restore the freedom of the press and of association, to liberate all men and women held solely for their opinions and for political activities, and to grant a fair and an open trial to those political prisoners now held for trial in Moscow.

I shall have the occasion to return to these fundamental and characteristic features of our Sixteenth Cleveland Convention in my subsequent articles.

and our delegates to the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. have this job on their hearts.

It all depends, to a great extent, of course, on their wisdom and tact, the resolutions they will bring forth, and their ability to defend these resolutions. Our delegates to the convention of the A. F. of L. are, in a true sense, the ambassadors of our International to the general labor movement. The better they understand their role, the greater esteem can they gain for our International and the greater the benefit for our Union and the American labor movement. Small wonder that there was a considerable number of candidates for this post. We congratulate the delegates-elect upon their mission.

THE STAGE

At the 30th Street Theater next Monday evening, the English satirical comedy by H. F. Maltby, entitled "The Brothers," will be produced under the direction of J. A. Morris and Harry Corson Clarke, the latter of whom will play the leading role.

Albert Carroll and Esther Mitchell, both of whom were in the "Madras House" last fall, and more recently in "The Green Ring," will appear at the Neighborhood Playhouse in "Makers of Light," the new play by Frederic Lansing Day, which will open next Tuesday.

Alice Brady will be seen at the Palace Theater next week in "Cassie of the Yellow Sea," adapted from her recent play "Drifting."

Rachel Crothers' new three-act play, "The House of Lorraine," will open for a limited engagement at the new Threshold Theater on Lexington Avenue and 51st Street.

An English comedy entitled "A Pinch Hitter," by H. M. Harwood, will be presented at Henry Miller's Theater on Monday, May 29, by Allan Pollock. Mr. Pollock, who was recently seen here in "A Bill of Divorcement," will play the leading role.

"The Drums of Jeopardy," a dramatization of Harold MacGrath's story of the same name, will be presented at the Gaiety Theater a week from Monday by Alfred E. Arons. The cast will include William Courtleigh, Marion Conkley, Paul Everton, Reginald Barlow, C. Henry Gordon, and Bernard Reinold. The play has been written by Howard Herrick and Mr. MacGrath.

Labor Age—for May

"Warring with New Weapons" is the cover title of the May issue of the "Labor Age." It covers a series of articles dealing with the new weapons that are being used by labor in the New England textile strike, the big coal strike and in the needle trades. Edwin Newdick, Boston representative of the Labor Bureau, tells the story of how the facts of the textile industry have been used against the bosses. "The most important difference between this and former strikes is the difference in strategy adopted by the textile workers. Labor has taken issue with the mills squarely upon a basis of the facts. The heads of the textile unions have gone to the public with analyses of financial and industrial facts of the situation, which the public could easily grasp. They have put a heavy burden of proof upon the mill owners." One of the striking facts shown up was that the Amoskeag Mill in Manchester, N. H., had paid out nearly three million dollars in dividends in the "bad" year of 1921, and that the profits of that mill per dollar of sales were higher in 1921 than the five-year average of 1907-1911. "Labor is itself astounded to find how strong a case it has on this fact basis."

The demand of the miners for facts in the coal industry is treated in articles by Savel Zimand, of the Bureau of Industrial Research, and by Stuart Chase, of the Labor Bureau. Mr.

MORDKIN RESTORED, WILL DANCE HERE

As a result of the New York Times' cable dispatches relating to the rescue of Mordkin, the famous Russian dancer, and his wife from starvation in Tiflis by the Near East Relief, the former star of the Russian Imperial Ballet has received an offer of a contract in America which he has accepted. It was learned today in Russian artistic circles in Paris.

Mordkin expects to leave the Caucasus in a fortnight for America—his first trip outside Russia since 1914. He will be accompanied not only by his wife and son, but by Mile. Semonova, a discovery in the Tiflis ballet, whose work he expects America to be no less pleased with than his own.

Mile. Semonova is 19 and is described as strikingly beautiful, with large eyes and long lashes. Mordkin declares her to be the most accomplished dancer for her age in the history of the Russian ballet.

RUSSIAN OPERA NOVELTY

Tchaikovsky's opera, "Christmas Eve," from a story of robust and racy wit by Gogol, adapted in a charming libretto by Polonsky, is announced for its first performance here by the Russian Opera Company at the New Amsterdam on Friday and Saturday evenings of next week. This unfamiliar work, which preceded the composer's more famous operas, bears a musical kinship with the whimsical humor of his orchestral "Nutcracker" suite. It is variously known in Russian as "Cherchivich" or "Cherkevich," and was even produced abroad in light opera form as "Oxana's Caprice." The company's third week here will also include repetitions on Monday next of "The Czar's Bride," Tuesday, "The Snow Maid," Wednesday, "The Demon;" Thursday evening, "Eugene Onegin;" and Saturday matinee, May 27, "Pique Dame."

Chase makes the astonishing statement that "the coal industry as operated today is less than 10 per cent efficient." He treats in detail the four kinds of coal waste—in mining methods underground, too many mines, in transporting and storing coal and in using coal after the consumer gets it.

John Brophy, of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, believes in looking facts in the face," Mr. Chase writes. "He has looked the fact of coal waste in the face, and has not quivered an eyelash. Although, to eliminate coal waste, it is necessary to eliminate coal miners. His distrust has accepted the fact that, among other things, there are too many men digging coal. They have published a series of pamphlets on the wastes and inefficiencies of coal mining. They have criticized conditions, which, if remedied, would cost many of them their jobs."

"This is a pretty big, public-spirited thing to do. We have not heard of any operators publishing pamphlets recommending that some of their mines be closed up, and that their investments ought to cease to draw interest. We have not indeed. The operators are all crying for a 'reasonable return' on everything in sight—every prop, pillar and mule. And will continue to do so. It is the nature of the animal."

The issue contains a striking collection of cartoons on the coal strike.

The Hairy Ape

By Eugene O'Neill

Reviewed by B. F.

Shall we say "O'Neillian" in describing the new addition to the growing fame of our young American dramatist? Indeed, "The Hairy Ape" has all the requisites of a Eugene O'Neill play—the sea, sailors, an abundance of cuss words, the blind, naive wisdom of sweating, miserable souls and the powerful realization of life's crushing weight. O'Neill is probably the only American playwright who dares to probe into recesses other than those that make either the "sex" play or the play of the "underworld." He makes us get a mouthful of the briny sea and fathom its relentless power to destroy.

"The Hairy Ape" is symbolic. It reminds us of Markham's "The Man With the Hoe," and of all the other symbols which typify but one thing—the Beast of Burden. He may be digging coal, smelting iron, laying bricks, or stoking coal into the living jaws of an ocean steamer—"tis all the same, the brand of the "Beast of Burden" is stamped upon his stolid, unseeing brow. Sometimes, however, something happens to awaken his sluggish, slumbering mind and a light begins to break through the darkness pointing a big searching forefinger at the scramble which we call "life," and then the mischief is done. Life, as such, is no longer tolerable. One does not "belong" any more. Once the scheme of things is viewed in its true perspective, once the immeasurable injustices of present-day society grip one by the throat, once one's eyes are torn open to its realities—peace of mind is gone forever. A consciousness that is bigger than Man, that reaches out his shackled arms to the very heavens, begins to eat into one's soul and a new recruit is born into the ranks of

the seeing, helpless, so-called "class-conscious" masses.

Poor Yank—he thought that he "belonged." Down in the bowels of an ocean steamer, in a stoker's hell-hole—he thought that he "belonged." His was the power that made twenty-five knots an hour, his was the heat that made that power—he asked no questions of it—it was all so simple. Why did that apparition in white—a woman of the idle rich—come to pierce the submerged darkness? What did she see in "Yank" to make her scream and faint? The hairy ape! Follow, a succession of episodes that makes us ache with pity for this poor, unseeing hulk who, like a child, goes to avenge his wrong. O'Neill gives us the Socialist with his cut and dried formulas. We understand his economics, but what have they to this primal mind? Can they touch a sympathetic cord in his heart that is burning itself against stone walls only to sustain deeper and deeper wounds? And the I. W. W., what are their tame visions of a millennium to this child-mind, blinded with fury and groping, groping, caged, chained and not understanding? Not only did life now become a hopeless entanglement, a stumbling in the dark, but it no longer permitted of going back to the blind and submerged, and the tiny shaft of light was not a torment without solution. Was not the desert embrace then the only solution?

Louis Wolheim as "Yank" leaves nothing wanting. He does not act, he lives and the audience lives with him. Henry O'Neill as "Paddy" and Galway Herbert as "Long" do justice to their parts. Both Robert Edmond Jones and Cleson Throckmorton deserve the highest commendation for their splendid artistry in the settings of the play at the Plymouth. It is our earnest hope that all our New York readers will go to see "The Hairy Ape." It will give them a thrill to see a Broadway crowd subject to Socialist and labor propaganda.

Co-Operative Notes

ARTISTS FORM UNIQUE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

In our last issue we spoke of the success achieved by the Co-operative Laundry established by students and professional people of small means in Greenwich Village, New York City. Now comes further proof of the fact that "where once collapsed the big good co-operators in the formation of a new kind of consumers' co-operative society by 250 artists, painters and sculptors of New York City, including several of national prominence. This co-operative society is supplying the artists with colors, oils, brushes, modeling wax, art reproductions and other professional materials at cost. Furthermore, they are testing the quality of each article before taking it into stock, since they long have been the victims of private dealers who have supplied them with poor materials at maximum prices. The New York Artists' Co-operative Society has succeeded so well in its business activities that it is now supplying a further service to its members by providing legal aid in the collection of sums due them, and otherwise protecting them in the exercise of their profession.

BELGIAN WORKERS SURPASS AMERICANS IN CO-OP.

ATION
The little country of Belgium contains a Workers' Co-operative Society larger than any existing in the United States, according to the All-American Co-operative Commission, which has just received the report of the Union Co-operative Society of Elze, Belgium. Although the members of this society were driven from their homes and much of their prop-

erty destroyed during the war, their report shows a remarkable record of growth and volume of business for 1921. During the past year the membership of the Union Co-operative Society increased from 45,288 to 63,239, and sales from \$60,588,977 francs to 112,243,703 (\$22,448,740 par). The branches of the society increased from 225 to 254, and the "people's houses" or recreative and educational centers from 3 to 78. The Union Co-operative Society owns a large hat factory, a syrup and confectionery works, and recently started a chocolate factory. It also operates eighteen bakeries which sell bread to the members at cost.

While no single workers' co-operative society or even federation of such societies in this country can compare with the big Belgian co-operative in membership or business activities, we may derive some consolation from the fact that the Belgian co-operators have been in business for nearly forty years. Almost all of the workers' co-operatives in this country have been founded within the past decade. We are proud of the success of the Belgian co-operators, and if they will give us time we will try to go them one better.

Members can still secure season cards for the Yiddish Art Theatre, Madison Avenue and 27th Street, at the office of the Educational Department, 31 Union Square, Room 1003.

The Huge Wastes in Coal

By STUART CHASE

Charles F. Steinmetz, perhaps the foremost electrical engineer in the country, says that three-quarters of the energy contained in coal is wasted under present methods of turning coal into power, light and heat. Hugh Archbald, who has spent twenty years studying the process of underground mining, says that, with better engineering methods, the output of coal per man per day could be quadrupled. If we put their two statements together we arrive at our astonishing conclusion, namely: that the coal industry as operated today is less than ten per cent efficient; that 40,000 miners could produce the same horse power of coal which it now takes 600,000 to produce!

Wasted Labor Power

The calculation is simple. If Steinmetz is right, through better methods of utilization, 150,000,000 tons of coal could be made to do the work of the 600,000,000 tons we now use in this bar. Or only 150,000 miners would be needed to produce the 600,000 who now dig coal. If Archbald is right, 40,000 miners could do the work of 150,000, if only underground engineering methods were improved. And if 40,000 miners could produce the horsepower for which 600,000 are now needed, it follows that the coal industry, as at present operated, is just 6.7 per cent efficient! Or that 15 men are used to do the work of one man.

Of course, Mr. Steinmetz was thinking of the time when all the thermal energy locked up in a ton of coal could be put to work with little waste of power; and Mr. Archbald was thinking of the time when a coal mine could be so planned and organized that its operation, these times are far distant, and it will take a new and more intelligent economic system than mankind has achieved to date to usher them in. We cannot take the statements of these engineers as a practical appraisal of the inefficiency in coal mining today, but as an indication of the appalling waste between the present chaotic methods and the methods of a properly organized society.

But even Mr. Eugene McAuliffe, Illinois coal operator, says that the present waste in mining coal is at least \$500,000,000 a year.

Four Kinds of Coal Waste

First, there is the waste in mining methods underground.

Second, there is the waste of too many mines.

Third, there is the waste in transporting and storing coal.

Fourth, there is the waste in utilizing coal after the consumer gets it.

Let us consider these in turn.

Underground Wastes

A small mine has as many roads and turnings as a city of 25,000 people. All these roads are in pitch darkness, except when the miner comes along with the lamp in his cap. The mine will average one foreman to every one hundred workers. These workers may be strung over a mile or two of inky blackness. In ordinary construction work there is a foreman for every 15 or 20 men, and his men are usually within eyeshot. The coal miner works alone or with his helper. Once in a while "Mister Super" drives along and keeps him in touch with the rest of his black world. Mostly he works without direction, without co-ordination, blindly, alone. Any industrial engineer can foretell the result of work so planned—so hopelessly un-planned. Slight supervision, little

discipline, loose organization, poor morale, mean tremendous inefficiency in winning the coal. Inefficiency not only in the production per man, but in cutting methods underground. For every ton brought to the surface, a ton is left needlessly in the mine.

To make matters worse, the miner gets a chance to work only about four days in the week. And so poor is the coal mine organized that on the big coal mines four hours are averaged only three or four ounces on the face of the coal. The balance of the time he must spend waiting for cars, reaching his location, or in some other non-productive fashion. Instances abound where miners have chosen to leave positions which pay high rates per ton in the mine, for others which pay much lower rates, simply because they can get more work to do at the low rate point. And this enforced idleness year in and year out is more than human nature can bear. It breaks up all orderly habits of steady work. It wrecks discipline. It makes efficient operation impossible. At eleven in the morning you are likely to find a man coming out of a mine.

"Hey, Mike where are you going?"
"Ah, me sick. Me go home."
"What's the matter with you?"
"Me hands hurt. No can dig. No work steady."

Tonnage falling off, costs mounting, the organization of the work going to pieces as men drop out, and only one boss to 100 miners! You cannot have efficient work when you have unsteady work. And it is not only the fluctuations of the outside market which cause this idleness, but in some instances it is the deliberate policy of the employer. The way to handle the workers and keep wages down is to "put on more men."

Too Many Mines

The prime reason for the miners' idleness is the fact that the soft coal industry is cursed with competition. The demand is seasonal, and varies from other causes as well. The result is that when coal is booming, new mines are opened up, and when business is slack, there is just so much more investment to keep up, and so many more men waiting to dig. Here are the figures:

Annual capacity
mines750,000,000 tons
Maximum yearly output550,000,000 tons

Excess mine capacity, 200,000,000 tons. This is an excess capacity of 30 per cent, or one mine in every three should never have been opened! But this one mine keeps its workers on the chance of a boom demand (though it pays them nothing), and so all three mines can only average four days' work in a week.

In the last thirty years American miners have averaged 93 idle days out of 365 possible working days. In years of business depression, like 1893 and 1921, this will run up to 146 idle days—or nearly half the year. The average is one day in three idle—just which checks with one needless mine in three, noted above. In the 20 years from 1900 to 1919 miners were idle one and one-sixth billion working days, which is the equivalent of the total time spent by the men in the army and the navy of the United States from the declaration of war to the armistice on November 11, 1918! Much has been made of the time lost due to strikes. In the last twenty years the strike loss has been less

than 10 per cent of the idleness forced on the miners by the business system.

Finally, consider the waste in keeping up the excess mines—the depreciation of equipment, the repairs, pumping, insurance, interest, taxes, maintenance. And on this excess investment the operators demand their pound of flesh—their profit—while the excess miners can starve to death for all the operator cares—"no work, no pay."

Transportation Wastes

More than one-third of the freight carried by the railroads consists of coal. Coal traffic is double the weight of iron ore, steel, lumber, wheat, corn, oats and hay combined! And a large percentage of this—about a third—is for the railroad locomotives themselves. In other words, a tremendous amount of railroad horse power is used up in hauling that horse power around.

The mines of the country are rated to produce a maximum of 18,000,000 tons a week. The coal cars of the railroads carry only a maximum of 12,000,000 tons a week away from the mines. Thus the railroads have not enough cars when demand is brisk and too many cars when demand is slack. Demand is often slack, as we have seen, and that means thousands of railroad cars are lying around eating their heads off in depreciation, repairs, interest, insurance, taxes and maintenance. And on these idle cars, just as on the idle miners, the railroads demand their pound of flesh. Mr. Tryon, of the Geological Survey, has estimated that the railroads have invested as much money in providing equipment to carry coal as the operators have invested in mines to dig coal. So the consumer has to pay not only interest and profit on a huge investment in idle mines, but on an investment just as great in idle railroad cars.

Then, there is the waste in cross-hauling coal. Illinois, Pennsylvania and Indiana mines sell their coal to twenty different States—many of them coal-producing States. We have the railroads solemnly hauling Illinois coal to Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania coal to Illinois. It is as though the Pittsburgh Gas Company ran a pipe line and sold some of its gas to Chicago consumers, while the Chicago Gas Company ran a pipe line and sold gas to Pittsburgh. Nobody knows what the waste in cross-hauling coal amounts to, because the operators have fought the divulging of coal facts tooth and nail, but it must be in the millions of tons.

The anthracite industry is monopolized. Monopoly has many disadvantages, but also certain advantages. The anthracite trust (owned by the railroads) has at least solved the problem of seasonality. By cutting prices in summer when demand is normally slack, and by working out a system of storing coal, it has cut down the dizzy peaks and depressions in working the mines. It has shown how this waste can be drastically reduced. To this excellent example the bituminous industry to date has not paid the slightest attention. Soft coal is blessed with free competition.

Wastes in Using Coal

All the wastes so far chronicled sink into insignificance beside the appalling waste of our failure to utilize properly the energy contained in coal. Mr. Steinmetz has told us that we let three-fourths of that energy go down the drain pipe. He gives us also a dramatic picture of what the total energy amounts to. The coal mined in America every year would build a wall as high and as solid as the great Chinese wall all around the United States. The energy contained in the coal is sufficient to raise that wall 200 miles in the air!

There have been many suggestions advanced by engineers as to how to

get more energy out of coal. One of them is to electrify the railroads. This would save one-half to two-thirds of the coal now used in pushing locomotives, and would give the railroads 12 per cent more carrying power by reason of eliminating locomotive coal. It would also give them more carrying power because of the superior efficiency of electric operation—quicker stops, better control. And smoke and dirt would vanish.

Again, if coal, or a part of it, could be burned at the pit mouth by the Mond process, a great saving in energy would result. The ordinary steam engine uses only 6 per cent of the thermal energy of the coal it burns. By burning coal into gas at the pit mouth and using the product in a gas engine to make electricity, from 70 to 80 per cent of the thermal energy can be captured. In addition, the Mond process throws off, beside gas, a large amount of ammonium sulphate.

Most valuable fertilizer. The electricity thus distributed over the country in high transmission lines, and used for power, heat and light.

Another method of raising energy is to burn coal in a few great central stations which operate steam turbines. A steam turbine saves much more thermal energy than an ordinary steam engine, and is an excellent instrument for producing cheap electricity. This is the so-called super-power plan for electrifying the country—or sections of it. In addition to coal burning, the super-power stations would utilize water power wherever it was available, and thus help to conserve coal for future generations.

And here is a fact of the highest importance: We are going to need coal for untold years to come, for there is not enough potential water power in the country to meet the power requirements of today. We are allowing millions of water horse power to run to waste, but even if we captured them all, they could not take the place of coal—probably could not take half its place.

Mr. Steinmetz declares that we use ten times as much coal in heating our houses as we need. This waste can only be saved, however, by constructing a new type of home—a home where the warm, outgoing foul air will be used to heat the pipes of the incoming cold air. With this kind of a system it would be economical to heat houses electrically.

The Miner's Program

John Brophy, of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, believes in looking facts in the face. He has looked the fact of coal waste in the face, and has not quivered an eyelash. Although, to eliminate coal waste, it is necessary to eliminate the miners. His distrust has accepted the fact that, among other things, there are too many men digging coal—or waiting around for a chance to dig coal. They have published a series of pamphlets on the wastes and inefficiencies of coal mining. They have criticized conditions, which, if remedied, would cost many of them their jobs.

This is a pretty big public-spirited thing to do. We have not heard of any operators publishing pamphlets recommending that some of their mines be closed up, and that their investments ought to cease to draw interest. We have not, indeed. The operators are all crying for a "reasonable return" on everything in sight—every prop, pillar and mule. And will continue to do so. It is the nature of the animal.

If wastes in coal are ever to be eliminated, it is the miners and the engineers who must do it. Perhaps the consumer can help a little, too, particularly if he wants a smokeless, dirtless world, with his power, light, and heat, at half the price.

(Labor Age, May, 1922.)

Hugh Archbald in the "Survey Graphic" for April, 1922.
Mr. C. Tryon in the "Survey Graphic" for April, 1922.

Educational Comment and Notes

Action of the Committee On Education at the Cleveland Convention

Our members, students and those interested in the educational work of our International, will be gratified to learn of the action of the Committee on Education, which reported to the Convention last week.

This committee, under the chairmanship of Vice-President H. Wander, had under its consideration the report given by the Educational Department of the International, and on the basis of this report made its recommendations to the Convention.

Committee Approves Our Educational Work

Among other matters, the Committee on Education stated the following:

"We wish to state that on the whole our educational work has been kept on the same level on which it was placed several years ago when it was first launched. Our organization has been the pioneer in adult labor education, a task which has met, in its first stages, a great deal of scepticism and doubt. Little by little, however, these doubts have disappeared and the results today, while not satisfying as we might have hoped for, are nevertheless quite gratifying to all believers and well wishers of the cause of labor education.

"The Chicago Convention has enlarged our educational budget from \$10,000 to \$15,000 annually. It has done so to enable our educational committee to extend its work and to encourage a greater number of our members to take advantage of the opportunity extended by the International. Under the circumstances, we find that the Educational Committee has applied this increase in the best manner it could and has at all times displayed interest and devotion to its work."

Committee Recommends Increase in Appropriation

After expressing its approval of the work of the past two years, the Committee recommended that our educational work be continued and that the budget of the Educational Department be increased from \$15,000 to \$17,500 annually. The Committee also recommended that this increase be devoted to meet the educational needs of our local unions and outside of New York, in response to the demands made upon the International form these cities for educational activities.

Committee Approves Mass Education

In the report of the Educational Department submitted to the committee, in it it was urged that more attention be paid in the future to mass education particularly in organizing popular lectures at local meetings and open forums for the discussion of trade problems and problems of the general labor movement.

The Committee also noted that the success achieved along these lines in New York City last spring points to these open forums as a very important feature of our educational work.

Committee Recommends Publication of Books and Pamphlets

The Committee realized the im-

portance of well-written text books for labor education. This was emphasized in the report of the Educational Department and the Committee on Education recommended that we undertake the publication of booklets and pamphlets easily understood by the ordinary worker and distribute such literature free of charge or at a nominal cost.

Resolutions

The Committee on Education received several resolutions connected with our educational work. One came from Local 4, Baltimore, Md., urging the extension of our educational work to reach our members in Baltimore. A similar resolution was presented requesting increased educational activities in Western States, particularly in the City of Chicago.

The following resolution was introduced by Fannia M. Cohn and by Delegations from Locals 5, 6, 10, 14, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 29, 37, 54, 59, 60, 66, 82, 100, 104 (33 signatures).

WHEREAS, the labor movement, if it is to grow in strength and influence, must realize the great importance of accumulating knowledge and develop an intelligent leadership and

WHEREAS, the leadership must come from their own ranks and that the most competent leadership cannot be successful without an intelligent rank and file, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the 16th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. instruct our delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention to urge upon that body the necessity of carrying on an Education Campaign among the trade unions for the need of labor education and urge upon them to organize labor colleges under trade union auspices.

Delegates Urge Increased Educational Activities

The following resolution was introduced by delegates from 9 locals: WHEREAS, it is becoming evident that organized labor is destined to play an increasingly important part in social and economic development of this country, and

WHEREAS, the actual construction work will be performed by those in the labor movement who know and understand, and

WHEREAS, the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. is giving our members a body of information and incontrovertible facts which they can utilize in their economic and political activities as well as in the working class, and

RESOLVED, that the 16th Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. assembled in the city of Cleveland, wholeheartedly approves the efforts to give through our Educational Department the knowledge and vision which will enable them to serve their fellow workers efficiently, and since this can be accomplished best by further development of labor education activities of all kinds—lectures, fo-

runs, classes, social and recreational activities, be it further

RESOLVED, that the Convention decide to increase their appropriation for the educational activities for the next two years to meet the growing need.

Committee Thanks the Educational Department

The following extracts from the report of the Committee on Education is gratifying to the Educational Department.

"The Committee on Education recommends that this Convention express its thanks to the outgoing Education Committee and its Secretary, Fannia M. Cohn, and the Educational Director, Alexander Fichandler, for the work that this committee has done for the last two years."

"The Committee also recommends that this Convention extend its gratitude and appreciation to the staff of teachers and instructors who have taken part in the work of the Educational Department during the last two years."

All the recommendations were adopted unanimously by the Convention.

The Committee on Education Expresses the Difficulties and Accomplishments of our Work

In concluding its report, the Committee on Education showed that it realized what the difficulties are in accomplishing the work which our Educational Department has set out to do. But, at the same time, they also realized that in spite of these difficulties, a great deal has been accomplished and a great deal more will be accomplished with continued effort and faith.

The following paragraphs express of the thought very clearly indeed:

Your committee wishes to call attention to the fact that like most of the other phases of the work in the labor movement, labor education is

CONVENTION APPROVES THE WORK OF THE BROOKWOOD WORKERS' COLLEGE

At the Convention the Committee on Education received a communication from the Brookwood workers' college, at Katonah, N. Y., signed by Toscan Bennett, its Executive Secretary, urging the Convention for moral and financial support and help "to educate workers to work in the workers' movements."

Co-operative Life Insurance Protects European Workers

La Prévoyance Sociale, the great Belgian co-operative insurance society, is making a drive with the aid of the Belgian Labor party and the trades unions to insure the lives of all the workers of the Kingdom. The remarkable success already achieved by this co-operative enterprise is shown in its report of December 31, 1921. On that date it had insured the lives of 131,207 workers, besides protecting 73,561 homes with fire insurance, and providing accident insurance policies as well. The resources of La Prévoyance Sociale exceed sixty million francs, with a cash surplus of two and one-half million francs in the treasury.

The British workers are securing insurance without cost through their Co-operative Insurance Society, a branch of the great British Co-operative Wholesale Society. Free insurance benefits are given to co-operators in amounts based on the total of their yearly purchases. Thus the working man with a large family who buys all his goods from the co-opera-

also not an undertaking from which we may expect immediate results. The people to whom we appeal, our own workers who have not been accustomed to study, to read, and to attend lectures, find it a hard job, particularly after a long day's work to get interested in education.

Notwithstanding the slow progress of our educational activities, we must take courage from the fact that the work does go on. We have had in 1921 an attendance of 2,000 at our Unity Centers and all our courses in New York City. In 1922 this figure climbed to 2,500. This shows growth and there is no reason why the results should not improve in the coming year.

Of one thing we are certain. We are on the right track in the work of labor education. We must improve our work and we must make it more attractive and accessible to our masses. Slow as the progress may seem, it is bound eventually to be an important contribution to the general cause of the enlightenment and emancipation of the working class.

This concludes the report of your Committee on Education.

Fraternally submitted,
Harry Wander, Chairman.
Joseph Fish, Secretary.
H. Aidland, Local 1.
B. Chasaneff, Local 3.
Rose Caplan, Local 9.
M. Brass, Local 11.
D. Sivkin, Local 15.
A. Beckwith, Local 17.
S. Freedman, Local 20.
E. Switzer, Local 29.
P. Levin, Local 35.
Vito Cotania, Local 48.
A. Stein, Local 53.
Margaret Leonard, Local 59.
J. Rubin, Local 94.

The Committee on Education and the Convention as a whole realized the fact that in developing our educational activities, we had to pay the price of the pioneer.

The Committee decided to recommend the endorsement of the workers' college at Brookwood by this Convention, "as an institution founded with a clear aim and purpose to aid the labor movement in fitting out men and women for leadership. As far as financial support to this school is concerned, the Committee believes that it should be referred to the incoming General Executive Board." Upon motion, recommendation was unanimously adopted.

live store is protected by insurance much greater than that given to the professional man's family of two which makes only occasional purchases at the co-operative store. The Co-operative Insurance Society is now extending its protection to the employees of the 1,500 co-operative stores of the United Kingdom, the majority of which have already adopted the plan.

American workers and farmers are turning millions of dollars a year over to private insurance companies controlled by the big bankers, who use the money thus deposited to cut the workers' throats. If European co-operators have brains enough to run successful insurance societies, surely American workers ought to be able to do so too.

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Cloakmakers Suggest Plans for Better and Cheaper Homes

By CHARLES J. LAUE

While the Lockwood investigation was at its height, two veteran cloakmakers, members of the Cloak Finishers' Union, Local No. 9, came to Samuel Untermeyer, counsel for the committee, which revealed the flagrant graft and profiteering in the building industry, with a suggestion of how the cloakmakers could co-operate with the committee in getting decent houses. The housing shortage, of course, affected the workers more than any other class in the community. Even the 115,000 members of the building trades, feeling the pressure of high rentals, would welcome a practical co-operative proposal as distinct from the "sky blue" schemes of impractical visionaries.

So these two cloakmakers approached Mr. Untermeyer, whom they found sympathetic, but extremely busy with the searching inquiry he was making to give much needed to a co-operative scheme for workers. One of these men, twenty years before, as a member of the Executive Board of the Socialist Party of Budapest, had assisted in launching a successful co-operative workers' colony about ten miles outside of that city. That plan was made possible then by capital that was advanced on easy terms by the municipality.

It is finding available capital, that makes difficult the financing of such enterprises in this country, and is the main obstacle to co-operative house construction by workers. Since

1915 the rich, with ample personal funds, have been co-operating in erecting palatial apartments in New York City, which rent for from \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year, while the workers, paying smaller rents, and victims of the war's aftermath, could not find the money with which to build.

In Europe, in these days, where workers, represented by their labor organizations, participate in governmental administration, co-operative undertakings are frequently financed by the state or the municipality. In this country, with all the resources at the command of the President's Unemployment Commission, no such recommendations for house construction aid have been advanced. At this very minute, with a boom on in the building industry and cheap tenements and frame houses going up by the acre in the suburbs of the large cities, the profiteer is continuing to take his extortionate profits, which will ultimately be extracted from the workers in big rents.

It is at this time that a vigorous national leadership and an educational movement for better and more artistic homes for workers should be launched in order to control the mushroom developments that came as a result of the need. This is not done. While there are many things that are done better in America, it is in the co-operative enterprises that our workers here can take some valuable lessons from Europe.

In Copenhagen, Denmark, the Workers' Co-operative Society has erected a new co-operative bank building, in which are 215 model apartments, ranging from three rooms and bath to six rooms and bath in size, and renting for from \$14 to \$37 a month. Incredible as this may seem, they are not the cheaply constructed houses that one might expect, but modern apartments, all facing the court yard, and without ugly fire escapes defacing the walls. A beautiful rose garden is in the center of the structure. At the four corners are children's playgrounds, with swings, see-saws, sand boxes and sheltered seats for mothers to sit and sew while watching the little ones.

Each tenant is a member of the Co-operative and pays, as a membership fee, the equivalent of one year's rent, for which he receives 6 per cent interest. The construction work was financed with a loan of 20 per cent of the valuation of the property from the municipal district and 20 per cent from the city of Copenhagen. The rest of the money came from the Co-operative bank. Thus 40 per cent of the finances came from the government on a 20-year loan.

How different from the United States, where buildings are not constructed until the profit-takers have inflated the cost to twice and three times the actual cost, because of an emergency, and their unrestricted greed.

Co-operative and governmental support in Copenhagen has driven out entirely the private speculator and builder. Similar enterprises have proven to be as successful in Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Sweden. The general plan of management is similar to our trade union procedures—the general membership meets twice a year to hear re-

ports, a house committee collects the rent and the officers are elected.

There are two kinds of "co-ops" in Germany, those which undertake only house construction and are capitalized by the tenants themselves, and those which are owned by the co-operative distribution societies which invest their surplus earnings in real estate to aid the community. In both instances the managerial work is done by experts who follow the Rochdale principles that have been tested for 75 years. Nothing is left to amateurs. Provisions are made for the amortization of the mortgage so that the society may own the property free and clear in twenty years. The title to the property always remains with the society as a whole, so that no individual can obtain control.

Another kind of rows of co-operative workers' houses in apartment houses can be found in Hamburg. Nearly 500,000 persons are so housed. There are also many garden colonies for German workers' families, made possible by interest-free loans offered by the cities of Hamburg, Berlin and Dresden to stimulate such activity. These blocks of houses have every modern convenience. In Nuremberg, the beautiful toy city, six-room houses built of white stucco and red tile roofs, with garden patches attached, have been erected in large numbers. In Switzerland such co-operative houses rent from \$170 to \$220 a year.

In these co-operative developments provision is made for the development of the community spirit by having central amusement places, motion picture theaters, dance halls, libraries, kindergartens, restaurants and so forth.

In such advancements toward socialization the workers of Europe give Americans a valuable example.

Conditional Wage Cut Granted in Cleveland

(Continued from Page 1)

fund at the end of the year unless they have provided 41 weeks of work. Otherwise the workers will be entitled to draw on this fund to the full extent of their minimum wage.

This is an optional wage reduction. Manufacturers who do not want to provide the 25 per cent guarantee can continue at the present wage scale, setting aside only 7 1/2 per cent of their direct labor pay roll each week for an unemployment fund. This is the plan which has been in operation during the last year.

The decision of the Referees reads in full as follows:

Decision of Board

"We have given careful and prolonged consideration to the matters submitted to us, and have reached the conclusion that as a general proposition, there should be no reduction from the May, 1921, scale of wages. In arriving at this decision we have had in mind all of the elements enumerated in the agreement as bearing upon the wage question, including the welfare of the industry as well as that of the individuals in it. But we have felt at all times that the great difficulty in this industry is the seasonal character of the work. The wage scale itself can form no basis upon which the workers can adjust their standards of living. The important fact is their annual earnings. The union leaders in this industry have been among the first to realize this and to urge its consideration by the Referees. The Referees have felt that in all their awards they must aim to create conditions which would tend to reduce the seasonal character of

the industry, to increase continuity of employment, and thus to give a larger yearly income from the industry to the worker.

"In December, 1920, we suggested the alternative of a lower wage with a guaranty of greater continuity of work, or a higher wage without that guaranty of continuity, giving the manufacturer his option. When we came to put the guaranty into effect in the May, 1922, award, we dropped the option feature at the request of both parties, fixed the lower wage and made the guaranty absolute. We believe at this time that a somewhat different option should be offered; one which in both alternatives will provide a guaranty fund for unemployment. For we believe that there should be no retrogression, but a continuous progress in the effort to secure greater continuity of work and to create a guaranty fund to insure that continuity.

Renewal of Old Wage

"With all of these considerations in mind, we therefore award a renewal of the old wage with the old guaranty provisions. We give the manufacturers, however, conditioned on a better guaranty, one more conducive to securing at least 41 weeks' work, the option of a reduced wage. This optional award involves a 10 per cent reduction from the May, 1921, scale, adjusted to the next higher 25 cents, if the weekly rate thus established should not be a multiple of 25 cents, coupled with a guaranty such as, in the judgment of the Referee, would in all probability insure either 41 weeks of actual work or payment for 41 weeks' work.

"The amount of the guaranty fund for each shop would be based by the

Referees on past experience in that shop, this being used as a forecast of the probabilities for the coming season. Where the past year shows a considerable falling off from 41 weeks' work, the guaranty fund would be so much higher. Where the past year shows an approach of 41 weeks, or the reaching of or the exceeding of 41 weeks, the guaranty fund would be less. But the guaranty fund payment in any case would have to be substantially more than the present guaranty weekly payment of 7 1/2 per cent of the direct pay roll, in those shops that want to avail themselves of the optional education; it would have to be even substantially more than the present guaranty plus the reduction itself, to accomplish the purpose of insuring so far as human foresight can judge, 41 weeks' continuity of work or pay.

"And so we have reached the conclusion that in any shop availing itself of the optional reduced wage, no matter what its past history may have been, the minimum weekly guaranty fund payment should be 25 per cent of the actual direct labor wages instead of 7 1/2 per cent, as at present; further, that for the unemployed time within the forty-one (41) weeks the worker shall receive the full minimum, instead of two-thirds of the minimum wage, provided the fund suffice therefore. To put the thing a little differently: We give to the manufacturer the option of continuing on the present basis both as to wages and as to the guaranty, or, in exchange for the reduction, to create a larger fund which, so far as we can foresee, will actually give forty-one (41) weeks' work, or the full minimum pay for the unemployed time within that 41 weeks, neither of which are actually secured to the workers in most shops under the present guaranty fund provision.

"While the new minimum guaranty fund in any shop is to be 25 per cent,

we fix no maximum; this is a matter to be determined by the Board of Referees promptly on application in each case, and the amount of the guaranty fund will be fixed in each case in which an application may be made, based upon past experience, and the probability of the 25 per cent or whatever amount may be deemed necessary, really meeting the situation. We are ready to say now that where in the past year the full forty-one (41) weeks has been attained, in those cases we will let the minimum of 25 per cent be the maximum; but where that has not been the case, then, as it recedes from that we shall increase the guaranty percentages.

"This optional award properly administered through the effective co-operation of the manufacturers, the workers and the Referees, should result in a reduction of the unit cost to the manufacturer who is in a position to avail himself of the option, in an increase in total production and an increase in the annual earnings of the workers.

"As to the two other points that were submitted to us, we again hold as we have held once or twice before, that at the present time we shall make no change. Until more standards of production are introduced and we get more light from experience, no change of the differential between minimum and standard wage will be made, and as to the method of determining the average worker's standard in any shop as between men and women, the present practice will govern."

APPROVAL

The Executive Board of Local 89 considered the good work rendered by Sister Augustus Hirsch, ex chair-lady of Brambrich and Hendrix, for the welfare of the Union, and presented her with a golden purse as recognition.

LUIGI ANTONINI,
General Secretary Local 89.

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

With the ending of the convention and the return of the delegates preparations were begun by Local 10's delegation for the rendering of an extensive report to the members of the work accomplished in Cleveland. The members of Local 10 are no doubt looking forward to this general meeting, which will be held on Monday evening, May 22nd. The delegation will also have the pleasure of reporting that Local 10 will be represented on the new General Executive Board by two vice-presidents, Max Gorenstein, re-elected, and Max David Dubinsky, who is a newly-elected vice-president.

Of particular importance will be the report and the discussion on the resolution submitted by Local 10 with regard to the affiliation of the two dress locals. It was to be expected that opposition would be made against this amalgamation. However, the convention decided that this question be left to a committee of both local unions, in conjunction with the incoming General Executive Board. Local 10 was persistent in its desire that the convention decide for the amalgamation and for control by the amalgamated locals under the Cloak and Suit Joint Board, in accordance with the decision of the members.

Aside from Local 10 in its fight for the adoption of this resolution, there was also Local 22. No definite plans are yet in view with regard to the ultimate solution of this problem. It is expected that some form of joint action will be adopted. Both locals, Nos. 22 and 23, see the necessity for joint action. They understand that it is not practicable for two local unions to effectively control the dress industry; that a great waste of effort and energy must inevitably be the result, so long as two organizations attempt to control one industry. The convention was unanimous in its opinion that an amalgamation was necessary. Some locals stated that they did not care under what Joint Board the amalgamated locals go, so long as they come under one head.

Another question which gave rise to considerable discussion was that of proportionate representation at the Joint Boards. Those who were in favor of this proposition held the view that the larger locals were generally placed in a position of a minority. On the other hand, those who opposed this resolution held that proportionate representation would place the smaller locals under the domination of the larger locals. At the suggestion of President Schlesinger, that it would be unwise for the convention to absolutely decide in favor of or against proportionate representation, and since the question was one that is deserving of study, the matter was referred to the incoming General Executive Board.

There were other resolutions adopted which made for very radical changes in the constitution of the International. For example, the clause governing the standing of the membership was changed so that members who are in arrears for nine months or more are dropped from membership, instead of six months, as existing at the present time.

An amendment was adopted which places under ban for a period of five years those members of the International who were at one time in business. Members of unions who are placed in a position to hire and discharge workers also come under this ban, as well as salesmen whose work brings them in contact with employers.

The efforts of Local 59. Children's

Dressmakers, to join the Waist and Dress Makers' Joint Board were crowned with success at this convention. It will be recalled that Local 59 had a number of times requested the Joint Board of the Waist and Dress industry to allow it membership. However, due to the fact that at the time that this request was originally made the Joint Board was still in its infancy, the matter was laid over. The resolution presented to the convention to admit Local 59 was adopted. There is no question but that Local 59 belongs there. There are very few children's dress houses that do not make junior and misses' dresses, which are also made in the shops controlled by the dress industry. The adoption of this resolution ends an old jurisdictional dispute.

It is problematic as to whether the Wrapper and Kimono Local No. 41 also comes under this resolution. The likelihood is, however, that since both locals 41 and 59 are at present united into a Joint Board, that both locals may enter the Dress and Waist Joint Board.

It is out of the question to give in detail here all of the resolutions adopted. What is given here are matters of more than ordinary importance. Details, as well as other resolutions adopted, which in some way change some of the rules, will be given to the members at the general meeting, where the delegates will report.

WAIST AND DRESS

In the report of the officers to the members of this division at their last meeting, which was held on Monday, May 15th, it was stated that in spite of the dullness in the trade, organization still goes on. From April 17th to May 15th seventy shops were called out on strike. Of these there were about forty which were union shops. The balance were open shops, which were called out on strike for various violations. A number of these union shops were called out on strike because the employers were doing their own cutting. At the present time fifteen shops are still out on strike.

But for this report little else was taken up, with the exception, of course, of the usual reports of the Executive Board. The action of the Executive Board in one particular case is worthy of the attention of the members, as it brings home to them the importance of strictly observing the matter of securing working cards when obtaining employment. And it will also show how important it is to report irregularities

to the union.

A certain dress shop had working in it two cutters, one of whom was laid off for about four weeks. During all this time the cutter who was laid off made no claim for equal division of work. In the meantime, the firm hired a new cutter. After a lapse of four weeks the cutter who was laid off filed a complaint with the office to the effect that a new man was hired.

The new man hired was called to the office and ordered to stay out, being told that the man who was laid off was entitled to the job. The cutter who was laid off was finally reinstated. The new man was dissatisfied with the decision of the office, insisting that the cutter who was laid off should have filed his claim for an equal share of work with the man who remained.

The appeal finally came to the Executive Board. The acting manager stated that he had taken the cutter off the job primarily because he did not have a working card; that if he had a card he, the new man, would have been entitled to the job. In view of the failure on the part of the cutter laid off to file his claim for an equal share of work.

The Executive Board felt that the old man had a prior claim to the job. In view of the fact, however, that a complaint was not filed for a division of work, the new man is entitled to the job. On the other hand, again, the new man could not very well take the job of the old man because he failed to take out a working card. The Board decided finally that all three men were entitled to work in the shop and that they must divide the work equally.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

General Monday, May 29th
Cloak and Suit Monday, June 5th
Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Monday, June 12th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

Members should not fail to change their working cards when going in or returning to work. They should also not fail to return their working cards when laid off. Anyone failing to comply with this will be subject to a fine by the Executive Board.

Article 7, Section 12, of the Constitution, makes it compulsory for members to attend at least one meeting every three months. Violation of this clause carries with it a fine. Meetings for each month are posted in this notice.

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