

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARN

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

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BONNAZ EMBROIDERY GENERAL STRIKE SETTLED

WORKERS WIN COMPLETE UNION SHOP—ANOTHER DRESS FIRM PAYS FINE FOR BREACH OF AGREEMENT—WAIST AND DRESS JOINT BOARD CALLS DISTRICT MEETINGS

The general strike of the Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union, Local No. 66, was settled this week. The Embroidery Manufacturers' Association withdrew demands which it had put forth to the workers and signed a collective agreement with the union, assuming the obligation that the members of the Association maintain complete union shops. This settlement is another definite victory for the Joint Board in the Waist and Dress industry, under the auspices of which the strike was conducted.

According to Brother Julius Hochman, the General Manager of this Joint Board, all embroidery workers will be back at work in a few days. There remain on strike now only the workers of a few independent shops

with which the union has not yet settled. The members of Local No. 66 have behaved during this strike in an exemplary and highly commendable manner. The chairman of all the divisions of the general strike committee deserve credit for the loyal services they have rendered. Only last week the members of Local No. 66 had a meeting at the Labor Temple and decided that the workers employed in the shops where settlements have been made were to be taxed 10 per cent of their wages for the benefit of the men and women still on strike. The workers cheerfully approved of this decision in a spirit of undivided solidarity with their fellow workers and defenders of the union.

ANOTHER DRESS FIRM FINED

The Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union called to responsibility during last week another dress firm which was clandestinely violating its agreement with the union. This time it was the Ullman & Jenson Co.

This firm is a member of the Dress Manufacturers' Association. Nevertheless, the union did not hesitate to make preparations for a strike against it for its numerous violations of the agreement. The Association intervened and prevented a strike but the firm paid \$5,000 fine for breaking the agreement and also gave \$5,000 security for future faithful performance.

(Continued on Page 4)

BALTIMORE CLOAKMAKERS PREPARE FOR STRIKE

The Baltimore cloakmakers have decided, some time ago, to make a general stoppage in the trade in order to rid it of the petty corporation shops. This, however, was found to be impracticable for Baltimore as the situation in that city is such that a stoppage would be of little use to the workers. The question was therefore reconsidered. The state of affairs is as follows:

The Baltimore cloakmakers have an agreement with the manufacturers which is to run until next January. So, instead of a stoppage, it was decided to make preparations for a general strike which the Union might be compelled to call in January should the employers refuse to renew the agreement. This decision was arrived at at a mass meeting of cloakmakers last week. The meeting also passed a motion to begin making preparations for the strike at once. A strong attempt will be made to organize meanwhile the non-union cloak shops of which there are quite a number in Baltimore, and the General Executive Board has voted at its last meeting to give Baltimore Local No. 4 a steady weekly subsidy for this organization work.

Cleveland Cloakmakers Ready to Renew Agreement

AGREEMENT EXPIRES ON DECEMBER FIRST—UNION PRESENTS SEVERAL NEW DEMANDS—VICE-PRESIDENT PERLSTEIN CHAIRMAN OF UNION'S CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The collective agreement in Cleveland comes to an end on December 1st next. Among the terms of the agreement there is one calling for the beginning of conferences with a view of renewing the agreement three months before its expiration. On October 1st it is expected both sides will begin negotiations.

Last week the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union in Cleveland had a special meeting to discuss the renewal of the agreement. The meeting elected a special committee consisting of one person from each local with Vice-President Meyer Perlstein as chairman.

This committee has a difficult and very important task before it. The job forth a number of demands at the Cloakmakers' Union of Cleveland will conferences with the employers and the conference committee of the union was entrusted with the task of formulating these demands in a clear and definite manner. These demands will be as follows:

1. A raise in wages. The cloakmakers of Cleveland were among those few workers in our industry whose wages were slashed down by arbitrators. They will now demand that their wages be raised and are determined to get this raise.

2. An improvement in the system of the guarantee. As known, a number of manufacturers in Cleveland have guaranteed to give their workers forty-one weeks of work during the year. Several changes have to be made in connection with this system.

3. Standardization of trade. 4. The opening of the big dress shops for male workers. These shops have heretofore been closed to men and employed only women. Men operators in the dress trade can only obtain work in the outside small shops. The Union will demand that the big inside shops be open for men workers as well as women.

5. Registration. The Union will demand that all the workers in the trade be carefully registered so that it might be definitely known how many workers there are employed in the industry and where they are employed.

These are only a few of the main points which the Union will put forth for the renewal of the agreement. The committee is also at work in preparing and formulating several other demands.

Cloakmakers Warned About Minimum Wage Scales

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers of New York deems it necessary to issue a word of warning to the thousands of its members in New York concerning some vicious rumors audaciously spread by the enemies of the union in the cloak districts of New York City.

In the aftermath of the general cloak stoppage recently concluded, which was such an upheaval in the trade, as might have been well expected, there have come to the surface a number of abnormalities which are being utilized by some enemies of the union until the conditions in the trade become normal again.

It is a fact that there are still a number of workers, previously employed in the "social" shops with which the union could not settle, that have not as yet found employment in the bigger settled shops. As the season in general has not come up to expectations, as yet, it is found difficult to place these men and consequently there is some dissatisfaction and a feeling of uneasiness among them.

This state of uneasiness was seized upon by a number of enemies of the union who are seeking to undermine it under a "friendly" mask, and these are now parading up and down the cloak market and doing their iniquitous, destructive work in attempting to demoralize the unemployed cloakmakers. They have, for instance, spread a rumor that the present agreement in the cloak trade abolished established minimum scales which existed before and that the officers of the Cloakmakers' Union do not answer any more complaints relating to wages below the minimum scales.

The Joint Board, therefore, deems it necessary to declare that these rumors are base slander and absolutely groundless. All the offices of the Cloakmakers' Union are receiving complaints about the wage scales against association shops as well as independent firms. The Union has forwarded a circular letter to all the shop chairmen in the cloak industry calling upon them to exert stronger control of the wage scales and to see to it that no worker is receiving less than what he is entitled to.

The New York cloakmakers are, therefore, asked to pay no attention to these malicious lies and to retain full confidence in the ability of the Union to protect their wage scales today, as in the past.

ris Rothenberg, one of its most active workers.

Vice-Presidents Israel Feinberg, Samuel Lefkowitz and Elias Reisberg of our International were elected as members of the permanent administrative council of the People's Relief. General Secretary Baroff acted as chairman of the third session of the convention and Max D. Danah was one of the secretaries.

Feinberg, Lefkowitz and Reisberg on People's Relief Executive Council

The delegation of our International at the national convention of the People's Relief Committee of America, which took place in Philadelphia on September 24, 3rd and 4th, at the Lorraine Hotel, attended almost in full and took an active part in all the deliberations and committee work of the convention.

The five sessions of the convention were marked by absorbing discussions touching upon the various phases of the relief work sponsored by the People's Relief Committee during the past

year, the support it had given to the great network of cultural activity among the Jews in Eastern Europe, and the plans for the future. The convention decided to retain its affiliation with the Joint Distribution Committee.

General Manager Zuckerman of the People's Relief Committee delivered a remarkable report on the situation of the European Jewry in the destitute countries in Central and Middle Europe, and impressive addresses were delivered by Alexander Kahn, the Chairman of the Committee, and Mor-

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION

AFTER exhausting its fund of "neutrality" and its various inept schemes for settling the coal and railroad strikes, the Government plunged headlong into the most drastic action ever undertaken by an oligarchy. Smearing under the criticism levelled against him for his weakness, vacillation and hopeless futility, the President in a moment of desperation dispatched Attorney General Daugherty to Chicago where on Friday, September 1, he secured the most sweeping injunction against the striking shipmen ever issued by a court.

In his petition, asking for an injunction the Attorney General made this blanket demand which Judge J. H. Wilkerson of the Federal District Court granted in his temporary order:

"In any manner, by letters, printed or other circulars, telegrams, telephones, word of mouth, oral permission, or suggestion, or through interviews, to be published in newspapers, or otherwise in any manner whatsoever encourage, direct or command any person, whether a member of said railway organization or otherwise, to abandon the employment of said railway companies or any of them, or to refrain from entering the service of said railway companies or any of them."

This injunction not only forbids the unions from any strike activity but it also forbids the union leaders from advising, for example, the strikers against accepting the terms proposed by the railway companies. It not only ties up the funds of the unions, but it even prohibits the paying of strike benefits to the families of the strikers. The Harding Administration has borrowed the system of blockade practiced by the Allies against Germany and Russia in its war against the labor movement. In its service to the railroad kings the Government has finally dropped its mark of "impartiality" and "public good," and is out to paralyze all legitimate union activity and to starve the workers into submission by its atrocious injunction.

Congress, in passing the Transportation Act refused to include the anti-strike provision. But when it is a question of defending special privilege laws are cast overboard. Daugherty fuming against the unions that are claiming "the right to dictate to the Government" arrogates to himself the legislative power of Congress.

Attorney General Daugherty has demonstrated that he follows in the footsteps of his predecessor, A. Mitchell Palmer. The Democratic Palmer's injunction against the miners in 1919 has its parallel in the Republican Daugherty's injunction against the railway shipmen. The alignment of both political parties is luminously evident.

What the effect of this injunction and the numerous other anti-union acts will have on the political thinking of the workers is doubtless of great significance. But what is more pertinent at the present moment is the effect the injunction will have on the outcome of the strike, and indirectly on the future of the trade union movement.

The strikers and the union chiefs, including Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, bitterly denounced the Government. But denunciations alone won't win the strike. Daugherty has mobilized a big army of marshals to enforce the injunction. Some strikers have already been arrested for "taunting" and "jeering" scabs. The Government has announced its determination to go the full length and break the strike.

This situation is fully realized by the heads of the labor movement. President Samuel Gompers announced that a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been called for Saturday, September 9, for the purpose of considering plans for a general strike. Asked whether the injunction is likely to precipitate a general strike, Gompers made this statement:

"I do know this—that never in any previous strike in my knowledge has there been such a demand made upon me to call a general strike. I can show you 200 circulars, resolutions, telegrams and letters all asking me to call a general strike."

It is highly improbable that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. will issue a call for a general strike. But the fact of its consideration alone is of outstanding significance. The question of the solidarity of labor over against the divisions of craft unionism is now squarely before the American trade union movement. And the futility and hopelessness of craft divisions in the struggle against organized capital will no doubt register itself in the minds of the most conservative.

The injunction is said to have interfered with the plans of the railroad executives. For it concluded that the strike crippled transportation, and that the country faces a crisis as a result of the breakdown of the railroads. But the companies had planned to stage a publicity campaign for the purpose of bamboozing the American people into believing that there is nothing wrong with the railroads. Daugherty's statement to the contrary put a damper on this campaign. But only for a while. The companies will wait for a few days before this impression wears off. Then they will launch their prepared stories of the and slanders.

ANTHRACITE MINERS VICTORIOUS

TWO WEEKS after the bituminous coal miners scored their victory, the anthracite miners' turn came. For five months they fought against tremendous odds, against a combination of a ruthless trust, helped and supported by all branches of the government and the press. And the miners came out triumphant.

The anthracite conference between the miners and operators in Philadelphia began a few days after the bituminous conference in Cleveland. But it soon came to grief over the question of arbitration. The operators stubbornly insisted that the miners submit their demands to an arbitration board repugnant to them. They consequently rejected this plan. The conference was deadlocked and it looked as if the strike was to continue indefinitely. Not a pound of coal was obtainable. The situation was daily growing more critical. The President, the Governor and Senators of Pennsylvania intervened. And they all realized that there was only one way to end the strike and that is, the operators must yield. And they did. Through the mediation of Senators Pepper and Reed an agreement was reached last Sunday, September 3, and on Monday, September 11, the anthracite miners will return to work. The terms of agreement are as follows:

"First, the contracts in force March 31, 1922, to be extended to August 31, 1923, or March 31, 1924.

"Second, the production of coal to begin at once.

"Third, the organizations of operators and miners to join in a recommendation to Congress that legislation be forthwith enacted creating a separate Anthracite Coal Commission, with authority to investigate and report promptly on every phase of the industry.

"Fourth, the continuance of production after the extension date to be upon such terms as the parties may agree upon in the light of the report of the commission."

In the resolution adopted by the operators it is frankly stated that "we are still of the opinion that anthracite wages should be reduced and that even the present emergency does not justify the continuation of the old scale." But the miners have shown that they are not so easily deceived. The alleged reason for the operators' attempt to cut wages was the lowering of the price of coal. But now that production will be resumed on the old scale of wages the prices will nevertheless be raised. The result will, of course, be that their huge profits will now be swelled.

FOOD RIOTS IN GERMANY

IN AND around Berlin large masses of men and women stormed mills, freight stations, food stores and helped themselves to whatever food they could get hold of. They seized large stocks of corn and potatoes. They even entered the orchards and stripped the trees of their fruit. They then marched through various sections of the city and smashed shop windows. The police intervened and bloodshed ensued.

This situation is symbolic of conditions in Germany. It has its counterpart in the feverish downward movement of the mark, in the scarcity of cash money and the exasperating uncertainty of what the morrow may bring. Even the decision of the Reparation Commission to relieve Germany of the necessity of making any further cash payments for the next six months had little effect in bettering conditions there.

The Wirth Government has been growing less and less popular. In foreign affairs its policy has been that of unconditional surrender. It has submitted to all the mad whims of Poincaré. And it is doubtful whether any other government would be in a position to defy France. Its internal policy is one of hopeless drift. Its position is pitiable in the extreme.

Various groups and factions in Germany are therefore approving the present government. Shortly after the revolution a few years ago the active opposition came from the Communists. More recently the Monarchists made several attempts to overthrow the Wirth Government and establish a monarchy. Still more recently a powerful group of industrial barons, headed by Hugo Stinnes, is leading a movement against the existing regime. Hugo Stinnes, the industrial kaiser of Germany, has started through his chain of newspapers a vigorous campaign for the setting up of a new government. The monarchists are discreetly in the background but they are known to give active support to the Stinnes group. During the last week important conferences between the Stinnes and the Rathenau groups of industries were planning a united attack upon the present government. The various labor organizations are also approached with a view to win them over to the planned coup. Whether their plan will materialize remains to be seen.

A Last Word on Europe

By Dr. GEORGE M. PRICE

Director Union Health Center

It is hardly possible to briefly summarize the impressions gained during a few months' journey and it is still more difficult to give a quinquennial observations made, at this time, on industrial conditions in Europe.

I have visited France, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Germany and England. In each country I have made as thorough an investigation of industrial conditions as was possible in the brief time allotted. Due to my official connection with the U. S. Department of Labor, I had opportunity to talk with a large number of employers and representatives of workers' organizations in each country, and likewise to make personal inspections in company with the state factory inspectors, visiting various shops as well as the homes of workers. Some of my impressions have been published from time to time in various newspapers, and especially in JUSTICE, and what I am at present to add is simply my general conclusion as to comparative progress in European countries and the United States in safety, sanitation and enforcement of labor laws.

When nine years ago I returned from my trip abroad, I have stated officially and otherwise that the United States is far behind Europe in methods of enforcement of labor legislation and in safeguarding the lives, limbs and health of the workers. After my recent trip, I have been compelled to change my opinion. In 1922, in European countries, especially in France, Austria and Germany, conditions affecting safety, sanitation and labor law enforcement are much behind those existing in the

United States—that while we, here, have in the last two years forged ahead and made gigantic strides in proper safeguarding of machinery, improving sanitation of factories, and improving the machinery for the enforcement of labor laws, in Europe they have retrogressed in all these respects, so that at present conditions of safety, sanitation and labor enforcement are woefully behind those in the United States, especially in the most progressive states.

The reasons for the evident retrogression in European countries is, of course, principally the war. There has been bread during the war and after, a spirit of disregard of the value of human life and the importance of the workers' health. The war has destroyed so many millions of human beings and so many were crippled and maimed that it has bred a sort of *l'esprit-faire* spirit and "don't care" movement among the industrialists. Indeed, when so much life has been wasted and lost in the war, who would care for a little injury or some undefined detriment to health due to imperfect sanitation or to disregard of safeguarding of machinery in factories?

These pessimistic views on all human life and health conditions have led to a disregard of most of the protective labor laws, caused a lessening of the powers of enforcement and made the lives, limbs and health of the workers a thing not worthwhile caring for by the protective laws of the state.

Certainly, the conditions as seen by me in the various factories visited, (Continued on page 5)

A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service.)

Speaking in Wales last Sunday, Sir George Paish, the economist, said: "The policy of France in bringing Germany to bankruptcy and preventing Russia's recovery must bring in time a new war." Organized labor has been saying this for years; it said it during the last General Election when the present Coalition Government was returned "to make Germany pay," and incidentally to "hang the Kaiser." There is nothing in today's condition of Europe, to show that Labor was wrong. At the moment of writing it is still not clear what France means to do. M. Poincaré's latest speech at Bar-le-Duc, as the "Daily Herald" points out, was a confusion of two policies, mutually destructive. In professing a course of action which would mean the disruption of the Entente, the speaker was both illogical and impractical. He left the situation where it was, and where it must remain until some statesman is found among the Allies, who will have the boldness to declare openly that the millions who gave their lives during the war died for one thing, while the politicians who made the peace are living for a perfectly different thing.

The results of this two-fold European policy is that the workers everywhere find themselves in conflict with the ruling powers, except perhaps in Russia. But unfortunately, the very policy they detect at the same time renders the workers impotent through the unemployment it has caused. At the same annual meet-

ing of the Federation of General Workers, J. R. Clynes uttered a timely warning to the employers on the subject of their ruthless war on wages. At the moment, as he pointed out, the workers are powerless through the depression in trade to make a firm stand against the lowering of their standard of living, which is being brought about everywhere by the advantage that is taken of their helplessness by the employers. But the day will come when trade perhaps returns and the workers will once more get the power of bargaining back into their hands. It is to be supposed that on that day they will show themselves less merciful than the wealthy men who are crushing them now.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

Meanwhile, rumors for the most part take the place of news from abroad. France means to occupy the Ruhr, to take over the management of German mines and forests—or France means to do nothing of the kind. The old Entente is broken—the new Entente is to be between French big business and German big business—Germany and France and Russia are to form a European bloc against Great Britain. Or—the Entente was never stronger; and the present temporary misunderstanding will only last until France and England have devised some method of carrying out their ambiguous design on Germany and at the same time to make her pay reparations. So, with a swing of the pendulum,

here we are back again at the old impasse.

As to British policy, its present tendency to adopt the old view that Europe doesn't matter, and the unpopularity everywhere of the Balfour Note about debts, tends to an isolation that is diametrically opposed to all the international ideals of the workers and simply proves again that until the present capitalist governments are overthrown no attempts at the reconstruction of Europe can be effective.

WHERE ECONOMY IS LEADING US

Two decided results, one European, one national, have just become apparent of the recent crash in this country for "economy." Education and child welfare are the two directions in which our present rulers have hastened to save expenditure. In cutting down expenditures on the people's education, on research, and in other similar ways, they are going a long way towards letting Germany win the supremacy they are trying so hard to wrest from her. For Germany, forbidden to build aeroplanes that might possibly be used for defensive purposes, enabled to save money on armaments, in short, has very naturally turned her genius to the discovery of aeroplanes to be used in other ways; and her first experiments in "gliders" are causing the scaremongers to shriek that, after all, she is going to get back her lost power in Europe. Of course she is—but not as a military power. If we really do want to beat Germany in the race for supremacy we must do to ourselves what we did to her when we forbade her to spend money on armaments. That is the true economy.

The second result of reducing war

expenditures on the wrong things is to be seen in a recent report of a medical officer, which shows very clearly that economy in child welfare, in the provision of free milk to poor mothers, for instance, added to low wages and unemployment, is having a very disastrous effect upon child life. Nobody is likely to deny that labor legislation, wherever it can make itself felt, is all in the direction of expenditure and child welfare and of economy in armaments and the manufacture of luxuries. The evil results of the Coalition administration of the last four years are growing daily more obvious both at home and abroad.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND INDIA

Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech on India which gave so much offense throughout our Moslem dominions, has been partially explained away by the Viceroy to the Indian deputation that waited on him at Simla. They submitted an address condemning the Prime Minister's remark that the reforms in India were an "experiment" and that he could see no period when the Civil Service could not dispense with the help of British officials. His purpose, explained the Viceroy, was merely to warn Indians against the policy of non-co-operation with those reforms, and to indicate sympathy with the difficulties of Civil Servants in India. There is a familiar ring about the tactfulness of this explanation to which we are perhaps more accustomed in Europe than are the simpler-minded dwellers in the Far East. They may even continue to wonder how British Civil Servants are to have any future in a country which is at the same time assured of its future independence. Well, well! East is East, and West is West, after all!

When to Call Strikes

(A Labor Leader's Problem.)

By J. CHARLES LAUE

How can they win? Again and again this thought haunts the mind of the strike leader. Finding no answer he plunges on striving to use every little advantage to bring an end to the ordeal. In the end he must bank on the spirit of the rank and file. Can they hold out, will they go on with half rations a little longer, will some influential person intervene, will the weaker employers crack? If the strikers remain solidly behind the union the strike can go on indefinitely but eventually it is economic pressure that determines the outcome. Often this comes from the outside.

The great factor for the union leader to determine before declaring a strike is whether the employer is prepared for it or the economic situation is favorable for winning concessions for the workers. He naturally plans, if industrial war is inevitable, to make it begin when the workers can stand the hardships best and the employer least. Sometimes there is no choice. Sometimes the larger industrial interests can pick the time and the place for the battle to crush the unions. Then the labor leader must call upon every diplomatic resource to avert the crisis or take a momentary setback for eventual recovery. It is the unsuccessful labor leader that leads a devoted army into needless slaughter. The successful negotiator paces the crises, but usually at the expense of much anxiety, formulating plans that he has been thinking of for months in anticipation of the storm. It was the general lack of understanding on the part of the American labor leaders that the war boom would bring its reaction that failed to get their organizations in shape for the inevitable. Those that survived undamaged had filed their war chests and were ready.

Yet, the workers do manage to win frequently with the odds against them. With nothing except withdrawing their labor power to pit against wealth, police attacks, forces of gunmen at the factory gates, while the employer is safe inside the walls, making money by getting rid of his surplus stock, they can and do become the victors. How do they do it?

All the striker can tell is that he stood on the picket line so many weeks, starved a bit so many months, was arrested and beaten up so many times and finally was called to a union meeting to ratify a settlement. But the capitalist can tell by looking at his books. Perhaps the strike brought him very near to the financial thin ice. Perhaps competitors are winning his trade. Or perhaps he has made money by the strike and can afford to settle.

It is primarily a question whether the union is fighting a trustified industry or a number of small employers. Where the solidarity is greater among the workers than among the employers they win as a matter of course. On the other hand, it will take a Napoleonic labor leader and an army of 300,000 of the bravest strikers ever marshalled to beat the Steel Trust.

Looking over the great labor battles of 1921-1922 gives some interesting sidelights on what determines a labor victory or a labor defeat. Begin with the printers' strike for the 44-hour week, that began May 1, 1922, four months before last Labor Day, and which is still in progress. The union, one of the oldest and best administered in America, gathered strike assessments from over 60 per cent of the membership that remained at work and spent \$5,000,000 to keep the men away from the strike shops. The

shorter week was won, although 7,000 members dropped out to escape the tax. The printing workers had a national solidarity that surpassed that of employers who fought by cities. They won by their great industrial strength, although the economic factors were against them.

The great miners' strike just ended was no extraordinary matter that the reason for the workers' victory "bears the closest examination. In this industry, scattered in 20 states, carried on in little communities in the hills, subject to months of unemployment, the strike was won in 20 weeks, despite an army of gunmen, much suffering, injunctions and the fact that one-third of the mines were producing at top speed with non-union workers.

The miners' leaders figured correctly. They knew that non-union production could not keep pace with consumption. Almost to a week they estimated when the crisis would force the winning of the strike, when the fuel shortage became so great that the coal operators would be ready to confer with the union and maintain the wage scale. They judged their factors correctly, nor did the rank and file fall them. In the soft coal fields the risk was there to be sure, for only 60 per cent were organized, but in the hard coal fields, where the union is 100 per cent strong, the outcome was a foregone conclusion if the men continued their fight.

And yet economics, not the will of

either side, played the dominant role. Owing to the shortage of coal, the operators can get any price they want for the coal. They can afford to pay high wages and put the blame on the workers even though the labor cost of a ton of coal is insignificant to the charges of selling cotton, iron, transportation and retailers.

Or take the protracted strike of cotton mill weavers in New England with 40,000 workers out in the dismal villages in Rhode Island, as well as the textile city of Manchester, N. H., where is the largest cotton mill in the world. The lockout has been on since January (eight months) for the weavers, who were to be reduced from \$10 and \$21 a week, to \$8 and \$17 for 48 hours' work. They held out while the same mills produced cotton in their still more poorly paid Southern factories. Now, with a shortage of cotton cloth in sight, they might restore the old wage and still make a big margin of profit. The workers' privation and endurance has helped boost the price of cotton goods just as the miners' strike increased the price of coal. The economic law dominates worker and employer alike.

In such instances it is to the advantage of the employer to shut down an industry by declaring a lock-out against the union in the hope of stimulating the market if nothing more and increasing his profits and the possibility of breaking the union.

(Continued on Page 4)

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Can Russia be Rebuilt with American Money?

By D. N. SHUB

Nothing else but an over-production crisis."

Bolshevik spokesmen here would have us believe that all Russian ills emanate from the source that Russia hasn't enough capital, machinery and raw materials to go on with its industries. Give Russia all these things, they say, and the factories will resume work and the Bolsheviks will get their chance to carry out their experiment. Until now they have had no opportunity to do constructive work owing to the war, the blockade and the interventions; they were preoccupied with safeguarding the acquisitions of the revolution. Give them a chance now and they'll show us what a "workers' government" can do—so reads the official pro-Bolshevik text.

From this point of view, Hillman's Russian "concession" would appear to be quite a praiseworthy undertaking. Rather than call upon the houses of Morgan and Rockefeller to aid in the carrying out of the communist experiment in Russia, why not call upon the workers first to set an example of what they might do for Russia and the starving Russian people? This is how Hillman formulates his project, and the Bolsheviks are today exploiting the Hillman "concession" just as they had been exploiting the former Haywood "concessions"—primarily for the purpose of stimulating foreign capitalists into concession-hunting lest the Soviet regime hand them over all to foreign workers' organizations, and, secondly, in order to impress upon the masses at home that Russia can and will be rebuilt with the aid of the millions of workmen abroad who sympathize with the Bolshevik Government.

What is, nevertheless, the true situation in Russia? Is Russian industry really in trouble on account of lack of capital and machinery necessary to run its factories, or are the causes of its economic ruin much deeper? An answer to this need not be looked for in American pro-Bolshevik weeklies or in "Soviet Russia" but rather in the Bolshevik press published in Petrograd and Moscow, and not in editorials by Radek or Bucharin, but in figures given out by the Moscow official Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn—"Economic Life).

The first thing that engages the copies of Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn of reader's attention upon perusing the last few months, is the fact that a large number of factories have either been closed down entirely or have materially curtailed production because they have "over-produced." Odd as this may sound, it is a fact that Russia, poverty-stricken, bare-footed and naked Russia, is suffering from an economic crisis caused by over-production. A writer in Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn, No. 72 of the current year, states that the Commissariat for Foreign Trade had canceled an order for sixty carloads of goods ordered from Lodi manufacturers because the Soviet Government is not in a position to dispose of its own manufactured goods stored in government warehouses and for which it cannot find customers. The same is true of other products manufactured in Russia. The same Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn of March 30 informs us that the last fair in Moscow proved that in various "trunks" and trade branches of the "Soyuzruchko" (Society of Public Economy) not only in Moscow and Petrograd but all over Russia—the supply of goods is a hundred-fold greater than the demand. "This all," that journal says, "goes to prove that in impoverished Russia there exists

How is it, then, that Russia, which is so badly in need of all such products, is compelled to close its factories because it has produced too much of these commodities? The answer is: the population of Russia is so poor that it hasn't the means of buying even the most necessary living commodities. The same newspaper has figured out that while during the years before the war every Russian peasant spent on the average of 22 roubles and 43 kopecks, he spent only 3 roubles and 41 kopecks in 1920. The purchasing power of the Russian peasant is this today seven times smaller than before the war. Again, in 1914 the Russian peasant spent 9 roubles and 19 kopecks for clothing, footwear and underwear and in 1920 only 60 kopecks.

In the course of the last year the situation became even worse. But not only the population of Russia became poor. The Moscow Pravda of April 6 tells us that the Russian government is not any wealthier than its people. Russia is terribly in need of medicines, but the so-called "Farmatrust" (the drug trust), has no outlet for the commodities stored in its warehouses because the Commissariat of Public Health has not the money to buy these medicines with. The "warehouses of the Farmatrust" are actually cluttered with goods" so literally reads the report in the Pravda of April 6.

The impoverishment of the Russian people began not with the blockade and the interventions, but when the Russian peasants ceased to cultivate their fields in order to escape confiscation by the Bolshevik requisitions. According to the figures of the Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn only 82 per cent of all lands under cultivation in 1916 were sowed in 1919; in 1920 this figure dropped to 69 per cent. The coming year will be even a poorer one as the peasants in many gubernias have eaten up not only the seeds but have killed their cattle. It is calculated that the entire purchasing power of the Russian peasantry next year will not exceed 100 million golden roubles, and the purchasing power of the city population is hardly worthwhile speaking about. Under such conditions the goods manufactured in the factories will surely have to rot in the warehouses.

The reader may see therefore that there does not appear to be at present in Russia a particular need for new clothing factories. The Russian people are poor and destitute because Russian agricultural economy and farming is entirely ruined. In addition, Russian industry cannot develop, even if the buying market were more active, on account of the complete breakdown of transportation. According to this same Bolshevik organ, the entire industry of Central Russia, of the Northwestern region, and of the Urals district suffers from an acute shortage of coal. At the same time 100 million pounds of coal lie accumulated in the Donets Basin which cannot be moved owing to a lack of rolling stock. In Murmansk too there are 10,000 tons of coal purchased by the Commissariat for Foreign Trade which cannot be brought to Petrograd because the Murmansk Railway is practically at a standstill. On account of that a number of Petrograd factories were compelled to close. In the Petrograd newspaper *Krasnaya Gazeta* of March 13 we read that the Government has permitted the "Donbas"

(the administration of the coal industry in the Donets Basin) to export coal abroad while the Petrograd factories are waiting for some coal from Marmann or from Western Europe. The Soviet authorities did it less difficult to send coal from Ekaterinoslav to England or America, for instance, than to Petrograd.

We could cite many more examples of this remarkable, according to Hillman, "efficiency" of the Soviet Government, but we believe that those given above are sufficient to convince everybody that, first—Russia does not want new factories at present but the improvement of its agricultural economy, and that only after the Russian peasants will have tilled and sown their fields can there be talk of any factories in Russia; secondly, the thing needed most for Russian commerce and industry is the rehabilitation of transportation; and, lastly, the most important of all is the abolition of the communist dictatorship with its misfit bureaucracy which fetters the economic life of Russia and strangles the activity and the energy of the Russian people.

Recently, a certain Soviet economist by name Elmont, suggested a plan to encourage the export of Russian factory products particularly to such countries like Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and other former parts of Russia. But it is obvious that in a country like Russia, always an agricultural land, factory products can be exported only by direct government financial subsidy. The financial poverty of the Soviet regime makes such a plan quite unthinkable. Russia cannot compete with Germany or England in cheapness of products; it can only compete with these countries in the cheapness of its labor. Everything costs more nowadays in Russia than anywhere else—everything except labor, and the workers' wages are lower there today than even

in the accursed days of the Tsars.

The plan to open factories in Russia with the money of American workers cannot therefore be considered seriously now. The Russian people need less than anything else new clothing factories. A factory of American "concessionaires" will have to fail, after all, under the stress of the same economic laws that other factories are subject to in Russia. It will suffer just as much from the lack of machinery, raw materials, lighting and heating as the other factories in Petrograd and Moscow and the wares that it might produce will suffer the fate of other products manufactured in the other Russian clothing factories. Unless Brother Hillman expects to produce clothing so cheaply—through the "iron discipline prevailing in Russian factories"—that it might be possible to export it to America.

Perhaps, it pays to the members of the Amalgamated to spend a few hundred thousand dollars for such a highly important experiment—particularly after Radek himself had declared recently that this is the only way for saving Russia from final destitution. We take it that the members of the Amalgamated know far better than any outsiders do what is good for them and what is bad. But it is really a coincidence that no other labor body in the whole world has never hit on a plan to aid the Russian, in such a huge business-like way, and at the same time promote the interests of their own organization? Why are the leaders of the English, German, French, Italian and other trade unions so cold to the "golden concessions" offered by Moscow and the Third Internationale? Is it really because their are so terribly immature or not enough class-conscious?

Explain it as you will; there seems to be something the matter with it.

WHEN TO CALL STRIKES

(Continued from Page 3)

A perfect example of the solidarity of capital is that of the International Paper Company, which locked out the five crafts of paper makers on May 1, 1921, and is now running as an "open shop." For five months the same 57 mills scattered in the north-eastern United States and Canada did not open. Then the scabs and supervisory forces were shifted to one mill and opened it. Meanwhile the market for newspaper paper improved. Now, after a sixteen months' fight, this trust is able to shake itself free from the unions. The one chance for a labor victory was for the workers to secede the independent companies that they could take the trust's business or else look forward to a financial breakdown of the roads.

In the present railroad crisis what will determine the outcome? The shopmen are out but the trains are running. The equipment, locomotives, passenger cars, box cars, coal cars are slowly deteriorating for lack of repairs. Meanwhile the roads are facing heavy losses owing to a \$200,000,000 deferred repair bill. Some of the weaker ones may be forced into bankruptcy. But here

only the public emergency can end the strike. The union leaders, if they calculate correctly, can foresee a breakdown of railroad service that would force a settlement of the strike just as was the case with the miners. Are they judging aright? Time will tell. So far the administration has been a help to the railroad.

The oil field workers who had an excellent organization in the Southwest for a while, were attacked by the oil trust and beaten this year. The meat trust crushed the packing house employees, the shipping trust played havoc with the seamen and transport workers. These are instances of the power of capital.

These examples of workers' strength as against capital and a deep study of the law of supply and demand underlying the whole conflict will ripen the judgment of all those engaged in the organized labor movement.

To correctly judge when to strike, and more often how to avoid being involved in a lockout, is the labor leaders' chief problem. It is what kept many of them awake nights during the depression period.

With the passing of the economic crisis these problems, fortunately, are becoming less.

Embroidery Strike Settled

(Continued from Page 1.)

In this manner, one dress firm after another in the dress trade is being called by the Joint Board to account.

DISTRICT MEETINGS IN DRESS TRADE

The Waist and Dress Joint Board has arranged for a system of district meetings which means that workers employed in shops located in certain streets in the women's wear district will be called together to joint meet-

ings to discuss the particular wants of the trade.

The purpose of the meetings is to familiarize the workers with the recent decisions of the Joint Board and to keep them in touch with the organization campaign of the union in general. The meetings will be addressed by Julius Hochman, the General Manager of the Joint Board and Luigi Antonini, Secretary of Local No. 89. The dates and places of the meeting will be announced later.

Some Phases of American Labor History

By ALGERNON LEE

I.

The knowledge of its own history is to a nation, a race, or a class whose conscious memory is to the individual. The man who remembers nothing is nobody in particular. He is without personality, and counts for little among his fellows. The social group that knows not the story of its own past lacks an essential element in self-consciousness and capacity for self-direction.

History—be it the history of a people, of an institution, of a religion, or of a social movement—history is an intelligible process, not a series of accidents. Each day is born out of a yesterday, and in its turn gives birth to a tomorrow. If we would plan wisely for the future, we should try to understand the present; and in order to understand the present, we must know what we can of the past.

In these considerations lies the utilitarian value of the study of history.

The modern working class, the modern labor movement, comparatively young though they be, have already a history of their own, rich in human interest, full of lessons, of warning, and of inspiration, replete with tragic incident, with heroic endeavor, with splendid achievement and still more splendid endurance of defeat. If the workers of today knew more of this history than they do, they would be better equipped for the part they have to play. And in no other country is this self-knowledge of the proletariat less developed, in none is it more needed, than here in the United States.

Something has been done by Carlton, Hilkuit, Oneal, Schleuter, Simon, and a few other writers, toward making the story of labor in this country accessible to those who have no license for digging into old files of labor papers and poring over occasional pamphlets and trade-union reports of by-gone years. But there

is room yet for many an additional volume.

I do not pretend, in this short series of articles (written in old hours and far from my books) to make any appreciable contribution to the small existing literature of American working-class history. The most I undertake is to suggest some partial answers to the question: Why is the working-class movement in the United States so different from that of the Old World, and in some respects so far behind it?

II.

That the American labor movement is backward, as compared with that of most European countries, no one who has given study to the subject can deny.

On the political field there is a ludicrous contrast between the representation of the working people of this country in our legislative bodies and the powerful Socialist and Labor delegations in the parliaments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and nearly all the other countries of Europe. We have to turn to Portugal and Greece to find a parallel.

In most parts of Europe the class-conscious wage-workers have built up great co-operative institutions, whose turnover runs high into the millions of dollars every year, and which not only give their members a large measure of relief from the high cost of living, but also contribute largely to the support of the labor press, to the campaign funds of the workers' political parties, and to the support of the unions in hard-fought strikes and lockouts. Here in the United States the achievements on the field of workers' co-operation—if we except what has been done by the Finns and some other recent immigrant groups—are practically nil.

The working-class papers in the United States are fewer, they have a smaller circulation, and as a rule

they are of poorer quality than those of any of the great European countries. If we consider the number, the circulation, and the contents of the books and pamphlets published by working-class institutions or specifically for a working-class public, the comparison is still less flattering to our country.

If judged merely by their numerical and financial strength, the American labor unions can somewhat better stand comparison with those of the Old World. But a labor union ought not to be judged solely by the number of its members and the amount of money it handles. Its practical achievement must also be taken into account and still more its morale and the intellectual development of its members.

That the wage-workers of the United States, taking all trades and industries together, have higher real wages and a shorter work-week than their European brothers, is not to be denied. But this is explained largely, if not wholly, by the fact that this is a younger country, with a less dense population, a greater abundance of virgin resources, a larger opportunity for self-employment, and a larger demand for labor to create fixed capital. The conditions of employment were better in America than in Europe a century ago, when there was no labor movement here and very little over there. The rate of improvement has no doubt been more rapid in the Old World; and insofar as the improvement of labor conditions is due to the organized effort of the workers, the comparison is again rather unfavorable to our American union.

Most significant of all, however, is the difference in tone and spirit between the European and the American organizations of labor.

In the large majority of cases, the American union man takes a very individually utilitarian view of his organization. He regards the union as a sort of business enterprise, and the payment of dues as an investment, in return for which he is to draw dividends in the shape of higher wages and shorter hours. If the union fails to yield him these returns, or if by any chance he finds

himself in a position where he does not personally need the union's protection, he rather easily gives up his membership and his interest in it. It has very little hold on his emotions, rouses in his breast very little unselfish enthusiasm.

Again, there is comparatively little solidarity among the organizations of various trades and industries. On the whole each union, or at best each group of unions, "paddles its own canoe" and is not very much concerned if some other organization meets disasters. Such devotion as does exist among the rank and file is paid monthly to the particular union. The concept of a working class, of class solidarity and a class movement, is not generally present in the workers' minds.

Finally, there is a great lack of social idealism and of interest in large social problems. Our American rule of "No politics in the union," is almost incomprehensible to the European workman. He takes it for granted that industrial action and political action should go hand in hand, and that the labor union as well as the political party of labor should aim, not merely at the maintenance of existing standards or even the improvement of conditions within the existing system of society, but also at the establishment of a new social order, radically different from that under which we now live. This idea of the function or mission of organized labor is, on the whole, quite foreign to the minds of our American working people.

It follows that in general the labor organizations of this country have but little influence outside of their separate and limited fields, that their members are politically uneducated and inert, and that it is not difficult for the political representatives of the employing class to mislead and divide them.

All these statements as to the defects of the American labor movement of course require some qualification. There are a few exceptional unions, and there are exceptional individuals or groups within every union. But I believe all will agree that what I have said is true in the main.

Our Cleveland Locals at Work

(From our Special Cleveland Correspondent.)

A Nice Example of Solidarity

As the readers of this journal know we have here in Cleveland in a number of factories a guarantee of 41 weeks work in the year. The Sonnen-schein Cloak Company is one of these shops, and this firm has deposited 23 thousand dollars as security for performance of its condition, namely, that if any of its inside workers fail to obtain 41 weeks of regular employment, the firm is to pay the idle workers from this fund their minimum wage scale for the unemployed weeks.

The firm employs also a goodly number of contractors or sub-manufacturers that work for the trade in general and such work for this firm only. The condition is the trade, however, is such that on account of the scarcity of work the firm is not sending any work to outside shops at all. The inside workers are therefore employed while the workers on the outside are idle.

This vexing problem was taken up with the inside workers of this firm and they decided that each inside worker give up two and a half hours of work to the outside workers. So, instead of 44 hours they would work only 41 and a half, leaving the rest of the time for the outside shop workers of the Sonnen-schein firm. The

workers in this shop can truly be congratulated upon the spirit of their act.

The Assessment is Being Paid Up

The assessment of one dollar per week for 26 weeks is being paid up quite regularly. A number of women members, who pay 50 and 57 cents, have commenced paying up their share with a will, and although the conditions in the trade are far from satisfactory and many of our workers are not working full weeks or are entirely idle, the workers are endeavoring to pay the assessments regularly.

And all this is being done without noise and drum-beating but in a quiet systematic manner—to enable the Union to raise a fund and to obtain the necessary improvements in the work conditions.

Who is Talking Now?

We have a member here—but what is the difference what his name is—who never fails, at every shop or member meeting to inveigh against the union leaders and to recite how bad they are and how they are oppressed by the employers, etc., etc. According to this critic, the union allows the bosses to pay the workers small wages, the union levies too high assessments and does nothing for

the membership and similar other charges.

Then it came to pass that the union learned that he and some other operators in his shop have made a quiet pact with their employer to cut down two and a half dollars weekly from their wages. It required a week's striking subsequently to get back from this employer what the workers voluntarily conceded to him. After the rettlement, the union, as expected, fined the workers for their under-hand act.

Do you think that this has daunted our friend in any manner? Not at all! He still continues to harangue and to blame the leadership of the union, but now the effect of his wallings upon his hearers is different than before.

Quiet Before the Storm

Generally speaking it is quiet here, but it is the stillness before a storm. There is little work, and small as the earnings of our workers are, the employers do not hesitate to scribble all local trade troubles to the workers.

They are irritable and it is difficult to settle with them the least complaint. The workers too are embittered, not being able to make ends meet on account of the scarcity of their earnings. Both sides are quietly waiting for December 31 when the present agreement will come to an end.

The Best Method to Have Meetings

During the last nine months we have been carrying out a system here of fining every member a dollar who

fails to attend his or her local meeting at least once a month.

The system works very well and when a member comes to a meeting his book is stamped and fastened to prove attendance. At this stamp there is a fine of a dollar. At the beginning we found it hard to collect these dollars but later it became less difficult. They are attending meetings now regularly and those who fail to come pay and later appeal and it takes mighty good proof and a lot of hustle to get such a fine back.

A LAST WORD ON EUROPE

(Continued from page 2.)

have proved what damage the war and its psychosis has done to all protective labor organization.

One thing which may be interesting to our workers which is having a very lively revival in the spirit of co-operation and the co-operative movement among workers, not only in the field of production and consumption, but also in health matters. I have visited a number of industrial clinics, arranged for and by workers, and have been surprised at their excellence and the fine spirit in which they are conducted. We here, in the United States are certainly far behind in co-operative work generally, and in medical work specially, and it is about time the workers woke up and began to help themselves in those matters as well.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

THE MINERS' VICTORY

It was a long, drawn-out fight, a contest that seemed at times to be beyond the endurance of the miners. It was not an easy matter to go for months without earnings, to go for months without the prime necessities of living, let alone the few and limited comforts of life that a miner's family may aspire to.

But the miners stuck it out to the last hour. They vowed that not another penny of their earnings be absorbed by the mine barons and they did not waver one inch from their position. They determined to accept no "arbitration" and to hold firmly to the principle of collective bargaining and they resolutely adhered to their pledge. They foresaw that the slightest compromise on these fundamentals might lead to the weakening of their organization and they swore to stay in the fight as long as necessary and at whatever cost it might entail. It is this firmness, this endurance, this heroic resistance despite all allurements and temptation from within and without—that constitutes the real victory upon which the labor movement congratulates the United Mine Workers of America today.

It is difficult, indeed, to find in the history of the labor movement a conflict that was fought under greater disadvantages than the recent miners' strike. The sheer material sufferings caused by this conflict, great as they were, have been a mere trifle as compared with the spiritual persecutions, the incitements, and the campaign of slander waged by the entire press against these brave men. The miners were painted before the country as a unconscionable gang of marauders bent on freezing thousands of babies to death in the coming winter storms, on starving half of America and ruining the other half—all because they would not let their benevolent employers "adjust" their wages and cease dealing with them as a nationally organized union of workers! Their leaders, Lewis and others, were portrayed as tyrants, dictators and unreasonable fellows of the meanest kind.

As against this torrent of abuse, the miners held out for long and weary months through sheer faith in the greatness and justice of their cause and their confidence in themselves, their leaders and their organization. It would seem that the miners are not a bit discouraged about these "preachers of humanity" that have been advising them to desert their union. Their sweet sermons fell upon deaf ears: The mines stayed empty regardless of the avalanche of "moral persuasion" heaped upon the miners until the mine magnates came to terms.

The will of the United Mine Workers triumphed over the violent tactics of the mine owners and the concerted force of the constituted powers that stood behind the coal barons. Little David dropped the colossal Goliath and scored a clean-cut victory not only for the coal diggers but for every man and woman in the land who toils for a living. There needn't be any illusion about this fact either. Had the attempt of the mine magnates succeeded and the wages of the miners reduced; had the scheme of the mine owners not to negotiate with the leaders of the United Mine Workers upon a national scale carried out, it would have been not only a blow to the miners' cause but a death blow to American trade unionism. It is true, our own International Union, our Cloakmakers' Union, was the first one to repulse decisively the attempt of the employers in our industry to cut wages and break agreements. Nevertheless, important as our victory was for the general labor movement, a defeat for the miners, representing one of the basic industries of the land, would have meant a definite setback for the entire labor movement.

But the miners have won and we can reasonably expect that for a long time we shall not hear now of attempts on the part of organized capital to cut wages and to break labor unions. The coal barons have lost their first and most important battle against the united miners and the workers' victory was truly a wonderful gift presented by them to their fellow workers all over the country on Labor Day. The clarion call of President Gompers in his Labor Day message: "Organize, organize, organize!" never sounded more true and more appropriate.

For, essentially this is the great lesson of the miners' strike. If not for their organization, who would have wasted a minute's time upon these unfortunate coal diggers. As in the days before they got together and formed a powerful union, they would have been treated as the lowest among the lowly, and terribly difficult as their work is, they would have been among the meanest paid workers in the country. But the miners are united, and how changed things are! They gnash their teeth at them, they swear at them, they curse them as "monopolists" that hold America in their grip,—but they respect them. Cabinet mem-

bers go to confer with their leader, a former miner; senators try their hardest to wrest concessions from their representatives; President Harding threatens them but is compelled to admit publicly that against the united miners he is powerless.

Therein lies the key to power. We cannot think of a greater demonstration of labor unity and of clarity of aim and purpose than this victory of the 600,000 underground toilers.

THE INJUNCTION AGAINST THE RAILWAY SHOPMEN

All America gasped last Friday at the news of the temporary injunction obtained by the Department of Justice against the striking shopmen. The amazement was of a double nature: first, our truth-loving press had pretty nearly convinced our public that the shopmen's strike was practically lost; that the railways are running on schedule and that the repair shops are filled with the required quota of workers. Moreover, we were told that the strikers themselves are besieging, by the thousands, the employment offices of the railways begging to be taken back to work. "The public read these reports" in the newspapers and believed,—for aren't we a gullible and easily-convinced nation?

And here, of a sudden, comes Attorney-General Daugherty, before a Chicago federal judge and demands an injunction against the strikers because the country is in immediate danger of a complete breakdown of transportation and because it lacks locomotives fit to move trains. The good public read and became bewildered. Only yesterday they had been led to believe that everything is running according to schedule, that the strikers are stamped back to work—and here, overnight, they are informed, by the highest authority, that if permitted to continue, the strike will lead, very soon, to a total suspension of transportation. This news came to our credulous public truly like a bolt from the clear blue.

The second source of astonishment lay in the injunction itself. American courts have never shown cupidity with regard to granting injunctions against strikers. But the injunction as demanded and obtained by Attorney General Daugherty is, indeed, a hair-raiser. According to the terms of this writ, the strikers are not permitted to converse with any of the strike-breakers, they must not hold meetings, they must not write or breathe to anybody about the strike, they must not ask for or divide funds or give aid in any other form to the strikers and a number of other similar prohibitions.

Yet, remarkable as it may seem, the injunction, which is almost a week old at this writing, had not only not brought the strike to an end but gave it a powerful impetus. The organized workers of America—we are not sure as to whether we are permitted to say so, according to the terms of the injunction, but we take our chance—who were heretofore indifferent to the shopmen's strike, as many of them thought that the strike was really a lost one, have now become deeply concerned over it. The events of the last few days prove strongly that the American workers have finally come to realize that the fight against government by injunction cannot be delayed much longer.

It would seem, therefore, that the injunction has had just the opposite effect than what our Washington administration had expected. The injunction which was supposed to have been the last shovel of earth upon the grave of the shopmen's strike has, in fact, the "corps" which is now announcing in-stentorian tones to the world that its death was rather prematurely announced.

Samuel Gompers deserves full credit for his brave stand against this temporary injunction as soon as it was announced. Gompers was the first who began speaking of the possibility of a general strike against this assault upon the civil liberties of the American workers. Gompers was the first who, after the injunction was issued, in a letter to Mr. Jewell, the President of the Federated Railway Shopmen Crafts, pledged himself and the entire American Federation of Labor to help the strikers with all the resources at their command, something which could have been interpreted by some cunning legal talent as a violation of the injunction. Indeed, they are worrying their heads these days in Washington about Gompers and wondering how they can silence him.

Moreover, the entire capitalist press which, at the beginning, reported with much glee the news about the injunction, feels as if overtaken by a katzenjammer. The press admits that Daugherty had said things which should have been left unsaid; that his portrayal of the depedated state of the railways on account of the shopmen's strike has added courage to the strikers. The press also admits that the injunction was "a little bit too much." They discuss the possibility of strongly "modyfying" this temporary injunction when it comes before a final hearing in the next few days. Here is what even the "New York Times" says editorially about the injunction on Monday last:

"It is important to note exactly what has happened. A federal judge, on the application of the Attorney General of the United States, has granted a sweeping injunction. But it is only temporary. The court will be open, a week from today, to hear the counsel for the shopmen's union. As a result of the argument, the injunction may not be made permanent; more probably it may be seriously modified. It is already intimated from Washington that Attorney General himself will ask for alterations. He may move to strike out certain parts that are apparently not warranted by Federal law or are in conflict with it, and to omit provisions that, whether legally justified or not, are manifestly absurd and incapable of execution.

The fact that the "Times" does not suit its taste but because this injunction has brought out in held relief the senselessness and brutality of injunctions in general; because the

"Union Men" in Congress

By B. MAIMAN

(Special Washington Correspondence to "Justice")

I had an interesting talk this week with a Congressman, who was at one time a railroad worker, a leader of a union of railroad men and is still a member of his union. He was elected to Congress with the aid of organized labor. The name of this Congressman is John G. Cooper, of Wisconsin.

What led me to seek an interview with this Congressman Cooper was the following:

There is in the House of Representatives a member by name George Huddleston, who fills in the House about the same position which La Follette occupies in the Senate. Huddleston is always alert, and is always on the right side of practically every important question. Since President Harding delivered his "famous" speech to Congress a few weeks ago, reviewing the history of the strike and plans how to "handle" it, from his own point of view, Huddleston became terribly anxious to reply to him. He finally got the chance last week and in blunt words spoke right out that the President was unjust to the railway workers and the miners; that he misrepresented the causes and the history of the pending strikes and the attempts to settle them; that he minimized the criminal conduct of the employers and magnified tremendously the faults of the unions, and that he, President Harding, had no right to condemn the workers and spread propaganda against them.

And of all members of Congress, who do you think rushed to the defense of the President? No other than John G. Cooper, himself a former editor of a railway union and a reputed spokesman of union workers in Congress. "Show me where and when did the President condemn the workers? Where and when did he insult the union men?" Cooper thundered at Huddleston, quoted a part from the President's speech which Harding states that he is also "against the extremists among the employers who would wreck the unions" and demands that the legislators be "fair to both sides; that they be entirely impartial and against the extreme elements in both camps." "That was the attitude of the President in his last message!" exclaimed the "trade union" Congressman from Wisconsin.

It was this incident that moved me to seek an interview with the Wisconsin Congressman. I went to him to inquire whether he, a former fireman or engineer, believes, as the President does, that railway men are in a "conspiracy" to hinder interstate transportation when they go out on strike. I wanted to learn from him what he believed his union would think about his attitude in Congress. I had a bundle of questions to propound to him, but John Cooper took the wind out of my sails right at the

very beginning of our conversation. He told me:

"I was not elected by my union but by the Republican Party. I am first of all a Republican Congressman."

I felt foolish, though I could not help realizing at the same time that he was right. First of all, he is a Republican Congressman because it was the Republican Party and not the union that nominated and elected him. He sits in Congress, therefore, not as a trade unionist but as a Republican politician. And Cooper is not only one in this class. There is Burke from Pennsylvania, Zihlman from Maryland, Meade from New York, Nolan from California—all men who are still members of their unions and former officers of these unions and were nominated, beyond doubt, by their political parties because they were presumed to have had the votes of the workers "in their vest pockets." Did the reader ever hear anything about these "union men" in Congress saying a good word with regard to the present great strikes, proposing something favorable for the workers or resenting the slandering of unions?

There are in the House a few members who were railroad workers. A few months ago they had made a display of this fact in a peculiar American manner. A few of them had donned overalls and took entire charge of a train. One was the engineer, another a fireman, a third a conductor, a fourth a brakeman, etc., etc. Naturally, by mere accident, there were present there and then a host of photographers with cameras who photographed these Congressmen in overalls as they were burying themselves around the engine. A moving picture of the train, as it was piloted into the Washington depot by this Congressional crew, was also accidentally taken. Have these railway men in Congress had a word to say against the action of the Republican administration in the drawn-out fight of the railway men against the owners? Perish the thought!

I did not interview all these "labor" Congressmen for John Cooper gave me the proper answer for all of them which in substance amounted to this:

They were not nominated and elected by labor unions but by the Republican or the Democratic party. They are, first of all, Republicans and Democrats in Congress. The unions, therefore, have no reason to expect anything from them.

Congressman Cooper tried to prove to me for a half hour that the railroads can be operated better in private hands than under the control of the government. "I am generally, in principle, against the taking over of private property by government," Cooper told me. William J. Burke of Pittsburgh, Pa., also a union man, is for the taking over of the coal

mines by the Government but is against the nationalizing of the railroads. This is characteristic of the attitude of the other union men in Congress.

I shall cite another typical incident which will throw light upon the "progressive" spirit of these men in Congress: A few days ago when Congress was discussing the bill for creating a Fact-Finding Commission in the coal industry, Congressman Meyer London introduced an amendment which would make it possible for dissenting members of the Commission to bring in a minority report. As the bill is framed at present, it can only report the opinion of the majority. London argued that if the Commission is to be created for the purpose of finding out all and everything about the mines from every point of view, it is just that the minority as well as the majority should be heard, he also given an opportunity to be heard. The Democratic floor leader in the house was so impressed by the fairness of this demand that he did everything in his power to force the amendment through. I sat in the press galleries and watched that former officer and present member of the railroad union, John G. Cooper, eager to find out how he would vote in this matter. Of course he voted against the amendment. He would not have a representative of labor on that Commission and was even opposed to a minority report by any of his own President's appointees on the Commission!

There is a lesson in this for the organized workers in this country, and it teaches them what they can expect by electing labor candidates through the Republican or the Democratic parties. The best union man elected as a Republican is first of all a Republican and will do what the Republican machine dictates to him. In every important election during the last few decades, American labor unions have sought to influence the two great political parties to nominate so-called "friends of labor." The result of all these endeavors has been nil. Even the few union men who were nominated by the other parties, have turned to be like Faust after he had sold his soul to the Devil. They are true and loyal only to the party which elected them.

It is high time that labor unions cease hitching their star to the chariot of the two capitalist parties and enter independent politics. Until now the American unions have argued that the Socialist Party is also a political party only and cannot be relied upon to represent their interests all the time. But now that the Socialist Party is united with the Farmer Labor Party and all other genuinely progressive elements, it is reasonable to expect that the organized workers should declare their political independence and elect their candidates on their own party ticket. Then, and only then, will we have representatives of unions in Congress. Today we have no such men in the House of Representatives.



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ATTENTION OF MEMBERS OF LOCAL 53, PHILADELPHIA

A special meeting of Local 53 will be held on
Saturday, September 9th, at 1:00 P. M. sharp, at 232
North 9th Street.

Very important questions to be taken up.

DO NOT FAIL TO BE PRESENT

"Times" and all others feel that this injunction, which was aimed to help the railway executives in their "noble" fight against unionism, has only aided the strikers in their fight for their individual rights as workers and for the existence of their union. "As a matter of fact, it is the railway companies that criticize the Attorney General now for his move against the strikers and who are thoroughly disgusted with the action of the Washington Administration." It need not be explained that the Attorney General in this case has acted only as the agent of Harding and his Cabinet.

The bold and quick stand of President Gompers in protesting against the injunction and in acting against the spirit of the injunction—regardless of whatever consequence it might entail to him personally—deserves high praise and credit. Of course, it is difficult to say how the American public would have faced this event had Samuel Gompers remained silent. But he was the first to break the ice, and his few courageous words and the hint of a possible general strike have amply expressed the strong

and high feelings of the great masses of American workers with regard to this important event. It was a great service to the cause of American labor.

Again we wish to call the attention of the readers to the fact that in this injunction affair the government stands practically isolated. The Senate and the House are significantly languid and their members so far refuse to comment upon the injunction. We do not know whether they are silent because they do not favor such "strong" actions that remind one of present-day dictatorial tactics in Russia, or because we are on the eve of Congressional elections and the vote of a worker is, after all, as good as the vote of a railroad owner. However that may be, not a word has been heard from them as yet with regard to this latest unsavory injunction stunt. The position of the Washington administration has become far from comfortable while the stocks of the shopmen have risen considerably. There is reason for hope; indeed, that soon, very soon, the labor movement of America will be in a position to celebrate another great victory.

ATTENTION

RUSSIAN-POLISH CLOAKMAKERS!

The regular meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch will take place on Monday, September 11th, at 7:30 p. m. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th Street.

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

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

UNIQUE CONCERT
AT TOWN HALL

On Sunday evening, October 15, there will be staged at Town Hall, on West 43rd Street, an extraordinary musical event rarely given in these parts. It will be a Ukrainian folk-song and operatic recital by Miss Sonia Radina, a well-known dramatic soprano and Ukrainian operatic singer now in this city. Victor Fran-

ski will assist Miss Radina at the piano.

Saul Baroff, a promising young violinist, will also appear in this concert in addition to playing several pieces in obligato with Miss Radina.

The program will consist exclusively of Little-Russian songs and selections from famous operas in the Ukrainian language.

Tickets are already obtainable at the box office of the Town Hall.

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The Unity Centers will be reopened on September 11th. Those of our members who wish to join them, register at once, at the Educational Department—3 West 16th Street, or at the offices of their Local Unions.

Patronize Our Advertisers

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

TO OUR POSTOFFICES

President Harding and administration leaders in Congress approve Postmaster Work's proposal for government ownership of all postoffices. Experts estimate that it will save the government \$50,000,000 in ten years.

CO-OPERATIVE DAIRY

The New York Dairymen's League Co-operative Association has purchased the wholesale milk business and property of the Levi Dairy Company, including its large bottling and delivery plant in New York City and twenty-two company milk plants.

WHICH SIDE OF THE FENCE?

The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations promises to be the main issue in Kansas in the November elections, with the labor unions and the Democratic party opposing the court and the Republican Party unreservedly supporting it.

RUSSIA'S COMMISSION DROPPED

The State Department announces that it has dropped its plan for an economic commission to investigate Soviet Russia, due to Soviet insistence upon a reciprocal investigation of American conditions by a Soviet Commission.

TAX COLLECTIONS DECREASE

Total income and profits taxes collections have fallen from \$3,228,137,873 in 1921 to \$2,687,946,243 in 1922, declares a statement issued at Washington yesterday by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The decrease is \$1,540,191,629.

SOVIETS SEND 65 TO UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA TO STUDY

Sixty-five young men and women, citizens of Russia, have entered the University of California as students. They are sent here by the Soviet Government, and after their training in engineering and other technical lines will return to Russia and the government service there. Their expenses are being paid by the Soviet Republic.

"MOTHER" JONES TOO ILL TO AID RAIL STRIKERS

"Mother" Jones, unofficial labor leader, especially in times of industrial strife, is critically ill at the home of friends here. The frailties of her ninety-two years, many of which were spent in strenuous activities of men and women engaged in strikes, were augmented recently as a result of labor work in Colorado, according to attending physicians.

Inquiries instituted by those who missed mention in reports of the railroad shompen's strike of "Mother" Jones' activities in her usual capacity brought information of her condition and the statement that she was not aware of the transportation walkout. It is the first strike, "Mother" Jones' friends declare, in which she has not had an active part since she began taking interest in labor troubles as a school teacher in Chicago, many years ago.

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD

The U. S. Department of Labor, through the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has completed the compilations showing changes in the retail cost of food in 26 representative cities of the United States.

For the year period, August 15, 1921, to August 15, 1922, the cost of food in these cities decreased as follows: Kansas City and Manchester, 14 per cent; Indianapolis, Milwaukee, and Providence, 13 per cent; Bridgeport, Norfolk, St. Paul, and Springfield, Ill., 12 per cent; Chicago, Detroit, Peoria, Philadelphia, Rochester, and Washington, D. C., 11 per cent; Buffalo, New York, Portland, Me., and St. Louis, 10 per cent; Baltimore and New Haven, 9 per cent; Richmond, 8 per cent; Omaha, 7 per cent; Little Rock and Los Angeles, 6 per cent; and Dallas, 4 per cent.

As compared with the average in the year 1913, the retail cost of food on August 15, 1922, was 51 per cent higher in Richmond; 47 per cent in Washington, D. C.; 44 per cent in Buffalo, Detroit, and Providence; 43 per cent in Baltimore, Chicago, and New York; 42 per cent in Dallas; 39 per cent in Manchester, Milwaukee, New Haven, and St. Louis; 37 per cent in Philadelphia; 36 per cent in Omaha; 35 per cent in Little Rock; 33 per cent in Kansas City; and 32 per cent in Indianapolis and Los Angeles. Prices were not obtained from Bridgeport, Norfolk, Peoria, Portland, Me., Rochester, St. Paul, and Springfield, Ill., in 1913; hence no comparison for the 9-year period can be given for these cities.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

BRITISH CO-OPERATION IN GERMANY

Fifty-nine British Co-operators have recently returned from a visit to Germany, where they went to seek first-hand information about German conditions. Mr. Seltmann, a leader of the German co-operative movement, said at a dinner given to the visitors at Leipzig that "co-operators have a special function to perform in clearing up misunderstandings existing between the nations of the earth." In his reply, Mr. Joseph Reeves said the co-operative movement had always stood for peace, and "with a lively labor and co-operative movement in every country in Europe, we shall be able so to influence the policy of governments that ultimately we shall see established the United States of Europe."

The formation of an international co-operative wholesale society has been suggested by W. B. Neville, secretary of the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society.

BUILDERS AND HOUSES

At the annual conference of Building Trades Operatives, George Hicks remarked in his presidential address that "it is amazing with 100,000 building trades operatives out of work, and with a million houses wanted, the Ministry of Health still holds up the provision of homes." It is this anomaly of the capitalist system that has brought into being the formation of the Building Guilds, and recently of "Guild Housing, Limited," an organization which will raise money to build houses by the sale of Guild Housing Bonds, and will build the houses under Guild control. The Building Guild itself is also launching a housing scheme on similar lines, and there is plenty of room for both schemes.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN ENGLAND

The total number of workpeople registered at unemployment exchanges as unemployed on July 31 was 1,400,000, of whom 1,151,000 were men and 170,000 women.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE BABIES

According to the annual report just issued by the medical officer of the Monmouthshire Maternity and Child Welfare Committee, the nation is paying dearly for its "economy" policy, especially in regard to the disastrous poverty prevailing owing to unemployment. He notices the increase in stillborn babies, owing to the undernourishment of the mothers, also in those who only survive for one week; and says he never remembers "so many babies weighing about four pounds on their first visit to the centres." Provision of free milk would do much to stop this misery, but the economy campaign stands in the way of this.

UNIONS TAKE OVER PAPER

Financial responsibility for The Daily Herald has been assumed by the Trade Union Congress now in session at Southport. Funds are being provided by a levy of three pence on each member.

Hamilton Fyfe, who has been the editor of several London papers and a special correspondent in many lands, has been appointed editor of The Herald, which becomes the official organ of the labor movement.

HUNGARY

THOUSANDS ON STRIKE

Hungary is swept by a tidal wave of strikes. 30,000 metal workers are out; mill workers, wood-workers and newspaper distributors have ceased work. . . . In many other trades the smouldering unrest has burst into flame and it is estimated that 50,000 laborers are striking.

RUSSIA

THE RUSSIAN FAMINE

It appears from reports issued by the American Relief Administration that both in the Volga valley and in the Ukraine the famine has now been got under control and no deaths from actual starvation are occurring in these districts. There is, however, a vast amount of under-nourishment and reports as to the harvest continue to be conflicting. James W. Spratt, an American relief worker now in London, considers that if transport facilities were perfect and the crop could be distributed equally and with careful economy there would be just enough to go round. The crop is magnificent in some districts and non-existent in others, he says, and there will in any case be none for export.

PANAMA

PANAMA DEPUTIES RIOTOUS

The Assembly again adjourned in an uproar today, the session lasting only thirty minutes. On calling the roll the secretary omitted the names of Deputies Arias and Alvarado, who are under charges, the president explaining that they could no longer be deputies, having been suspended by the Supreme Court and the National Assembly.

The minority members raised a great outcry at this, and finally walked out of the building.

JAPAN

JAPANESE QUITTING SIBERIA

Japanese military evacuation of Siberia started yesterday. The transport Kumamoto took the first contingent of troops to Japan.

The second transport is scheduled to sail today.

AUSTRIA

NO NEWSPAPERS IN AUSTRIA

The printers' strike is spreading and no newspapers are published in Austria.

The strikers say they possess considerable funds sent by their colleagues in Holland, and therefore are prepared for a strike of long duration.

Educational Comment and Notes

Extracts from a Report Submitted to the Conference of Sixteen of the National Trade Unions of Great Britain

(Continued From Last Week)

CONCLUSION

It is our firm conviction that the question of educational facilities for trade unionists is of vital importance to the future of the workers.

We hope that consideration of this report will pave the way to an important step forward in the provision of educational facilities for the trade union movement.

Already many trade unions as organizations and many trade unionists have played a great part in the movement for adult education, and we are convinced that the time is now ripe for the co-ordination of activities without in any way affecting the independence of specific educational organizations concerned.

(Signed)

ARTHUR PUGH, Chairman,
Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.
J. BAKER,
Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.
T. W. BURDEN,
Railway Clerks' Association.
ELEANOR CALTHROP,
National Federation of Women Workers.

T. CHAMBERS,
National Sailors and Firemen's Union.
E. DENNISON,
Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.
I. FINDLAY,
United Pattern Workers' Association.

W. F. HOBBS,
Workers' Union.
W. JOHNS,
National Asylum Workers' Union.

A. CRECH JONES,
National Union of Docks, Wharves, and Shipping Staffs.

W. C. KEAY,
Nat. Fed. Professional, Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Workers.

W. W. MESSER,
Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society.

G. MIDDLETON,
Union of Postal Workers.

E. H. SMITH,
Post-Office Engineering Union.
ANNIE SOMERS,
National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers.

MAE TALBOT,
Nat. Amal. Union of Shop Assistants, Etc.

H. H. TAVENDER,
Amal. Society of Woodworkers.

F. WINGATE,
Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers.

G. D. H. COLE,
ARTHUR GREENWOOD,
Co-opted Members.

J. M. MACFARLISH, Secy.,
National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers.

E. W. WIMBLE,
Assistant Secretary.
London, May 21, 1922.

APPENDIX III.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR WOMEN TRADE UNIONISTS

The committee as a whole feel very strongly that in adult education there should be no differentiation between the sexes, and that wherever possible co-education should be aimed at, and, where this is possible that the suggestions made in the main section of the report cater quite adequately for the needs of women.

There are, however, certain circumstances in which the setting up

of special facilities for women only is advisable.

It is a well-known fact that no woman works an eight-hour day, and even from her early school days the demand of work in the home leaves very little opportunity for leisure to study.

Many women, would very much like the chance to attend classes, but, not unnaturally, they are shy and lacking in self-confidence, and feel they are not fitted to enter mixed classes. After a period of preparatory coaching among their own sex they will be ready and eager to cross swords with the men.

The same problem applies very largely in trade union branches. It has been proved that in mixed branches the great majority of the officials and the moving spirits are men. This again is partly due to timidity, and partly to the fact that in the past women have not had the same opportunities as men for experience in public work. On the other hand, it was the experience of the National Federation of Women Workers, whose membership was entirely composed of women, and of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, where, by reason of organization by trade, one large branch consists only of women, that members were able and willing to take office in their branches, and proved themselves capable and efficient. This, we think, goes to prove that it is certainly not lack of ability which keeps women in the background, and that, given the opportunity of practice amongst themselves in debating and union administration, the difficulty experienced in mixed branches would very quickly be overcome.

From the experience of the N. F. W. W. and other organizations it is evident that there are four definite ways in which the special needs of the average working woman can best be met.

Ruskin College in 1919 extended its benefits to women. Here the scheme is entirely co-educational. The women attend all lectures and classes in the college itself and take their full share in the college life.

The Labour College does not, we believe, make any provision for residential women students, although women are admitted to all classes and lectures, but we understand that immediately there is any demand for women's organizations, full facilities for residence within the college will be forthcoming.

In addition to these there are one or two small colleges for working women, but not under definite trade union control.

In America, very interesting experiments have been made by the education committee of a trade union known as the International Ladies' Garment Workers, including the purchase of a big estate once belonging to one of America's multi-millionaires and its conversion into a summer home and school for their members.

The advantages of educational facilities for trade unionists are apparent for men and women alike, but, furthermore, there is an especial value where women are concerned. The woman in industry today will soon, in all probability, be the wife of an industrial worker, whose trade

Opening of Our Unity Centers

Our Unity Centers open for instruction on Monday, September 11th.

The classes will be organized as before for members of the International only.

The schedule of courses for the coming season will include:

1. English, for beginners, elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school.
2. Arithmetic, civics and psychology.
3. Instruction on the Care of Health and in Physical Training.
4. Classes in Labor and Unionism and Applied Economics.

The classes in Labor and Unionism will deal with the history of the labor movement in the United States and the principles and methods of trade unionism. The first will consist of a comparative study of the development of industries in this country and the

rise of the labor movement. The second will be a survey of the beginnings of trade unionism in the United States and the industrial conditions responsible for its growth. There will be several other courses given on this subject.

There will also be several interesting courses on Applied Economics. These will deal with economic problems and the workers, and modern economic institutions.

This is the sixth season of our educational work and we want our members to join the classes in larger numbers than ever before.

Members are urged to register at once in the offices of their local unions, at the office of our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, or at any of the eight Unity Centers given below:

EAST SIDE UNITY CENTER,

P. S. 63, Fourth Street, near First Avenue, Manhattan

WAISTMAKERS' UNITY CENTER,

P. S. 40, 320 East 20th Street, Manhattan

HARLEM UNITY CENTER

P. S. 171, 103rd Street, between Madison and Fifth Aves., Manhattan

BRONX UNITY CENTER,

P. S. 61, Cortona Park E. and Charlotte St., Bronx

SECOND BRONX UNITY CENTER,

P. S. 42, Washington Ave. and Claremont Parkway

LOWER BRONX UNITY CENTER,

P. S. 43, Brown Place and 135th Street, Bronx

BROOKLYN UNITY CENTER,

P. S. 84, Stone and Glenmore Avenues, Brooklyn

WILLIAMSBURG UNITY CENTER,

P. S. 147, Bushwick Ave. and McKibben St., Brooklyn

Students Will Tender Reception. to Fannia M. Cohn

The reception to Fannia M. Cohn, arranged by the Students' Council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers, will take place on Saturday, September 16th, at 7:30 p. m., in the Council Room of the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th Street.

This is to be a little "welcome home" party on the occasion of Miss Cohn's return from Europe, where she at-

tended the First International Conference on Workers' Education at Brussels as a delegate of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Among those present will be the officers of the Union, the student body, the teachers and some of Miss Cohn's friends.

Members are cordially invited.

International Students Hike Next Sunday

Next Sunday, September 10th, the students of our Workers' University and Unity Centers, and their friends, will have their final outing of the season. All those who participated in the different hikes, excursions, etc., arranged by the Students' Council during the summer, are invited to

join.

At 10 a. m. sharp Sunday morning, the Arrangements Committee will await the members of the party at Staten Island Ferry. All those wishing to participate please be on time. Bring your lunches and be prepared for a day of outdoor sports.

union activities will be influenced in some measure by the degree of her enthusiasm for the cause, and, still more important, she will be the mother of the workers of the future, in whom it is to be hoped she will be able to instill trade union principles during their early years. From this point of view the trade unions might even consider how far it would be well to provide similar educational facilities for the women whose domestic duties have taken them out of industrial life.

In conclusion, we strongly recommend the setting up of a women's committee to put into operation the above recommendations.

(Signed)

ELEANOR CALTHROP,

(Chairman) Nat. Union of General

Workers (Women's Section).

DOROTHY EVANS,
Nat. Fed. Professional, etc., Workers,
and Assoc. of Women Clerks and Secretaries.

M. GRUBB,
Nat. Union of Docks, etc., Staffs.

M. L. HERRING,
Postal Workers' Union.

K. MANICOM,
Workers' Union.

E. O. ORMAN,
Railway Clerks' Association.

ANNIE SOMERS,
Nat. Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers.

MAE TALBOT,
Amal. Union of Shop Assistants,
Warehousemen, and Clerks.

MAUD H. HEERZ,
(Secretary).

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

Bro. Harry Berlin, Chairman,

OUTSIDE COMMITTEES

A committee of the Federated R. R. Shop Crafts consisting of Brother Ralph Gosh, of 522 East 128th Street, bearing credentials from the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, appeared and after giving a lengthy outline upon the situation in the strike of the railroad shupmen, appeared for financial aid. He stated that the strikers arranged a drawing for which purpose they are selling tickets and requested the Joint Board to purchase same. The chairman informed the committee that our Board of Directors had already taken up the question of aiding the railroad strikers and submitted a recommendation to that effect to our Joint Board, which will be taken up later for final decision. He also assured the committee that our members are fully in sympathy with their cause and will undoubtedly render every possible assistance in their fight for the maintenance of union standards.

A member of Local No. 23, appeared and stated that he was discharged by the firm, Arcadia Dress Company, 56 West 22nd Street, which is controlled by our Joint Board and where he was employed for a period of six months, the firm's contention being that he copied some of its samples and gave out the styles to a rival firm. He thereupon complained of wrongful discharge to our office, but the business agent sustained the action of the firm. The member protested his guilt and requested the Joint Board to investigate thoroughly.

Sister Miriam Levine, the business agent of the district informed the Board that upon investigation of the complaint the guilt of the discharged brother was established beyond a doubt and on that ground she dropped the case. A motion was made to sustain the action of the business agent and an amendment was offered and carried to the effect that the entire matter be left to a special committee to be appointed by the Joint Board, which shall make a thorough investigation and render a decision.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS' REPORT

The report of the Board of Directors of August 26th reads as follows:

"Sister Rogoff, a member of Local No. 22, appeared before the Board and stated that she was employed, together with a friend, by the firm of B. Geist, and that said firm went into bankruptcy some time ago. The Joint Board turned over the workers' claims for wages to our attorney, Morris Rothenberg, who succeeded in collecting 78 per cent of the wages due all workers except \$74 due Miss Rogoff and her friend, as this claim had been by error omitted from the list presented to our attorney for collection.

Miss Rogoff claims, therefore, that since she and her friend presented their claims in due time, they are not responsible for the error committed at our office and should therefore not be made to suffer the loss of the wages due them. The Board of Directors, after due deliberation, agreed as to the justification of Miss Rogoff's claim and they decided thereupon that Miss Rogoff and her friend shall be paid out of the Joint Board's treasury the sum of \$25 each.

Sister Goodman called the attention of the Board of Directors to the decision of our Joint Board to donate \$50 to the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia and she stated that that organization has made all preparations to begin their work in Russia and that they are greatly in need of

all funds pledged to them by the various organizations. She requests, therefore, that the Board of Directors instruct its secretary to forward immediately our check for \$50. Upon motion it was decided to instruct the secretary to inquire of the secretaries of our affiliated locals as to whether this decision of the Joint Board had been approved by them and if the majority of the locals decided favorably the check shall be forwarded immediately.

A communication was received from the American Federation of Labor requesting financial aid for the striking railroad workers. After due deliberation it was decided that:

a. The Joint Board shall donate \$300 to the railroad strikers.

b. We are to send a letter to Brother Baruch, general secretary of the I. L. G. W. U., requesting him to call a conference of the Executive Boards of all the New York locals for the purpose of discussing ways and means by which to further assist these strikers.

c. To instruct our manager, Brother Hochman, to send a letter to the A. F. of L. along with our check for \$300 criticizing their method of conducting the railroad strike.

A communication was received from Local No. 89 enclosing a letter and circular from the Socialist Labor party in which they request financial aid for the political prisoners who are members of the International Industrial Union and the Socialist Labor party. Upon motion this communication was referred to the Finance Committee for investigation and action.

As for the situation in the strike of the embroidery shops, Brother Hochman reported that the majority of the embroidery manufacturers have signed individual agreements with the union, with the exception of a small group who offered very stubborn resistance. Brother Hochman feels, however, that they, too, will soon be forced to agree to the union's terms.

In so far as the general conduct of the strike is concerned, everything seems to be in satisfactory shape; all committees are very active and are rendering valuable services. He also added that Brothers Riesel and Berlin and Sister Kronhardt were elected as relief committee for the striking embroidery workers.

Upon motion Brother Hochman's report was approved.

Brother Horowitz, chief clerk of the Association Department, reported that Local No. 22 has not as yet sent in the additional business agent to fill their quota and on this account he is greatly handicapped in his work. He further stated that even when this additional clerk of Local No. 22 will come in, at least one more clerk will be needed in order that he may be able to maintain a proper control over the shops in his district.

Brother Horowitz further stated that he is not in a position to give a detailed account of the routine work in his department due to the fact that most of the girls of the staff were away on their vacations, and on account of that he could not compile the necessary data. Brother Horowitz also reported that since the union party is firm stand in controlling the jobs, the association changed their attitude towards the union and they are co-operating with us in every possible manner.

Upon motion Brother Horowitz's report was approved and the secretary was instructed to send a letter to Local No. 22 requesting them to

send in their additional business agent without delay.

Upon motion the report was taken up serially. The first and second recommendations were approved. The third recommendation, which deals with aiding the railroad strikers, was taken up for discussion and after due deliberation a motion was made that same be approved with the provision that the Finance Committee be authorized to apportion part of the \$300 donation to aid the local railroad strikers of this city, the rest to be sent to their national organization. After due deliberation the motion was carried. The remainder of the report was approved as read.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

Under the heading of committee reports Brother Berlin reported on behalf of the committee which attended the conference on the Independent Labor Political Activities.

After giving an elaborate review of the origin of this movement and drawing a parallel as to the similarity of the American Labor party to the American Labor party, he stated that our delegation has not as yet reached any definite conclusion as to our course of action. His own opinion is, however, that the birth of the American Labor party is of great significance to the American labor movement and he believes that in the course of time, when the American Labor party will establish itself on a solid footing, that influence will disappear and will be of no consequence.

The conference was attended by about three hundred and fifty delegates representing about seventy branches of the Socialist party, forty branches of the Farmer-Labor party and the rest representing labor unions.

Brother Berlin therefore recommends that our Joint Board shall affiliate with this movement with instructions to its delegates to advocate the amalgamation of all political labor parties into the American Labor party.

Sister Rose Walkowitz, one of the delegates to the conference, moved that the Joint Board shall not affiliate with the American Labor party until all the political labor parties are united.

Brother Hochman, also one of the

delegates to the conference, spoke in support of this motion on the ground that affiliation at this time would bring about discussion in the ranks of our members. He suggested a resolution to that effect.

Brother Antonini spoke in favor of the adoption of this resolution stating at the same time that in his local the question of affiliation with the American Labor party was taken up and his local went on record as remaining neutral, leaving it to the discretion of each individual member to act in accordance with his own convictions, thus preventing political friction in their own ranks. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Next came the report of the committee which had been appointed to investigate the Russian American Industrial Corporation.

Brother Berlin reported on behalf of the committee that they interviewed the assistant secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the founders of this corporation, and being satisfied with explanations given to them recommend:

First, that our Joint Board shall purchase 100 shares of this corporation's stock at the rate of \$10 per share.

Second, that we appoint an official representative whose object it shall be to enlighten our membership on the matter of aiding this movement and who shall direct the campaign among our general membership towards purchasing shares in this corporation.

After due deliberation the committee's recommendation was adopted.

The committee on referendum submitted the following recommendations:

1. That the referendum be taken at district meetings arranged for the week of September 15th.

2. That the vote be taken by a small ballot.

3. That members more than sixteen weeks in arrears shall not be permitted to vote.

The committee's report was approved with the provision that in arranging the meetings for the referendum the committee shall consult with Brother Hochman for the purpose of making a suitable arrangement such as will not interfere with the calling of district meetings which Brother Hochman has already arranged.

Full Time Courses at Rand School

The Rand School of Social Science, New York City, is opening its fall term on September 23rd, and is now ready to register students for any of the courses. Since 1906 we have been engaged in working out the most effective courses possible in labor education. We have secured a corps of teachers of which no other labor institution in the United States can boast. And they represent not one but many points of view.

Since 1911-12, an important feature has been the Workers' Full Time Training Course which was established especially for the benefit of persons living at a distance from New York, who, if they are to enjoy the services of the school at all, can do so only by coming here for a limited period and concentrating into a short time the studies which local students may spread through two or more years.

The Full Time Training Course comprises six months of pretty intensive work. This season it will begin on Monday, November 13, and close Saturday, May 12th.

There are no hard-and-fast requirements for admission to this class.

Each case has to be judged on its own merits. Among the full-time students of the past eleven years there have been several who had not even had the advantage of a common school education. Yet it has been found practicable for them all to work together as students.

The tuition fee for this six-month course, covering the complete service of the school, is \$75. It is expected that this will in all cases be paid in full at the beginning of the term.

The cost of living will, of course, depend largely on the habits of individual students. It can hardly be estimated at less, however, than \$13 a week, or about \$350 for the whole period.

There are a few scholarships available, and there will be opportunity also for some of the students to earn a small amount by work which will not interfere with their studies.

Persons who think of taking up the Full Time Training Course should get into communication with the Educational Director at the earliest possible moment, at 7 East 12th Street, New York City.

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The readers of these columns have already been informed that the last General Meeting voted the approval of the continuation of the Sanitarium Assessment, and re-affirmed the previous decision of the general membership in granting Brothers Dubinsky and Perlmutter two weeks' vacation.

The constitutional amendment, imposing a fine of \$1.00 upon members for not attending at least one meeting every three months, has been given its well-attended meetings, as was evidenced by the last meeting. The membership fully realize that our organization is very strict in enforcing the constitution, and it therefore makes it its business to be present at meetings. This last meeting, having been advertised in the press as a special meeting, to take up the question of the Sanitarium Assessment, filled the hall to capacity.

Should an observer have come into the hall that evening, he surely would have expected the meeting to last until early hours of the morning, as it is a usual fact that the larger the assemblage, the greater the number of participants in the discussion. It seems that it was just the contrary that night, as the meeting was a very short one. This was due either to the warm weather or to the fact that the membership was perhaps not very keenly interested in the business of the organization.

The first question that came up before the body was the recommendation of the Executive Board on the Tuberculosis Assessment, and being that this recommendation was a very good one, it did not take much time to adopt it.

The second question that came up for discussion was the granting of two weeks' vacation to Brothers Dubinsky and Perlmutter some eight months ago. This proposition was not discussed at great length either, as the ruling of the chair was immediately appealed from and not sustained. The membership present was very restless, and it required a forceful speaker to hold its attention.

Brother Dubinsky, who appealed against the ruling of the chairman, presented his arguments. Brother Stoller, not being as forceful a speaker as Brother Dubinsky in presenting his reasons for the ruling, was scarcely heard. Brother Samuels, the vice-chairman, who was then presiding, could not put the question to the membership on account of the noise, and it required the assistance of Brother Charles Stein to put the matter to a vote.

As previously stated, the chairman's decision was not sustained, and immediately after the vote was taken the members present, as if agreed upon previously, began to leave, and it was impossible to conduct any further business. The question arises in our minds as to whether the membership was merely interested in two particular questions, or whether it was really the heat that forced them to leave, as our meetings very seldom adjourn at the early hour at which this one did, particularly so when there was further business to be transacted.

It has been a custom of our organization for the past number of years to conduct an affair annually, the proceeds of which go to the Relief Fund of our organization. The moneys of this fund are employed to aid those of our members who find themselves in a very bad straits, such as sickness for a long period of time, etc. The relief that the local is able to extend to these members has always been an

encouragement to these men, although the donations sometimes are comparatively small.

We are glad to say that so far no member who has appeared before the Executive Board requesting financial assistance has been sent away empty-handed. And to further this end the organization has rented Hunt's Point Palace, corner Southern Boulevard and East 163rd Street, the Bronx, for Saturday evening, January 6th, 1923.

This is our first reminder, as the Ball Committee which was appointed some time ago is beginning to make preparations for the coming event. It is hoped that the membership will keep this date open and lend its every effort towards making the affair a big success. The Ball Committee assures us that it will do all in its power to give all those present on that evening a very pleasant time.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The General Strike in the Cloak and Suit Industry has not yet fully terminated, as there are quite a number of people still out on strike. The Picket Committee is still conducting its activities from its headquarters Arlington Hall, to see that the corporation shops, which have been closed for the past few months, do not resume work. The headquarters of the workers still out on strike are located at Manhattan Lyceum. These people are mostly from "corporation" shops, who have not as yet been placed to work in the various other shops.

The Joint Board fully realizing the situation confronting it, has placed twelve additional business agents to work on a control of all the shops in the industry, with a view to having a better control so as to be more in a position to see that those still out on strike are placed to work. As yet, no definite apportionment of business agents for the various locals has been made, and it is therefore not known whether or not Local No. 10 will be granted an additional business agent. Should such an appointment be made, the logical election would be Brother Philip Ansel, present chairman of the Executive Board, and Second Vice-President of the Joint Board.

The Cloak and Suit Division did not hold any meeting last Monday due to the fact that it was Labor Day. The next meeting of this branch, which would ordinarily be on October 2d, happens to be a Jewish holiday, "Yom Kippur," or the Day of Atonement. And since it is imperative that the Cloak and Suit Division have a meeting it will be up to the Executive Board to decide at its next meeting whether October 16th or 23rd, the two Mondays of the month which is vacant, should be the Cloak and Suit meeting.

WAIST AND DRESS

The Waist and Dress Makers' Joint Board, under the able management of Brother Julius Hochman, is vigorously continuing the campaign. It has started against jobbers employing non-union contractors. The first firm against which the Joint Board declared a strike some time ago was Dorfman & Wiesen. And while the strike was being conducted against this house a satisfactory settlement was reached with the Monarch Dress Co., another big jobber. The firm of Dorfman & Wiesen, after striking for a number of weeks, realized the futility of its efforts, and finally accepted the union's conditions for settlement, including a fine

of \$1,000 and \$5,000 additional security for the future faithful performance of its side of the agreement.

These two instances, it seems, do not bring the desired results so far as other houses are concerned.

The next firm against which the Joint Board declared a strike was Wiesen, Cohen & Smith. The strike against this concern, like that against Dorfman & Wiesen, was called be-

cause of a major violation, i. e., sending out work to non-union contractors. The strike against this firm did not last more than a few days, and a settlement was reached along similar lines as that reached with Dorfman & Wiesen.

We wish to commend the Waist and Dress Makers' Joint Board upon its action in the above named cases, and we hope that they will serve as a warning to the rest of the jobbers in the industry.

The unveiling of a monument to the memory of deceased Brother Meyer Scharp, former Business Agent of Local 10, will take place on Sunday, September 10, 1922, at 1 P. M. at the Workmen's Circle-Plot, Mt. Hebron Cemetery, Long Island.

We are sure that this will be of interest to a great number of Local 10's members, who were acquainted with Brother Scharp in his lifetime and who wish to do honor to his memory.

How Our Food was Distributed in Russia

We have received the following letter from the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE telling us of the distribution of our food shipment:

Dear Friends:

You will no doubt be gratified to learn that we have just heard from our Unit in Russia concerning the distribution of the food shipment given by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. While the detailed field report showing the exact distribution of this food has not yet come to hand, we are advised that this contribution was distributed in Russian and Tartar villages in which the crops last year were a complete failure. We take it from our advice that these villages are located in the southeastern section of the Buzuluk area.

We regret to have to inform you that this section is again in a very serious condition this year. As you may perhaps know, commencing in July and extending over a period of from four to six weeks, a very serious drought and hot period occurred and the crop prospects were reduced from 40 to 80 per cent in various sections of Russia. Unfortunately this same section where the contribution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was distributed last year

has suffered very severely in this present year's drought, and their crops are "completely burnt again."

As a matter of fact, our field workmen report that the chief encouragement in the situation this year is that the relief organizations are already established, and the delay which was so serious last year will not again be encountered. The food conditions, however, are going to be almost as serious, partly on account of the shortage of the harvests and partly on account of the extreme undernourishment of the people, from which they have in no way recovered.

The clothing situation is also going to be much more serious than last year. They have killed their animals, so that they have no wool or sheep skins, and any surplus clothing that they had last year they sold in an attempt to keep alive. As the Russians themselves put it, they had eaten their clothes and this year have nothing.

We trust very much that we may again have the support and co-operation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in bringing relief to these unhappy people.

Yours sincerely,

J. AUGUSTUS CADWALLADER,
Assistant Secretary.

TENNESSEE FARMERS SAVE \$19,000 BY CO-OPERATION

Although co-operation is comparatively new in Tennessee, the Co-operative Live Stock Marketing Association organized last year by the farmers of that state have saved its members \$19,000, according to a report from the State Agricultural College. The farmers marketed co-operatively 158 cars of live stock, and the saving effected represents the difference between prices they would have received from local buyers had they sold individually and the sum secured by co-operative sale.

The Tennessee farmers are also applying co-operation to the grading and breeding of live stock in order to produce a better product for the consumers and an increased return for themselves. The farmers' co-operatives have also arranged to receive daily reports on the market values of their products, which will enable them to secure a fair market price.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Waist and Dress Monday, Sept. 11th
Miscellaneous " " 11th
General " " 25th

NOTE—There will be no meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division in September, as the first Monday falls on Labor Day.

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place