

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

—Job 27:6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 24.

New York, Friday, June 8, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

FRISCO CLOAK STRIKE SETTLED

AGREEMENT FOR ONE YEAR SIGNED

As we go to press, the General Office received a telegram from Vice-president Max Gorenstein, in charge of organizing work on the Pacific Coast, containing the information that the three-month-old strike of the cloakmakers in San Francisco has been settled. The full terms of the agreement are not disclosed in the message, save for the fact that it is entirely satisfactory to the strikers. The telegram reads as follows:

Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th St., New York.

Strike settled. Agreement reached to May 15, 1924. Satisfactory to cloakmakers who were out for thirteen weeks and to myself. Strike committee accepted it unanimously. The strikers had a meeting to-night, voting by secret ballot and decided to accept. They have returned to work as union men and as brave fighters. Letter containing details follows.

Max Gorenstein.

The readers will bear in mind that the strike of the cloakmakers in San Francisco was fought out on the issue of trade union recognition principally and was not a fight for more money or shorter working hours. It

was, in fact, the first effective move on the part of the organized workers of the Golden Gate City to resist the hitherto practically unopposed attack of the organized employers in that city on the union shop and union labor.

Behind the cloak employers in the strike there were arrayed all the corporate interests of San Francisco, in-

cluding mercantile and corporate.

But it is the belief in the righteousness of their cause, overcome even these huge odds and now the cloakmakers of San Francisco are returning to their shops as union men to work under union conditions.

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al Association,
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ditions.

Fifth Quarterly Meeting of G. E. B. Begins Next Monday Morning, June 11

WILL BE HELD IN COUNCIL ROOM OF INTERNATIONAL BUILDING, 3 WEST 16TH ST. MATTERS OF EXTRA IMPORTANCE WILL BE DISCUSSED.

PRESIDENT SIGMAN, SECRETARY BAROFF AND ALL VICE-PRESIDENTS IN CHARGE OF THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS WILL REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE UNION DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS.

Chicago Dressmakers' Union Gaining Strength

Toledo Next on the Program

The organization work among the dressmakers of Chicago is becoming more and more effective and the union is gaining strength every day. Vice-president Perlestein, the manager of the Western Department, is doing all in his power to solidify the ranks of the workers in that particular branch and his efforts are already producing results. The organization committee which Brother Perlestein has formed is helping him systematically. Shop after shop is being "bombed" with circulars and reading matter in which the workers are being called to come to the offices of the union and to organize.

In some places, the employers have stationed guards around their shops so as not to permit the union workers to get in touch with their employees. Vice-president Perlestein paid a visit in this connection to the Mayor of Chicago, and asked that the police

drive away the gangsters from the front of the shop buildings and that the workers be given fair play to conduct peaceful organizing activity. The Mayor promised that the union would get a square deal in this matter.

On June 8th, Vice-president Perlestein came to Toledo, where he will begin organizing work among the local cloakmakers.

There are about 700 cloakmakers in Toledo. After the setback which the Toledo local has suffered in the fight against the employers last year, the organization of the Toledo cloakmakers has been in a dormant condition. The workers are being exploited left and right. The hours are long and the pay is meagre.

Immediately upon his arrival, Vice-president Perlestein intends to begin a movement for the restoration of

President Sigman Speaks to Cloakmakers in Baltimore

Vice-President Halperin With Him

On Monday, June 4th, President Sigman paid a visit to Baltimore where he went to address a meeting of cloakmakers together with Vice-president Halperin, the manager of the Eastern Department of our union. There is an organization drive going on at present in Baltimore under the auspices of this department, and President Sigman went to look things over and to take stock of the situation.

On Monday evening before the principal meeting, President Sigman had a session with the executive board of Local 4 in order to acquaint himself with the situation. On the whole

union conditions in the Toledo cloak shops. It is hoped that the Toledo cloakmakers will rally to his aid and in a short space of time will again put Toledo on the union map of the International.

he found things far from satisfactory and he so frankly stated to the members of the local board.

He made it clear to them that, unless they themselves will put their shoulders to the wheel and do preliminary organization work of an effective nature, the International would not keep on endlessly supporting them without seeing results.

Our International, he told them, will not abandon the organization work in Baltimore, but the cloakmakers of that city who wish to improve their conditions must not delegate the entire job to the International. They must help, as only with their help can there be hope of success. In addition to President Sigman, the meeting was addressed by Brother Max Amdur of Philadelphia, and Brother Goldberg, Baltimore organizer of the International. Brother Brightstein, business agent of Local 4, was the chairman.

Waist and Dress Chairmen Adopt Anti-Fascist Resolution

On Thursday, May 31, the meeting of the shop chairmen and shop chair-ladies of the waist and dress industry of New York held at the Rand School hall, 7 East 16th Street, among other subjects discussed the recent agitation of the various Fascisti groups among the workers in the garment grades and the detrimental effect this

propaganda might have upon the labor movement.

At the end of the meeting the shop chairmen adopted a resolution in which they pledged their organization to use every effort to combat this insidious propaganda. Readers will find this resolution on page 11 of this issue in the report of the Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union.

Brookwood Labor College Graduates First Class

Fifteen Graduates Represent Eight Nationalities and Seven Unions

The first class of the first labor college was graduated last week in Katonah, N. Y., after a two years' course in psychology, statistics, journalism, labor problems, etc. The fifteen graduates, six of them young women,

will return to the labor unions to which they belong for active work for trade unionism. No diplomas or degrees were given. There was a

(Continued on Page 9)

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

ANGLO-RUSSIAN BREACH NEARING END

THE threatened rupture of relations between England and Soviet Russia, precipitated by Curzon's sharp ultimatum of three weeks ago, is approaching its finale. Whatever the concessions may be worth, Russia has chosen to concede practically all of the roaring demands of the British Tories rather than risk a rupture.

British fishing trawlers will now be allowed to ply their trade freely beyond the 100-mile limit of Russia's northern waters, pending a subsequent binding agreement between the two nations. Russia is to reimburse England for the death or incarceration of some spies which occurred back in 1921 and, most important of all, the Soviet's representatives at Afghanistan, Kiva and Buchara are to be transferred to other posts as their alleged propaganda activities against Britain have been made the central point in Curzon's ultimatum.

On the face of it, the British Foreign Office has won a victory. Curzon gained a move, the value of which, however, is quite questionable. Neither side could, of course, afford a war, but impoverished and down-at-the-beel Soviet Russia could not even afford a breach of relations. That is why it complied with the British terms. The die-hard Tories in Britain, however, will remain dissatisfied. What they aimed at with this Curzon ultimatum was the withdrawal of the British agents from Moscow and the launching of another war between England and possibly her allies on the one hand, and Russia on the other. In this they have been outwitted by the counterattack of the Labor forces at home, and have utterly failed.

FASCIST METHODS IN PARIS

A BAND of frolicking youths, adherents of that notorious Royalist Deputy, Leon Daudet, in their eagerness to imitate the incomparable tactics of Mussolini's hoodlums in Italy, started a miniature reign of terror in Paris last week against the Socialist and Labor Deputies in the French Chamber. They ambushed Deputy Marc Sangnier, Socialist, and gave him a beating and tried to pour tar on his head and to administer a dose of castor oil. Another of these "paddlers of the King" waylaid former Minister Maurice Violette and drenched him and his wife with ink. A third youth administered a beating to the Socialist Deputy Marius Moutet.

The following morning a storm broke loose in the Chamber. One after another the deputies mounted the rostrum to denounce the Poincaré clique and Daudet, the spiritual father of these gambolling hoodlums, for having allowed free reign to monarchist agitation in France, which is directly responsible for the unpunished acts of Daudet's gangsters. A parliamentary investigation of the entire affair was ordered at once and the Minister of the Interior promised that no effort would be spared to trace and lay bare the conspiracy against the "Républic".

Whether such a conspiracy against the existing order of things in France is being hatched by the Royalists is, of course, open to doubt. The stories about millions of men being held under arms by the followers of the Bourbon or Bonaparte are unquestionably piffle. The nasty example of lawlessness and disregard of constitutional and human guarantees set by the marauding gangs in Italy with Director Mussolini at the head has, however, enflamed a great many young and old enemies of the French Republic.

It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that this Fascist outbreak in Paris comes at a time when Fascism itself is visibly on the decline in Italy and is at any rate going through its spiritual bankruptcy. Clear evidence to that effect is the retort of Mussolini in reply to Deputy Misuri's recent appeal for a return to normal constitutional methods, in the course of which he said:

"I cannot abandon Fascism because I created it, feared it, fortified it, chastised it, and still hold it in my fist."

THE REPEALER SIGNED

THE signing of the repeal of the prohibition enforcement act in New York is now an accomplished fact, but the agitation, which was stirring the country from end to end since the day the New York Legislature passed this annulment legislation to the moment Governor Smith put his signature to it, instead of abating, is assuming even greater proportions.

Smith's presidential ambitions, New York's "secession" from the Union, double jeopardy prosecution, States' rights, sky-blue laws—and a multitude of other issues, relevant and otherwise, have been flung into the kettle of red-hot, sizzling public opinion and press comment. Each side, wet and dry, would have us believe that the life of the nation depends upon whether or not its argument prevails, or whether this or that piece of legislation remains or is taken off the penal books.

The characteristic thing about the great controversy, nevertheless, continues to be the lack of sincerity, and the cant abundantly displayed by both sides. All through the discussion—pro and con—the question of drink and the rights to it is being paraded as the biggest problem of our existence as a nation, the predominant issue, in fact, for the campaign of 1924. Gone by the board are the question of peace or continual strife in a world sixteen nations of which stand armed to the teeth ready to jump at each other's throats; the problem of our own sky-high cost of living; of the ever-growing power of the Supreme Court and its unbroken record of labor baiting and trade-union persecution; of a wasteful profiteering and reactionary management of the country's railroads—since they were happily returned to their private owners. All these are minor matters—fit only to be bothered with by small groups of "progressives" or non-conformist blocs.

The major part of the country's public opinion is being focused upon one great question—Booze, in itself but a minor issue, and entirely subordinate to the transcending economic and political facts that govern our social fabric. Indeed, why discuss labor, capital, unions, rear disarmament, when Booze is so handy and affords a chance to divert the attention of the working masses from our real life?

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AN OKLAHOMA COLLEGE HEAD

IT IS almost too good to believe.

It happened in Oklahoma. In that State last fall the combined farmers and city workers elected a Non-Partisan governor. Governor Walton proceeded immediately to run Oklahoma, as much as it lay in his power, for the plain people of that State.

He, for instance, appointed as head of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College one George Wilson, a man eminently fitted to run a big technical institution like that farmers' training school, but without any corporate affiliations, without ever a string of academic titles, and a radical and a Non-Partisan Leaguer to boot.

Small wonder that the "better citizens" of Oklahoma were stirred to bitter wrath by such an appointment. Besides, a story went the rounds that the new dean had made some caustic remarks about the American Legion. So one fine morning a few trainloads of incensed and indignant citizens and students rolled into Oklahoma City to wait on Governor Walton and to tell him to rescind forthwith Wilson's appointment and to designate in his place a "regular American," a 100-percenter.

The Governor received the turbulent deputation, listened to it with exemplary patience, and then told it in plain words that he did not intend to change either his mind or the appointment, and declared to the students that, instead of muttering tar-and-feather threats, they'd better go home or else he would tell them "where they get off and when to go to bed at night."

So home they went, so the story goes. As yet Oklahoma is not rocked by counter-revolution and the firm admonition of the Governor seems to have produced a wholesome if not a sobering influence on the entire irascible company. George Wilson is going to make a real people's school out of Oklahoma's agricultural college and has already begun the job.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE BAN LIFTED

A CHERHING news item last week was the report from Washington that the United States Supreme Court, by a vote of seven to two, declared invalid all State statutes prohibiting the use of foreign languages in public and private primary schools in Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio, and eighteen other States.

This legislation, as will be recalled, was enacted in almost half the United States during the hysterical days of the war, when legislature after legislature driven into a super-"patriotic" fury, sought to outlaw in America every cultural reminder of the enemy countries, the study of their language, art and letters.

The courts have now at last come to recognize that instruction imparted in a foreign language is in its nature harmless to public morals and does not imperil the public safety, and such statutory abridgements are illegal restriction and also an interference with the religious rights of the individual. It is interesting to note that, of the two dissenting judges, Justice Holmes, supposedly one of the Supreme Court "liberals," upheld the laws on the ground that they were "making more general the use of English as a national language."

But, of course, it had to take five years to arrive at such a simple truth. Nevertheless, this decision doubtless is a palpable sign of returning normalcy and for that much let us be thankful.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

Memorial Day is the first of the six holidays with pay that were granted to our members as a result of the last general strike. Almost every agreement in the needle industries prescribes a certain number of holidays, some with and some without pay. The novel feature about our agreement, however, is that piece workers are supposed to get paid for these holidays. Operators and finishers are to receive pay for this day at the rate of their respective minimum wage scales, i.e., the former get \$5.45 and the latter \$4.00 for the day. This being a new feature, the union expects a little trouble in a few of the shops. The bulk of the manufacturers know and realize that piece-workers as well as week-workers are entitled to the same benefit, and with these we will have no difficulties whatsoever. Some of our manufacturers proposed to give our workers to exchange this legal holiday for one of the Jewish holidays, pointing out to them the clause in the agreement which states: "Jew-

ish workers may by an agreement with their employer agree to be paid for the three days of Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur instead of three legal holidays." This proposal was everywhere rejected by our Jewish workers and since their consent is required, our Jewish members will have to be paid for this holiday. Should our manufacturers desire to pay for Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur, our Jewish members will then forego payment for Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, and New Year's Day.

Another successful shop chairman's meeting—or as it would be called in New York, shop delegates' meeting—was held Monday evening, May 28th. Among other important matters, the question of social activity among our members was raised by some of those present. Realizing that it would be inadvisable to have indoor entertainment during the summer months, it was suggested that the union arrange a excursion or picnic for the members, preferably on a holiday. This suggestion was accepted and a committee of chairladies was elected to make all arrangements for an excursion on the Fourth of July.

News From Local 62

By ABRAHAM SNYDER

The organization work which we conducted in March has brought very good results. We doubled our membership and renewed the agreement with the Cotton Garment Association, securing increases in wages for all the workers employed by its members. We also gained control over an additional number of shops, and have placed the local on a more substantial basis.

Our principal gain, however, consists in the fact that we have succeeded in interesting a lot of our workers in union activities. In the last few years, due to a great many reasons, this interest has been waning to such an extent that many of the employers in the trade began to think that they were through with the union for good. But when the organization drive began, they saw that their confidence was not entirely well based. Former union men and women began flocking to the standards of the local and soon, from a weak and emaciated organization, the white goods workers' local became a virile and live body.

Right after the strike, our office was crowded with routine complaints and work relating to price-fixing for piece-workers, minimum scales for week-workers, and a number of problems growing out of misunderstandings between the workers and the employers. In most cases the workers were justified in bringing these complaints: The employers could not, so it seemed, get used to the idea that they were to have union shops henceforward. It took time, of course, to straighten all these things out, and we had to continue having shop meetings with each group of workers to enlighten them on their rights and obligations under the agreement with the employers. We took up these grievances with the manufacturers and have done our best to right the wrongs complained of. As a result today our workers are not only nearer to the union but they have a better understanding of their problems and their duties as a whole.

This month the season is approaching a lull. There are shops where there is no more work, though in

other shops they are still working pretty fast. Yet conditions as a whole are much better this year than they were last year, and the workers are sure that their employers will not be in a position to utilize this slack period to discriminate against them and beat down work conditions. Neither will the girls, of their own volition, now approach the employers with proposals to work for lower wages in order to make a week's wages as they used to do.

The girls know that this slump will not last long. A few weeks will pass by and there will be more work in the shops, and they would rather go home than stay in the factory and work for a lower price.

On June 1st, our members were due for a wage increase, as decided between the union and the employers at the conferences before the strike was called. The raise was to be 5 per cent for all piece workers and a dollar a week for all week-workers. We issued a circular on this occasion which was spread widely in all the unorganized shops calling upon all workers to demand such an increase. And in speaking of these unorganized shops, we desire to say that there are still a great many of them where work conditions are not under the control of the union as yet. In some of these shops the employers stopped work, during the week of the strike, so as to prevent their workers from joining the others in the trade, and took them back after the strike came to an end generally. There are still others which we could not take down even after we have attempted to do so.

All these shops must be unionized. At the last meeting of our executive board a committee of five capable members of the organization was elected, at the suggestion of the manager, to work out a plan for organizing these shops, and very soon we shall be ready to start, in earnest, this drive for a hundred per cent union in the white goods trade of New York.

Summer Activities of Local No. 15

By A. BLOOMFIELD,

It is with a feeling of cheer and admiration that one looks at our local today.

What a contrast! Not more than a few months ago it seemed as though we were almost driven into oblivion. The manufacturers thought so, and were extremely happy; all the forces of reaction believed that we were helpless. But that was only a signal for us to rise again mightier and ever-more determined to make this our union, a never dying inspiration that shall lead the way to better and more humane conditions for our workers.

While we control now over two-thirds of the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia, our Organization Committee is doing its very best to organize the remaining open shops. The workers in those open shops will learn that, unless they decide to make common cause with the rest of the organized brothers and sisters, they will fail to enjoy those privileges which can be gained only through organized effort.

But there is a recreational side to

our work as well. The Unity House is unceasingly devising ways and means to make the Unity House this summer more entertaining than ever. The opening, which is eagerly anticipated, will take place on June 17, 1923, in the form of a grand festival. The concert which is arranged for the opening will be of the best that Philadelphia can contribute in the realm of music for an outdoor concert.

Another very promising activity at our local is the dramatic class conducted by Miss Ruth Tanguay, a member of the Polity Club of Swarthmore College. This class started rather late, but there are rumors that they may give one or two one-act plays before they adjourn for the summer. The ambitious displayed in this class is another grand deal of interest in our union.

All our members are realizing today as perhaps never before, that a well organized and enlightened working class will sweep into oblivion all the powers of human oppression that block the way to their emancipation.

Local 89 Fights Fascisti

By LUIGI ANTONINI

Anyone professing to be a Fascist or carrying on Fascist propaganda in the shops controlled by Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—the Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Union—will be excluded from those shops. This action, by unanimous vote of the general membership meeting of the union in question, is in line with the vigorous offensive against the starting of a Fascist movement in America undertaken recently by labor organizations.

The question was brought before the union by Luigi Antonini and other members of the Executive Board. They outlined their activities in combating the imported movement here, particularly their cooperation in starting the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America. Not only were they given a vote of endorsement on this but the membership went further and arranged for the expulsion from union shops of all Fascist sympathizers.

Local 89 was among the labor unions which protested recently against the participation of the local Fascists in the Memorial Day parade. The protest, in which Samuel Gompers joined, was successful.

At the headquarters of the Anti-Fascist Alliance, 231 East 14th Street, the fact that the Fascist black shirts were not in evidence on Decoration Day was interpreted as a clear cut victory for the forces opposing the importation of what they term a

"strike-breaking, union-smashing gang" into this country.

The Italian dress and waistmakers were among the first organizations affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York to ask for action against Fascism. Since then the central body has adopted a vigorous resolution condemning Fascism and urging full support for the anti-Fascist efforts.

TAMIMENT OPEN

Camp Tamiment, the summer adult camp of the Rand School of Social Science, at Forest Park, Pa., opened for Decoration Day with an enthusiastic crowd, and will remain open for the season. Everyone who went home last year and told his friends that Tamiment was perfect is amazed this year at all the improvements. They didn't know it could be any nicer, but find that they were wrong. Another office—a perfect little masterpiece has been built where Tumble Inn used to be. Grass fourishes all around the Mew Hall, the beach and boat landing have been greatly improved, the Maily Hall Store is being enlarged, there are new boats and canoes and the old ones have been repainted in gay colors.

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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Union Health Center News

Entering upon its third year of activity the Union Health Center looks forward to a year full of vigor and broader possibilities for improving the health conditions among the workers, members of the I. L. G. W. U. The Union Health Center was originally started and financed not by the I. L. G. W. U. as a whole, but by Local 9 (tailors), Local 10 (cutters), Local 11 (Brownville/cloakmakers), Local 23 (skirt makers), and Local 35 (pressers). The combined membership of these locals is 33,000 to 35,000, but every one of the members belonging to the I. L. G. W. U. was entitled to the service of the Union Health Center. That the workers took advantage of this service goes without saying. The Union Health Center treated alike members of those locals who originally financed the Union Health Center, and of those who could not at the time participate in its activities.

Recently, however, with the enlarged departments of both medical and dental clinics, it has been found necessary to secure further cooperation on the part of the locals who have hitherto benefited by the work of the Health Center but who have not actively contributed to it.

The large X-ray Department, Physiotherapeutic Department, electric baking and massage treatments, special treatments for hay fever cases, etc.—all of these departments meant a greater outlay of money as well as possibilities of giving greater service. On this basis a special conference was called of those locals who did not belong to the Union Health Center. This conference was held on May 31st, and among those present were: Mr. Lefkowitz and Mr. Berkowitz representing Local 3; Mr. Weingart and Mr. Weinbaum representing Local 20, Mr. Scheinholz and Mr. Weinglass of Local 22. These locals were invited to become part-

ners in the Union Health Center on the same basis as the locals who originally organized it.

Realizing the great importance of the work of the Health Center and also realizing that their members were receiving excellent care and very definite service from it, Locals 3, 20, and 22 decided to join the members of the I. L. G. W. U. Union Health Center pending the decision of the members of their locals. This action means that with the exception of Locals 17 and 48, all the locals of the I. L. G. W. U. of New York City will be members of the Union Health Center and will continue to manage and control it for the benefit of their members.

This is indeed a great step forward and forecasts the time when the Union Health Center will become one of the most important institutions of health and health education in the country.

On Friday, June 1st, the Union Health Center had visitors to study its work and to see for themselves what was being accomplished for the members of the I. L. G. W. U. Mr. Abraham Cahan, of the Forward; Mr. Lang also of the Forward; Mr. Morris Sigman, president of the I. L. G. W. U.; Mr. A. Baroff, vice-president of the I. L. G. W. U.; Mr. Feinberg, chairman of the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, and Mr. Kaplowitz were among those in the visiting party. Mr. Cahan left the building very much impressed. He stated: "We do not half appreciate the wonderful contribution which the I. L. G. W. U. is making in the form of the Union Health Center. It is a unique institution and I am glad I have seen it before I leave for Europe for I shall certainly speak of it abroad."

UNION HEALTH CENTER HIKE

The Union Health Center held its

Jewish religious bigotry entrenched in power is responsible for the indictment in the case of "The God of Vengeance," despite the fact that rabbis like Dr. Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue and the Central Synagogue and Dr. I. Mortimer Bloom of the Hebrew Tabernacle and others favored this play both on religious and on morality grounds.

On the question of morality or immorality of the play, if the charge of the court to the jury is the correct law, then fifty percent of the plays of the City of New York in the past year could have been indicted and convicted.

This case is of national importance. It is the first of its kind and questions of vast importance about the law involved will have to be determined—if serious plays are to be presented in New York and elsewhere. If the regular Broadway managers do not realize it at this particular moment, they will in the near future when, if either because of malice or bigotry or enmity, indictments are filed against their plays without notice or hearing. When some of the managers own the theatres find conviction follows indictment and their theatre licenses revoked, they may regret their rushing into print about this conviction to show how "moral" they and their plays are.

The procedure was according to the court's idea of the law, but many of

first hike on Sunday, June 3rd. Despite the extreme heat and the fact that there were other excursions on that day, sixty-five members of the Union Health School appeared in their hiking costumes at the Dyckman street ferry. We marched up the Englewood Road into the woods and for the first time in the experi-

the most prominent and finest men and women of the City of New York were willing to testify that they had seen this play, and that in their opinion it taught a great moral lesson and was in no way immoral or obscene but was not allowed to do so under the rulings of the court. Only two members of the vice squad and a deputy assistant district attorney testified against the play while judges, writers, ministers, rabbis, social workers, authors, editors and poets waited to be called.

Stephen Rathbun, critic of the New York Evening Sun, called "The God of Vengeance" after the indictment one of the ten best plays produced this year. The selling of Rudolph Schildkraut has been heralded. The lessons of the play have been preached about. The conviction has been condemned by some of the best writers and editors in the city.

Any interest, under the procedure in this case, whether it is the Jewish, the Ku Klux Klan, the Catholic, the Protestant, politicians or business opponents, who have a grudge to serve, and happen to be in power, can stop any play in the City of New York under the plea or under the guise of obscenity or immorality.

"The God of Vengeance" as played in English was exactly as played in New York City for the past ten years on the Yiddish and German stages without question from public officials or police.

ence of many of the members a real hike took place, for, we travelled a distance of over five miles, from Englewood to Alpine. Even the terrible rain did not dampen our spirits though our clothes were wringing wet, and when we wended our way homeward everybody found that they had enjoyed themselves despite the heavy rainfall and the intense heat.

The most favorable aspect of the situation is the very reasonable program, just issued by the French Radical Wing, with regard to the Ruhr question, on which they will fight the elections next spring. It is just possible that by that time the French people themselves will be tired of the Poincaré policy which has so far fulfilled none of its promises.

THE HOUSING DEBATE

Just before it rose, the House of Commons discussed the Government's Housing Bill in Committee. The debate was very instructive and showed the immense difference that has come over Parliament since the presence there of an effective Labor Party. Again and again unanswerable questions were hurled at Ministers by men who knew themselves what it was to live in hovels where no bathroom existed and lack of bedroom accommodation made decency impossible. Yet, although the question "How about dividing the sexes?" could not be answered, and Government supporters of the Bill were at a loss to explain how parents and a family of both sexes could live in two bedrooms, the Liberal amendment to add a third bedroom to the Government houses, and the Labor amendment to add a bathroom and hot water, were alike thrown out by a House in which there is a steady majority of men who live in spacious dwellings, whatever the size of their families, and very often have more than one house of their own.

English Labor and the New Premier

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

Most people are surprised at the appointment of Mr. Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister after being in the public eye only three years, and most people are reserving their opinion about him, while agreeing as to his pleasant personality and his sound business qualities—the latter being a distinct asset in the present condition of unemployment at home and stagnant trade abroad.

There is also a pretty general feeling of relief in labor circles that the new Premier is not to be Lord Curzon, whose unbending personality, absence from the House of Commons where alone he could be faced by the official opposition (labor), and uncompromising attitude on Russia, all combine to make him an unsuitable leader of British policy at the present moment. In the Russian debate in Parliament, just before the Whit-sun-tide recess, it was Mr. Baldwin who toned down the aggressive views of Lord Curzon as expressed in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. McNeill. At the same time, it is not to be forgotten that Lord Curzon remains at the Foreign Office, and that any alteration in the government's unfortunate Russian policy will mean a possible conflict between him and the new Prime Minister, the result of which is at present incalculable.

Labor and the Russian Crisis

The terms of that conflict of ideas might have been detected in the Russian debate, when the impression left by Mr. Baldwin's intervention was that the extension of the time limit allowed for the expiration of the British ultimatum to the Soviet government was for the purpose of leaving the door open for negotiation; and, acting on this impression, the opposition did not force a division. But the impression has since gained ground that Lord Curzon's object in extending the time limit was to enable him to break off relations with Russia while Parliament was not sitting; and at the moment of writing, this drastic course of action is still possible and is only rendered doubtful by the change of Premier, which may hang up the matter till Parliament meets again this week.

The whole opposition, including some of the more enlightened Tory M. P.s are, however, so much aware to a breach of the trading agreement with Russia, that there is still hope of a better outcome from the Russian tangle. The Labour Party in the country seem unanimous on the matter. Trade unions as well as branches of the Independent Labor Party and other organized labor bodies, are pouring in their resolutions to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as official head of the Parliamentary opposition, and to the Prime Minister, insisting that

the debatable matters be referred to a conference rather than that a breach be made. And there is hope that Mr. Baldwin, as a business man, may have more regard for British commerce and British industry than for any personal distaste he may feel towards the Soviet regime and the Soviet leaders.

Internationally, the most important protest yet made against Lord Curzon's unwarrantable ultimatum to Russia is that made at the opening of the second sitting of the Hamburg Socialist-International Labor International, when Mr. Arthur Henderson, the president, rose and made an emphatic protest in the name of British labor against what had been done by the British Foreign Office, and was supported by Abramowitz, leader of the Russian Menchikovs. But whether all these combined efforts will stave off the real crisis which has already been fostered—by the encouragement given to counter-revolutionary forces in Poland and elsewhere to precipitate a conflagration in Europe—still remains doubtful.

There is, indeed, no need to apply a match to the smouldering fires already lighted in Central Europe by the French occupation. Authentic stories of the treatment of German civilians by French military authorities in the Ruhr valley continue to reach this country, and serve to show beyond all doubt that the Prussian mantle has fallen on France, and that the Zabern incidents have become a commonplace of everyday life in the occupied territory. A revised German offer is in preparation, but the most exaggerated and extravagant offer that could be devised would not satisfy a French government that appears determined on the destruction of Germany and nothing short of it.

A "Friend" of Labor for President—Henry Ford

By B. MEIMAN

(Special Washington Correspondence to Justice.)

A brand new labor friend has made his appearance on the American political horizon—Mr. Henry Ford of Detroit. The richest man in the world, the employer of tens of thousands of workers, has entered the lists against Big Business and become the advocate of the poor and downtrodden.

Henry Ford a friend of labor? Inane enough as it sounds, it is nevertheless a fact that thousands upon thousands of workers are deluging themselves into the notion that Ford is a champion of their interests, and millions of non-workers honestly believe that Ford is a friend of labor. Should Henry Ford run for president in 1924, he will surely run as a "progressive" candidate, and will make an especial appeal to the workers for their vote. Ford will be proclaimed from all house-tops as a defender of American labor.

How did Henry Ford come to this sudden glow of labor's champion? It would be idle to ask this question of the man in the street. This person remembers no details and can give no ground for his way or mode of thinking. An impression was somehow created and this impression remains. All facts notwithstanding, once a notion is created among the masses, it is very difficult to counteract or eradicate it. It takes time and an unusual amount of effort to change an impression of that sort. Such is mass psychology.

And should Ford choose to run, as William Randolph Hearst would have him do, on an "independent" ticket, the political wisacres predict that he would adopt a "strict Ford platform." What such a strict Ford platform would be, it seems very difficult to prognosticate. But most people maintain that it would be a workers' platform as opposed to big capital. Then we shall have the grotesque spectacle of the richest man in the world running on a platform that is opposed to concentrated wealth, and of one of the greatest employers in our era becoming the emissary of labor.

Yet, ridiculous as this might sound, it is not entirely impossible. In Amer-

ican politics all idiosyncrasies are feasible. Indeed, wherever there are millions of voters ready to be cast on the "hit or miss" principle, most everything is possible.

Should Ford accept the nomination, the question arises: What will the workers of the country do? There is little to be said about the vote of the unorganized workers. But what will the millions of big internationalists of American labor do? The writer of these lines is frank in admitting that he does not believe that Henry Ford will run for president in 1924. In my daily work I come in contact with important political personages of both parties. I have talked to all of them about the possibility of Ford's candidacy and I have as yet to meet one important politician who would be for the "big maker of the little car." Practically all the leaders of the Democratic as well as the Republican party are confident that "Henry" has not the least chance of being nominated on a ticket of either of these two parties. They are not as confident about his running on a party ticket, as Roosevelt did in 1912. Yet, they believe that Ford would not be gullible enough to do that, as it is well-nigh conceded that a third ticket has not the slightest chance of success. Ford will run, they say, unless he has an outside chance of being elected.

So, though it is barely possible that Ford will be an important factor in the coming national elections, the newspapers are full of his "candidacy." The Ford propaganda is being assiduously carried on all over the country. Under such circumstances, one cannot be sure of anything. Everything becomes possible. It is true the political leaders of the Democratic party are practically unanimously against him; but should there actually arise a strong nationwide sentiment for "Uncle Henry," it may become possible that the politicians would feel compelled to yield to the popular demand. Now, if this happens, what will the unions do?

It appears to me that the unions can do a great deal to hamper Ford in his plans. They may not have the

influence to prevent Ford from running on an independent ticket. But the unions can prevent him from obtaining the nomination on the Democratic ticket. This, it seems, would be one of the rare opportunities in which the voice of labor would make a solid impression, and for the following attention:

Despite the fact that Ford is the richest man in the world, the vested interests would not have him as their representative. He is too impulsive for them, too individualistic. He is a new-comer, in a sense, in whom they have not enough confidence. If the expression may be permitted, he is a person with a capitalistic bag but without capitalistic tradition. Neither do they like his mentioning about "friendship for labor." Wall Street is against Ford's being nominated for president. Ford's entire strength lies in the fact that he can scream that he is the "friend of the worker" and also that many believe it; and that a great many politicians know of this existing belief. If the workers should now come out with a statement squarely opposing Ford, his boom would have received a definite, if not a mortal, check.

In every city and town in the country, there is now being conducted a well-organized and probably a well-paid propaganda for Ford. This wide agitation is being conducted in the name of the workers. An impression is to be created that Ford only seeks the presidency in order to benefit the poor and subjugated children of toil. In order to make him run, it is stated, he would have to be drafted by force. He is not a party man and one of his principal backers recently made the statement that, notwithstanding the fact that Ford ran not so long ago as candidate for the U. S. Senate on the Democratic ticket in Michigan, he is, nevertheless, a Republican at heart. What an asset for a politician! To be a Republican in his inner sanctum and to run at the same time on the Democratic ticket!

We are not at this moment concerned with the recounting of Ford's shortcomings and his abilities. The

truth is that Ford has all the earmarks under a magnifying glass of an upstart, of a nouveau riche—the type of person who is firmly convinced that there is nothing under the sun which he cannot buy for money. For money he can buy labor, brains, education, wisdom and why not the presidency? The organized workers should tell him: Mr. Ford, we are selling you only the power of our hands to create your automobiles, but not our voices. You are buying us as workers only and not as citizens.

Henry Ford may utilize all his huge machinery and demagogic methods to obtain publicity for himself and for his wares, but when he makes an attempt to utilize the workers to win the nomination for the presidency, the unions may come out with an open statement that they do not recognize Henry Ford as a friend of the workers. And when a sufficiently large number of American unions will have come out with such a declaration, the Democratic party will surely reckon with it. Then Ford may fill the land with his personal acclaim, but the political leaders will under no circumstances nominate him.

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Looking 'Em Over in

Forest Park Unity House

By S. PRESS

You want me to write you something concerning the dressmakers' Unity House?

Well, let me tell you—you struck the wrong party with this assignment. Not because I never visited the place—quite to the contrary—I spend all my summers there as a rule, and count the days from the beginning of the spring for the house to open. But anyway I don't believe I am the fit person for the job, for practically all the time I am there I find myself "behind the bars"—behind the row of heavy old trees which separates the big grounds and the playground from the engine-room and the other buildings—from where one can watch undisturbed our Miss Fox, dressed man fashion, and as powerfully knit as a guardman, drill her regiment of womenfolk.

It is seven in the morning. The sun has scattered the bits of clouds that made a foggy tent over the structure it is now looking down warmly upon the roofs of Unity. The air is dry and clear—and a bell soon reverberates over the grounds. One observes groups of young men and

women streaming from all directions to the playground—where Miss Fox holds forth supreme during the daily morning exercises. On an early morning my eyes away from this screaming gay, galloping and gamboling bunch! Goah, how I myself would like to join the gang—but the old still voice within me won't let me: "You are too old," it says, "leave them alone. They are young; it is their world, their time, their Unity!"

If you have a free hour—not from work, thank heaven—I should like to take you along to the big field behind the hotel where they take their sun-baths. There's not a tree upon the wide rolling lawn, the grass is thick, and the still air is only occasionally relieved by a mild breeze from the lakeside. You stretch out upon this soft grass—when the sun is hottest—and you bask yourself in its blazing rays. The groups enjoy this "sport" for hours, rolling from side to side, and perhaps making comparisons between the heat and the perspiration at Unity and the heat and perspiration in a garment shop in New York on a hot summer's day.

And should you happen to be interested in theatricals, one-act plays, vaudeville, concerts, musicales, duets, quartets and trios—if you are fond of dancing, games and what other pastimes the young mind might be attracted to, just come to the Unity concert hall and big floor nightly, and you will not run short of entertainment. The selfsame Miss Fox is on the alert to see that matters are properly attended to in that respect.

Among the scenes that are indelible in my mind are the campfires built by our vacationists—when hundreds of them congregate at night around glowing burning logs singing solos or in chorus; or the boating parties in the moonlight on the Lake Unity; and last, but not least, the unforgettable hiking parties after the campfires and singing over the mountain trails of the Blue Ridges. After a day's hard work—by this time you probably have guessed what I do at Unity—one is eager to stretch out and relax when the hour draws near towards midnight. And here, of a sudden, from afar, and then getting nearer and nearer, the tune of the great "Dummkapitel," the mighty Russian Volga, boat song, rises across the hillside and rushes into my window. It is a group of Unity boys and girls coming back from a rowing party. For a minute you feel

a bit, to say the least, discomfited—but how quickly your displeasure passes, giving way to the understanding that these young folks—so starved for air, for nature's beauties there in Harlem, the Bronx and the East Side—should be forgiven readily for any "excesses" they commit in the line of late hour singing and the exuberant abandon with which they give themselves over to the glory of the open spaces in this part of the Pennsylvania.

More and more memories and scenes come up and crowd my memory. But as I told you at the outset you have picked the wrong party for the story. You should have looked for someone who takes a hand in the midst of things in Forest Park to tell the wonderful story of the Unity House, and not a mere fellow "behind the bars."

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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

"LEFT" ECONOMY

What we are going to tell here may sound almost incredible to a great many of our readers. Nevertheless, a true story it is. It occurred recently in the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union in Philadelphia. In order not to subject the credulity of our readers to too severe a test, we shall tell them at the outset that, thanks to the blind luck of an election held some time ago, all the delegates to that Joint Board are—save the mark!—"lefts."

And when we say "lefts," we mean the dyed-in-the-wool, rock-ribbed kind. According to their code, all that is done by the higher officers, by the manager, by the men at the top, must be condemned, right or wrong. It is the type of "lefts" who consider their own International as their bitterest enemy, which must be fought to the hilt.

True, this International has spared no effort and no sacrifice to safeguard and defend their union—but the officers of the International do not believe in the "Red Third Internationale," so how can they be good? Anyone who has the effrontery to cast a stone at it, to besmirch its good name, is a hero in their eyes, and all who have made it their permanent duty to attack it, in and out of season, are performing yeoman service for the "left" cause.

It is such a Joint Board that the last election of officers bestowed upon the cloakmakers' union of Philadelphia. How they came to be elected is not very difficult to understand. The Philadelphia cloak industry passed through very bad times in the last few years, and quite naturally a feeling of profound discontent permeated the ranks of the workers. Then along came a group of persons charging in shrieking, "revolutionary" phrases that the source of all the workers' troubles are the "rights," the union "machine." The old leaders must be cast out and they, the "lefts," the new Messiahs, should be installed in their place. The cloakmakers, embittered as they were by the misery of the preceding seasons, tried the new remedy. The oldest and the most loyal workers who had served the union for years, disgrusted with the demagoguery of the "lefts," decided not to run at all, and in their place there were elected the "lefts," those who were the loudest in denouncing the officers of the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union.

A veritable orgy of "leftism" then started in the Philadelphia Joint Board. They would discuss everything in the world but union interests, and the organization began to grow weaker and weaker. Only one man watched faithfully over the interests of the union—its manager, Brother Max Amdur. He did everything in his power to safeguard it and, thanks to him, one of our oldest and most loyal leaders, and owing to the aid of the International which recently carried through a successful strike by which the Philadelphia jobbers were made responsible to the union, the general condition of the Philadelphia cloakmakers has materially improved.

This must have irritated the local joint board considerably. Is it possible that there was one man in Philadelphia, and not a "left" at that, whose services were so widely recognized and so appreciated that they could not overcome him? And despite the fact that this leader had offered more than once to resign his post, as he could not tolerate the antics of the Joint Board, his sense of duty compelled him to remain in office regardless of the unpleasant atmosphere he was forced to work in. Luckily, however, something took place which overtaxed even his patience and he handed in his resignation.

The story of how he was compelled to resign, unbelievable as it may sound, is nevertheless pure truth and must be told here.

At a recent meeting, the Joint Board, for a change, undertook to discuss some matters which actually were of immediate interest to the union. With the full consent of Brother Amdur, it was decided that some economy in the budget of the union must be effected, and for that purpose the board of directors were instructed to investigate the matter and to report back to the Joint Board. The board set to "work" and found out that, in order to economize, the union must discharge Brother Amdur, who did not "belong" anyway. The report was brought back at once to the Joint Board, which approved it without delay. Thereupon Brother Amdur, to protect his own dignity, and not being able to stand it any longer, resigned at once.

That our readers might understand the entire asininity of this action, it must be stated that Amdur is one of the first founders and builders of the cloakmakers' union of Philadelphia. True, a few years ago he withdrew for a short while from union activity largely on account of these tunnel-railers, but as soon as he left the union at that time, the organization began to decline. Things went so bad that the Philadelphia cloakmakers were forced to ask the Interna-

tional to use its good offices in having Amdur return to Philadelphia and bring order out of the local chaos.

Amdur came back and the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union came to life again, all the obstructions and hampering of the "lefts" notwithstanding. And now when the question of effecting some economies in the Joint Board came up, the "left" delegates found no other way of making such economies except by getting rid of the manager, of the most influential and energetic worker in the cloakmakers' organization in Philadelphia.

When the members of the union, the rank and file, learned of this decision, they were fairly dumbfounded. They at once saw, whom they had elected as delegates to their Joint Board and in whose hands they had vested the fate of their union. A protest movement on a large scale began which found expression in two big mass meetings, at which the International was represented by President Sigman.

At both these meetings, the members of the union rode roughshod over the decisions of the "lefts" in the Joint Board. By an overwhelming majority at both meetings, Amdur's resignation was rejected. A curtailment of the budget was effected through the combining of the offices of the secretary and the manager, and that today Brother Amdur is the manager-secretary of the Joint Board—and the so-called "lefts" who have lulled themselves by sheer volume of noise into the belief that they are the whole union, must have made, in the last few weeks, the rather surprising discovery that they are only a handful of persons without any influence on the mass of Philadelphia cloakmakers.

Such is in brief the rather peculiar, mildly speaking, story of the attempt of the Philadelphia Joint Board to practice economy in their budget. It is, nevertheless, certain that it will be the last attempt of this kind on the part of this Joint Board—for while officially it still is the Joint Board of the union because it did not have enough sense of honor to resign on the spot after it had found that the members of the union were against it, its days are counted and its power to do harm is broken. Very soon there will be a new election and the members of the union will now be more careful in their choice. We are in doubt whether the "lefts" have learned anything from this entire affair, for if they were capable of learning anything at all they would not be what they are today. The members of the union, however, have learned a great deal from this remarkable affair. They have, at least, learned how dangerous it is to hand over the fate of an organization to irresponsible mouthers and they will surely be more careful in the future in selecting their executive officers, if they want to prevent a recurrence of this unseemly affair.

The members of the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union will have to take care that this handful of "lefts" who, if not anything worse, are fanatics pure and simple, have now very little to say within the union. They will have to take care, as President Sigman so aptly stated in one of his speeches at one of these meetings, that while a member of the Joint Board may sometimes be a "left," the Joint Board as a whole must not be "left." The members will have to watch out, if they are to preserve the unity of the union, not to allow any politics, either "right" or "left" at the meetings. They will have to firmly insist on the demand that within the union, union interests transcend everything in importance.

WHY A UNION MANAGER?

We suspect that, in the eyes of some, the contemplated action of the local Joint Board of Philadelphia was a highly radical undertaking. A union manager in their eyes is the survival of old conservative unionism—in other words, a mere parasite on the union. A radical union, a revolutionary union, need not have a manager. Can't it manage itself? Does it not know its own interests? Does not a union as a whole and not a manager fight for those interests when fight is necessary? The union manager must go, so argues the so-called "left," and he probably believes that he is as right as the day is long. Ridiculous and wrong as this argument is, and as it surely will appear to the more experienced and more seasoned union men, it is perhaps not out of place to say a few words regarding it.

It can hardly be imagined that even the best labor union, which is as yet an ideal and a dream to be achieved—can get along without a manager, without one who would watch and take care of the interests of the organization in general in time of either peace or war. A union without a manager is like a home without a housekeeper, whose principal duty it is to keep the house clean and to supply it with all the necessary provisions and commodities that go to make up a home. If every individual member of a household were to undertake to clean his corner separately, the house would still remain in a pretty deplorable condition, without the watchful eye of the housekeeper who assumes charge over its general economy. In a labor union, where each member has most of his personal interests outside of the union, there surely needs to be one who would devote himself entirely to the special union interests. It must also be considered that many union members often have justifiable grievances which must at once be settled. They cannot on each occasion turn for relief to the entire union. The manager, who can be approached by the union member at any time, is the best of all for this purpose. He is the true embodiment of the soul of the whole union. To attempt, therefore, to practice economy through the abolition of the post of manager means to demoralize and to cripple the activity and the influence of the union.

This, however, is but one phase of the activity of a union manager. The union has at all times income and expense, and this must be carefully supervised. It is true there are various committees for this work, but the work itself must be carried out by the manager. And if this is not done intelligently and with a strong sense of responsibility, the best and the strongest union might weaken and crumple.

British Labor and the "Intellectuals"

By H. SNELL

One of the big features of the Labor movement in England is the number of members of the professional and middle classes who have placed their services at its disposal, and who take a prominent part in the work of shaping its policy and outlook.

The organizing and administrative talent of these classes have happily been given to the Labor movement in every country where it has become a power. The old German Social Democratic party received its inspiration and driving power from middle-class men like Marx and Liebknecht, while France had the advantage of possessing a mental and moral giant such as Jaures. Belgium has Vandervelde, and Austria had, at the head of its working-class movement, so great a figure as Adler. But in no country has the "assimilation" of the middle classes gone so far as in England at the present time.

This extra good luck of the British Labor movement arises in great part from its traditions, and from the unbroken character of its British people. Its roots were carefully tended in the middle of the last century by such gifted enthusiasts as Frederick Dennison Maurice, Canon Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes and Robert Owen. And ever since it aspired to become a political power it has been served by some of the most brilliant literary men of our time. No other party in England can command such gifted help as Shaw and Wells are ever ready to offer.

Among the reasons why men of the quality of those whose names I have mentioned have been drawn to the British Labor movement, is its wise toleration. It has never sought to impose upon its members a definite and exclusive philosophy of the State, or any special theory of social organization. Upon all such matters it has kept a genial neutrality. The result is, that since the mass of its members do actually respond to the teaching of a socialist ideal, there is nothing in its program which repels those who have reservations in their minds concerning the final form of social organization.

No "Is'm" Controls

This lack of a definite philosophy

The manager, as we already stated, represents in his person the entire union. He must therefore have the fullest confidence of the members and the respect of the employers with whom he often deals on behalf of the union. Frequently such a manager spares the union many unnecessary and costly conflicts. A wise word in the proper time is of greater importance than a mailed fist. When the employer knows that he is dealing with a person who has the confidence of the members of the union and who can make good whenever at a given time he deems it necessary to make a concession, his attitude towards such a representative of the union is quite different than when he is dealing with a person whom he does not know and in whom he cannot have confidence.

What we have just stated in so plain and so generally known that we feel rather humiliated to be compelled to repeat it in these columns. There are regrettably in the history of the labor movement many cases of unions which went out of existence because their manager had left them. We believe that the existence of a union should not and must not be dependent on one person, yet the great importance and the necessity of a union manager cannot be gainsaid. Only persons who would not deal with facts can believe that a union can exist without a manager. That is why we regard it not as radical but as rank folly to attempt to effect an economy through the abolition of the manager.

If anything, our unions suffer not from too much but from too little management of the right sort. Yet, even if not of the highest quality, it is better to have a union with a management than without it. The remedy for poor management is not to abolish it entirely but to make it better. We believe that it is not only folly to give up entirely the office of the manager, but it is even bad business to change one manager for another because the second is ready to serve for a smaller salary. In the end the union is bound to lose through such false economy.

We only wish to add that, when we say "manager," we mean a capable and loyal leader, not a tyrant, not a despot who would force his opinion upon the union and make it subject to his whims. Such a manager is a danger and a misfortune for his

may appear to people of other nations as a defect so important, that they will give the British Labor party only a very limited respect. In this they would be both right and wrong. The party would doubtless be more vehement if it had hard and fast principles to defend; that it would be enormously reduced in voting strength there is no sort of doubt. The British people, however, do not love logic; their habit is to move one step at a time and if they move in the right direction they are satisfied.

Another reason why the middle classes are going in with the Labor movement in England is that at last they are seeing that their ancient loyalty to the old order has been both morally wrong and practically foolish. The experience of the great war has taught them much. Those who possess the keenest vision now realize that if the world is ever to become a decent place to live in, new standards of personal and political conduct will be needed. If we are ever to enjoy the blessings of a secure peace, hungry concession hunters will have to be placed under stricter control. The old political parties appear to be too deeply involved in the financial trickery of the present system to force the changes that are necessary. Thus "the old order changeth giving place to new," and members of the middle classes are seeing in the Labor movement the possibilities of a new and untainted instrument to be used for the good of man.

"Child of the Devil"

This change of outlook has gone further than is generally realized. It has even made headway in the ranks of the clergy of the reactionary English Church. The majority of its priests doubtless remain as Tory in instinct as the most medieval landlord could desire. Not a few of them both believe and say, that the Labor party is a child of the devil. But a rapidly growing number of the younger clergy have cut themselves loose from the creed of their elders, and are either active members or sympathizers with the Labor party's ideals. Within the last month, for example, a memorial signed by more

than 40 clergymen of the English Established and Scotch Church has been presented to the Labor members of Parliament through their leader, J. Ramsey MacDonald. It is an omen of much that is yet to come and its terms may be of interest to American readers. It states that "we, the underprivileged, being priests of the Church of England, who have followed with deep sympathy the recent struggle of labor to secure more effective representation in Parliament, respectfully offer our sincere congratulations to you and the 144 members of Parliament, who under your leadership, now constitute the official opposition. Our particular calling, with its pastoral experience, gives us direct knowledge of the sufferings and deprivation, moral and physical, to which millions of our fellow citizens are subjected in our present social and industrial order, and to find remedy for which is the chief purpose and aim of the Labor movement. It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction to us that this increased opportunity is now open to you in the great assembly of the nation, and we shall support actively, in what ever ways are legitimately open for us, the efforts you assuredly will make for the spiritual and economic emancipation of the people."

There are also economic reasons why the program of the Labor party is commending itself to the middle classes of our country. Many of them begin to see that only through it can they escape destruction. The small investor, the individual trader, who has not behind him large capital or unlimited credit, finds himself in danger of being ground to death by "big business" capitalists who, in great part, live upon the lost savings of small investors. When, therefore, the capitalist press endeavors to frighten him with the bogey of confiscation, etc., he remains unconvinced. He knows too well that under no system that the Labor party would be likely to promote would he be so effectively robbed as he is under the present system.

THE TIGHTENING VISE

That the middle classes are begin-

ning to see the inevitable tendencies of modern economic life is all to the good. But they are doing so not because they have become conscious of a higher vision, but because they are beginning to feel pressure upon their own lives. So long as only the workers were crushed under the wheels of the capitalist juggernaut they remained aloof and voted Tory. They were both blind and deaf to the call of higher things. But now that the vice is beginning to tighten and to grip them also, the grievance they never felt before. They are learning that the capitalist state does not protect their widows and children if, in the contest for wealth, they are crushed by others; that the teeth of the city shark eats up them and theirs as well as the working classes. If the average English middle-class man has children, he is even more anxious about their future than are the daily laborers about theirs. He cannot or will not, send them to the public elementary schools, and he cannot afford to provide for them the education that will give them special qualifications. For every one of their needs he has to pay another's profits, and everything that either he or his children eats or wears is taxed; the quality of his food sinks to the minimum of wholesomeness, and he finds himself being gradually brought down under a burden which is too great for him to bear.

The question arises whether the middle class man has come to the labor movement to cast in his lot with it and to stand by it for good or ill, as an expression of a real faith, or whether he is but a fawning caller who feels free to desert to the old camp any time he pleases? The answer to that question belongs to the future. We hope for the best. In the meantime he brings to our work a trained mind and a higher education than belong to the mass of the working class who are its loyal and heroic safeguard. He is proving himself to be a good comrade and the kindest feeling prevails between him and the rank and file of the party.

Our British Labor party is a power, precisely because it has effected this wonderful combination of those who work both by hand and by brain. If the alliance is maintained, it will grow strength to strength.

(Labor Age, May, 1923)

Such a manager cannot enjoy the confidence of the union. Such a manager must be made to vacate as quickly as possible, not on account of economy but in order to save the morale of the union, and his place must be given to one who is a real union leader and a faithful watchdog of the multiple and important interests of the organization.

A WORD CONCERNING THE LOS ANGELES SANATORIUM

Very many highly valued institutions appeal to our unions for aid, and in most cases our unions do all in their power to help the activities of these organizations. It appears to us, however, that so far our unions have done very little for the maintenance of the workers' tuberculosis sanatorium in Los Angeles. It is a highly valued institution and its appeal to us for aid must not remain unnoticed.

Let us keep in mind that the sick cared for by this Sanatorium are our own union brothers and sisters. When they were well, we treated them as fellow members in the labor movement and acted towards them in a brotherly and true union spirit. Shall we now, when they are sick and helpless, ignore them?

We feel confident that the hearts of our readers will react with sympathy towards these unfortunate victims of our industrial life. But this feeling of sympathy, unless it is expressed in the form of concrete material aid, is of little or no value. To help these patients, the Los Angeles Sanatorium must get from us the full measure of support to which it is entitled.

This aid can best be given through the organization of shop collections. A coin from each will raise a substantial sum for the inmates of the Los Angeles institution. The money can be collected through the shop-chairmen or shop-chairladies and remitted either to Brother Philip Kaplowitz, treasurer of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, Brother M. Mackoff, secretary of the Joint Board in the waist and dress industry, or to Secretary Baroff at the General Office of the Internationals.

Speedy and generous aid is urgently needed for the further maintenance of the Sanatorium in Los Angeles.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Einstein Made Easy

By SYLVIA KOPALD

("RELATIVITY FOR ALL," by Herbert Dingle, B.Sc. Lecturer on Astrophysics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology. Little, Brown & Co., 1922.)

The world is in the grip of Einsteinitis. No strange disease could be more baffling. For so few of us know just what it is all about; and yet we all find it so fascinating. The first strength of the endemic has somewhat abated, it is true. Yet the present status of Einsteinitis makes it a thing still well worth reckoning with.

The picture of the quiet, kindly scientist mulling over facts and figures and fancies in his laboratory, juggling with stars and suns and light and distances in its itself a glamorous thing. But it is glamorous as all science is glamorous. It is rather the startling character of the theory fabricated in that workshop that has brought men's minds to attention. Eagerly they turned towards Einstein's work for enlightenment to find its contents far beyond the grasp of the untrained mind.

Making Einstein Easy, consequently, has become a veritable new industry. Movies on the Einstein Theory are trying to make clear to Valentino fans why Rudolph's watch would lose several hours every day if it were carried along with the same speed with which Rudolph's popularity has spread. An avalanche of books have sought to bring Einstein within the reach of the lay mind. "Einstein Made Easy," "From Newton to Einstein," "Relativity for All" and many others of the sort have eliminated abstruse calculations, the diagrams, the mathematical reasonings and what not, in an attempt to present Einstein Primers. Einstein himself has undertaken the production of a popular work on Relativity which is just hot off the press. But when all the simplifications have been completed, the Einstein Theory seems to remain as elusive, if not more elusive, than ever.

What's all the shootin' for? Why this intensive and widespread interest in a theory of physics and astronomy? The man in the street is not usually so stirred by a theory which boasts that "only twelve men understand it." When Einstein was in America he himself, expressed great surprise that his recondite speculations should have aroused such popular curiosity and enthusiasm. Why?

There may be several explanations for this unusual phenomenon. There can be little doubt, in the first place, that Einstein's theory is of revolutionary calibre. It changes somewhat many of the oldest, best established notions on the physical make-up of the world. Revolutions are always exciting. Theoretical revolutions, moreover, are safe. In the second place, Einstein's theory suggests many philosophical speculations. Even if one cannot follow it in all its ramifications (perhaps, especially if one cannot), one can have a huge time playing with it. In the third place, it seemed to work in so well with the times. When the old world is topsy-turvy, a stable scientific line of new thought which seems to turn it still more topsy-turvy is at least sure of a hearing. There was something stimulating, in the fourth place,

in its much heralded difficulty. Difficulty plagues the difficulty. Moreover, one always feels being in the know, especially when the circle of the knowing is small and select. Finally enthusiasm is contagious. Because 5,000 people become interested, and newspapers and books and movies beat tom-toms over it, many times 5,000 more were attracted. There may be many other reasons for its popularity. But these were the stimuli that attracted me to a study of the Einstein theory.

Mr. Dingle's book is the latest milestone I have passed in my quest for enlightenment. I cannot say that I see at last the end of the journey. If this is "relativity for all," like the Hairy Ape I am beginning to wonder whether "I belong." For this strange thing happens to me as I read Einstein. What I understand seems more clear-cut common sense; what appears the more characteristic aspect of the theory baffles me. Here is a summary of Mr. Dingle's presentation. Does it light up relativity for you?

Hitherto we have been accustomed to regard matter, space and time as the three independent, immovable foundation stones of the world. Science has hitherto adopted them as the only possible data in terms of which to express its discoveries. But recently scientists have had reason to question the fundamental character of these three: for one reason, because space seems to be not empty but filled throughout with a sort of super-matter called ether. To test the activity of ether's existence attempts were made to find the "absolute velocity" of the earth swimming through the ether. In 1887, the famous Michelson-Morley experiment was performed, only to yield results so different from what were expected that some revolutionary explanation had to be offered for them. Relativity was the most satisfactory and far-reaching of all the suggestions.

It declared that space and time and matter are not the absolute and independent things we thought but are relative to the observer. They are types of relations between events. Events are the fundamental, single things; and nature is the sum total of events. "Two observers of Nature see, not necessarily the same matter, but the same events because events finally constitute the external physical world." It is not necessary that different observers,—say a man on earth and a man on Mars,—should impose the same spatial, temporal and material relations on the events. For instance, the position of a book on the table at a certain time seen by a person at one end of the table is an event. It presents to that observer certain definite relations of space, time and matter. Seen by another person from the opposite end of the room the same event has different relationships.

An illustration from a more familiar field may make this clearer. A young man walking with a young lady sees another young lady. He calls his reaction to the sight of the strange young lady "love at first sight." The other girl, however, also becomes agitated. If she is honest she will call her reaction "jealousy." In other words two observers of the same event describe that event differ-

ently—simply because their reactions varied with their emotions.

Now space and time and matter may not vary with our emotions, but may vary with other things. Matter and space and time, for instance, might be modified by motion, i.e., "by a change of our position in space as our position in time advances."

For most of our measurements are based upon a state of rest upon the revolving earth; what happens when we move upon the earth, however slowly or quickly, as the earth moves about the sun. The rest of the results of calculations and experiments attempting to answer this the Einstein theory is taken up with question. It has been found that a watch loses per day a definite amount for observers proportionate to the speed with which they are moving; that a one-foot rule shortens similarly and that a body weighing a definite amount increases in mass. These things have so far escaped our notice because the changes are so slight for ordinary speed. In the course of

such speculations the four-dimensional continuum, the non-Euclidean nature of space and other parts of the Einstein theory have been developed. But the core of the theory of relativity must be grasped before one dare venture into these deeper waters. This core is basically as the summary sets it forth.

Do you see? After Judge Gary and his steel committee have helped us, it ought to be clear. You see, Judge Gary decided that the twelve-hour day tires his workers less than an eight-hour day, gives them more time and inclination for their families and that they like it better. He speaks as an observer sitting in a conference chair in a Wall Street office who quotes the Bible and the old immigration laws. What the observer bending over a blazing mass of molten steel for twelve hours a day or night would decide, if given a real chance, would probably be slightly different. That is relativity. Do you see? Oh, well then watch for Einstein's own popularized explanation of his theory.

The Labor Press for May

(A Monthly Review)

By BERTHA WALLERSTEIN

Actresses have expensive evening dresses, and so perhaps you are apt to forget that they too are workers. Like other workers they have the problem of getting a living, and more than many other workers, they are faced with the problem of unemployment for a large, and uncertain, part of the year. They may be out of a job the week after their new play opens, if it fails. It is only the stars who get the high salaries; the average actor is just as much in need of his union as the average workman or cutter. The Actors' Union—the Actors' Equity Association—has won better contracts for them, standardized rates, and limited the length of time they may be required to rehearse without pay. Now the actors realize to the full what their union has done for them, and in their new contract with the managers they want a clause establishing the "equity shop." That is, of course, the union shop. The managers have refused, offering many concessions instead. But "Equity," the organ of the Actors' Equity Association, declares that "the equity shop policy is the only means as yet devised for maintaining the continued life and strength of the Actors' Equity Association." The actors have come to see, just as garment workers have come to see, that the union is the fundamental thing, the means to all other ends; that a contract which does not defend their union cannot make up for that defect with any number of concessions. Now who will deny that the actor is a genuine member of the working class?

The bakers, too, are fighting for their union. The Ward Baking Company, which factories all over this country, announces a 10 per cent reduction in wages and a "no union men wanted" policy. The workers are on strike, and the company is getting on as best it can with strikebreakers. "The Bakers' Journal" appeals to all organized labor to help the strikers with its purchasing power. On no commodity is the worker's purchasing power a more powerful weapon than on bread. The Bakers' Journal hopes that "labor will take a decided stand against the patronage of the non-union products of the Ward Baking Company." The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter calls attention to the fact that "the Ward Company cut wages 15 per cent in 1921. In 1922 they attempted a 10 per cent cut and a longer workday. Yet that year they paid their annual 8 per cent dividend, plus a 5 per cent

cash dividend and a 20 per cent stock dividend.

The "Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers, and Helpers Magazine" reports the latest development of the open shop campaign. The railroads, it seems, are trying to organize company unions instead of trade unions, and are collecting dues by means of the check-off. This means that every employee belongs to the union, whether he wishes or not, for his company union dues are deducted from his wages before he gets his pay envelope. In short, the open shoppers are trying to build a closed shop!

But there are some bright spots in the railroad situation. Kansas is one bright spot. You will remember that Kansas is famous for its industrial court, which penalizes workers for striking. The court made Governor Allen so unpopular that the farmers and workers defeated him at the polls last November and elected Governor Davis. The "Kansas Industrial Court" tells us how Governor Davis is proving faithful to the mandate of his supporters. He has appealed to the industrial court to work out a solution for the railroad situation. Owing to the shopmen's strike, the equipment of the railroads is deteriorating, while hundreds of good mechanics are out of work, and their families suffering. It is hard to see where this situation is doing anybody any good. But Governor Davis at least promises to put the unpopular Kansas Industrial Court to work.

Clay American labor is still fighting on fundamentals. While the right to organize and the right to strike are accepted in most European countries, America is still in the A B C's of the labor movement. Many union journals are printing editorials almost weekly or monthly on the right to strike or the right to organize. This may seem like old stuff. But it is old stuff until it becomes a recognized fact! The American Federationist defends the right to strike from the social point of view. "The strike," it says, "is a social and economic safety valve." Without it discontent breeds unorganized explosions and revolution. The strike insures industrial peace in the long run, and collective bargaining substitutes law and order for chaos in industry.

So much for the fight for the union. Second comes the wage fight. Since the early part of the war this has been the figures of the Bureau of Commerce closely related to the cost of living.

(Continued on page 9)



FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

UNTRAINED TEACHERS.

At the Whitstide Conference of the National Association of Head Teachers, a resolution was carried protesting against the new policy of employing untrained teachers in the education of children under six years of age, which was condemned as being both educationally and socially unsound. Miss Babby, who introduced the motion, pointed out that the children so affected had been babies born in the war, whose nervous system had been so much affected by want of food and want of sleep owing to air raids that they required special, not untrained, care.

WRITERS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

From the Trade Union point of view we regret the result of the ballot taken by the National Union of Journalists on the question of retaining its affiliation to the Trades Union Congress. The decision was taken by a very narrow majority on a small ballot, not half the members voting. We fear it must be admitted that the Trade Union enthusiasts among the members were apathetic in the matter, for we do not believe that the majority of working journalists are opposed to affiliation as the logical extension of their Trade Union principles. As a result, the National Union of Journalists finds itself in a somewhat anomalous position: its general secretary has just been elected to the executive of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, to whom the Union has been affiliated for some years, and yet, by its own act, the Union has severed itself from the general working-class movement, where the real interests of the working members of the profession undoubtedly lie. Fortunately, no decision of the kind is irrevocable.

COOPERATORS AND THE RUHR.

The National Executive of the British Cooperators has approved the report of their delegation to the Ruhr, which strongly condemns French policy, says that the conduct of the French military occupation of the Ruhr leaves much to be desired, and comments on the remarkable support given by the German workers to passive resistance there.

The Dutch trade unions' Representative Committee has sent the French Premier a strongly worded protest against the occupation of the Ruhr.

LABOR AND RUSSIA.

Trade union branches all over Great Britain are passing resolutions against a breach with Russia, and preparations are being made by them and by the 860 branches of the Independent Labor Party to resist the Government should such a breach be made. An emergency resolution was carried unanimously by the Cooperative Congress at Edinburgh, calling upon the British Government to do their utmost to maintain and improve their relations with Russia and thus to preserve the peace of Europe.

REGULATION OF DIVORCE REPORTS.

Should the Matrimonial Causes (Regulation of Reports) Bill be passed through Parliament, it will be unlawful to publish reports of divorce proceedings in such a manner as to cause injury to public morals.

WAR AGAINST WAR.

The Australian Workers' Union, the most important Australian trade union organization, has issued a manifesto against war, declaring that wars "are inherent in the capitalist system" and calling upon workers to organize against war. The Zanokai, a Japanese organization of disabled soldiers, are trying to organize an International Federation of Disabled Soldiers to work for international peace.

Brookwood Labor College Graduation

(Continued from page 1)

total lack of formality such as usually marks a commencement.

The students who were graduated not only paid their own way through the college but were required to do two hours of manual labor each day. The graduates who represented eight nationalities and seven labor unions were:

Rita Allen, New York; Martin Beardslee, Hartford, Conn.; Katherine Bennett, Katonah, N. Y.; Tanya Bennett, Katonah, N. Y.; Bessie Friedman, New York; Tony Gordon, Glencoe, Ohio; Mary Goff, New York; Ruth Gordon, New York; Sidney Henderson, Paulina, Iowa; Joseph Kunz, Baltimore, Md.; E. J. Lever, Philadelphia, Pa.; Marit C. Martos, New York; Charles Moore, Manchester, England; Israel Mufson, Passaic, N. J., and Edward Trepal, New York.

The unions to which they will return are: International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, United Mine Workers,

Coopers' Union, Association of Machinists, Amalgamated Food Workers, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Union of Postal Workers of Great Britain.

Labor union officials attended the exercises and made addresses. A. J. Morte, chairman of the faculty, stated that the college did not aim at culture, but rather at a broad grounding in the American labor movement. Israel Mufson, on behalf of the students, said they as students could not be judged until their theoretical training would be tested within the labor movement. They came there, he said, from labor organizations because they realized that they could not function effectively with the limited knowledge they possessed.

The college is controlled by organized labor through a committee. Vice-President Fannia M. Cohn represents our International on this committee.

ITALY

MUSSOLINI AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mussolini, who has done his best to destroy constitutional government in Italy and has openly declared he is "sick of liberty," kindly promised a deputation of a thousand women from the Women's International Suffrage Alliance that he would carry out his pledge to enfranchise Italian women "by categories."

PALESTINE

LABOR IN PALESTINE.

A Workers' Bank, cooperative colonies for agricultural workers, building guilds, and other successful communal enterprises are among the activities of the newly-formed but highly organized trade unions, in which the bulk of the workers in Palestine are rapidly being absorbed.

During the last two years the Builders' Union (which is almost entirely a guild), secured contracts up to the value of \$500,000.

Cooperation is a feature of these developments, and membership of the General Federation of Jewish Labor is practically identical with that of the Cooperative Wholesale Society "Hamashbir."

At a conference of the Federation, held in Jaffa, when 130 delegates attended (of whom 80 belonged to the "Abdoth-Haavodah," the Socialist party of Palestine), it was decided to apply for affiliation to the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

CANADA

FINES FOR BOSSES WHO BALK.

Increased compensation for injured employees is being demanded by Canadian railwaymen in a reform program presented to Parliament.

The legislation demanded also provides for heavy fines to be levied on employers who disregard the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act.

BELGIUM

BELGIAN STRIKE SPREADS.

The strike of Belgian railwaymen is spreading, in spite of the threats of the Government to proceed further with mobilization.

There are signs, however, that the Government is anxious to conciliate the strikers.

SPAIN

UNDERGROUND WORKERS IN MADRID.

A demand that any worker who becomes ill from overwork in water shall be treated as having met with an accident while working has been put forward by strikers engaged in the new underground railway extension in Madrid.

The Labor Press for May

(Continued from page 8)

Labor Statistics show the cost of living steadily mounting through the war, and labor pointed to these figures in its effort kept its standard of living at least as high as the pre-war level. When the cost of living began to fall at the end of 1920 the employers gave this as an excuse for wage cutting. Now the labor journals notice that the cost of living is again on the upward swing. It rose 1 1/4 per cent from February to March, the *Brookwood Magazine* tells us, and it rose again from March to April in 11 of the 17 cities studied, says *Labor*, the weekly paper of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Labor is getting to be so at home with figures that it cannot be fooled much longer by statistics jugglers. In fact, it is waking up to the importance of technique in industrial problems, and in labor problems. The *Leconomist Engineers Journal* devotes its May issue to the question of labor and management "because," it says, "we believe that the time is at hand not only for the railroad employes, but for the mine workers, the textile workers, and other operatives of the nation's basic industries to face seriously the challenging task before them." This is no less a task than the problem of administration of industry. Labor must be trained in the problems of management, the *Journal* believes, suggesting a labor university

to do the job. William Haggood's article, in the same issue, tells of the training of employes for management in his own factory in Billiana, and describes how very successful joint management by worker and employer has been. Professor Goodrich follows with a plea for decentralization in control of industry. Let the employes of each little shop have a voice in its management. Only by doing the actual job of managing will workers learn how it is done. Evans Clark of the Labor Bureau follows with an article on the value of the technician. So far capital has commanded the services of nearly all the technicians. Labor is only beginning to appreciate what they can do for it, and to use their services in its behalf. Stuart Chase, also of the Labor Bureau, describes the waste in industry that results from the profit system. The workers pay for this waste in low wages and unemployment. Capital controls industry and has the benefit of the technical knowledge of the engineer. Where that technique swells profits, it is used. Where it merely benefits the public in cheaper and better service and goods, or the worker in shorter hours, it is likely to be scrapped, unless at the same time it swells profits. What could labor not do if it harnessed the brains of the engineers to its own industrial strength?



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course on Social and Political History of the United States

By Dr. H. J. CARMAN

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Season 1922-1923

LESSON 10—SECTIONALISM AND THE CIVIL WAR

I. Slavery—North and South.

1. The decline of slavery in the North.

(a) At time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States (1789) there were only 40,000 slaves in the Northern states, as against nearly 700,000 in the South.

(b) Northern slaves were domestic servants and not workers in the field.

(c) In the North there had been from Colonial times a growing moral sentiment against slavery, and by 1830 the commercial states of the North had abolished slavery.

(d) The rise of the Abolitionist agitation.

1. About 1830 Northern individuals, like William Lloyd Garrison, began to demand "immediate and unconditional emancipation!" Vowed to God to do all within their power to abolish slavery.

2. At first these Abolitionists were hissed and stoned and their property destroyed.

3. Gradually, however, large numbers of Northern people began to rally to the cause of the Abolitionists, and in 1844 a political party pledged against the further extension of slavery into the territories of the United States polled 62,000 votes out of over a million and a half. Four years later it polled over a quarter of a million. Abolition was on the gain!

4. The country was flooded with newspapers and pamphlets and abolition orators never tired in their appeals for the overthrow of the "accursed system of slavery."

2. Growth of Slavery in the South.

(a) In the early days, opposition to slavery was strong in the South.

Washington and Jefferson condemned slavery. With demand for cotton, however, slavery became more profitable and Southerners began to defend the institution.

(c) From 1800 to 1850 the number of slaves increased from 700,000 to more than 3,000,000.

3. Slave owners influential in politics.

(a) Out of a population of nearly 20,000,000 whites in the United States, 350,000 were slave owners who were well organized, had leisure and wealth and, throughout the South and in some sections of the North, they controlled the press, schools and pulpits.

(b) The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had been the first great contest in the 19th century between the forces of slavery and anti-slavery.

1. By this Compromise, Missouri came in as a slave state, but all other territory north of her southern boundary should remain free.

2. Principle re-enforced that Congress had full power to prevent slavery in territories.

(c) The Wilmot Proviso of 1846 and the attempt on the part of those opposed to slavery to prevent its extension into the territories acquired from Mexico as a result of the Mexican War.

(d) Clay Webster and Calhoun, the great leaders of the day, and their effort to settle the question of slavery resulted in the Compromise of 1850.

II. The Drift toward Civil War.

1. Compromise of 1850 failed to settle the question, and anti-slavery agitation continued with greater vigor than before.

(a) "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

(b) Repeal of Missouri Compromise.

(c) Stephen A. Douglass and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

2. The Rise of the Republican Party.

(a) Formed in 1854 in Wisconsin and two years later polled over 1,300,000 votes.

(b) A sectional party which believed in protection tariff and opposed slavery.

(c) The Panic of 1857 caused business men and others to look to the new party to bring back prosperity. Business men claimed the hard times came because the Democrats had reduced the tariff.

3. John Brown raid in 1859, an attempt to liberate the slaves by violence.

Report submitted to the Conference of the Workers' Education Bureau in the United States.

It is becoming evident that organized Labor is destined to play an increasingly important part in social and economic progress. Even temporary after-war depression cannot hide this fact. Labor is caught in a predicament where it is compelled to struggle bitterly for its hard-earned gains. But he who runs may read. It does not require very much knowledge to see that things will not continue as they are. It is merely a matter of time when Labor will be forced by existing conditions to unite more firmly than before, and to compel widespread and fundamental changes in the present economic system.

Who is going to accomplish this? Surely not millions of ignorant and dissatisfied men and women. All they can do is to give voice to discontent and to a deep-seated desire for change. The actual constructive work will be performed by those in the labor movement who know and understand.

But how are these to be found? Who are they? No one can answer

correctly. No one can tell who are the men and women who, a few years hence, will lead their brothers and sisters to triumph over Industrial Democracy.

It is our sacred duty to find these men and women, and give them the knowledge and vision which will enable them to serve their fellow workers efficiently. This can be accomplished best by further development of labor education. Activities of all kinds—lectures, forums, classes, social and recreational functions, must be organized. Their doors must be flung wide open to attract as many of the rank and file as are sufficiently interested to enter. All of these who enter must be given proper training, for they will be the great labor army of tomorrow.

The educational activities initiated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are gradually spreading and will sooner or later become an organic part of the American Labor Movement. They are a fulfillment of the ideal that economic efforts of the Labor Movement to accomplish its aims must be reinforced by other factors, chief among which is Workers' Education.

Outing and Hike to Englewood This Sunday, June 10th

The second outing and hike arranged by the students' council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers will take place on Sunday, June 10th. The hikers will meet at 9:30 in the morning at the Dyckman Street subway station.

To get there, take the Seventh Avenue subway, Van Courtlandt Park train, to Dyckman Street. Those living near the Lexington Avenue subway, take the Lexington Avenue subway to 42d Street, then the shuttle to the Seventh Avenue subway, and the Van Courtlandt Park train to Dyckman Street station. The committee will wait at the foot of the Dyckman Street station, and then

proceed to the Ferry.

Members who desire to join, are asked to bring along food for the day, and a ball.

It is needless to emphasize the importance for our members of outdoor sports such as are afforded by these combination outings and hikes. All arrangements have been made by the committee for a day of sociability and good-fellowship.

As at our last outing, all the entertainment will be by our members, expressed through games, singing, playing, etc.

Come and bring your friends, and remember—9:30 at the foot of the Dyckman Street subway station.

Excursion Planned by the Students' Council

The students' council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers is planning an excursion. For this purpose a small yacht will be chartered, as was done last year. It is the intention of the committee to afford an opportunity to a limited number of our members, students of our classes, to have a get-together on the Hudson. To make it possible for them to spend a few joyous hours in a pleasant family atmosphere, it was decided that the capacity of the boat should not exceed one hundred. Charges for tickets will be just enough to cover expenditures. Preference in reservations will be given to students.

The excursion is planned for the last week in July or the beginning of August.

More detailed information will appear in the next issue of JUSTICE. It may also be obtained at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

CHORUS OF LOCAL 11 IN THEIR SUMMER HEADQUARTERS

The chorus of the Cloakmakers' Union, Local 11, I. L. G. W. U., opened headquarters for the summer months at 3209 Neptune Avenue, corner 37th Street, Coney Island.

The formal opening will take place on Saturday, June 9th, at 8 p. m. Members of the I. L. G. W. U. are invited to visit the headquarters and attend the rehearsals on Saturday evenings.

- The South alarmed.
 - The election campaign of 1860 and the election of Abraham Lincoln by the Republicans.
 - The South secedes.
 - Civil War begins.
- READING: Beard, History of the United States, Chapters XIII, XIV.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

The Organization Committee here presents the report of the shop-chairmen meeting held on Thursday, May 31st at People's House, 7 East 15th Street, under the chairmanship of Sister Mollie Friedman. The order of business at this meeting was:

1. Outside committees.
2. Minutes of the Joint Board.
3. Labor Bureau.
4. Manager's Report.

OUTSIDE COMMITTEES

Arturo Giovannitti, secretary of the Italian Chamber of Labor, appeared on behalf of the Anti-Fascist Alliance. Giovannitti stated that the Fascisti, having gained the power of the state after two years of massacre and terror, have reduced, under the penalty of death, forty million people to the lowest forms of slavery. The Fascisti have burned, sacked and razed to the ground hundreds of private and public dwellings, chambers of labor, meeting halls, libraries, schools, etc., erected with the savings of millions of toilers. They have destroyed dozens of printing plants, have violently suppressed by seizure and arson practically all the press of the opposition. They have diverted the National Assembly of every power, prohibiting every discussion of

political and economic problems and have denied Parliament every control over the finances and policies of the state, by substituting a personal dictatorship—the dictatorship of their leader, Mussolini. They have ruled out of the law and all its protections every political party of the workers, membership in which is punishable by death, torture, or banishment. They have dissolved and disbanded by force of arms all labor organizations and professional associations that did not submit at once to the absolute control of the Fascisti.

Comrade Giovannitti therefore appealed in the name of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of America to prevent the growth of Fascism in the United States where Fascist contingents have already been organized.

The shop chairmen present were greatly impressed with the appeal made by Comrade Giovannitti and Sister Mollie Friedman, member of Local No. 22 introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the shop chairmen:

WHEREAS, the Fascisti groups in the United States are organized for the purpose of combating the labor movement and retarding industrial justice, be it

RESOLVED, that we, the shop-

chairmen of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, endorse in full the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America and solemnly pledge it our moral and material support to the end that Fascism may be completely wiped out from America and from every other country where they are spreading their destructive activities.

After the resolution was adopted, the shop chairmen were instructed to report to the office of the Union any agitation or propaganda by workers in the shop and to bring to the Grievance Committee any member found agitating for Fascism.

Gerry L. Maxwell, representing the International Association of Machinists made an appeal to the shop chairmen to see to it that any machinists doing work in their shops are urged to join the Machinists Union. He expressed his confidence in the cooperation that the shop chairmen will lend that organization.

Brother Maxwell's appeal was well taken and from the attitude prevailing among the shop chairmen it was evident that they will cooperate with the Machinists' Union.

MINUTES OF THE JOINT BOARD

Upon motion the minutes of the Joint Board for the month of May were read by the secretary. It was apparent that the shop chairmen took a keen interest in the activities of the Joint Board.

Sister Kronhardt, chairlady of the Unity House Committee, appealed to the shop chairmen to make known the opening of the Unity House on June 15th to the members of the Union. She expressed the confidence that the members of our organization will avail themselves of the opportunity to

spend a pleasant vacation at our Unity House at Forest Park, Pennsylvania. Sister Sonofsky as chairlady, added an appeal to all the Italian members who were present, to do likewise. She also made an announcement in regard to the picnic which the Italian Local No. 59 arranged to be held on June 2nd.

MANAGER'S REPORT

Brother Hochman reported that as far as he knows it is dull in the industry at present. However, he stated that the new season is expected to start in the very near future and arrangements are now under way for the launching of a fresh organization campaign. He furthermore stated that, before launching this campaign, letters will be sent out to all the shop chairmen urging them to cooperate in the organization work.

Brother Hochman also spoke about the labor bureau which has been opened and the difficulties and obstacles in the way of its proper functioning. It could not, however, be expected to function 100 per cent perfectly from the very beginning but ways and means would be found for making this department one of the most important in our organization.

In conclusion, Brother Hochman appealed to the shop chairmen to see to it that future shop chairmen meetings are better attended than they have been heretofore.

A discussion arose in which many shop chairmen participated, on the points touched upon by Brother Hochman. A great number of the shop chairmen took a keen interest in the labor bureau and they expressed the wish that the Joint Board do everything possible to make this labor bureau function properly.

The Opening of the Unity House

By CHAS. JACOBSON, Secretary

Friday, June 15th will mark the opening of the Unity House at Forest Park, Pa., which is owned by the Joint Board of Dress and Waistmakers' Unions. With this opening the Unity House Committee celebrates the fifth anniversary of the Unity House, and has arranged for this occasion an unusual program, the principal feature of which will be a classical concert in which well-known artists will participate.

Formerly known as "Forest Park Hotel," that wonderful estate—truly the home of witchery and enchantment—now known as the "Unity House," served for three decades as a select resort for the idle rich. Captains of industry, magnates and social idlers congregated in this village. Here, in a region of unparalleled scenic beauty, they enjoyed their long and luxurious vacations. In these cottages they slept, on these lawns they inhaled the rare tonic air saturated with the fragrant odors of pine and forest, yielding to the charm of ideal surroundings.

But this remarkable place no longer serves the pleasure of the wealthy, the idler and the drone. Today the vast estate, the Unity House, is the sole property of working men and women, and is dedicated to their comfort.

Words cannot do justice to the rare beauty of this place, and the camera fails to capture in drab black and white the everchanging panorama, the inspiring landscape. To appreciate it all, one must actually be there to see and judge for oneself.

The outstanding features of the Unity House are these:

The Unity House is not a private business enterprise, run for profit, nor is it by any means a philanthropic institution. It is purely and simply a self-supporting workers' home, owned by a labor union, and maintained

for the sole purpose of providing each and every worker with an opportunity of enjoying a vacation under ideal surroundings and incomparable comfort and pleasure, at a minimum cost. Its hospitality is extended not only to our members, but also to those of all labor unions, without exception.

In its ownership, management and purpose, it may well be said that the Unity House is a unique establishment, exceptional in that it is almost the only workers' summer resort of its type and size known to the labor world.

The management is primarily concerned in providing and satisfying, insofar as possible, the needs, desires and requirements of the thousands of workers who visit the Unity House. The task is not without its difficulties, but the management exerts itself to its utmost to assure the well-being and happiness of our people.

The food is carefully selected, fresh and wholesome, scientifically prepared, healthful without question, its quality and preparation being in charge of an expert dietitian.

The management interests itself equally in the physical and spiritual welfare of the Unity House folks. An efficient instructor is on duty to supervise physical training, to teach leath-building exercises, dancing and to organize and arrange diversions and entertainments, such as concerts, balls, readings, baseball and basketball games, tennis, bowling, billiards, lakeshore campfires, auto trips and hikes to the nearby water-falls and other points of scenic interest.

You can take part in endless sports and activities, you can swim, boat and fish, or, if you choose, idly lose yourself in some of the forest retreat and commune with nature. Or contrarily, if the mood dictates, you may retire to a cool, quiet reading room

and lounge about over a book or magazine.

In order to be sure of an opportunity of spending a vacation at the Unity House, reservations must be made in advance. It is best to arrange your vacation for the earliest part of the season, for it may be difficult to secure accommodations during the latter part of the summer

season. The Unity House has a capacity of over 400 people, and reservations are limited to that number. Those who desire to take a vacation exceeding two weeks should make reservations without delay.

For reservations, information and other particulars apply at our office, 16 West 21st Street, room 6, or telephone Watkins 7950.

YOUR DENTIST

Have your teeth thoroughly examined, without cost to you, by your own dentist at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center served 10,000 workers during the year 1922, members of the I. L. G. W. U. and their families.

The Dental Department is equipped to serve EVERY member of the Union this year.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center is Your Dentist. Charges are based on costs, not profits. Remember, a small cavity today means a bad tooth tomorrow.

Office Hours: Daily, 10 A. M.—8 P. M.
Saturday, 10 A. M.—5 P. M.

HAVE YOU REGISTERED YET FOR THE FOREST PARK UNITY HOUSE?

If not, do so at once, and do not fail to come to the opening on Friday, June 15th. A concert and a dance will open the season at Forest Park, and it would be a sin to miss them. More details next week.

The Philadelphia Unity House at Orville, Pa., will open on Sunday, June 17th. Philadelphia dressmakers and cloakmakers will do the right thing if they register immediately and make arrangements to be present at the Philadelphia Unity House on the opening day.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

The belief of the members that judiciary (appeal) committees invariably reverse decisions of the Executive Board is gradually losing its popularity, according to the decisions of these committees.

For the past six months, and particularly during the past few weeks, a large number of members fined by the Executive Board for various violations requested—and were granted—judiciary committees to have their cases re-tried. In every case thus re-heard for the five months just passed, the Executive Board's decisions were upheld.

The Executive Board has practically set a record recently for the number of violators summoned before it. Every one of its sessions lately lasted until nearly midnight. Some nights saw as many as fifty men tried for violations of the union's by-laws. In spite of the strain of hearing so many cases at one session, the Executive Board members spent considerable time weighing the pros and cons of each case, and before a decision is finally reached little if any room is left for appeal.

When, therefore, the malefactors are granted their appeals to have their cases re-tried, the Judiciary Committees find little if any grounds for the reversal of a decision.

The cases which appear for trial vary in nature. Fines imposed range from one dollar to the hundred and fifty. The former amount is imposed on those members who fail to take out a working-card when they secure a new job. Fines for this offense range up to five dollars; depending upon the length of time a cutter works without a working-card. The latter amount, the \$150, is imposed upon men who scab.

To this amount is added expulsion when it affects a member who becomes a member of a corporation, and when such a member poses as a worker instead of an employer. Expulsion is usually also the punishment accorded members who go into business and do not resign.

In speaking of the fines imposed upon members for failing to take out working-cards, it is important to remember the members of the reasons for the unusual number. In making a survey of the shops with and without cutters, Manager Dubinsky found large numbers of shops which upon investigation employed cutters, but without working-cards. The manager reported this matter to the Executive Board and decided that he would strictly enforce the law governing working-cards. Now, whenever a cutter is found working without this card, a fine is imposed in each case.

An interesting case concerning the cutters of Kaplan Brothers recently came to the attention of Manager Dubinsky. Very often some employers boast of the fact that their workers are employed for 52 weeks of the year. If the wage is commensurate with the needs of the average family, such families may consider themselves fortunate.

The manager, however, concluded that the cutters of Kaplan Brothers, in spite of their fifty-two weeks of employment, were no better off in the long run than the cutters who worked seven or eight months of the year and earned from \$50 to \$60 per week. The weekly wages of the cutters in question were \$45.00. And when everything is considered the former workers are better off in that they earned nearly as much money as the latter and do not have to give up four additional months to earn the same amount.

When Manager Dubinsky, in look-

ink through his records, saw the wages which these cutters were receiving, he decided that since the men were working nearly 52 weeks out of the year, \$45.00 is not sufficient compensation for an entire year's work.

He took the matter up with Brother Slutsky, in charge of the Kiefer Department of the Cloak Joint Board with a view to seeking his cooperation in an effort to secure an increase in wages for the men. However, it is regrettable to state that, because of a lack of necessary cooperation on the part of Brother Slutsky, the matter of securing the increase is not yet an accomplished thing.

The question of the earnings of the cutters, by the way, was the subject of Dubinsky's report at the meeting of the cloak and suit cutters' branch, which took place last Monday, June 4th, in Arlington Hall. This report will be made public in these columns in the next issue of this publication.

Besides this report at the meeting, there were a number of other interesting matters which were reported to and taken up by the members. Two cases,—because in them is contained a lesson to the two members involved and because they prove that the old adage, "honesty is the best policy", should be borne in mind by those who overdo things,—are well worth recording.

At the May 24th session of the Executive Board, Barney Rosenstein, Ledger No. 2687, was summoned on charges (1) working on Sunday, (2) accepting time and one-half pay for overtime and (3) permitting his boss to help him cut. It was also brought out that, in addition to the fact that the cutter supplied 14 operators with work, the firm managed to send out to be made up several thousands of garments which the cutter cut.

Needless to say, Brother Rosenstein denied all these charges. But to the Executive Board it was very plain that it was physically impossible for one man to cut out so much material. The decision of the Board was, in view of the fact that this is the slack season, that the cutter's working-card be withdrawn at the end of the present season.

The Executive Board members are sure once this cutter is removed from this job two members will be kept very busy during the regular hours of work. When this case was reported to the meeting Rosenstein insisted upon pleading for reversal of the decision,—this in spite of the advice to the member in question by some active members that he would make matters worse, as the members present knew full well the limitations on output in a 44-hour week.

However, this advice was ignored, and the cutter argued his case. He reiterated his denial made to the Executive Board and insisted that, because of the simplicity of the styles which he cut, it was not unduly hard. Other members in arguing for the recommendation pointed out that 62 plies of the cloth used by the firm was actually 124, as the cloth was doubled and that unusual strength was required to cut such a lay. As was expected, the recommendation was sustained.

During the course of the discussion every member who spoke was of the opinion that it was impossible for one man to supply fourteen machines with work and send thousands of garments out to be made up.

It is important to recall to the members a similar case, which was experienced by the office, and the sad plight of the cutter in this case. The circumstances were identical. Nearly the same number of workers were

supplied with work. The unusual strain to which the cutter was subjected resulted in his physical breakdown.

The cutter is now confined in a sanitarium and his job is held by two workers who are kept well supplied with work. It would not be amiss to say that the union in the case of Rosenstein was the means of warding off his eventual break-down and affliction with that dreaded workers' disease,—T. B.

The second case of interest which the members heard related to a sort of double punishment inflicted upon a member for his having worked on a Saturday afternoon.

Manager Dubinsky's special interest was aroused in this case when another member appeared in his office and told him that his employer ridiculed the union for its failure to punish a man for working on a Saturday afternoon, and who bribed a so-called "committee" of one not to report his having been found in the shop on the day mentioned.

Dubinsky immediately beset himself to the shop in question for the purpose of investigating this very interesting matter. And this is what he learned: A man appeared in the shop and introduced himself as having been appointed by the union to investigate shops in order to apprehend cutters who were working Saturday afternoon. This "committee" of one found a cutter. Upon the cutter's offer of \$10, the "committee" promised not to report the case to the union.

The Manager ordered the cutter then found working to the office and asked him to identify the "committee". Of course this the cutter failed to do. At the meeting of the cloak cutters Dubinsky again asked the member to look around and see if he could not find the bribe-taking "committee", but to no avail.

When the matter came to the attention of the Executive Board it was decided that bribe-giving was also criminal and placed a fine of \$25 against the individual in question. It cost the worker in question, in all, \$35, in addition to having earned for himself a double reputation of which the cutter is not in the least proud.

In spite of the dullness in this trade, the office finds a good deal of interesting matter. For a time there was considerable speculation as to the outcome of the controversy raging in the camps of the contractors and jobbers in the dress trade. There was a good deal of talk even among the cutters as to the possibility of a "strike".

The dress contractors, it appears, were not very pleased over the treatment accorded them by the jobbers regarding certain terms. But the spectacle of a "strike" by employers against employers bids fair to be averted. From reports contained in trade papers some sort of a com-

promise is being effected, and the members may rest easy for the present.

What is the real problem of the union right now, is the constant violations of the agreement by the jobbers. The jobbers according to the agreement should send their work to be made up by union contractors. Not only is this clause often violated but the union strongly suspects that non-union shops, which constantly spring up, are being encouraged by the jobbers.

For the present, Julius Hochman, the manager of the Dress and Waist Joint Board, has ordered investigators to make a survey of these with a view to organizing these shops when the season starts.

It is important in this connection for cutters who secure employment in open shops to report to the office, as very often shops are organized as a result of the information which the union secures from the workers employed in such shops.

The attention of the members is directed to the next meeting of this branch which will take place this Monday, June 11th, in Arlington Hall. A number of important questions will come up for discussion and action.



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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

WAIST AND DRESS	Monday, June 11th
MISCELLANEOUS	Monday, June 18th
GENERAL	Monday, June 25th
CLOAK AND SUIT	Monday, July 2nd

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place