

"My righteous-
ness 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. 35.

New York, Friday, August 24, 1928

Price 2 Cents

TO ALL OUR LOCALS AND JOINT BOARDS

A STATEMENT BY THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

In conformity with the decision adopted by the General Executive Board at its last quarterly meeting, President Sigman and Secretary Bar-

off forwarded last week the following letters to all our locals and joint boards.

August 16, 1928.

GREETING:

The attention of the General Executive Board has been called to the activities of certain organized groups within the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which, in the opinion of the Board, seriously menace the integrity of the organization and the welfare of our members.

Under the titles of "Shop Delegate League," and under other disguises, members of some of our locals, often in cooperation with individuals outside of the ranks of our Union, are attempting to set up a secret and irresponsible control of the organization in the interests of a movement alien to our cause and disruptive in its aims and character.

Such pernicious organizations within the organization cannot be tolerated by our International Union, and the General Executive Board, which is charged by our Constitution with the general supervision over all affairs of the organization, has determined to put a definite stop to them.

Our Board recognizes the right of every member to criticize the policies of the administration, locally and nationally, and to advocate any other policy within the organization. But the two cornerstones of our union, democracy and discipline, cannot be allowed to be destroyed. Our constitution is a most democratic instrument. It leaves the government in the

hands of the membership, who are free to make such laws and rules as they see fit, and to entrust their execution to men of their own ranks and their own choice. Our discipline is voluntary and self-imposed and is vital for any effective action.

The individuals or groups who attempt to determine the policies of our organization in caucus and outside of the regular meetings of the organization; and who seek to force their decisions upon the membership at large; who attack and vilify the chosen representatives of the organization and systematically obstruct all activities of the organization, are undermining the very foundations of our Union, and are its enemies.

The Local Unions are therefore directed to order all its members of such "Leagues" to immediately cease all activities in the "Leagues" in any shape or form. All members of Local Unions who persist in the objectionable activities described above shall be brought to trial on the charge of conduct detrimental to the organization, in the manner provided by our Constitution.

Locals and Joint Boards will be held strictly accountable for the enforcement of this decision, and are requested to report their action on it to the General Executive Board without delay.

Fraternally yours,

M. SIGMAN, President.

ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

Injunction Epidemic in Chicago Gets Setback

Illinois State Court Denies Application for Injunction of Ten Dress Manufacturers—Chicago Astir With President Gompers' Speech on Injunctions—Governor Small Receives Committee of Union Men—Seven Men Expelled From Union for Refusing to Sever Affiliation With "Educational League"—Organization Campaign of Dressmakers Continues With Full Force

Encouraged by the success of Mitchell Brothers, the dress firm which obtained an injunction against our Chicago union, prohibiting it from doing organizing work among its employees, ten other non-union Chicago dress firms applied to the Illinois State Supreme court for injunctions, advancing the same ground that the union was causing them, by its organizing activity, "irreparable damages."

The State Court apparently declined to accept the reasoning of Federal Judge Carpenter who so readily granted the injunction to the Mitchell firm. It flatly refused to listen to their "prayer" and sent them home disappointed. This is regarded in Chicago labor circles as a definite check to the injunction epidemic which threatened to hinder seriously the normal activities of the labor movement in that city. The final hearing on the Mitchell injunction is coming off in a few days, at which a decision will have to be rendered whether this injunction is to be made

permanent or vacated. There is no doubt that the speech delivered last week by President Samuel Gompers at a meeting under the auspices of the Chicago Federation of Labor in which he flatly advised the workers to disregard these brutal writs has had a considerable influence on the situation.

Last Thursday, a committee of our Chicago Union, headed by President Sigman and Vice-President Perlestein, went to see Governor Small in connection with the injunction outrages that have stirred so deeply every labor man and every friend of the work-

ers' cause in the Windy City. We shall report on the result of this audience with the Governor next week.

Meanwhile, while the Union in Chicago is waging a bitter, defensive fight against our enemies on the outside, the fight against the enemy within is continuing unabated. This week, the Chicago locals expelled after due trial seven recalcitrant members who after warning and admonition refused to give up membership in the so-called "Trade Union Educational League," a group of union disrupters with "dictatorial" leanings.

Unity House To Keep Open Until Sept. 13

Upon the request of a great many members of the union and prospective visitors, the Forest Park Unity House will remain open over the Jewish New Year's Day—Rosh-Hashana—which falls on September 11 and 12. Those who desire to spend a few final days

in the beautiful surroundings of Unityland, are requested to register at once at the Unity House office.

The Orville Unity House of Local 15 will be open only until Tuesday, September 4, closing right after Labor Day.

PRESIDENT SIGMAN IN CHICAGO

President Morris Sigman left last Monday New York City for Chicago to be present at the final hearing on the application for a permanent injunction of the Mitchell Bros. firm, and also to appear with a committee of union workers before Governor Small of Illinois.

While in Chicago, President Sigman will also meet with the Joint Board and with the executive boards of the locals. President Sigman's principal object for going to Chicago, however, is to inform the members of our Chicago organization that he is in full accord with Vice-President Perlestein in his work and policies and has the fullest measure of confidence in him. Also that in carrying out his work, Vice-President Perlestein represents fully the opinions and the sentiment of the General Executive Board of the International.

President Sigman will not remain long in the West and expects to return to New York by the beginning of next week.

Cloak Organizing Campaign Started in Los Angeles

Vice-President Lefkowitz in Charge

With the arrival of Vice-President Lefkowitz in Los Angeles, the apathy and pessimism which for many long months has filled the atmosphere in women's wear workers' circles in that city has begun to disappear. The grievances and dissatisfaction which existed between man and woman in the Los Angeles locals have been put aside and the hope of a strong united labor body in the cloak trade is now inspiring every worker.

Immediately upon his arrival, Vice-President Lefkowitz held a few meet-

ings with the executive board of Local 53 in order to sound out the situation. After that he called together a membership meeting of the local, and these meetings have impressed him very favorably. It seems that the choice of Lefkowitz to direct organizing activities in Los Angeles made by President Sigman, was a very lucky one, as the local cloakmakers have full confidence in him and fully believe that he will be able to lead them out of their present wilderness.

(Continued on page 9)

Bathrobe Makers in General Strike

With 44 Hours, Union Shops and Wage Raises

The decision of the bathrobe makers, who are part of Local 91, to go out on strike in all the New York shops, was carried out on Wednesday, August 1st.

The bathrobe makers are striking for a better wage, for cleaner shops, and for a 44-hour week; they are striking for a union shop that would make secure for them a decent existence and decent treatment within the shops. The slogan among the bathrobe makers today is, "Each shop a union shop and every bathrobe mak-

er a union man or woman!"

All bathrobe makers in New York City will assemble in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place; all Brooklyn and Brownsville strikers will be located at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street. As these lines are being written, the number of the workers who responded to the general strike call is not yet known, but all signs point to the fact that a great majority of those employed in the trade have already answered the call of the union.

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

THE FLOGGERS

FROM Steubenville, Ohio, to Macon, Ga., this has been a week of mob terror, flogging and gang-kidnaping unequaled in ferocity even in this land of the free and the virtuous.

Tulsa, Oklahoma, has been placed by Governor Walton under martial law because a group of adventurous spiffers in the white hood of the Klux Klan have kidnapped, flogged and run out of town a number of citizens who, either by their race, religion, race, or general habits of living have incurred the displeasure of the virtuous Kluxers. In Macon, Georgia, the crusade of the white hooligans is directed chiefly against negroes who are rounded up, beaten, flogged, and otherwise tortured on a scale and in a manner unprecedented even in that luckless homeland of the colored race in America.

In Steubenville the fight is raging between the Kluxers and their opponents who would not be dictated to by the white-hooded gangs who dare to take the law into their own hands and enforce it by gun, knout, or tar and feathers. Both sides are actively mobilizing now, and unless State forces will interfere, there is bound to break out there a bloody clash which will startle the country.

On the whole, the mob spirit is rising and brutal intolerance is showing its ugly hand everywhere. When the Government, during the war years, wantonly trampled upon the rights and liberties of American citizenship under the protest of "war necessity" it was blazing the way for the present Klan outrages. Then followed Prohibition with its legalized invasion of the domain of the individual's right to eat and drink what he or she might choose for themselves. Is there wonder that they are flogging and lynching persons in Georgia and Ohio today because their moral conduct does not suit the tender ethical susceptibilities of the pious Kluxers?

STEINMETZ AND THE FOUR-HOUR DAY

DR. CHARLES P. STEINMETZ, the famous electrical expert, made a "startling" statement last week. He said that he believed, at the present rate of world progress, that the time was coming when there would be no long, back-breaking drudgery, and when people would work not more than four hours a day. "That will be the work of electricity," he said. "The rest of the time we will be able to follow our natural bent."

The "wizard" visualized an amazing transformation in life in 2023. When another century had rolled into history, he said, people would be amazed at the present helplessness in the struggle for advancement. Fogs of smoke would no longer hang over cities. Streets would be free of refuse. People would be healthier in centers of population. Every city would be a spotless town, and all this would be the work of electricity. Electric power would be at the service of even the most humble, common as is water at the present time.

"But when I say," Steinmetz continued, "that the workers will work but four hours a day and two hundred days in the year, I do not mean that they will be idle non-producers the balance of the time. Leisure will be occupied in productive diversions satisfying the particular instincts of the individual. We will be more collectivistic in the operation of our essential productive life and individualistic in the pursuit of personal happiness and contentment."

Dr. Steinmetz went on to say that humanity has not yet learned the real aspect of war and that he is looking for more wars in the future, but "that cooperative effort will be the solution of most of the difficulties upsetting mankind. In the fellowship and brotherhood of rational human beings, selfish aggrandizement will give way to enthusiastic and wholehearted collective endeavor." In this respect he remarked that the "collective tendencies of the Slavic peoples will make them the dominant race of the future."

Hank Socialism, isn't it? We just wonder how this "stuff" ever found place on the front pages of the metropolitan press, even though emanating from Steinmetz. Perhaps, because it refers to 2023—somewhat of a distant date after all.

THE COMING RECOGNITION OF MEXICO

THE recognition of Mexico is now an assured thing. The American commissioners which went to Mexico City several months ago to reach a settlement with the Mexican authorities on the question of oil and lands owned by Americans in Mexico have returned to Washington after signing an agreement which will, as is believed by everybody, lead to the recognition of the Mexican government by the United States.

The Mexicans have paid quite dearly for the forthcoming recognition. If henceforward the report is correct, the Mexicans have practically negated their new constitutional clause with regard to State ownership of subsoil property including oil and mineral lands to the extent of safeguarding to American owners all titles to such property acquired prior to 1917. Special joint committees will also be established to pass on the individual claims with the assurance that those claims will be treated in a most liberal spirit.

From a wider and international point of view, these concessions and sacrifices, however, are fully worthwhile. With the recognition of Mexico and the broadening out of relations between the United States and the land south of the Rio Grande, Mexico will receive now a greater opportunity for progress and development along the progressive lines it has adopted in the last few years. Recognition of Mexico also means the placing of a definite check on the flow of the militarist propaganda which all these years has been acting to embroil America into a war of annexation with Mexico. These barkers of bloodshed and ruin disappointed will now have to turn their attention to other more suitable fields where our country is doing "civilizing" work on a grand scale, such like the Philippines or San Domingo.

THE GEDDES REPORT ON ELLIS ISLAND

THE British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Auckland Geddes, after an exhaustive report, bluntly remarks that he would prefer imprisonment in Sing Sing to incarceration at Ellis Island.

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ATTENTION

Russian-Polish Cloakmakers

The regular meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch will be held on Friday, August 24, at 7:30 p. m. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th St.

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

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

Rather expressive if not elegant, we would say. Small wonder that this report which went the rounds of the world created nothing short of a panic in official immigration circles. Small wonder that immediately after it was published the columns of the daily press began filling up with counter-statements and assertions by the immigration chiefs denying a great deal if not all stated by Ambassador Geddes. It is understood, that most of these denials made up, in vehemence for what they lacked in facts and conviction.

Charge for charge, the Geddes report on conditions at Ellis Island reads very much like an inspection report of an American prison. He finds, among remediable conditions, an absence of soap, sand and hot water in scouring floors and the buildings; lavatories unsanitary and not isolated and overcrowding throughout the system. The Ambassador makes twelve recommendations, the most important of which are the following: The building of a new station for immigrants requiring kisher food; thoroughgoing repairs of the existing buildings, affording better detention quarters and better facilities for medical examination; the providing of a new station for criminal deportees; and the conclusion of arrangements for final American approval or disapproval of prospective immigrants in their home lands.

It is the last suggestion, picking immigrants abroad through organized immigration machinery, which attracted most attention in the press. As a matter of fact, Secretary of Labor Davis, came back from Europe last week with the advocacy of this method of selecting immigrants as the most humane and rational in comparison with the mis-arbit system in vogue at present. But neither Secretary Davis nor the Geddes report have suggested a practical way for overcoming the almost insuperable obstacles that are bound to arise when this selection of prospective immigrants abroad should begin. So far the only concrete thing we know is that Secretary Davis, and, with him probably the entire present administration, is for further and still further restriction of immigration.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

LOCAL 7

After a series of prolonged conferences with the Boston Raincoat Manufacturers' Association, some of which lasted way into the wee hours of the morning, the negotiations finally came to a deadlock on the question of wages.

The Union demanded a minimum wage of \$44.00 a week for operators, and \$25.00 per week for the finishers. These scales, when one takes into consideration the seasonal nature of the industry, are rather very modest. But it seems that some of the leaders in the Association were bent on forcing the Union to begin hostilities. A mass meeting of all the workers in the trade was called for Tuesday afternoon, August 14th, at which the conference committee rendered its report.

Paine Memorial Hall, where the meeting took place, was jammed to capacity, for fully one hundred per cent of our members were present. They felt that something important was about to happen and their expectations really did come true. For just as soon as Vice-president Brother Monosson, chairman of the conference committee, got through rendering his report, a resolution was unanimously adopted amidst great en-

thusiasm, authorizing the general strike committee to call a general strike against the employers, whenever it shall deem it advisable. This meeting was addressed by Brother Frank Lerman, manager of the Boston Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He provoked great enthusiasm when, during his speech, he pledged for the organization that he represents all the assistance that might be needed, should a general strike occur. This statement of the representative of the A. C. W. was considered even the more important in view of the fact that the manufacturers have been trying their utmost to cause a rift between the latter organization and our Local.

Addresses were also delivered by Brother Myer Frank representing the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, and I. Lewin, manager of the dressmakers' local, 49, who in the name of their respective organizations, congratulated the members of Local 7 on the splendid spirit they have shown, and promised to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the coming battle. Ex-Vice-president Brother I. Posen was another of the speakers, whose promise of aid from himself and on behalf of Local 24, of which he is a member, was very much applauded.

(Continued on Page 4)

White Goods Workers, Local 62

By ABRAHAM SNYDER, Manager

At the present moment there is very little work in our trade, and in most shops our people work only a few days in the week. The slump is not entirely natural as, according to those who ought to know, the season should have begun sometime ago and every worker in the trade should have been at work. The immediate reason for the prevailing slackness lies in the fact that the manufacturers themselves are holding back.

In former years, every white goods manufacturer knew that during such months when not enough orders would come in to keep the shop busy that they had to manufacture for the stock room, so that when the season finally arrived there would be enough material on hand to meet the need. Today, the situation is changed entirely. They do not cut stocks in the underwear shops because, as they claim, conditions do not warrant it. During May, June and July our employers have conducted group meetings to discuss trade conditions and the advisability of cutting goods and making up stocks. In view of the uncertain situation of the cotton market and the continued change of styles, they concluded at these meetings it would be best to refrain from preparing stocks.

Besides that, there have occurred in the trade in the last few months several bankruptcies, and the feeling is such that these defaulting are only a beginning, and that many more are yet to follow. If you listen to what some of the manufacturers would tell you, you might imagine that every employer will soon close up shop and that the whole industry will soon die out.

Of course, all this talk is exaggerated, and I am sure that it is being spread not without a purpose. For, when we look into the situation a little closer we cannot help observing that those who had been concerned

to close down their shops were among the least capable and enterprising manufacturers, and their getting out has, perhaps, done more good than harm to the trade. Nevertheless, this talk does not add to the stability of conditions in the industry, and has been, no doubt, one of the reasons for the slump in our shops.

Fortunately, this state of affairs is now beginning to disappear, and we expect that very soon the shops will begin to hum again and our girls will be employed full-time. Let us remember that in the last few months, while trade conditions have been bad, our workers have had to stand a good deal of abuse from the employers, who obviously wanted to reap a "harvest" for themselves during the slack period. Complaint upon complaint was piling up in our office for violations of the agreement by the employers. They would send out whatever work there was to be had to outside contractors; would discharge union people, etc. In many instances the representatives of the union and the association could not agree upon an adjustment, so that in the end the conference became necessary to trash out all the accumulated grievances.

Such a conference between both parties was finally called by the union for August 1. When we appeared at the appointed place and hour, however, we found there, much to our astonishment, only the manager of the association; the other representatives of the employers' organization failed to put in an appearance. We left the place very much disgusted, and forthwith notified the association that we shall hold them responsible for any future infraction of the agreement, and at the same time called upon them for the second time to come to a conference to the International office. This meeting at last

A time there was when of all the workers in our industry, the sample-maker was the only one who could not be reinstated in case of discharge. In fact, the union would not even take up complaints from sample-makers in discharge cases. Neither would a sample-maker get a hearing on a complaint for unequal distribution of work. In those days sample-makers would, in this respect, regard themselves as step-children within the union, and were nursing a just feeling of being discriminated and singled out from all the workers in the cloak trade.

I do not know why the sample-maker has always been regarded even in our union not on equal terms with all the other workers in the shop. They would try to convince us that his interests are different from the interests of the operator, finisher or cutter. They would tell us that he is the "next hand" to the designer, that a sample-maker has "two" seasons, that sample-making to him is but a side-job, a sinecure, etc. No wonder, the sample-maker would dread the coming of Saturday, the day when he was likely to get discharged without redress or remedy.

It can easily be imagined how this has affected the morale of the sample-makers. They were reluctant to come to meetings; they had no interest in the union, as they knew that the local would or could do little for them. They knew that the unbridled right to their jobs lay in the hands of their employers and that for them the only thing left to do was to pay dues.

But, at last, several months ago, upon the decision of the impartial chairman, the sample-makers have won the right for review of discharge cases and likewise for equal distribution of work in the shop. Local 3 justly regards this decision as a signal gain for the workers in our craft. This decision will now give the union the opportunity to get into closer relations with the members. We shall be able now to call the members of Local 3 to shop meetings, feeling fairly confident that they would come

took place on August 13 under the chairmanship of President Sigman. Every complaint and grievance was carefully gone over, including the complaints presented by Brother David Dubinsky, manager of the Cutters' Union. We could not reach a definite conclusion on all these disputes as the hour grew late, but we arranged to take them up for a final adjustment at a second conference to be held in the near future.

Meanwhile, the union is on the alert. We are doing all we can to make the local strong enough for the approaching season. Our organization work, though proceeding slowly, is

and discuss matters that will be of real living importance to them. Now, when a man in the sample-making room is discharged without cause, the workers in the shop will have the opportunity to take up his case and defend him with a fair chance of reinstatement.

I know that many of our sample makers, after all these years of practical helplessness in this respect, will be inclined to regard this latest gain, provisionally. They might be inclined to doubt its effectiveness as they have become accustomed to the idea that they can be sent down without anybody interfering on their behalf. To these we say: Sample-makers, come to the office of the union and convince yourselves that things have really changed, that you might be protected now in case of unjust discrimination, and that your wrongs will be righted in case work in your shops is not being equally distributed.

As proof of this, we can only cite the case of the committee from the Amsterdam shop which came last week to the meeting of the executive board of the local, bringing a bouquet of flowers as a token of appreciation to the writer of these lines, the present secretary and manager of the local. Needless to say that we feel very warmly about this genuine feeling of appreciation so nicely expressed by the workers of that shop where about two hundred members of our local are employed.

It may not be amiss to state here, for those who might know it, that Vice-president Lefkowitz, our manager, has left for Los Angeles to aid in the organizing of the local cloak-makers, at the request of President Morris Sigman. Brother Lefkowitz could not have a meeting with the members of the local owing to the suddenness of his departure. The executive committee of the local only had a chance of appointing a committee consisting of Brothers Krutz, Hacker, and Fenster to escort Brother Lefkowitz to the train and to present him with a bouquet of flowers wishing him a happy journey.

yet-getting on. Every day we are getting more and more aid for the organizing committee. We have arranged for a large meeting for August 21, at Aristocrat Hall, where plans for further organizing work will be discussed. As a result of our work, we have already signed last week an agreement with the Blue Bird Underwear Company. We have a strike against the Margart shop in Brooklyn where several pickets had been arrested and fined by a kind judge.

Picketing around that shop continues, nevertheless, and will not be abated until the firm concedes the just demands of the workers.

JUSTICE

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MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFFKY, Editor.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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What the Miners Want

By J. CHARLES LAUE

Within about thirty square miles of eastern Pennsylvania lies the richest source of national wealth in America—the anthracite coal fields—owned by a monopoly of a few powerful banks and railroads and worked by what is nearly a labor monopoly, the United Mine Workers of America.

The two groups are now in conference, through sub-committees of a joint conference, at Atlantic City. On the outcome of this conference will depend whether there is to be a suspension of mining on September 1. Great public interest surrounds these negotiations, for there is considerable apprehension, after the experience of the long strike of 1922, that a fuel shortage will occur again. Although this fear is groundless, the federal government, through the United States Coal Commission, has exerted great pressure upon the coal operators and the miners to avoid a suspension. This third factor in the situation is being given the greatest of consideration by both sides. The miners want public opinion with them this time as in previous struggles. The operators do not want a suspension for they fear that their markets will be captured by the fuel oil and the soft coal interests. Nevertheless, both sides are adamant on their fundamental demands.

While the anthracite miners are powerfully organized in an industrial union, and have dealt collectively with the operators since the great strike of 1902 led by the late John Mitchell, they have never obtained union recognition officially, nor have they the closed shop or the privilege of collecting union dues by means of the "check-off," all concessions established for years in the soft-coal fields where the union is not so strong or so concentrated as in the anthracite region. The explanation is that the anthracite interests are also far more powerful, and are concentrated in a few hands and amply financed from Wall Street.

The miners insistence for the "check-off" has already been met by the operators by an equally strong determination to resist. To prevent calling the strike for this one demand alone, the miners have consented to try once more to agree and bring in their demands, particularly that of wages, which they also consider fundamental. There are other demands, such as the honest weighing of mined coal, the 8-hour day for all men in the industry, standardization of wage rates, hastening of decisions by the conciliation board, and a number of minor demands.

The crucial point still in controversy is union recognition, for the

miners having consented to a tentative waiver of the "check-off," still want the closed shop and a substantial wage increase; they ask for 20 per cent increase over the day-labor rate and for contract miners.

Every year 500 miners are killed and 2,000 are seriously injured, yet for day laborers the wage ranges from \$4.20 to \$5.40 a day. To compensate them for their risk the miners ask \$6 a day minimum, which is \$2 less than what the common laborer now gets in the building industry. To be sure they are continuously employed and that is what the operators claim gives the mine worker the largest gross earning of any common laborer element, from \$1,200 to \$1,500 a year.

Yet, to trade unionists in other well-organized industries, it will be startling to learn that powerfully organized as these anthracite miners are they have not obtained full union recognition. While non-union men are few, still there is no way of enforcing the union rule or collecting union dues, except by the cumbersome way of declaring a strike every "button" day when union dues are collected. To do away with this, and to make the management of the union more efficient and less expensive, is the reason for the miners insistence on recognition which includes the "check-off."

The "check-off" is a method of collecting union dues, whereby the individual miner authorizes the company to take out of his monthly pay-

envelope, along with other deductions for house rent, supplies, powder, taxes, another item—his union dues. The operators object to this because they do not wish to collect dues for the union, and by cleverly-worded propaganda they have worked up a considerable public sentiment in their favor on this demand. The dominating issue in the present negotiation therefore will be the wage question and then, if a strike results, the miners will have this as well as the recognition features of their demands to fight for.

The statistics of anthracite mining are interesting.

There are 155,000 men in the industry, fully 90 per cent of whom are organized. There are 300 collieries. A colliery is a mine from which coal is shipped to a market. Often collieries prepares the output of a number of mines or shops.

The miners' yearly payroll is \$284,000,000 and the capital invested is \$340,000,000.

The average yearly production is 90,000,000 tons. By the end of August, as the result of phenomenal production, 70,000,000 tons will be above ground and more than enough coal for six months' consumption. This coal would be sufficient for all if it were evenly distributed to each consumer. However, there is enough so that there will be no hardship like last winter.

It is this factor of the available supply that will ultimately determine whether the industry can afford a strike of long duration or not.

After Parliament Adjourned

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

The Prime Minister's much anticipated statement in the Ruhr was made just before Parliament adjourned for the recess, and has left the situation very much as it was, as regards action. Labor comment in the House very aptly pointed out that the Government statement did not announce what was to be the next step, though it contained the warning that Europe was rushing to ruin while the Great Powers talked about details. And Parliament has adjourned without any answer being given to that query which exists in everybody's mind.

The reason, no doubt, why Mr. Baldwin left the matter in this undecided state is to be found in his difficult relations with his own party. That portion of his speech which differed from speeches made on the Ruhr by his predecessors, and related to Great Britain's determination to act independently of France if France refuses to alter her reparations policy, was greeted with loud approval by the whole opposition, especially by those members sitting on the labor benches; but it was received in silence by those on the Government side of the House, with the exception, of course, of known supporters of a saner foreign policy, like Lord Robert Cecil, for instance. And there is little doubt that the inability of the new Prime Minister to outline a definite policy in regard to Germany and reparations springs from the dissensions in his own cabinet and the attitude of the Die-Hard Tories to any stiffening of our relations with France. The anomaly continues, too, of the opposition that comes from the majority of the London conservative morning and Sunday papers to the new conservative policy

as embodied in Mr. Baldwin, while the chief newspaper support he receives comes from the liberal and labor press. So it is no wonder, perhaps, that he finds it difficult to follow up his enlightened view of the Ruhr situation by the only kind of action that can back up that view.

Also, there is probably much truth in the belief growing in labor circles that, while commercial interests demand a reasonable settlement of the reparations question, Big Business in Germany, France and England would be content to settle this by an entente among themselves that would sacrifice the rank and file German workers to the old capitalist interests which, after all, represent the most strongly organized form of internationalism yet in existence.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment debate in the House of Commons, just before the adjournment, did not lead us very far. With the number of workless now registered (not inclusive of all workless) at 1,184,000, a Government scheme for providing work at most for 200,000 directly and indirectly another 100,000 indirectly, is not calculated to excite enthusiasm. Predictions of the coming winter's distress were made in the house by prominent labor economists like Mr. Sidney Webb and others, coupled with practical schemes for meeting it; but these were so unheeded as to have waiting contained in a grave letter from Mr. Allan Smith, the well-known employer, who declares that "the gravity of the position cannot be exaggerated" and, as representing the House of Commons industrial group, expressed profound disappointment with the Minister of Labor's statement in Parliament. Meanwhile, the continued refusal of the London dockers to return to work at a reduced wage on which they cannot keep their homes together is symptomatic of a growing discontent among such workers as are employed.

In defiance of the advice of their trade union leaders, unaffected by the return to work of their colleagues in all other ports, they still remain out, and the long duration of this unofficial strike speaks much for the desperate condition of our underpaid workers.

NEW AMERICAN PRESIDENT

In commenting upon the change of Presidency in the United States, labor in this country views with some apprehension the rise to power of Mr. Coolidge, whom they regard as the man who smashed the Boston

police strike in 1919 and stands generally for extreme conservative feeling in America. There is a feeling that, as the representative of the well-to-do investing class in the States, Mr. Coolidge will be rather more unsympathetic to the aspirations even of moderate labor. In his tribute to Mr. Harding, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M. P., Secretary of the British Labor party, mentioned the part the Labor Friends played in the working of the Washington Conference, and his advocacy of the principles of International arbitration.

Boston News

(Continued from Page 3)

At the conclusion of the meeting, the general strike committee met and decided to call the strike Thursday morning, August 18, at 10 a. m. The now famous red circular, was immediately printed and distributed among the workers the morning of the strike. At the stroke of 10, all our members, like a well disciplined army, marched out of the shops. Before the strike was two hours old, two of the biggest manufacturers in the industry settled with the Union, and their workers returned to work the same afternoon. Requests for settlement kept pouring into the office, and by the end of the first day almost all manufacturers of importance in the trade had settled with the Union. Among those who settled are the Cabel Mfg. Co., 2121 Washington Street, employing over 100 people. This firm is working on a government order and both the employer and the union were anxious to have all differences adjusted as soon as possible. Another of the manufacturers who settled with the union is the Beacon Raincoat Co., of 70 Beach Street. This concern is the largest in the raincoat and garboline trade in Boston and is considered the leader in this line. Mr. Dagilas, the owner of the Beacon Raincoat Co., is a fair-minded employer, who agreed with the union representatives that their demands were fair and just. Mr. Dagilas is so wrought up over the action of the Association in fore-

ing the Union to fight that he offered assistance to Brother Monosson who is leading the strike in the following manner. He would open a number of shops, would employ as many strikers as possible on the union's terms, and would thereby help the Union and its members to achieve a victory over the Association. This proposition is now being considered by the general strike committee and its results will be made known to our members through the columns of JUSTICE. So far eleven firms out of a total of forty have settled. We expect that almost all independent employers will have settled by the middle of next week.



D'ALESSIO'S ACADEMY

84 W 34th St., N. Y. City
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BUY
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Exclusively

The Awakening of Maimie

(A Story)

By BERTHA WALLERSTEIN

When I first knew Maimie we were both working in a shirt factory in the Bronx. I was sewing neckbands, and she was put on the buttonhole machine next to mine. I remember quite well how scared she was that first day—she was only fourteen—when the knife dropped to cut the buttonhole, and did not rise again, and she thought that she had broken the machine. She was a quiet little person, with her hair in a black pigtail caught in a pink ribbon, and the hem of her dress sagging in a queer way as if numerous little sisters and brothers followed her around, pulling her skirt.

Such I soon found to be the case. Maimie lived not far from me, and I went home with her one evening when we left the shop. There were dozens of little ones, it seemed, and a perspiring, overworked mother who spoke only Italian, and a disagreeable father, who asked me: "You work in the shirt shop?"

I told him I did.

"That's good," he said. "I don't want any more of these office girls around here. That's where Maimie gets her fine American notions."

I was curious to know what he meant, but I felt that it might be unkind to ask Maimie. You could not know Maimie long without feeling that she would be very easily hurt. But she told me the next day, when we were alone, with that precocious confidence which only a shy person can give.

"I'm crazy to go to night school and he won't let me," she said. "I want to work in an office like American girls and meet fine American fellows with white collars. In night school you learn bookkeeping and stenography and you can get an office job."

"And your father wouldn't like that?"

"No—he says I couldn't earn so much in an office, and he says American fellows don't do any good to Italian girls, and anyhow he won't have me running around the streets at night going to school. So I got to stay on shirts."

"Maybe you can make him change his mind."

"No," said Maimie. "It's no use."

About six months later I read in the newspaper that continuation schools were to be opened for working boys and girls from fourteen to sixteen, and that their bosses had to let them off for four hours a week to go to school. I showed it to Maimie.

"You'll learn business English and bookkeeping and business arithmetic and lots of things," I told her, "and you can get a swell office job."

It was too good for her to believe! Then she grew frightened. "Suppose pa won't let me."

"He's got to. It's the law."

"Maybe it is, but he'll whip me anyway. But anyway I can go to school. And get an office job."

She was fascinated with the idea that something was stronger than her father—that the law was stronger. It wiped out even the prospect of a whipping from her mind.

Things fell out just as she had predicted. Her father did have to let her go, but he soothed himself by whipping her, and then her younger brother, who said it wasn't Maimie's fault—it was the law. The old man really felt himself deeply wronged. This fine America that they talked about! Where they take girls out of the shop to go to school and learn a lot of crazy things. How much would they bring home to their fathers if they spent their time in school? When they were sixteen, and could work all the time, they got married, and their fathers never saw their wages. What

had a poor old father to show for all his love and trouble? The law was hard on fathers.

Maimie went to school four hours a week for the next eighteen months, but she must have had a bad time of it at home. I saw little of her then, for I left the shirt shop, and started making waists. We had a union in the waist shop, and made better money. I told Maimie that the shirt-makers ought to have a union.

"Well, I won't be making shirts long," she said. "I'm going to work in an office when I'm sixteen."

The time came. She had been making twenty-two dollars a week on shirts, but when she looked for an office job, they offered her only twelve. From one to another she went, but no one would pay a sixteen-year-old greenhorn more than twelve dollars a week, and most said less.

"My father would kill me," she said. "I dare not do it. It's no use."

"You say that all the time, Maimie! What are you going to do—stay on shirts?"

"I've got to. Gosh to school all this time and it hasn't done me any good! Funny, the way they make you go to school, and then you can't earn so much using the things they teach you there."

The toll and dreams of eighteen months had come to nothing. There was nothing for Maimie but tears and shirts.

I thought a lot about her. I was nineteen then, and taking an evening course in economics in one of our union classes. I was beginning to understand that most of the people in cities have to do factory work—that there are not enough office jobs to go around. I saw that it was something stronger than Maimie's father that was keeping her in a shirt shop.

It was the great big Something—was it God or Fate or the System of Production? Something that would pay her twenty dollars for making shirts and only ten or twelve for office work. Something that says you have to do what pays best. That Something was like a great strong iron hand. It gripped thousands, and Maimie was only one of them.

Yet that did not make it any better—that Maimie was only one of thousands. I loved her—she was my friend, and she was absolutely different from all the rest, for me. But that thing which kept all of us in the factory kept her there too. Nothing could make it better for her unless it made it better for all of us—for thousands of us. Like Maimie, I found myself saying that it was no use.

And then, the very light that was coming into the lives of thousands came into Maimie's too.

The shirt-makers union sent an organizer to Maimie's shop. Maimie did not even go to the first meeting. But Susie, her good friend went. The boss discovered that she and several other girls had been there, and he fired them. Maimie told me the story afterwards:

"I don't know what it was, but I got up and told him what I thought of him. I said it was mean and dirty. It was, too. I said none of us would work for him if it was like that. I said we'd find some other boss, who was not so mean."

"He said, 'Just try to find another boss. Just see if you can get another job.'"

"Then I was scared. I wasn't going to say any more, but Tilla said I was right, and that was what the organizer had said the night before, and that if the boss fired any of the

girls for going to the meeting we shouldn't work. We should just sit at the machines with our arms folded. So I just sat down and folded my arms. The other girls did too. We sat that way, and never made a sound. The boss was awfully mad, and yelled at us, and said dreadful words. But we sat perfectly quiet. Then he turned off the power, and just waited for us to get tired. It seemed funny—all of us sitting in that shop so quiet—and the motor so quiet too. It was like—I don't know what it was like—I never saw anything like it before. The boss waited half an hour. Then he said: 'I'm going to turn on the power, and any girl that isn't working in five minutes can get out and never come back.' He turned it on. Nobody moved. It was going about four minutes, I think, when Mary Gotti began to put a cuff under the needle. And I told her how mean it was, and how dirty to all of us, and that we all thought so. She stopped. The boss told me to get out, but I didn't.

We all sat perfectly quiet. The five minutes had passed, but he didn't fire us. He waited a while more. Then he said: 'Susie and the other girls can come back. Now get to work.'"

I had never seen Maimie so excited since the day that I had told her about the continuation school. She went to a union meeting that night, and they made her shop chairman.

You could have knocked me over with a feather when she told me. Maimie a shop chairman! Maimie, who had always said: "It's no use." Maimie, whose father had broken her fighting spirit almost as soon as she could talk!

I was soon to see that the miracle had worked even more. Her shop struck for an increase, and for recognition. Maimie was picketing, speaking, yes, speaking on street corners. Maimie was pulling out the greenhorn scabs almost as fast as they went into the shop. I heard her talking to one of them who had come out for lunch.

"You think it's no use. You think you've got to let the boss run things. I used to think that. It's no use when you are alone. But it's lots of use when you stick together! Listen. One day the boss fired three of the girls for going to a union meeting. But we wouldn't let him..."

She told the story of the machine strike.

Late at night on the second day of the strike Maimie came to my house. She was crying and hiccupping, and blood was trickling from her ear. I got up, because that her father had beaten her.

"It was because I went on strike," she choked.

He had told her to go straight back to work, or he would beat her every night. No, he wouldn't have her in the house. Why should she be in his house, eating his food, if she wasn't earning money? The poor child had given him all her earnings since she began to work, and she had no savings at all. She said she could stay with me just until the strike was won. She did not say until it was "over." She said until it was "won."

"Of course," I told her, crying myself. "But once you say that you couldn't leave home."

"I can, Sadie. I can do anything. All of us girls can."

They could. They won their strike after five weeks.

A week after they went back to the shop the boss came to my house and asked to see Maimie.

"Maimie," he said in a friendly tone, "you learned bookkeeping and business English, and all that, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"Well, listen to me. A friend of mine has a hardware store, and he needs some one to keep books and write letters. How would you like

that job? Good money. Twenty-five dollars a week and steady work."

"I wouldn't like it. I'm going to stick by the girls."

"You've stuck all right. They've won the strike. It's a fine office job my friend will give you. A bright girl like you shouldn't work on shirts. You should be in an office job. Nice American fellows in his office. It'll be fine."

"No, I don't want an office job," said Maimie. "I'm not ashamed to make shirts. Shirt-making is just as good as anything, and we've got a union, and we don't have just to let things be. We've got a say about the shop and our work, same as you have. I don't want an office job."

The boss looked disappointed. His plot to get rid of Maimie had failed. "You'll be sorry some day," he said, and shuffled out of the house.

I threw my arms about Maimie and squeezed her hard.

"What has happened to you?" I cried.

"I don't know. Remember how I used to want office work more than anything?"

"Yes, it's funny."

"Are you going to be sorry?"

"No, I am sure of that."

She never has been sorry. She is still chairman of her shop. She lives at home again now, and her father thinks the union is fine, for she earns more than ever before. He is very genial when the organizers come to the house for supper, and he tells them how proud he is of his daughter.

"She's not the girl to say, 'It's no use,'" he says. "If you bring up a girl right the way I have, she turns out all right."

"Nonsense," says Maimie. "The union brought me up—way up."

A Better Future for Tailors

In this world we have two sorts of humans—one aims to construct and make life more humane, the other seeks to destroy. There are those whose aim centers around newer and more violent means of destruction, who seek ever to smooth the way for the success of mankind along peaceful and sane paths. Prof. Agostino D'Alessio belongs to this last category. In the 25 years of his work he has sought to make easier and more accessible to the tailor the higher technique and art of his class. In this he has succeeded, and has achieved a New Method for the profession, where geometrical symmetry, and the esthetic join together harmoniously. Thus he has achieved the maximum perfection in his line.

Young men and young women should seek to profit by this rare opportunity—especially those who have a future in mind, and should avail themselves of the rare offer of Prof. D'Alessio. Fortune infallibly smiles on those who have sufficient foresight to seek the direct means improving their positions in life, rather than permit time to drag and waste. The ordinary way of life may give you bread, but it does not hold prosperity in store for any but those who specialize. The moral is therefore: LEARN SPECIALIZATION THROUGH THE METHODS OF THE D'ALESSIO SCHOOL. The school is located next to the McAlpin Hotel, 44 West 34th Street.

In the D'Alessio Academy there are students of every race and language, Jewish, German, American, Italian, etc., avail themselves of the D'Alessio Art, which is UNIVERSAL, and joins the races of the world into one family. Prof. D'Alessio, who has taught these many years with much success, and who rests on his laurels, has well deserved the thanks and good-will of the hundreds of men and women who rank in the forefront of their profession due to his methods and personal interest.—Adv.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

GOMPERS ON INJUNCTIONS

"The whole world is a jail if you cannot express your honest convictions." These few pithy words of Samuel Gompers, uttered in the course of a speech held last week in Chicago, fully epitomize the disgrace which the injunction judges have brought upon America. How, indeed, can sane human beings speak in one breath of liberty and human rights with these restraining orders which prohibit one person to tell his fellow human being that in his judgment he ought to belong to a trade union? And in what respect is such a restrained person free to express his ideas and opinion than a prisoner whose movements are limited by the narrow walls of his dungeon chamber?

According to the terms of the injunction issued by Judge Carpenter of Chicago in favor of the Mitchell Brothers firm, no union man dare tell this firm's employees that the agreement which they had signed is a piece of infamy and a violation of elementary human rights; no union man is allowed to say to them that their own interests, the interests of their dependents, and the interests of their class make it obligatory upon them to join a trade union of their fellow workers; no union man is permitted to invite them to come to a union meeting. What other than jail terms are these and who after reading the terms of this writ can fail to disagree with the trenchant words of Samuel Gompers that "the world is a jail where one cannot freely express his honest convictions?"

But far more important than the idea itself is the inference which must inevitably be drawn from it. What does this injunction threaten with in case of disobedience? With prison, of course, with forfeiture of liberty. Surely, prison is a severe punishment for a free person, for one who is able to communicate with his fellow beings and to have free intercourse of ideas and unabridged liberty of contact with them. But what terror does a prison hold for a person who has already been deprived of the right to freely communicate and deal with his fellow men, whose mouth has already been closed, and whose movements have already been restrained? The fear of being incarcerated for a limited period in a small prison cannot obviously scare a person to whom the whole world has been made to appear like one huge, great prison. Within the confines of the smaller jail he might, at least, escape the temptation of talking to and mixing with his fellow human beings to which he is bound to be subjected on the outside.

And that's precisely how injunctions against trade unions dig, as it were, their own graves. Take, for instance, the injunction issued against our International Union in Chicago, and observe how, through its very severity, through its barbaric prohibition to do anything and everything, it is destroying itself. It is practically superfluous for Gompers or anyone else to come to the workers and tell them to ignore the injunction and to go on with their work. What else could men and women do who persist on living the lives of free human beings? What meaning would their existence have to them if they were to go on living like jailed criminals? The terse remark of President Gompers has brought out clearer than anything the truth about these labor injunctions. Our injunction judges apparently believe that the more drastic and severe they make their restrictions the better will they serve the interests of our employers. The truth, however, is on the other side. The stricter they make their prohibitions, the more impossible they make them to be carried out.

Gompers proved it even more strikingly by this very speech against the injunction issued by Federal Judge Carpenter against our Chicago organization. Gompers came to Chicago and at a big open meeting declared to the workers that it is their duty to disobey this injunction which violates their rights as men and as American citizens. To the dressmakers in the hall he said as follows: "I don't know whether there is a garment worker in this hall tonight, but if there is, and I have the opportunity, I shall advise him not to return to work until he has been organized. I shall give him that advice in spite of any injunction that has been issued."

By these words Gompers, as openly as was possible for him, declared that for him that injunction did not exist. He frankly expressed his contempt for the injunction and for the judge who had issued it. And wonder upon wonders—Gompers is still free—despite his unequivocal defiance of the injunction in Chicago last week. Which leads us to believe that such drastic, self-overreaching writs are, after all, not such a terrible misfortune for the labor movement. They serve to remind the worker of the great truth—"eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"—an axiom which is only too often neglected by our people.

THE JOBBERS UNDER CONTROL

The conferences between the cloak jobbers, the sub-manufacturers, and the Union in New York are almost at an end and they indicate a substantial success for the organization of the workers. This initial step is a good harbinger of better times in the cloak industry; it is a promise that the chaos which has heretofore prevailed in the cloak shops will make way for control and order.

The jobbers are practical people. They must have certainly realized that they cannot afford to take up a fight against the union, and they have surely not failed to conclude that their way of doing business heretofore has hurt not only the workers whose labor lies at the bottom of their prosperity; not only the sub-manufacturers who, willy-nilly, have contributed a good deal to their well-being, but that it is bound to injure their own interests. There is a limit to human endurance, and they must understand that the tens of thousands of men and women who work for them will not forever be content with the meagre hope that is cast to them as their share of the feast; that they would endure the dread uncertainty of their lives, the long seasons of idleness, and all the other ills which the rise of the jobbing in the cloak industry has brought in its wake.

The jobbers must have realized that it would be best to adopt union control which would bring, as a first result, strict adherence to the principle that the work done by the jobbers in the sub-manufacturers' shops must be made in union shops only, where the workers obtain all union conditions and work under union regulations.

This, however, is but the first step in the direction of carrying out the firm decision of the International to bring order into the cloak industry. This can only be realized with the disappearance of the sweat-shop, the "corporation" shop. The jobbers, as well as the legitimate manufacturers, will have to take upon themselves in the full sense of the term the responsibility for the shops where their work is being made. The fact that the jobber himself is not running a factory directly and is making instead his work in numerous shops outside will not diminish this responsibility in the least—either for wages, for sanitary conditions, or for the many other union standards and obligations.

As practical people the jobbers must realize that it cannot be otherwise. The conditions of our cloakmakers must be substantially improved. We say it with emphasis and meaning, for their condition is, indeed, almost intolerable. Men cannot be contented, they cannot fail to become desperate working only four or five months during the year at the wages they are receiving today. There must be an end to this; the workers in one of the richest industries in the land have a right to demand from life more than a dry crust of bread—and this too not always in time. This fiction about the high wages cloakmakers are receiving must be exploded once and for all time. It is untrue and it must be branded as a lie. Workers in other, far less skilled trades, are receiving higher pay and are working much longer seasons.

The unfounded prattle about cloakmakers not producing enough for their pay must also be silenced. First, because it is not true, and second, even if it were true, the cloakmakers cannot be blamed in view of the meagre future they receive for their labor. Workers can have the welfare of the industry in which they are employed at heart only when they are afforded the opportunity of making a decent living at it.

This all should prompt the jobbers and the manufacturers to treat with becoming earnestness the problem of providing their workers with sufficient means for a decent livelihood. We expect, and we have a right to expect, that the jobbers and the manufacturers will cooperate heartily with the Union in all its plans that will tend to a substantial improvement in the condition of the cloakmakers in every respect. We surely expect that the jobbers will adopt the principle of union control and all the other demands forwarded by the Union in a straightforward and frank manner.

We hope that in accepting these terms they will have no hind thoughts or motives of deceitful diplomacy. It will do them no good in the end. We are looking forward to an arrangement which will make possible for every cloakmaker who is dependent upon and is part and parcel of the labor force in the industry, to be able to make a living at his trade not only during the few months of the season but all year around. This is the least which the jobbers and the manufacturers owe our workers, and this is what the union is determined to win for its members—through peaceful negotiations and mutual understanding, is possible, and through fight and struggle, if inevitable.

THE STRIKE OF THE RAINCOAT MAKERS IN BOSTON

In another column of this issue the reader will find, in a report from Boston, all the details of this strike—and how the union was compelled to call the waterproof garment workers of that city out of their shops.

The report makes it clear too, that the strike will not last very long. The most important raincoat firms settled already on the first day of the strike conceding all that the union demanded. Which proves, first, that the demands of the workers were not at all extraordinary, and secondly, that the strike can be regarded as good as won. It is worthwhile, however, to touch upon one point in that report which states that the raincoat employers had hoped to play up the Amalgamated Workers of Boston against our International in that city but failed, of course, displaying thereby an unusual amount of shortsightedness.

Our readers will recall that some few weeks ago we have

The Cloak and Dress Industry

Its Problems—Past, Present, and Future

By BERNARD ACKERMAN

The future is the outgrowth of the past and the present. In order, then, to forecast the future of the cloak and dress industry, it is necessary to examine its past and analyze its present state.

It is well to keep in mind that in all unorganized industries,—open shop industry,—the manufacturer treats labor as a commodity,—purchasable at the market price. The price paid when labor is plentiful is the lowest wage necessary to sustain the worker's life—a mere subsistence rate. There is one other factor which enters and controls wages in the open-shop industry, that is, the law of supply and demand. The demand for goods being strong and the number of workers insufficient, wages rise in exact proportion to the intensity of such demand, and wages fall in accordance with the decrease of the demand.

Such was the law too, of wages in our industry before the advent of the union. The worker had to weather regular slack periods and his wages would drop to the low subsistence level, making life quite intolerable; then followed the season, good or bad, with its increase of a demand for goods, and intensive labor with higher remuneration. Then again slack, low wages and misery.

All this was changed by the revolt of the workers in 1909-10. Labor, the commodity, sprang into life, organized, and demanded a larger part of the proceeds of industry. Out of the economic battles that followed, the organized workers emerged victorious. The employers beaten, the workers procured satisfactory increases, and better general conditions were instituted in the shop. Peace was restored, and the manufacturer shouldering his newly-born labor problem, began to study labor costs under the new era. Wages, the manufacturer observed, were no longer fluid, responsive to the change of supply and demand. Wages have now become rigid, frozen into standards. Each side has noted and adopted its own standard, built upon the judgment of the shop price-committee in its settlement with the individual employer. Furthermore, the price standards were different—lower in some shops, higher in others—for the industry was on a piece basis and price committees varied in bargaining skill.

As natural as water flows down hill seeking its own level, the manufacturer is forever seeking the lowest labor costs, hungry for a lower wage level. When the union entered the field in 1910, there already existed in our trades a number of sub-contractors who sold their products to the larger manufacturers. These sub-

manufacturers must not be confused with the present contractor. The sub-manufacturer of 1910 was an independent manufacturer, who, by reason of closer supervision and a lower wage scale, was able to sell his products to the larger manufacturer at a profit. The victory of the workers left these sub-manufacturing shops intact. True, the workers in these shops gained wage increases, but these were only proportionate increases, their standards remaining lower than those of the large shops. Had the workers at that time seen fit to equalize the standards in the sub-manufacturers' and the manufacturers' shops, the sub-manufacturer would have been completely eliminated.

It was towards these lower wage level shops, that the manufacturer turned a long eye. With his own labor cost fixed beyond his control, the magnet of lower production costs necessarily created a close affiliation between him and the sub-manufacturer. The manufacturer entered upon a career of experimenting, training the sub-manufacturer more and more to produce merchandise in accordance with his own particular needs. And springing forward to meet the special requirements of the manufacturer, the sub-manufacturer in time became in reality a subsidiary shop, a shop catering exclusively to the wants of his manufacturing customer. Out of this close union between the manufacturer and sub-manufacturer was born the subsidiary shop, the parent of the contracting shop, which in turn gave birth to its degenerate offsprings, the "corporation" shop, the family shop, and the sweatshop.

This process, affecting but a small percentage of the shops of the industry, went on unobserved by labor. It amounted to merely a scratch on the healthy body of the industry and the possibility of an infection, threatening the health of the entire industry, was either overlooked or ignored. A prisoner in a cell walks about restlessly, seeking an avenue of escape, and considering a thousand plans; he taps the walls patiently in search of a weak spot; he eventually finds it and sets about to work tirelessly, drilling at first a small hole in the wall. He works secretly, enlarging the opening, bit by bit. If he can but make it large enough, he can, perhaps regain his liberty and escape the dungeon.

The position of the manufacturer was somewhat similar to this. Wall-eyed in, imprisoned by union conditions, the manufacturer, with the appearance of the subsidiary shops, dug the equivalent of a small hole in the wall of union restriction. But the subsidiary shop, though satisfactory,

was not satisfactory enough to meet the needs of the manufacturer. The shops were too few, and besides, enjoyed a measure of independence. The manufacturer ached to procure a subsidiary shop of a type more exclusively devoted to his own needs, dependent upon him totally for its welfare. He aspired to the actual control of such shop without assuming direct ownership with its resultant responsibility. The industrial stage was thus set for the appearance of the contractor. With the encouragement of the manufacturer, the contractor appeared in due time and prospered. The manufacturer supplied merchandise, dictated style and methods of production, theoretically "sold" the goods to the contractor and theoretically "bought" the finished garments back at an agreed price. This convenient fiction was adopted to stimulate the contractor to ever cheapening production. In reality the transaction was purely one of labor, the manufacturer escaping his own shop's higher labor costs to benefit by the cheaper labor levels of the contractor shop. The contracting shop, a dependency of the manufacturer, was nominally owned by the contractor though his rental and expenses were being paid by the jobber indirectly, as part of the so-called "selling price" of the garments.

Thus the manufacturer enlarged his shop, dividing his workers into two sections in direct competition with each other. Later, the manufacturer added other contracting divisions. It thus became optional with the manufacturer whether he would give work to his inside workers or to his competing outside force. If he considered the demands of his inside workers high, his work travelled outward to the outside workers, to the most convenient of his contractors' shops. The workers producing his goods were no longer united, but divided into blindly competing groups. Gradually and stealthily the manufacturer was restoring the competitive market for labor which, in its last analysis, spells the destruction of union control. If the inside-shop workers would be reluctant to give up their hard-won standards, insisting upon accustomed prices, the work would disappear, going to the outside shops and leaving the inside workers idle. The inside shop shrunk in size while the outside shop grew in numbers. The difference in price between inside and outside labor grew so definite that manufacturers began to give up inside production completely.

The manufacturer began to breathe easier. The labor problem was no more quite as heavy a burden. Some-

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week, Twelve Years Ago

The strike of the Chicago cloak-makers against the firm Perivell B. Palmer still continues. The workers are determined to wage the fight to a successful end.

New York Dress and Waistmakers' Union declares a strike against the Excelsior firm, 68 West 11th Street, for attempting to introduce the "open shop." Police and private gangs are guarding the shop.

The Cleveland strike continues unabated. The workers of the Landemann shop hold a meeting at which they decide to stay in the fight to the last moment. The Cleveland "Press" is proposing arbitration. Cleveland retail stores are introducing stamps for the benefit of the strikers. "Bastus" and Philadelphia cloakmakers are taxing themselves 5 per cent of their earnings. Seals in the Sunshine Cloak Company are striking for higher wages.

The strike in the Flashberg and Glocel shop is finally settled. All the demands of the workers are conceded and the union wins a complete victory.

where about that time, the manufacturer took on an alias as "jobber." In a commercial sense, the word "jobbing" in the ladies garment trades is used loosely to signify a manufacturer who is an outside producer. So far as the worker is concerned, however, the jobber does not exist. We deal with manufacturers only, either inside or outside manufacturers.

The recognition of the contractor's shop as a separate entity, the acceptance of this subsidiary shop as an independent unit, was a grave error. Had the workers insisted that the outside shop was an integral part of the inside shop, subject to equal price conditions and to equal control, the manufacturers would have found it profitless from the very outset. The contracting system would have received a death-blow at its inception. That the workers at that time did not realize the menace was due to the following facts. There were relatively few contractors' shops in existence and they affected a small part of the industry. The relative scarcity of contracting shops at that time prevented the present cut-throat competition between contractor and contractor, and the consequent debasement of workers' wages and conditions in the shops of those contractors. The prosperity of the contractor left him with some means of satisfying, to a degree, the needs of the workers. The industry too, was expanding, giving more work, a factor which tended towards retarding the fall of wages.

(Continued Next Week)

reported of a certain dispute which arose in Boston between our locals and the Amalgamated locals. This dispute was later settled between representatives of both organizations. Obviously, the Boston raincoat employers had made a wrong inference from this temporary clash, and misguided souls, they must have concluded that they could count upon the support of the Amalgamated workers to "help" them out in time of strike.

What a silly conception to have of our unions! Probably by this time these bosses have learned that no matter what disagreements our unions in the garment trades may have among themselves—when it comes to a clash with employers they are all like one, body and soul.

These employers have been accustomed to judge the labor unions by the same standards as they would their own fellow employers. What meaning and sense, indeed is there to the terms—loyalty, solidarity—in the commercial, matter-of-fact business world! But they learned their mistake quickly and will not be very likely to apply their own yardstick to the labor movement in the future.

Let us therefore congratulate the Boston raincoat makers upon their strike and their coming speedy victory. Let us congratulate our entire labor movement, the "Amalgamated" in-

cluded, for its readiness to come to the assistance of the Boston raincoat makers in time of strike. This readiness to help, though help was not yet necessary, certainly must have been a factor in paving the way for the successful conclusion of the strike.

WELCOME VISITORS

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will have its last meeting, prior to the Portland convention in October, next week in New York City.

This will be an important event in labor circles in New York City. True, Brother Samuel Gompers is not an infrequent visitor to New York, and in time of stress and necessity he is often present at our meetings to give valuable aid and counsel. But we can hardly remember a full meeting of the Executive Council in New York—which at the present moment is of such particular importance and weight.

The New York members of the General Executive Board of our Union have therefore decided to tender the Executive Council a banquet on August 29th. All the leading men in the labor movement in and around New York have been invited to this banquet which is expected to be a very representative gathering of the leaders of the workers' army in the East.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Page Sherlock Holmes

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Will you raise the miners' wages, Sir?
Oh, the Public wouldn't like it!
Will you let the trainmen strike for more?
Oh, the Public wouldn't like it!
Will you grant the packers unions, Sir?
Oh, the Public wouldn't like it!
Will you tell us who this Public is?
Oh, the Public wouldn't like it!

When Walter Lippmann's latest book came to my desk, I fell upon it with an eager curiosity. For its cover held a promise—a promise to solve a mystery which had been puzzling me for many long months. Who—or what—is the Public?

Apparently the editors of the big dailies had no doubt whatever upon this score. They talked of the public with the easiest familiarity, protected him (or her, or it, or them) with great courtesy and skill, and reminded all of us—and especially the workers—of our obligations to him (or her, or it, or them). When miners threatened a strike if they were not given enough work to keep them alive, there was not an editor who did not rise to protect the public with fine quixotic chivalrousness. Even President Wilson rushed to the defense with his flaming proclamation. And the courts came forward with a

stock of barbed injunctions. The Public was saved.

But not for long. Soon the railroad sides imperiled him (or her or . . . etc.) Again a great defense. Then, Governor Allen rushed bravely to the fore with an Industrial Court guaranteed to keep the Public safe forever more, Amen. By this time the gully was a little shallower. And we are still not as wise as the editors of the New York Times et al on the subject of the Public.

Of course, there were times when even the wise and knowing became a little puzzled and upset. There was one time, for instance, not so long ago, when Judge Gary refused to meet union representatives in an Industrial Conference as a representative of the employers. Thereupon President Wilson invited him to represent our old but elusive friend, the Public. The Public had other distinguished but puzzling representatives at that conference besides Judge Gary—Mr. Rockefeller, for instance. And there was another time, somewhat longer ago, when Jay Gould embarking on a railroad lock-out answered polite reminders on the need of the public from the aforementioned editors with his famous and delicate remark: "The Public be damned!" You can imagine the feel-

ings of the editors! Surely Mr. Gould was not damning Judge Gary or Mr. Rockefeller, those sterling representatives of the Public at the President's Conference. But whom was he damning?

Perhaps I have given you enough of the edge and bite of this mystery to make you keen to learn the answer. Perhaps you will open Mr. Lippmann's book with me in an equally eager haste. For Mr. Lippmann has taken some 500 pages to track down public opinion—which, of course, is merely the dynamic force with which the Public slays all who offend it. They are pretentious pages, moreover, filled with the findings of many sciences, the lessons of important practical experiences, the results of long research. Here, in summary, is what they tell you of the Public, and Public Opinion.

Men act, says Mr. Lippmann, not on the basis of the world as it actually is, but as they think it is. The pictures inside our heads are often very different from the world outside. Various external factors shrink our knowledge of the full facts; such things, for instance, as censorship, limited social contacts, the call of other interests, the distortion created by cables and necessary news compression, our unwillingness to accept disturbing facts. By the aid of these things there is created in our minds a misrepresentative picture of the world outside. This "trickle of messages," moreover, is further distorted by our internal prejudices, stored-up images, stereotypes, peculiar interests, all of which determine what we do see and what we overlook. Separate individual opinions are compounded into Public Opinion by common aptitudes, the "blending of many colors," by the use of symbols and

dramatization. Both traditional democracy and the newer programs of Guild Socialism, etc., do not allow for this separation between the world of facts and men's ideas of the world of facts. Newspapers have not met this problem but have intensified it since they, too, reflect not the actual world, but portions of it, ideas of it, opinions about it. We must under any representative government that is to be successful develop an independent expert organization for reporting the facts.

And there you are. Do you know any more definitely just who the Public is? No, of course you don't. For Mr. Lippmann has given us here a splendid laboratory picture of Public Opinion. He has cut it out of the social context in which we want most to locate it, placed it on a plate under the microscope lens and said, "Look." We looked, and as usual through a microscope saw so much of the organ under observation we couldn't see the body of which it is a part. If Mr. Lippmann had continued his work by studying the history of the specimen, its environment, etc., we might have obtained a real diagnosis.

For, after all, public opinion is part of a social situation. We have opinions on something. And in modern affairs, the place where the pictures in our heads are most emotional, most irrational, most explosive is in the economic field. All Mr. Lippmann's protestation "that the assumption of the existence of a specific class interest . . . is a fake" will not alter the fact that it is just in situations where the class of class interests is sharpest that Public Opinion is most active and most unreliable. Key industry strikes, internal class revolutions, industrial problems, etc.

The New Unionism

By MARY GOFF

"The New Unionism," by J. M. Budish and George Soule. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1920.

What percentage of the vast membership comprising the needle trades industries have realized the vital importance their organization assumes in the modern trade-union movement? True, the workers of the militant organizations included in the garment industry are so completely absorbed in their immediate struggle, that they do not have an opportunity for "looking backward,"—and they cannot therefore reflect upon the tremendous rapidity with which their unions are progressing.

While there are numerous books dealing with the problems of organized labor, it is not an easy task to find some specific information pertaining to the needle trade industries. A student who is keenly interested in obtaining a brief historic background and some reliable statistical data on the garment industry will find "The New Unionism," by Budish and Soule invaluable.

This book gives an admirable description of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, The International Ladies' Garment Workers, The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, The Textile Industry, The International Fur Workers, The Neckwear Makers and The United Garment Workers.

While painting a vivid picture of the origin, the conflicts, the characteristics and analyzing philosophies and achievements, the authors of the book illustrate in a skillful manner the growth of a new type of unionism, initiated by the above-mentioned organizations. The early struggles of the wage earners are described as "periodic revolts, spontaneous and well-nigh unorganized, that arose

with the returning seasons, and spent themselves without permanent gain like furious waves that rise and withdraw again into the sea."

After a desperate struggle for existence which lasted about ten years, the workers of the needle trades emerged from the sweat-shop persimmon. They now occupy a permanent strategic position in the American Labor Movement.

Though these forward-looking organizations have not yet reached their goal, though they have not yet succeeded in abolishing all the evils of the present economic system, and though they are still subjected to the instability of seasonal fluctuations, lockouts, injunctions and strikes, one can have no doubt after reading "The New Unionism" that the workers have made remarkable strides. They are class-conscious. Their highly centralized organizations are erected on a strong foundation. The workers of these organizations stand firm and are determined to weather each arising storm. Equipped to cope with immediate situations, they display remarkable courage and enthusiasm. Thus any attempt on the part of the capitalists of industry to undermine their basic structure, regardless of the sacrifice the conflict may involve, is met with unflinching resistance.

The opening chapter of "The New Unionism" deals briefly with the successful growth of the unions of the clothing industry. This description is indeed characteristic of the growth of the entire field of needle trades organizations. The workers in the garment industries were confronted with similar problems and had to face the same miserable conditions. The unpeppery sweatshop system which spread during the early period of the

industrial development of garment making ruled the destiny of all the workers in the needle trades. Following the Civil War when machinery was introduced and ready-made clothing appeared on the map of commerce, competition also became an inevitable factor. The encroachment upon the lives of the worker became more and more evident. The sweatshop system took root.

Overwork, disease, poverty and unemployment became the inevitable scars imposed upon the thousands of immigrants who came to these shores to seek economic security and political freedom.

Jews, Italians, Germans, Irish and Scandinavians who emigrated from the different countries filled the American sweatshops. Between 1881 and 1910 there were 1,562,800 Jewish immigrants, the greatest percentage of whom entered the garment industries. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the 394,000 immigrants who came to this country between 1899 and 1910 were clothing workers.

During the period of this tremendous influx of immigrants, the conditions in the needle trade industries were appalling. But in spite of the countless obstacles, the workers organized and their unions became a power.

The different types of unionism, as outlined by both Professor Hoxie and G. D. H. Cole are discussed. The functional classifications are interesting and instructive for trade unionists from every point of view. Especially enlightening is Hoxie's analysis: "The most significant distinction is that between unions which are unconscious that their efforts tend towards a new social order, and so adapt their strategy to the immediate situations, and unions which are conscious of their desire for a new order and so base their strategy on a more fundamental consideration."

According to this classification the Clothing Workers and the Ladies'

Garment Workers are demonstrating that they have consciously accepted the new unionism. Hence these organizations are ceaselessly striving towards higher ideals. Regardless of the fact that their immediate aim is to improve material conditions, such as reduction in hours and increases in wages, their ultimate goal is the hope for a better and fuller life.

A whole chapter in "The New Unionism" is devoted to the description of and emphasis on the educational activities which were introduced and are being carried on successfully by the I. L. G. W. U. It is pointed out that our International was the first to recognize the growing need for education and worked out a definite system for the mental development of its members. Since the convention of 1914, an educational department has been maintained by the International. This department is growing rapidly in scope and in influence. Thus the contention of the authors is corroborated. The I. L. G. W. U. is preparing its members for a better and more effective control of industry, and a better comprehension of their own problems.

This example has been followed by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. Similar activities are being carried on by these organizations among their members and are demonstrating the functions of the new type of unionism.

The concluding chapter of the book entitled "The Future" deals with the burning questions of the day. Nearly every problem confronting the garment industries, as applied to the labor movement at large is touched upon. In this chapter the most essential questions arising in our organizations are discussed. The most significant points are brought forward by the authors in the following statement: "The detrimental effect of internal friction will not speed the progress of the labor movement." (Continued on Page 9)



LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

EMPLOYE REPRESENTATION.

— limited partnership in the management of industries by employees is the recommendation made by the National Economic League after an exhaustive study of more than a thousand plans for improved relations between employer and employees.

ORGANIZATION WORK IN STEEL CONTINUES.

Wm. Hammon, in charge of the committee for unionizing the steel industry, declares that the organization work will proceed regardless of steel magnates' promise to abolish the 12-hour day.

MOTHERS' PENSION LAWS HELP CHILDREN.

A recent issue of the United States Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau describes how the mothers' pension laws now in force in all but six States have mended broken homes and assured children a better chance in life.

COST OF BREAD TO BE INVESTIGATED.

Market Commissioner Edwin J. O'Malley, undertakes an investigation into the alleged high price of bread at the behest of the subcommittee for Education and Information of the Market Committee of Civic Organizations.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES EXCEED THREE BILLION.

Sharp cuts will have to be made in Federal expenditures to bring the cost of operating the Government for the current fiscal year within \$3,000,000,000, declares Director Lord of the Bureau of the Budget.

NO SLUMP IN NEW YORK EMPLOYMENT.

Employment throughout New York State, although higher than in 1922, failed to recede during June and July according to the report of State Industrial Commissioner Shienstag.

DRESS INDUSTRIES CONDEMN PRISON PRODUCTS.

American retail merchants have pledged their support to a Nation-wide campaign for the elimination from public markets of prison-made clothing. David Mosesohn, chairman of the Associated Dress Industries of America has announced.

BUSINESS STILL ON UPWARD CURVE.

Students of economic conditions and friends say that the peak of the business cycle has not been reached; that the long swing movement downward has not begun; that the current slump in stocks and commodity prices is a usual manipulation and that the late summer and early fall will bring a resumption of activity.

BROOKHART TELLS COOLIDGE MIDDLE WEST DEMANDS.

United States Senator Smith Brookhart lays before President Coolidge the demands of the radical progressive forces of the Middle West; the demands include excess profit taxation; cooperative code for the farmers; fuller representation of labor and the farmers in the Federal Reserve System; soldier bonus paid for from excess profit taxes and repeal of the main provisions of the Esch-Commins Law.

SELECTIVE IMMIGRATION MIGHT BE DUTY OF CONSULS.

Secretary of Labor Davis, declares in London that the immigration committee of which he is the head will recommend legislation conferring upon United States consuls the power to select the most desirable immigrants.

UNDERWOOD CONDEMNED BY ALABAMA LABOR.

Birmingham, Alabama, allied labor organizations condemn the Presidential candidacy of Senator Oscar W. Underwood, declaring that he should be eliminated from public life because of his "lack of sympathy with the great masses of the people" and his "subserviency" to "big business and financial interests."

TWO MILLION DOLLARS NEEDED TO INVESTIGATE COAL PROFITS.

The Federal Coal Commission refuses to investigate the cost of retailing coal and profits made by retail coal dealers, explaining that State and municipal agencies are best adapted for the work; the Commission estimates that the survey would cost \$2,000,000.

The New Unionism

(Continued from page 8)

neither will it speed the hour when labor will get the full share of its product. Not only must the unions be well knit among themselves, and be ready to share all the benefits equally among their membership, but unity must be sought in the whole labor movement, unity both economic and political. There does not seem to be any way of bringing about effective workers' control of industry

without political control of the state." "The New Unionism" is a book so new, so realistic and so stimulating in its account of the workers in the garment industry that every member will find it invaluable as a source of information and encouragement. They will find in it an accurate sketch of their own life and struggles mirrored in a progressing labor movement.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

BEN TILLET ON WAR.

As one of a deputation sent out to Germany by the executive of the Transport Workers' Union, Mr. Ben Tillet urged the union at their annual conference in London to set their faces against war, and to say to their pastors and masters: "If there be war, you go to it."

INDUSTRIAL AMBASSADORS.

Seconding a resolution on foreign affairs at the Transport Union Conference, Mr. Samuel Warren suggested that industrial ambassadors should be appointed. He held that they would be of more use than the ambassadors who were virtually ambassadors of war.

LABOR AND FRANCE.

A joint meeting in the House of Commons of the Joint International Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the executive of the Labor Party, issued a statement welcoming Mr. Baldwin's statement on the Ruhr deadlock as being "on the lines of policy urged by the Labor Party. At the same time the statement deprecated any attempt to create ill-feeling between the French and British people, and sent fraternal greetings to the former.

THE ARMAMENTS RACE.

The Labor Party have tabled a motion for discussion in Parliament, deploring the "enormous and growing expenditure" on the naval and air force and other military preparations, and urging the government at once to call an international conference to consider a program of national safety based on disarmament.

LABOR AND THE UNIVERSITIES.

In the recently passed Universities Bill in the House of Commons, the Minister for Education accepted an amendment from a Labor Member, Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, which declared that, in making new statutes for Oxford and Cambridge, regard should be had for the needs of poor students. The policy of the Labor Party is to prevent the universities from being, as they too often are, the prerogative of the upper and middle classes and to open them freely, without distinction of class, to all who can benefit from them, and incidentally to provide maintenance for poorer students while there.

AUSTRIA

INTERNATIONAL LABOR WOMEN.

International labor women are holding two important meetings simultaneously in Vienna, this summer. On August 14, at the same time as the summer school organized by the International Federation of Trade Unions, the biennial congress of the International Federation of Working Women will meet there. The delegations will include 10 representatives from the Women's Trade Union League of America, as well as others from Mexico, France, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Among fraternal delegates will be Miss Shinn from China and Miss Kato from Japan.

FASCISM IN VIENNA.

Virtually unknown here a few months ago, the Fascist movement is occupying a growing space in Vienna's limelight. I hear that Arnaldo Mussolini, the Italian Premier's brother, was recently invited by the Viennese Fascist to visit the Austrian capital.

Campaign Started in Los Angeles

(Continued from page 1)

On Tuesday, August 14, another cloakmakers' meeting was held in Los Angeles, and according to information received, it was the most successful meeting yet held in that city of workers belonging to our trades. At this meeting Brother Lefkowitz made clear to the cloakmakers that they need not expect a general strike in that city unless the trade is first thoroughly organized. He emphasized that it was his first and foremost mission to build up a solid local and then leave the rest to the discretion and direction of the General Executive Board of the International Union.

At the same time in order to give the Los Angeles employers an opportunity to avoid strife with the union. Vice-President Lefkowitz decided to send out a letter to the local cloak manufacturers advising them to come to terms with the union before September 3rd. If they will persist in their blind obstinacy and continue to ignore the organization of the work-

ers a strike on September 11 is well-nigh inevitable.

This decision is final and it also has the full and undivided sanction of President Sigman and of the General Executive Board.

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Open Day and Evening



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the

UNITY CENTERS

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Season 1922-1923

LESSON 3.—The Distribution of Human Want Satisfaction.

1. The primary purpose of productive systems lies in making the things necessary to satisfy the want of man. The division of wealth among a population is called economic distribution.

2. There exists today in the United States a great inequality of wealth distribution. The United States Commission on Industrial Relations, reporting in 1915, divided the people of the United States into the following economic classes:

	Number	Per Cent of Total Population	Aggregate Wealth	Average Wealth	Per Cent of Total Wealth
Rich	2,000,000	2%	\$41,000,000,000	\$20,500	68%
Middle	33,000,000	33%	49,000,000,000	1,480	35%
Poor	61,000,000	65%	7,000,000,000	107	5%

3. The money income of the United States is over \$50,000,000,000. Five per cent of our families receive from 20 to 30 per cent of this income, while the remaining 90 per cent live below the bare subsistence wage level. (Mitchell, King, Macauley & Knauth, "Income in the United States," Volume II, p. 334.)

4. Of the income of the people of the United States, about 30 per cent is taken by employers as profits; 15 per cent by owners of capital as interest; 10 per cent by owners of land as rent; and about 45 per cent goes to workers as wages and salaries. (Wilfred King—"Wealth and Income of the People of the United States," Ch. 7).

5. This inequality of wealth is based primarily upon the ownership and non-ownership of the tools of production. The advance of industry has seen both a great concentration of wealth on the one hand and a great increase of the propertyless on the other.

6. The coming of a propertyless majority was made absolutely inevitable by (1) the disappearance of the frontier with its free land and free natural resources in 1890; (2) the advance of industry making the initial cost of launching a business increasingly great; (3) the wane of small business; (4) the control of industry by a closed financial group; (5) the absolute need for a large laboring class.

7. The control of wealth and industry by the few has been based upon the unit of business enterprise—the corporation. The corporation appeared in the United States at about 1850, but spread widely only after the Civil War. It has replaced largely today both the individual business man and the partnership, over both of which it possessed great business advantages. For it enjoys and permits

1. Limited Liability—holding each owner, responsible only for his share in the business.
2. Operation on the basis of a state charter.
3. Continuity of existence—if the owners die, the business goes on anyway.
4. The accumulation of large funds.
5. Easy transference and flexibility of ownership through sale of stocks.
6. The fiction of legal personality and individuality (much used in industrial warfare against labor).
7. Centralized control—separated from ownership.

8. In the beginning the corporation operated under restricted competition. But as industry advanced, competition grew increasingly unprofitable. For the cost of production in any industry consists of two parts: (1) fixed costs; (2) proportionate costs, which depend directly upon the amount of output. The chief items under the fixed costs are rent, maintenance and depreciation of equipment, interest on capital (equipment) investment; the chief items under the proportionate costs are cost of materials, cost of bulk of labor power, cost of power. As industry advanced and industrial equipment grew larger and more expensive, the fixed charges increased so greatly that it frequently proved better to sell below the cost of production rather than shut down completely and allow the fixed cost to continue. But selling below cost under competition with its forced price cutting meant in the end financial ruin. Consequently, combination in every industry in which fixed costs were large, was inevitable. (Charles P. Steinmetz, "America and the New Epoch," et. 3).

2. This led to the era of trusts. Trustification means basically

Announcement of Our Courses for 1923-1924

We now have on hand a large supply of announcements of our courses for the year 1923-1924, and those desiring to procure one may do so by calling at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

Each course has been numbered and in registering for courses students will kindly do so by number.

In the Workers' University, fourteen courses (others to be announced later) will be given in modern civilization labor problems, psychology, English, etc. In the Unity Centers nine courses will be given (others to be announced later) in social and labor problems, English, Civics, history of the I. L. G. W. U., etc. In the Extension Division we have arranged for thirteen courses (others to be announced later) in current problems, lectures on health, civilization in America, the Labor Movement, etc. We are planning to give a brief description of every course in JUSTICE, and will commence with

those given at the Workers' University.

MODERN CIVILIZATION

The time is ripe for a re-investigation of the fundamentals of our present-day civilization. The older civilization has in large measure broken down. A new civilization is in process of being built up. If the workers' movement is to be powerful in helping to shape that new civilization, workers must know the underlying principles and the dominant trends of our modern life. Ignorance in this case is not bliss but folly. Nor will a little information here and a little information there answer the need. The need is for a grasp, so basic and comprehensive, that the workers' movement will be able to speak with the authority of fundamental truth.

To this end there has been organized the following group of courses, all focusing upon one central problem.

(To be continued)

Our Activities

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

(Continued)

THE SPIRIT OF OUR CLASSES

Our classes in the Unity Centers and the Workers' University accomplish another valuable result besides that of giving an opportunity to our members to receive information and instruction. In these classes there is a spirit of comradeship which is of the highest value. In addition to the work described previously, the students organize social meetings and functions. At these, students meet and spend considerable time in purely social intercourse. The fact that they are enabled to do so through opportunities organized for them by their International, is of a significance which all students of the labor movement will appreciate.

The Unity Centers and the Workers' University are therefore not merely agencies for instruction, but also for creating a stronger and more effective spirit of fellowship which is engendered through communication and intercourse between members of a group.

C. EXTENSION DIVISION

We have always believed that educational activities should be provided for the different groups which constitute our membership. We feel that a large part of it cannot come to our classes for many different reasons. Some are not adapted for class work. Others are too tired, and many have other duties. But, we must make all possible attempts to reach them. For this reason, we organized an Extension Division. Its work consists in conducting lectures at the business meetings of our local unions, conducting forums and entertainments, and other similar activities.

1. FORUMS

The Educational Department conducted several forums at which thousands of our members congregated to listen to a speaker and to participate in open discussion. A musical program was frequently provided.

At some of these forums President Schlesinger addressed the members of our Cloakmakers' Union on the current problems of the industry and their organization.

We feel that this feature of our educational work is exceedingly important. These forums are organized in the different sections of the city where our members reside and are accessible to all. We hope to extend this type of work so that large numbers of our members may frequently attend attractive forums where good speakers will address them on labor problems.

combination of corporations. It has passed through the following stages in the United States:

1. The Gentlemen's Agreement.
2. The Pool.
3. The Trustee Device.
4. The True Combination
 - (a) Merger.
 - (b) Amalgamation.
5. Industrial Integration.
6. Financial—Industrial Combination.

Manager Hochman's Final Report on Dress and Waist Industry

A Retrospect and Survey

August 16, 1923.
Joint Board Dress and Waistmakers' Union.

Greetings:
I hereby beg to submit to you a final report of the activities of our union.

In merging our Joint Board with the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, we are closing the chapter of our struggles, gains and accomplishments as an Independent Organization.

Comparatively few members of our joint board and executive board today can claim to have witnessed the birth of our nation. For this reason, I believe it advisable, at this time, to give a general outline of the salient events in the history of our organization.

WE ARE A WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

In going over the past, we must not lose sight of the fact that we are primarily a women's organization. Recent figures show that of the workers in our industry, 77 per cent are women and 23 per cent men. A few years ago, the percentage of women as against men was ever larger. In 1916, according to Dr. Stone, the percentage of women was 85 per cent and of men 15 per cent.

It is a fact that cannot be contradicted, that women are a shifting element in industry and not easy to organize. It has been estimated that every five years, marks almost a complete change of our membership. This is more than corroborated by an investigation into the change of membership in our locals.

Local 22 has today a membership of 9,000, practically the same number it had a year ago. Yet 3,000 out of the 9,000 are members who have been initiated during that year. Same is true of Local 69. This shows that one-third of the membership of our union changes every year. According to these figures, our membership actually changes every three years.

I mention these facts so that we may be able to appreciate what has been accomplished during the 15 years of our existence.

We should also not lose sight of the fact that our union is the largest women's trade union in the world.

It was the 16-weeks general strike of 1909, which for the first time brought out 13,000 shirtwaist makers throughout the miserable, oppressive conditions prevailing in the industry, at that time.

That glorious fight has not only awakened the interest and admiration of the workers and general public in this country, but of the entire world. No strike in the needle industry, before or since then, has ever attracted such an amount of attention.

As an interesting incident of this strike, it is worth remarking that an Association of Waist Manufacturers was formed and applied, for a settlement, through a collective agreement, but was refused by the union, the union not believing at that time in signing an agreement with an employers' association!

The strike was finally settled and agreements were signed with about 300 independent manufacturers, which provided for a 54-hour week and certain elementary rights for the workers in the shops. Right after the strike, the union claimed a membership of 10,000.

This membership was not maintained for very long, as the larger shops, such as Sherr Bros, and others, who were forced to sign an agree-

ment, repudiated their agreements as soon as the strike was over, and the membership dwindled in numbers.

1913

In the year 1913, the first collective agreement, calling for perpetual peace between the union and the Waist and Dress Manufacturers' Association, was entered into. The 50-hour week was introduced and an Imperial Tribunal was established for the adjustment of disputes between the workers and employers. A general cessation of work was agreed upon to help organize the industry. As a result, we have greatly increased our membership and influence.

1916

In the year of 1916, the union again presented demands to the employers, asking for an increase in wages, a reduction of hours and for fundamental changes in the agreement with regard to workers' rights in the shops. After many weeks of negotiation, the matter was finally referred to an Imperial Tribunal and a 10 per cent increase in wages was granted, hours of work reduced to 49, minimum scales increased, and general improvements in the workings of the collective agreement effected. By gaining the reduction in hours, we became the first union in the needle trade to obtain the 48-hour week.

1916 was practically the last time when the machine of the protocol, the Board of Arbitration, was used to avert a general strike. A great deal can be said for and against arbitration. But at that time, with the waist industry in its highest and most prosperous stage, with large factories employing hundreds of workers, the tribunal, headed by some of the most prominent citizens of the country, such as Judge Brandeis and Judge Mack; the union represented by Morris Hillquit and the association by Julius Henry Cohen, there was a certain dignity attached to the situation, which only those who were present at those meetings and discussions can appreciate now.

The agreement of 1916 brought with it a period of "Peace." This, however, was no more the peace we had in previous years. Administration after administration changed in the waist and dress manufacturers' association. The waist industry started to decline. A number of manufacturers' members of the association, in search for cheap markets, in an attempt to evade the responsibility of the agreement, opened large factories out of town. The association, in an attempt to protect its members began to undermine the fundamental principles of the agreement and took an unfair attitude toward the union. The result of this was constant friction.

EDUCATION AND UNITY HOUSE

It was in the same year, right after the conclusion of the 1916 agreement that Local 25 began to look around for means and ways to keep up the interest of the membership and make the union not only a place to come and fight for better wages, shorter hours and the maintenance of established standards in the shop, but also a place to satisfy their intellectual and spiritual needs.

We may well pride ourselves to be the first union in this country which found it necessary to introduce an educational system, to give their membership an opportunity to develop themselves, educate themselves under the guidance of their trade union.

The year 1916 also saw the establishment of the first Unity House. A committee of the executive board of Local 25, a few members of which are still active in our union today, together with Miss Juliet Stewart Poyntz, who was engaged as educational director, opened the first Unity House at Pine Hill.

Both these institutions created in that year have remained permanent and have since been imitated throughout the country. The educational institution has grown and developed to such an extent that the International saw fit to take it over and make it one of the most important of its departments.

The Unity House idea and the way it has grown and developed from the small house in Pine Hill to the Bear Mountain House, Overlook Mountain, and the present Unity Houses at Forest Park and Staten Island needs very little elaboration on my part since most of our members are thoroughly acquainted with this phase of our movement today.

1919

For the first time since 1909, our power was challenged and we were thus thrown into a general strike. The issue around which the strike evolved originally was the introduction of the 44-hour week. It was right after the World War ended. We were in the midst of the post-war prosperity. The Associated Clothing Workers was the only union that attempted to come out and introduce the 44-hour week. Our agreement expired a short while after that and our executive board, after long deliberation and discussion, decided to demand the introduction of the 44-hour week, as well as a 15 per cent increase in wages.

The Waist Manufacturers' Association took a defiant attitude and not only refused the introduction of the 44-hour week, but demanded the right to hire and fire, to reorganize the factories twice a year and to abolish equal distribution of work in the dull season.

It was clear from these demands that the association intended to undermine the confidence of the workers, in their organization and thereby destroy the union. A strike was declared on January 21, 1919, and after eleven weeks of a most dramatic struggle, we succeeded in reaching an agreement, providing for the 44-hour week, and returned victoriously to work—the first union of ladies garment workers to gain the 44-hour week.

CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION

The significant result of this strike is that we began to realize, for the first time, that we have no more a waist industry. The waist industry practically disappeared, and in its stead had grown up a new, tremendous, powerful and influential dress industry. Together with the disappearance of the waist industry, the large shops also disappeared. The waist industry had been run purely on a manufacturing basis, and at its height, there were factories where as many as 1800 persons were employed under one roof.

The dress industry, on the other hand, started on an entirely different basis. Instead of "manufacturer" the new term "jobber" came into vogue and the dresses were manufactured and made up by contractors running small shops and employing very few people.

During the strike the dress contractors organized into the Dress Contractors' Association, Inc., and en-

tered into a collective agreement with the union, which, as a collective agreement, was by all means far superior to that agreement with the Waist and Dress Association. The jobbers organized themselves into the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association, and for the first time entered into a collective agreement with our union.

It was one of the most bitter struggles which our union had faced. There were numerous arrests. The strike, as is to be seen from the figures below, cost more money than any other strike conducted by our union. To give you an idea of its magnitude, it is worthwhile mentioning that the expenses amounted to \$511,294.35.

A great portion of this expenditure was covered by an assessment of 10 per cent levied upon workers who returned to work. Our union, nevertheless, came out of the strike a debtor of many thousands of dollars.

The settlement of the strike was only nominal, for a struggle between the union and the Waist and Dress Association continued from day to day. Our union finally got tired and disgusted and when our representatives found it necessary in the year 1920, owing to the rise in the cost of living and other conditions to demand an increase in wages and a revision of the schedules, the association refused even to negotiate. The smaller contractors, employing the bulk of the workers, were ready to concede the change in wage schedules and concluded a supplementary agreement with the union. The Waist and Dress Association refused to accept the terms of this supplementary agreement. The union ever determined to consult this waist association, which was actually a small factor in the industry, to interfere with the improvement of the conditions of our membership. We decided not to deal collectively with this association.

It was at this period, that I was called from Chicago, after an absence of two years, to assume the management of the independent department and help in the fight against the waist and dress association.

It was a bitter and hard struggle. After many months of "peaceful fighting," the issue was brought to a conclusion in February, 1921, when we reached an agreement with the Association of Dress Manufacturers, Incorporated. We declared a cessation of work and fought all those manufacturers of the waist and dress association who refused to sign an agreement.

At the formation of the Joint Board, the pressers, though only a branch, were given representation. Immediately after, the pressers began to clamor for a change in the General Executive Board under the name of Pressers' Union, Local 69.

This divided the original Local 25 into four locals, 22, 25, 60 and 89.

The dress cutters of Local 10 together with a delegation of the Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, became part of the joint board.

Thus, we transformed ourselves from the original Local 25 into the Joint Board of Dress and Waistmakers' Union, October 13th, 1920.

The joint board felt that never before and especially under the new arrangements was there room for two dressmakers' locals in the City of New York. We sent committee after committee to the meetings of the general executive board to ask that the dress shops of Local 23 be transferred to the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union. While no one dared deny the justice of this demand, for some reason or another, the General Executive Board never gave a definite decision and did not do away with the dual dress organizations.

(To be continued.)

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The amalgamation of the joint board of waist and dressmakers and the joint board of cloakmakers into one joint board is practically an accomplished fact, and from now on will be known as the Cloak, Suit, Dress, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Joint Board.

This decision was reached by the General Executive Board a few weeks ago, and President Morris Sigman has taken steps to carry out the decision of the General Executive Board. The actual work of the waist and dress joint board has already been taken over by the cloak and suit joint board, under the supervision of General Manager Brother Feinberg.

As yet there have been very few changes made in the staff of the waist and dress joint board officers, with the exception of the fact that Brother Hochman, who was the general manager of the waist and dress joint board, has tendered his resignation, and Brother Mackoff, general secretary-treasurer of the waist and dress joint board, whose office will expire as soon as he will be able to transfer all accounts to Secretary-Treasurer of the Cloak and Suit Joint Board, Brother Philip Kaplowitz.

Brother Israel Horowitz, who was chief clerk for the union in dealing with the manufacturers' association, will continue in the capacity of the union's chief clerk for its association department.

Brother Joseph Shapiro will continue in charge of the independent department.

Undoubtedly the Cutters' Union will regret very much to lose the services of Brother Julius Hochman, who has been connected with the waist and dress industry for the past twelve to fifteen years. Originally, he served as business agent for the then Local 25, and was subsequently appointed by the general executive board to serve as an organizer in the waist and dress industry in the city of Chicago, where he remained for about a year's time. When the waist and dress joint board was subsequently organized under the management of President Morris Sigman, then first vice-president of the International, Brother Hochman was appointed manager of the independent department, in which capacity he served also under the management of Brother Jacob Halperin, one of the vice-presidents of the International. When Halperin was appointed to take charge of the out-of-town organization department of the International, Brother Julius Hochman was chosen by the joint board as the general manager of the joint board, in which capacity he served until his resignation a week ago.

Brother Julius Hochman, as general manager of the joint board, has made it his business to see that the union conditions, as far as the cutting departments are concerned, are lived up to, the main point of which is that no manufacturers should do their own cutting. He was very helpful to the cutters in this regard, and he very often had meetings with his business agents, instructing them to see that the manufacturers do not violate this provision of the agreement. Also, when one of our controllers, either Philip Hanel or Max Stoller, would go out on control and would notify the joint board of any violations they may have discovered, steps would be immediately taken to see that a repetition of this violation would not recur.

Brother Hochman was also instru-

mental in taking very stern measures in dealing with the jobbers, who, although having an agreement with joint board, had a number of non-union shops, in which their work was manufactured.

We believe that the cutters, as well as the other workers in the waist and dress industry, still recall vividly the last general strike conducted in this industry under Hochman's management, and that it was through his able leadership as well as his own personal efforts that the general strike was successfully concluded with a victory for the workers, and that for the first time in the history of the needle trades the forty-hour week was established.

Not only was he successful in instituting the forty-hour week in the waist and dress industry, but also, Local 66, Embroiderers' Union, which was part and parcel of the waist and dress joint board, and which only recently concluded an agreement with their manufacturers, was also able to establish the forty-hour week.

It is not necessary to further eulogize Brother Hochman, as his accomplishments and untiring efforts speak for themselves. And surely the cutters regret very much that we are unable to secure the continued services of Brother Hochman.

As previously mentioned, there is another officer whose services with the joint board terminate, namely, Brother M. E. Mackoff, general secretary-treasurer of the joint board. Brother Mackoff has been connected with the waist and dressmakers for about the same length of time as Brother Hochman, holding the position of complaint clerk with the then Local 25 until the organization of the waist and dress joint board, when he was elected general secretary-treasurer of that body.

Brother Mackoff, although more concerned with the secretarial duties, nevertheless was very cordial in his attitude towards the cutters and the cutters' organization as a whole, especially so as chairman of the law committees of the various strikes in the waist and dress industry.

Below is a letter received by the writer from Brother Samuel Perimutter, Manager of the Downtown Office of the Joint Board of Cloakmakers. The letter is quoted in full.

"The report of Brother Fish, Secretary of Local 10, in the last issue of JUSTICE, particularly with reference to the discussion of the amalgamation of both joint boards, which took place on August 9th at Local 10, is rather a puzzle to me. I therefore cannot resist the opportunity of making certain comments.

"I have been present at the meeting referred to by Brother Fish and participated in the discussion and consequently was rather surprised to read of the impression he received at that meeting, namely that the cloak cutters expressed themselves as being opposed to the amalgamation of dress and cloak cutters in the one local for the reason that dress cutters will lower the standards of the cloak cutters. In addition to this, I regret to state, that Brother Fish contradicts himself so much, so that I am beginning to doubt as to whether he read his own report before submitting it for publication. For example, the following is an extract from the report. As for the cutters' union, no such order, (meaning amalgamation) is necessary, since we are and have been one local for the past number of years."

So far so good, as we continue to

read we find another extract which reads as follows: "Brother Harry Goldstein No. 1, on the other hand, and a number of other cloak men, gave their opinion to the effect that this amalgamation should not take place." Now how on earth Brother Fish can reconcile these two facts is beyond my power of reasoning. In the first instance, he points out that that amalgamation in Local 10 and truly so, is an old established fact, for all ladies' garment cutters have been amalgamated under the supervision of one local, one manager and with one joint executive board transacting its business, since 1910, since its very inception, and yet with the same stroke of the pen, he tries to show that cloak cutters at that meeting opposed amalgamation.

Brother Fish, in order to show his uncompromising attitude towards amalgamation, quotes himself as being in favor of one unified solid organization. But the cloak cutters again expressed themselves against it. I believe that the report itself makes it unnecessary for me to dispute Brother Fish's imagination. For any one with the slightest knowledge of the make up of our International can readily see that to be opposed to amalgamation in Local 10 would be the equivalent of favoring the dissolution of Local 10, so what does Brother Fish really have in his mind. Perhaps he is referring to the question of books, as he partly stated in his report. That he is in favor of uniform books, which means that dress cutters and cloak cutters should carry the same kind of books, and there be no distinction regarding dress cutters going to cloak shops and vice versa. But these are minor detailed matters which are peculiar to our own local and has absolutely no bearing on the subject of amalgamation.

Brother Fish, who is a cutter himself, and secretary of the local, knows from experience that quite a number of cloak cutters were refused working cards in certain cloak shops for the reason that they were non-mechanics and were unable to command the prevailing wage existing in these shops. Now since it is possible for cloak cutters to undermine standards in a given cloak shop, it is doubly possible for cloak cutters who know the least about dresses to undermine standards in a dress shop

and vice versa, and there is no better method to maintain and safeguard standards than Local 10 is practicing at the present time.

There will be no cloak and suit branch meeting in September, due to the fact that the first Monday in September will be Labor Day.

Neither will there be any waist and dress branch meeting as the Eve of the Jewish New Year's Day falls on the second Monday of the month.

We would therefore advise those of our members who have not yet attended any meeting in the third quarter of the year, to make it their business to attend the general meeting of the month, which will take place on August 27th, or the last meeting in September which will fall on Monday, the 24th.



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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

GENERAL.....Monday, August 27th

MISCELLANEOUS.....Monday, September 17th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place