

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 36.

New York, Friday, Aug. 24, 1918

Price 2 Cents

STATE SUPREME COURT CHICAGO INJUNCTIONS

Right to Organize and Free Speech

A regrettable error has crept into our news dispatch from Chicago last week to the effect that the State Supreme Court of Illinois has refused to grant the injunction against our union demanded by ten local dress firms. As a matter of fact, Judge Cliff, before whom the cases were tried, has only substantially changed the nature of the injunction granted by Federal Judge Carpenter to the Mitchell Bros. firm, and has taken most of the poison out of it.

As it stands, the milder injunction granted these ten firms does not prohibit the union and its members to peacefully persuade the workers employed by these firms to join the union or to explain to them the benefits of organization. It only warns against violence, and this was never employed by any of our unions in any of our organizing activities.

The International has thus gained, by these modifications, a substantial victory, and a considerable amount of this credit is doubtless due to President Gompers whose speech at the Ashland Auditorium last week has made such a profound impression and was so widely quoted in the press. At that meeting there were assembled over three thousand workers, and it was addressed, in addition to President Gompers, by President Sigman and John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor. In his talk President Sigman expressed the thought that, if the injunction crusade against labor should continue in its present vehemence, there will be but one alternative left for organized labor—and that is to declare in such injunction-

ridden cities a general strike of all the workers against these all-forbidding writs.

Instead of the proposed writ to Governor Small, the committee of Chicago union men has decided to call

upon the Chicago mayor some day next week to discuss the problem of checking to some extent the injunction mania which seems to be raging in Chicago these days.

New York Call Becomes Property of Organized Labor

The plan of the General Executive Board of our International to place the New York Call on a sound financial basis, as well as equipping it with a consistent labor policy, has finally been carried out.

A number of conferences to that effect have been held with representatives of all the leading labor organizations in New York. Thanks to the perseverance of President Sigman, the obstacles that threatened in the beginning to sidetrack the plan have been overcome, and now we are in a position to state, that the "Call" has become the property of organized labor of New York and has been placed under its control. The true owners of the "New York Call" to-day are more than three hundred thousand union men belonging to the various labor bodies which own it now. The former owners of the "Call," the Workmen's Cooperative Association, retain fifteen per cent of the stock, while eighty-five per cent is distributed among the unions who participate in the joint ownership.

As yet, no marked changes have been made either in the outward or

inner appearance of the "Call" to signify its changed ownership. It is quite probable, however, that the "Call" will soon become an afternoon instead of a morning paper, if the formidable technical obstacles in the way can be overcome.

The following organizations are among the original subscribers: International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with a membership of 100,000; Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union with a membership of 175,000; International Fur Workers' Union,

DRESSMAKERS, ATTENTION!

All dressmakers are requested to refer all complaints, grievances, and all other matters of importance to the office of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union, 130 East 25th Street, fourth floor. The Association shops are under the supervision of Brother; L. Horowitz, and the independent dress shops under the management of Brother S. Prisman.

All Italian dressmakers are asked to bring their complaints to Miss Campanella on the same floor.

5,000 members; local unions affiliated with District Council No. 9 Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, 9,000 members; United Clothing Hat and Cap Makers' Union, 10,000 members; local unions affiliated with the International Bakery Workers' Union, 5,000 members; Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, 7,000 members; United Neckwear Makers' Union, 1,300 members.

The following is the first board of directors of the Labor Press Association, three of whom represent the W. (Continued on page 2.)

Labor Day Concert at Forest Park Unity House

All arrangements have already been completed for the celebration of Labor Day at the Unity House at Forest Park.

A concert, with an unusually fine program, will be a part of the festivities. Among the talent who will participate in the concert there will be the following noted artists: Maxmillian Rose, violinist; David Shapiro,

pianist, and Mme. Kean, soprano.

A special train will leave from the Lackawanna Railroad Station on Friday, August 31, at 6:30 p. m., going directly to Bushkill where the Unity House buses will await the arrivals.

Registrations are being received daily at the office, 16 West 21st Street, for the Labor Day week-end. Registrations are also accepted for the New Year stay-over.

President Sigman's Chicago Visit Makes Lasting Impression

The main object of President Sigman's visit to Chicago last week has been fully achieved. He had made clear, through the labor press, as well as in addresses at the meetings which were arranged for him, that Vice-president Perlestein in having expell-harmony with the General Office of the International and is carrying out the decision and the will of the General Executive Board of our organization.

The courageous tactics of Vice-President Perlestein in having expelled the few disrupters who, under the guidance of Foster, have been trying to sow the seed of disruption and dissolution in the needle trade unions of Chicago, with a particular fondness for our own locals, had had a salutary effect upon the situation. Now our active workers, under the lead of Vice-president Perlestein, will have the opportunity of devoting all their energies to dressmakers and shirtmakers, time to organize the masses of unorganized workers, and to carry out a task which has been entrusted to him by the International.

The mask has been completely torn off Foster's "Educational League" and its career among the ladies' garment workers of Chicago is practically at an end. The temporary intoxication with Fosterism which has over-

taken some of our Chicago workers is now to all intents and purposes over. Some of these Fosterites may still rage in impotence and call other Vice-president Perlestein or President Sigman ugly names, but these ravings fall on deaf ears now. The overwhelming majority of our members in Chicago are in the best sense of the word loyal and devoted to their International organization and its officers.

Next Monday A Legal Holiday

Cloakmakers and Dressmakers! Next Monday, Labor Day, is a legal holiday in our industry. No one of us is permitted to work on that

day! Committees will visit the shops and the trade districts and those found at work will be severely punished.

Lively Organization Work in Montreal

The campaign for a strong union of cloakmakers in Montreal has now begun in real earnest.

Brothers M. Desmond, D. Levitt, J. Cubitto, and Joseph Schubert, together with S. Goldberg, appointed by the International office to help in this campaign, have started the drive in a whirlwind manner. Shops are being

visited daily, and members, particularly such that "used to belong," are being called upon to come back into the fold.

Last Thursday there was a mass meeting of cloakmakers in Montreal and it was unusually well attended. The meeting has had a very salutary effect as evidenced by the number of

ler. Brother Nathan Solomon was in the chair.

Brother Perlestein came to the meeting directly from Chicago despite the pressing business which taxes every hour of his time in that city. His speech was received with great enthusiasm and he devoted most of it to the practical problems before the Cleveland workers, the negotiations with the employers, the strengthening of their treasury, etc.

The Auditorium of Locomotive Engineers where the meeting was held was crowded to the doors and when the speeches were over, a motion for a \$10 tax was carried unanimously.

members who are coming to rejoin the union, including the French-speaking workers who have heretofore been quite a difficult element to approach.

The atmosphere has, in general, taken a marked change for the better. Before soon the Montreal cloakmakers will realize the great error they had made by becoming indifferent to their organization, and now by rejoining it and by making it a strong factor in the industry they will in short order regain most of the standard union conditions of labor which have been taken away from them during the period of disorganization.

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

GERMAN HOPE SINKS

THE outlook in Germany, after a week of change and excitement, is today gloomier than ever.

The forcing out of Cuno by the Socialists and trade unionists and the forming of the Stresemann cabinet evens platform of fulfillment which would deprive Poincaré of any excuse to stay in the Ruhr, appeared only a few days ago to be the beginning of a new deal in Germany. There followed in quick succession the enactment of the compulsory loan, in the form of a tax on wealth to raise a large fund for the stabilizing of the mark, and the new Chancellor's speech before the German Association of Chambers of Commerce in which he stressed the urgency of sacrifices by the business classes and held out an olive branch to the French Premier.

For a while it looked to those who still believed that Poincaré wants reparations and not the dismemberment and obliteration of Germany, that in order to achieve it he would merely have to back the new German cabinet. But this was only a short-lived illusion. In his last Sunday's speech, Poincaré again sounded his warwhistle—"Pay or we stay," indulging exclusively in old-time polemics and made not the slightest gesture of even conditional willingness to grasp Stresemann's olive branch and seemingly completely ignored his speech. This fresh outburst of sabre-rattling plunged Berlin once more in gloom and brought the mark down to another abysmal figure—7,000,000 to the dollar.

What if anything can save Europe from the catastrophe it is headed for? Congressman Berger, who has just returned from a five months' tour of the European continent, suggests a billion-dollar loan by the United States to Germany in foods and raw materials for a 15-year term to be guaranteed by the wealth of the German currency. Such a loan, in the form of the very products which the American farmers and industries need a market for, would tend to ward off the bankruptcy and the distress which threaten the American farmers, too. Such a loan would stabilize the mark and make it possible for Germany to pay off all its debts.

THE FIGHT FOR FINAL AMNESTY

THIS week has seen some sharp broadsides on the subject of freeing the political prisoners which still languish in the jails of America.

United States Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania, a celebrated lawyer and a noted friend of the "politicals," has just concluded a study of each of the thirty-four political prisoners still in jail, including the twenty-two Sacramento I. W. W. cases, and in an exhaustive report recommends unconditional pardon for all the prisoners. In his final conclusion Senator Pepper says, "In my judgment in every case pardon ought to be granted. The men ought to be in or out jail, and in either alternative without ifs or buts." The forces behind the amnesty movement attach much significance to Senator Pepper's recommendation in the light of fact that last year when Pepper had made a study of the cases of all those who were convicted in the Chicago trials of 1919 for violation of the Espionage Act and recommended clemency for them some form of commutation of sentence for nearly all of them has been granted.

Meanwhile, fearful lest the report of Senator Pepper and some recent statements at the White House foreshadowed the release of the remaining political prisoners, the embattled stalwarts of 100 per cent "Americanism," the American Legion, speaking through its publicity agents, and with the cordial support of the bourgeois press, began a campaign for the retention in jail of all war-time offenders. The propaganda issued by the officials of the Legion is particularly incensed against unconditional pardon and "registers its emphatic protest" against any form of executive clemency which would free the political without strings or conditions.

A sidelight on the serene temper and the atmosphere of justice in which the twenty-two prisoners in the Sacramento, California, cases were tried, is thrown today by the decision of the California legal authorities last week that no trials are needed in that State any longer for the jailing of any one found with an I. W. W. card on his person. A supreme court justice in that same city of Sacramento issued a permanent injunction to that effect last week which would make all I. W. W.'s subject to a six months' jail sentence for "contempt of court" on proof of membership.

A "NEW" LABOR POLICY IN ITALY

IT IS, of course, difficult to form a correct opinion from the highly censored, no doubt, press dispatches which come from Milan, Italy, and relating to the present convention of the Italian Federation of Labor being held in that city, on the true state and condition of the Italian trade union movement as reflected officially in that convention. Enough of it, however, has filtered through to affirm the impression that the Fascist avalanche in Italy has succeeded not only in breaking up the Italian labor movement as far as numbers are concerned but has also inflicted upon it a mortal moral wound.

Two years ago the Italian Federation of Labor counted not more than two million members, ostensibly a loyal, well-disciplined, and class-conscious army of labor, represented in Parliament by more than 150 deputies. At the present meeting in Milan, the Federation represented somewhat under a quarter of a million Italian workers. This meeting by a great majority adopted a resolution put forth by the advocates of "collaboration" with Mussolini and his Fascists which affirms that the policy of the Federation must not be based on preconceived hostility to any particular government but must determine its action separately for each individual case. In other words, this means that the Federation breaks away completely from its former principles and policies and its president D'Aragnone is left free to give his support to Mussolini if he sees fit.

This vote would appear to indicate the final debacle of the once powerful organization of Italian labor. Small wonder that the employers' press in Italy is heralding this decision as Mussolini's most brilliant victory. It remains to be seen, only to what extent the Milan convention represented all of what remains of Italian labor. It is noteworthy that at this Congress not a single delegate appeared representing such industrial centres as Florence

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(Continued from Page 1)

C. P. A.: S. John Block, lawyer; Robert Bruere, author and member from Writers' Union; Evans Clark, of the Labor Bureau, Inc.; Israel Feinberg, General Manager Joint Board of Cloak, Suit, Dress and Reffer Makers' Union; Lewis S. Gannett, Associate Editor of the Nation and member of the Press Writers' Union; Sidney Hillman, President Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Morris Hillquit, lawyer; Morris Kaufman, President International Fur Workers' Union; Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Morris Sigman, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Oseip Wolinsky, Manager Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union; Max Zaritzky,

President of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of America; Philip Zauner, Secretary District Council No. 9, Brotherhood of Painters and a member of the Executive Council of the New Building Trades Council affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Norman Thomas has been appointed Editor-in-Chief of the "Call" and Heber Blankenhorn, Managing Editor. Mr. Thomas was formerly Editor of the World Tomorrow and Associate Editor of The Nation. Before his acceptance of the editorship of the "Call," he was Director of The League for Industrial Democracy. Mr. Blankenhorn was a member of the Bureau of Industrial Research and for years was on the editorial staff of the Evening Sun.

and Lehigh, who would not go to a meeting which was in advance gagged, bound, and delivered hand and foot to Mussolini.

AN "IRON HAND" IN GREECE

WITH the attention of most of the world distracted in the direction of the bloody embroglio between Germany and France, this week witnessed the finale of an unprecedented outrage committed upon the workers of Greece.

The World War, and the years of fighting with Turkey at the behest of England, has impoverished the country and has brought the working masses of Greece to the brink of desperation. So in an attempt to wrest from their masters the means of even a precarious livelihood, the organized workers of Greece went out about two weeks ago in a general strike. It was a highly successful effort too, and paralyzed all Greece in an industrial and commercial sense.

It looked for a while as if the Greek workers would attain their end and would compel the wealth-owning classes of the country to come to terms with them. But Greece has a "revolutionary" government, a military junta which rules with ruthless brutality and without the slightest regard for constitutional liberties over that unhappy land. From the beginning of the strike, Colonel Plastiras, the Greek military dictator, lined up the entire force of his junta on the side of the employers and in the course of ten days succeeded in bringing the general strike of the Greek workers to a complete collapse, refusing to accept anything but unconditional surrender.

Among the measures taken by the government against the strikers was a decree suppressing the trade unions entirely. All the union offices were seized, their furniture and archives removed and their bank deposits confiscated; then the offices themselves were converted into soldiers' barracks of refugees' homes.

Today Plastiras is affectionately heralded as the "strong man of Greece," and is being credited with a "soldier-like singleness of purpose." Heaven only knows how many American mouths have been watering while reading of the exploits of this "strong man of Greece," how many 100 per cent American hearts have been aching in envy for the lack of a similar dictator with a "soldier-like singleness of purpose" to solve our own labor discomforts and annoyances?

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS,
LOCAL 49

The last meeting of the chairladies and price committee members held Wednesday, August 15, was very well attended. The question of price settling, which is of supreme importance in a piece-work trade, was the main topic for discussion. The attention of those present, was drawn by the office to the fact that in a number of instances prices had been settled on a basis which was far below the minimum basic rates prescribed in the agreement with our employers. Wherever complaints of this nature were lodged with the office, the prices were resettled. But it is much more difficult to resettle an argument satisfactorily, than to settle it right in the first place. And besides, it causes a lot of unnecessary friction between the union and the employers.

A lively discussion on this subject took place at the meeting in which many members participated. We hope that as a result of this meeting, there will be fewer mistakes in settling prices during the balance of the season. The other two propositions before the meeting, namely that of collecting the \$4.00 International tax and the establishment of a Unity House for our members were also well received.

These latter two questions will be acted upon at our next general membership meeting on Monday, September 17, right after work, at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton Street. The chairladies present pledged themselves to make the idea of a unity house popular among the members working in their shops, and with their aid we already feel assured of success. At this coming general membership meeting, election for officers and for members of the executive board will take place. We would urge some of the members who had joined our union during the general strike, and who have since been very active in their respective shops, to broaden their union activities by functioning as members of the executive board. It is not fair to expect the same few girls who have carried the burden of the union on their shoulders for years, to continue to do so indefinitely. These active members will always be found first on the firing line, whenever an emergency arises. But now that everything seems so peaceful, it would be no more than just, that some of the so-called new recruits in our union share in the routine work of the organization.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS, LOCAL 7

In last week's issue of JUSTICE, we said that, "it is expected that almost all independent employers will have settled during the coming week." But we were mistaken, for not alone the independent employers, but even the association in its entirety settled with the union. At the beginning of this week, the Waterproof Garment Manufacturers' Association tried to imitate their Chicago colleagues in the dress trade, by applying to a court for an injunction, to restrain our members from picketing or in any other way interfering with the

conduct of their business,—as if they could run their business without our members. The picketing, however, was merely perfunctory, for there was not a scab to be had in any of the shops. And at the first hearing, the lawyer for the association requested the court to delay proceedings for a week. Two days later, a conference between the Union and the Association took place and an agreement reached. The agreement will naturally have to be ratified by the membership of both organizations. We feel certain that the members of our union will ratify it unanimously, for it was reached practically on our own terms. This strike can be summarized in a few words: we came, we saw, we won. And all because our members, no matter what political opinions they may hold outside of the union, are all like one when it comes to matters affecting the welfare of the workers in the trade. Their readiness for self-sacrifice, when the interests of the union are at stake, is the main factor in their successive victories over their employers. Local No. 7 surely deserves the congratulation of the other locals of the International in Boston and everywhere.

Injunction proceedings against local No. 7 were also begun by an independent employer, the Touraine Clothing Co. This concern ran an open shop until the calling of the general strike. An effort is being made to organize the workers employed there and the firm expects to prevent it through an injunction. We are convinced that the court will not deny us the constitutional right to use peaceful persuasion in convincing the workers that it is to their advantage to be organized.

The Ladies Tailors, Local 38

By B. DRASIN

In my last report I spoke about the organization campaign which our union has undertaken among the theatrical costume tailors. This campaign is still in progress. We have already had two mass meetings of the theatrical costumers, and although they did not prove much of a success, we have succeeded in coming in contact with a few important shops in the trade.

Gradually we are organizing groups of workers in those shops, and as soon as a sufficient number is enrolled the union will feel prepared for the final act of putting demands before the employers of the theatrical costume establishments. There is no doubt in our minds that sooner or later we will meet with success in this field. New, hopeful plans have been worked out, the application of which seems promising. More attention and energy will be given by the office to this matter as soon as the general campaign of bringing under control all loose and unorganized shops in the ladies' tailoring trade will be finished. For this campaign the office has also worked out a plan, which consists in the calling of shop chairmen meetings, district meetings, general members and a mass meeting in the near future. Our organization committee is to be enlarged by the enrollment into it of shop chairmen and active members of the union.

In the case of the Hatty Carnegie

We have had, in the last few weeks, several shops in strike. The cause for these strikes have been ultra modern, if you will. Nowadays, it is very seldom that we strike for a raise in wages, for the discharge of a worker, or for a similar old-fashioned cause. Today we are compelled to leave the shop largely when the very existence of the shop is at stake—when the boss of a sudden makes up his mind to become a "jobber"—and there you are!

Such a clash is, needless to say, far from pleasant. In such a clash the old-time feeling and spirit of fighting for something real, concrete, or for defending something no less palpable is missing. It is an entirely different situation devoid of the coloring of the "class struggle." The employer greets you in the morning smilingly, declares his affection for you, reassures you by everything under the sun that he does not in the least intend to "fight the union," and in the twinkling of an eye bids you adieu as a "manufacturer." He has become a "jobber."

We have had last week such a case with the firm of "Edelson & Rind," one of the oldest in our trade. During the last year, we have done all in our power to keep this shop agoing as a shop and not merely as a show-room. We have thought that everything was going along rather well—when presto! we discovered that we have been making a mistake. The firm of a sudden declared its wish to become a "jobber." We had an earnest talk with them, and you can readily imagine how far-reaching our disagreement with this firm was that we were compelled to declare a stoppage in this shop—which lasted until our differences were composed. The

shop remained as before; the firm agreed to give 14 weeks of work to its employees until the end of the current year, and our men returned to work.

We have also had some trouble with the "H. B. R. Cloak Company." In this shop the workers were idle for quite some time—not an unusual occurrence these days. But in this shop the workers did have a plausible grievance; they declared that the shop belonged actually the H. B. Rubin, a jobber, and were demanding that the union declare a strike against the jobber and force him to send work to this shop.

The Joint Board, however, could not at this moment definitely link both these firms together. This required a lengthy investigation; so meanwhile the union entered into a temporary agreement with the firm after 11 operators had voluntarily left the shop. The workers went back, and we now hope that there will be peace in the shop—at least until the end of the year.

The union is now making "raids" upon many shops. On the one hand, a squad of accountants are looking over the books of the bosses, and on the other hand, the business agents are busy scrutinizing the books of the workers. Let us hope that both will make a real job of it. Nevertheless, we would much rather wish that we had not needed to send around these passport-hunters to our members—and we shall sincerely advise our members to play a trick upon the business agents and to pay up in the office of the union all their dues and assessments before they are apprehended by the union officer in the shop.

ever, the office believes that during the coming week the entire matter will be settled permanently and to the advantage of all concerned, as Hatty Carnegie has already returned from abroad and a conference will be held shortly.

During the past two weeks the office also had trouble with the firm of Morris Weinstein, 20 West 56th Street, which broke its agreement with the union by giving out work to a non-union firm, a dress house operated under the name of Morris Weinstein at 130 West 30th Street. The office took both shops down on strike, and after a week and a half succeeded in settling with both of them. Morris Weinstein was referred to one of the Joint Board managers, Brother Prisman, for final settlement; they signed up with the union and gave security as a guarantee that they would maintain union conditions in the shop.

Thanks are due to Brother Prisman for his aid in settling this matter. The firm of B. Weinstein has signed a

(Continued on Page 9)

JUSTICE

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What The Joint Board of Sanitary Control Should Do

A Counter-reply by M. J. Ashpis and a Rejoinder by Dr. Gerge M. Price

Brother Ashpis' Reply

In my statement on: What does the Joint Board of Sanitary Control do?—I endeavored to keep within the ramification of the problem without resorting to any personalities. Dr. Price's reply, in JUSTICE of August 17, on the contrary, is full of personal attacks and insinuations regarding my sincerity. It would appear as if Dr. Price was primarily concerned with "teaching me a lesson" for my effrontery and was leaving out of sight entirely the fact that his article contains no satisfactory reply to my arguments.

To prove the inefficiency of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control I cited a fact that a woman-inspector of the Board had O. K.'d a basement shop and had told me: "This is not such a bad shop." To which Dr. Price replies that "it was probably done according to legal requirements." That may be true, but it, of course, does not answer my question at all. If a cellar-shop can receive the sanction of the law, what can the Sanitary Control Board do to improve the sanitary conditions in our shops? What good can we derive from the 35,554 shop inspections which Dr. Price reports if even cellar-shops, which undoubtedly should be driven out from our industry, can still be sanctioned by the law?

Dr. Price charges me with lack of sincerity, because, as he says, I know well "that there are many deep and well-defined economic causes for the splitting up of large shops." He says that I am seeking to make the Sanitary Control Board the "goat." But I have never cast the entire blame for the situation upon it. I only believe that the Sanitary Control Board has had a big part in it.

When Dr. Price touches upon economic conditions—I should like to ask: What are these economic conditions? And the reply is: In the small shop cloaks can be made cheaper than in the bigger shops. In the successful competition of the small shop against the big one the difference in rent prices plays a substantial role. The big shop, with all its modern sanitary improvements, is, on account of the big rent it pays, not in a position to compete against the small "C" or "D" shop. This difference in rentals must be charged up to the garmenter. Cloaks made in sanitary shops must cost more than those made in such "legal" shops as the one I referred to in Glenmore Avenue. The result is that owing to these cellars and to other "C" and "D" shops the class "A" shops are gradually being pushed out of business.

Perhaps, I am wrong; perhaps, Dr. Price will succeed in proving to me that the unsanitary shops are not a part of the "economic reasons" which have led to the present state of affairs. Meanwhile, however, I think I am entitled to believe that the unsanitary shops have contributed a great deal to present conditions. I believe in this sincerely—whether Dr. Price thinks so or not.

I observe from Dr. Price's reply that he is trying to minimize the importance of my assertions. He is trying to show that there are not so many unsanitary shops; he is quoting figures and other data. These figures show that the cloak industry is 15 per cent worse, with regard to sanitary conditions, than the waist industry. The dress industry contains 77 per cent of the class "A" and "B" shops while the cloak trade has only 52 per cent of such shops. I

shall not, however, enter into a discussion of these figures. I am not an expert on figures; I am a worker who visits shops and draws his conclusions from personal experience. Again, whenever there is a conflict between statisticians we only too often hear that figures and data are like clay in their hands, and they lend themselves pliantly to any purpose they desire to prove.

In my visits to a great many of shops in the various districts I am coming across a large number of dark, artificially-lighted shops. I see that instead of the big, light shops of 1910-11, we have today small "bed-rooms" as the cloakmakers call them. Dr. Price states that the number of the "C" and "D" shops is only 627 or 38 per cent. To this must also be added the several non-union shops which the inspectors of the Board do not visit. The rate of the bad shops in our trade will then surely rise to more than 38 per cent, and I for one am certainly not inclined to minimize such a situation.

In speaking of the "economic causes" it must be mentioned that there are, in addition to rent, two other items of competition. These are overpaid charges and labor costs. No one can, of course, dictate to an employer his "overhead." But in labor costs the union surely has a voice, and in this field the union leader has been waging a constant fight against the effects of labor competition. True, the union is not always successful there, but no one will deny that the union is fighting constantly against lower prices both in union and non-union or "corporation" shops—from 1910 when the union first undertook to settle prices down to this day when the union is making a strong effort to control the jobber's books and his practice of sending work to non-union shops. All these years it has been a constant fight against the competition of the small shop in the realm of labor costs.

What help has the union had in this respect from the Joint Board of Sanitary Control? Dr. Price replies that his representatives cannot enter a non-union shop. But, of course, this is not a question of entering or not entering a shop. First, even those shops where the agent of the Sanitary Board may enter are far from desirable in a sanitary sense. No one, indeed, will maintain that the "C" and the "D" shops are all right from a sanitary point of view. Secondly, I do not agree that the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is entirely powerless against the non-union shop which its inspector cannot visit.

Let us at this juncture agree on what we desire the Joint Board of Sanitary Control to be and what it is at present.

I want to state frankly that we cloakmakers have many grievances against the manner in which the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is conducted. Somehow we cannot understand how something a cellar shop may become "legal" and how on another occasion a shop on the 6th floor may be adjudged as too dark. When a general strike breaks out and our Union comes forth with a statement that the employers are sending out their work to sweat shops—our "medical director" of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control rushes into press and denies that there are sweat shops in our industry. The employers are the only ones who might derive a benefit from such statements. I do not wish here to impugn the motives of the director of the Board, but I do believe

that his viewpoint of the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is not the right one.

In brief, when I speak of the role of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, I keep in mind that it is an agency created as a result of the general strike of 1910 to care for the sanitary conditions in our industry. I believe that it is and it must be above all an institution in the interests of the workers, and that its activity must be guided along such lines.

Naturally, my complaint is not against the medical director only. I also have in mind the executive board of the institution which is composed of representatives of the employers, of the union, and of the general public. Well, the representatives of the employers have, perhaps, never wanted this sanitary control, and now that it is here are content to have it as fake diamond that glitters enough to suit them. But the other parties in the executive committee ought not to remain silent when they observe how the employers maintain beautiful show rooms up town and are sending out their work to be made up in places to which the inspectors of the Sanitary Board have no access. I mean that the Joint Board of Sanitary Control should have been the first one to demand, and to create a sentiment for such a demand, that no employer, manufacturer or jobber, should buy work from any shop which has no certificate of sanitary control. If such an initiative should come from

the Joint Board of Sanitary Control it would be much easier for the union to fight for it and to win it from the employers. But before that, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control should decide upon and adopt a certain standard of sanitary conditions, of light, air, and other requirements. Today, when even a cellar shop can become legal, there can be no talk of such works.

Perhaps, it might be necessary for this to amend some factory laws in the State. Perhaps, it is necessary to create for this a widespread sentiment and to start an open campaign. But we have a right to demand this too from our representatives and from the representatives of the public on the Board. They who come around to give us advice in time of strikes, and who advise us to accept compromises, must also be in a position to force the employers to observe sanitary conditions in the shops to which they ship their rolls of goods and from which they "buy back" their ready-made work. They should also be able to help the union to punish the employers who violate these rules.

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control, in my opinion, should be an auxiliary institution to help the union in its fight against the ugly non-union shops; to add the union in its fight to conserve the treasures of our body and mind: our eyes, our lungs, our hearts, and our heads. These human treasures are certainly as valuable as the natural wealth of the land, and the representatives of the public should fight for the conservation of the former with at least as much zeal as for the conservation of the latter. Only then will the Joint Board of Sanitary Control be actually what it was hoped it would be at the time it was created.

Rejoinder by Dr. Price

Personally, I never believed in the efficiency of newspaper polemics. However, I am compelled to ask your indulgence for some space to answer Mr. Ashpis' article in this number of JUSTICE.

In the first place I do not believe that any one who read my first article could find any personal aspersions against Mr. Ashpis. Indeed, it is very laudable from any member of the Union to criticize the work of any institution that is supported by the Union. I have always insisted that the leaders and the members of the Union should take more interest in the affairs of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which would enhance its work and success.

In reference to the cellar shops of which so much is made by Mr. Ashpis, during the last inspection there were only two such shops found which were approved by the Labor Department, and we could not object to them on matters of light, ventilation, etc.

I shall not go into the economic causes of the increase of small shops, but I again insist that the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is powerless in stopping this movement until the Union and the manufacturers agree upon some sort of sanitary investigation of shops and garments.

The work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control consists in the division of the city into a number of districts which are given into the charge of an inspector who visits each shop twice a year, as a rule, and then inspects each shop as frequently as necessary. "A" and "B" shops less often, while the "C" and "D" shops are reinspected as often as once a week. The inspector endeavors to remove the defects which are found and assistance is given to him by the office, by the Director, and by such state and municipal departments as

are appealed to in case of necessity. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control likewise installs, conducts and maintains monthly fire drills in 14,000 shops, during which fire drills an inspection of fire conditions is also made.

With about five or six hundred shops disappearing and new ones appearing in their stead every season, it is inevitable that the inspectors on their first visits find a certain percentage of shops in the "C" and "D" class which will need constant attention.

Mr. Ashpis is right in saying that the Joint Board of Sanitary Control could do much more than it is doing, if it had the joint support of the representatives of the Union and other members of the Board. For many years I have complained of the indifference of the Union leaders to the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, and have begged them for greater cooperation and assistance. I have been greatly assisted by the representatives of the Dress and Waist Makers' Union much more than by the Cloak and Suit Joint Board. I should certainly welcome an increased assistance on the part of the Union members and leaders in the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

The plan for certification of shops and garments could easily be introduced and insisted upon by all those concerned. Such certification should be of great benefit to the industry and to the improvement of sanitary conditions of all shops. But this, as well as other progressive steps can only be accomplished when all the members of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control will make a demand for such certification and will give us the means of accomplishing it.

Letter from Poland

XII.

The Present Situation

By DAVID MEYER

After a long and stubborn contest, reaction, black unmitigated reaction, has finally taken over the reins of government in Poland.

What reaction could not achieve in open fighting, through the Seim elections, it has now accomplished through back-door tactics, thanks to the treason of the well-to-do peasant class, the supporters of the Witos party, who broke away from the former "left" bloc and began openly to side with the reactionaries.

The well-to-do peasants, the manufacturers, and the landlords have now formed one aggregation to fleece jointly the city consumer and the worker. Open reaction is in the saddle. The glamour of Polish pseudo-"democracy" and "liberalism," which for years has been tugging at the sword of Marshal Pilsudsky, is gone and totally vanished now. As a matter of fact, even the former, "left" administration of General Sikorsky has already piled up for itself a mean black record. It has treated with particular and specialized cruelty the few thousand unfortunate Jewish families from Russia who were waiting to obtain a visa from the American consuls prior to joining their relatives in America. It has mercilessly driven them out and condemned them to actual extinction from starvation and other barbarities. Sikorsky was always fretting lest he be accused of friendliness towards the Jews—quite a misfortune for any Polish "statesman"—so he kept on continuously persecuting and oppressing them.

But the workers in general have little cause to regret the downfall of General Sikorsky. The repression of labor institutions has not abated during his term in the least. A number of trade unions have again been closed, such as the building trades organization, the leather and wood workers, the union of domestic workers; their headquarters were either requisitioned for police purposes or converted into private dwellings. The Jewish workers, however, were the worst sufferers at the hands of this "left" government. They were handled in the most cruel and unceremonious manner. During the First of May demonstration this year, the ranks of the Jewish marchers were subjected to special severe attack and dispersed. In Lodz, the police murderously attacked the Jewish workers and arrested them wholesale only because they were in the line of march. In Warsaw, with the connivance of the police, the Jewish workers were beaten up by civilian hooligans.

The labor press, particularly the Jewish labor press, has also been bitterly fought by the former government. Thus, one after the other, there were closed the Jewish labor dailies "Die Volkszeitung," and "Die Neue Zeit," and their editorial staffs turned over to the courts for prosecution. But undoubtedly the greatest blow suffered by the Jewish workers of Poland at the hands of the former "left" administration of Sikorsky was the suppression of the workers' society "Our Children," with its more than 20 schools and children's homes. The forced liquidation of this society has been decided upon by the "left" administration of Sikorsky as early as February, 1923, but it apparently would not make the step openly until much later, in April. The Jewish workers fully appreciate the great loss they have suffered in the elimination of this splen-

did educational institution. It was the only society which by its existence and record has made a Jewish democratically-managed school system an open political problem, and has, by its consistent and energetic activity been forcing Polish and Jewish public opinion to become interested in the problem of such a Jewish school system.

The Jewish workers attempted to strike back against this atrocity by arranging protest meetings all over the country. At these meetings resolutions of protest were adopted; an interpellation has been introduced in the Seim concerning this question, and delegations were sent to Ministers and other highly-placed officials. Nevertheless, every one feels that there exists slim hope, indeed, that the newly-formed, openly reactionary cabinet of the peasant leader Witos, would treat the Jewish schools more liberally than the former quasi-liberal cabinet of General Sikorsky.

The new cabinet has not yet shown its true face. Perhaps, it does not feel itself sufficiently strong for that. For the time being it has embarked upon the realization of its economic program. The rich peasants, the landowners, and the industrialists, who are the backbone of the present government have, with its aid, begun already exporting their products, articles of prime necessity, en masse abroad—something which under the former cabinet they could not do. The radical Polish press is now proving by undisputed documentary evidence that the whole ministerial crisis and Witos' treason was brought about not on account of principles, difference of programs, or similar exalted motives, but by a transaction in pigs. It appears that the leader of the big peasant party, Witos, had decided to export from Poland to Czechoslovakia 20,000 pigs, but the former premier was opposed to it. So the "king of the peasants," Witos, decided to become premier himself. The twenty-thousand pigs are now undoubtedly on the other side of the border; the sugar manufacturers have probably shipped hundreds of carloads of sugar abroad, and the grain dealers have done some exporting on their own account too. All these exports receive for their wares sound foreign currency, not the worthless Polish marks, and are reaping a golden harvest.

Meanwhile, prices on what products there still remain in Poland are going up sky-high. Meat, sugar, and even bread is becoming, for the worker, the salaried person, the petty official, and other people of small means increasingly difficult to obtain. The men at the helm are, however, doing good business at the expense of the common people, and are as firmly as ever dodging the payment of higher taxes.

In one of my former letters I called attention to the fact that the catastrophic condition of the Polish finances is the result of the systematic tax-dodging on the part of the wealthy classes. Poland is an agrarian country; more than a half of its population is on the land and lives from it; agriculture is the main element of the national wealth, and it would stand to reason that the government should derive its main income from that source.

But that's where the rub comes in. The landowners and the richer peasants do not want to pay taxes, and the government is trying to squeeze

out from the poor city populations the enormous sums which it needs for the running of the state and for the maintenance of a huge army. Small wonder that the deficit of the Polish nation is increasing from day to day. Already, the national debt has risen to astronomic figures which the ordinary person can hardly grasp or understand, and this naturally causes the continued decline of the Polish mark, sends up the cost of living, and creates chaotic conditions in manufacture and industry.

When Witos first formed his cabinet the dollar brought 50,000 marks; today the dollar is worth 200,000 marks and is still going up. A loaf of bread—which when Witos assumed the reins of government cost 2,900 marks cost now 8,500 marks. In the course of one month practically all necessities of life went up 3-4 times in price. One can readily imagine how the workers fare under such conditions.

And as a matter of fact this feeling of dissatisfaction and revolt among the workers broke out recently spontaneously all over Poland. They began to demand wage increases in every industry, on the railways, in the iron foundries, and in the mines. The employers at first would not hear

of it, or at best offered some meagre raises. But gradually the discontent among the workers took on the form of a huge strike wave. The government attempted, at first, to check the strikers by a strong hand. The police broke up meetings, and workers were shot for taking part in assemblages; but the government soon got scared, as the strike wave appeared to assume the proportions of a national general strike. It immediately got in touch with the big industrial interests and persuaded them to liquidate these strikes by compromise. In some industries, however, the strike is not yet at an end.

The cost of living, however, keeps on rising. According to official figures—which are as a rule far from the truth—in June commodities rose 48 per cent and in July they again rose 57 per cent over June. As a matter of fact, however, the cost has risen a great deal higher, and together with it rise the demands of the workers and the prospect of more widespread strikes is growing nearer and nearer.

It is difficult, indeed, to see how under present circumstances conditions in Poland can become stabilized and how life can return to comparatively normal channels in the near future.

Villa Anita Garibaldi to

Close Season With Banquet

The board of directors which is managing the Villa Anita Garibaldi, the summer home belonging to our Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 89, reports a very successful season. It was, by the consent of all, a one-hundred per cent improvement over previous seasons and it encourages the managers to go ahead with their work and make the enterprise an even greater success in the future.

The official closing of the Villa will take place on Labor Day with a banquet which will convene at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. In the evening there will be dancing. The price is \$2.50 per cover and the committee is confident that all visitors will spend a happy day at the Villa. All reservations must be made not later than, Friday, August 31, at 8 West 21st Street.

Another Injunction Against Local 62

The Meigart Underwear Co., of 225 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., in whose shop the Underwear Workers' Union, Local 62, has been on strike for several weeks past, has now obtained a temporary injunction against the union, including President Sigman, Secretary Baroff, and Manager Snyder, and forbids every union activity in and around the shop.

This is the second injunction handed out against Local 62 in the last two months. The first was obtained by the Tailored Silk Underwear Co. The struck Brooklyn firm is seemingly of the opinion that it can make white goods through the magic force of an injunction. It will find out its mistake pretty soon though, as the union is determined not to allow sweatshop

conditions to prevail in the white goods shops no matter what obstacles are put in its way. Morris Hillquit is the attorney for the union in this case.



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EDITORIALS

SOME THOUGHTS ANENT THE COMING COAL STRIKE

Unless all signs fail, the various attempts on the part of the Government and of the many other good and well-meaning persons will avail but little, and on Friday, September 1st, 158,000 hard-coal miners will leave their mines and will begin the battle to win the demands they had put forth to their employers and which the latter would not peacefully concede.

Our readers, wage-earners all of them who had more than once tasted of the bitter experience of striking, surely need not be told that the miners are going into this battle not for the mere sake of striking, not to win an obstinate point, or for the sake of satisfying an empty, vain pride, as our dear "big" press would have us believe day in and out. It is only a year since the miners have gone through such a contest and surely those trying weeks and months are still fresh in their minds, months of semi-starvation for themselves and their wives and children; months with barely a roof over their heads, save for the canvas of a tent; long weeks when it seemed that the miners will not hold out the unending hardship of the siege. The months of fighting have emptied their treasury, and their leaders had to appeal for aid to other unions. Our readers certainly remember the handsome contribution of \$50,000, given by our International last year towards the strike fund of the coal-diggers.

It must also be considered that the miners are quite aware that the so-called public is not on their side. They may have the best cause in the world—but the very fact that a coal strike is likely to inconvenience this dear public a bit is sufficient to wean their sympathy away from the coal-diggers. The press, which is supposed to create public opinion, has long ago declared the miners as monopolists, as nothing short of highwaymen. The United States Coal Commission will, doubtless, in case of a strike too, come out with statements purported to prove that the only guilty parties in this strike are the workers. The miners and their leaders can safely presume therefore that should the Government even desire to remain "neutral," it will be compelled, under the pressure of public opinion and for the sake of the "welfare" of that public, to do everything in its power to prevent the miners from winning their fight. The miners know this and so do their leaders, and yet they have decided to undertake this enormously hard struggle. This to us seems the best and most eloquent proof that the demands of the miners are to them matters of great, paramount living importance.

We wish to state outright that, as far as we are concerned, the demand for a "check-off" system does not appeal to us very strongly. It appears to us that it would be quite indefensible to bring out 158,000 men into a strike for the mere right of compelling the employers to act as dues collectors for the union. But we admit at the same time that it is quite likely that as outsiders we cannot grasp fully the urgency of this demand for the miners' union. We must take it for granted that they know what they are doing and know the importance of the issue at stake and the greatness of the responsibility they are assuming in fighting for it.

Moreover, President Lewis was ready to let drop this demand, but the mine operators immediately construed that to be a readiness on his part to drop the demand for the recognition of the union. In other words, the demand for the "check-off" system seems to be tantamount in the mining industry to a demand for union recognition. The demand for the "check-off" system, therefore, represents no more than the mere right to have the miners' dues collected but the right to be organized and symbolizes the fight against cheap, degrading labor which until now has been a potent weapon in the hands of the anti-union mine operator.

Then, that other point—arbitration. The mine operators are ready to submit all the demands of the miners to arbitration, they say. The representatives of the miners, however, firmly refuse to accept this proposal of their employers. And the general public will probably fail to understand the true motive behind the miners' refusal to turn over their grievances to a tribunal of "fair, impartial men."

We desire to remind our readers in this connection that before our International had renewed its long agreement with the Manufacturers' Protective Association in New York, their attorney was too very vehement in his persistence on arbitration. Our union, nevertheless, flatly refused to listen to that proposal. The reason was very simple. The labor movement has had bitter experience enough with arbitration to court or

desire it. The workers have hardly ever won anything substantial through arbitration, and it would seem to be almost a foregone conclusion that all so-called impartial arbitrators are more inclined to listen to the argument of the employers than to the grievances of "insolent" workers. In the end, after all these arbitrations, the workers have been compelled to go out and fight for their demands until they would win them by their own sacrifice and endurance. The United Mine Workers have gone through the same school of experience and they feel that the acceptance of arbitration would be worse than useless to them now that they are ready and able to fight for their just and moderate demands.

The United Mine Workers have been long enough in the labor-movement not to be caught by deceptive by means of attractive or sentimental phrases. Neither can they be scared by the threat that during a strike the soft coal industry might capture their market and put them permanently out of their means of livelihood. The newspapers are full of such threats, but they seem to know the miners very little if they believe that they can cow them by such fairy tales.

On the other hand, we invite our readers to consider the attitude of the operators. In one breath they flatly refuse to concede even a single demand of the miners and in the other they offer to submit them all for arbitration. They refuse to grant the miners demands because, as they say, it would be ruinous for them and the entire trade. But they, nevertheless, appear to be willing to accept a decision favorable to the miners at the hands of arbitrators in spite of their present cry of "ruin." Therein lies the cant and bluff of the whole situation. But the mine operators have their reasons for these tactics: First, they know that their arbitration proposal puts them in a better light as far as the public is concerned; secondly, they know too well that the miners will not accept this offer, and their generous gesture would not cost them anything anyway; and, thirdly, they are convinced that should it ever come to arbitration they stand to lose nothing by it.

But their tactics will fail them in this case. Let us remember that we have two classes of the "public" in our social structure today—those who live from the toil of others and those who toil for others. The first category has always been opposed to the miners and they will never forgive the hard coal miners of Pennsylvania, today or five years hence, if for a short time they would have to heat their houses with bituminous coal or undergo some privations. But then there is the second category, those who work and toil for their living, and these will understand the reasons which have driven the miners to strike and will sympathize with them. Nay, they will help them in their fight, though they themselves might be the worst sufferers from this strike.

So, if at the eleventh hour, the mine owners will refuse to climb down from their high horses and will remain determined to resist the demands of the miners, we shall soon be confronted with one of the greatest battles in the war between capital and labor in America. We are convinced that, long and hard as this strike might be, the miners will come out the winners in the end—despite the antagonism of the press and the animosity of every other dark force in our society. Then it will be a victory, not only for the miners but a vindication of the right of every worker to be organized, and a recognition of the undeniable truth that the miners who are doing the most hazardous work in our midst are entitled to as fair a wage and treatment as is accorded to the most skilled workers in the land.

THE UNION LEADER AND HIS DUTIES

It is only not long ago that our press was wont to display quite a fondness for Mr. John Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers. The "New York Times" in particular showered compliments upon him when he sent his memorable telegram to the leaders of the Nova Scotia miners who went out in a sympathy strike with the steel workers of that region.

Today, however, Lewis has lost out with them completely. Radical, Bolshevik—are the mildest of terms that are being hurled at him. It is in connection with this rather startling change of attitude that Mr. Lewis had deemed it worthwhile several days ago to make the following statement to the press:

"I am not employed by the public, I am the paid employee of the United Mine Workers. I may be President of the Union for a day, for a week or for ten years, but so long as I am, I am going to use my best efforts to see that my people get a square deal. It makes no difference whether I am praised as a good citizen one day or denounced as a radical the next, I am going to do my duty toward the men who employ me."

These few words by President Lewis contain a very valuable thought concerning what a genuine labor leader should be. We have very few labor leaders who know how to remain indifferent with regard to so-called public opinion. Labor leaders who should know better, who should rise far above it and keep in their minds the interests of their union solely, are often swayed and influenced in their action by what this or that paper might say. And once a labor leader begins to become influenced by the press, once he becomes prey to the fear what this or that newspaper might say about him, he can no more fulfill his duty towards his union. He will be swayed by the will of the press in his actions not by the true interests of the union but by this "public opinion." More than one level-headed labor leader has in the past become intoxicated by this press opiate, very much to the loss and disadvantage of the workers whom he represented and the labor movement in general.

The Cloak and Dress Industry

Its Problems—Past, Present, and Future

By BERNARD ACKERMAN

(Continued from Last Week)

The cause of the remarkable increase of the contracting system of production within the last few years, however, is a subject of varied discussion and dispute, and this moot point has aroused a great deal of confusion. A great many insist that week-work is the true cause, since the system has shown its greatest growth after its adoption. Others deny this, claiming that it is an admitted fact that week-work must benefit an industry, that "jobbing" existed long before week-work was instituted and that jobbing is highly developed in other industries, notably the dress industry which is on a piece-work basis. Light on this question is important. Economists agree freely that week-work is beneficial to the workers. They explain that under week-work speeding up is eliminated, the worker conserves his energy, and creates a demand for more workers, which in turn, through the working of the law of supply and demand, drives the price of labor upward, etc., etc. All this is true generally, but it is not true of an industry where the manufacturer has free access to two distinct levels of labor costs. It is not true in an industry, like ours where the manufacturer is free to choose between his inside higher priced labor and his outside lower priced labor. That the jobber existed before week-work was instituted is due to the fact, as we have already seen, that the contractor's shop offered a more attractive method of production. But it is a fact that the institution of week-work did give a tremendous impulse to the development of the contracting system because it increased the cost of production in the inside shop in a greater measure than it increased the cost of production in the outside shop. This by reason of the fact that the contractor's shop was a smaller unit, capable of closer supervision, and worked in competition with each and every shop of its own class. Thus, the institution of week-work increased the already wide difference between labor costs in the inside and outside shops. Logically this made the contracting method so much more profitable to the jobber causing the creation of countless new shops.

We may then conclude that week-work was a cause, but not the only cause of the meteoric development of the contracting system. Every gain made by labor, whether in hours, wages or other work-conditions, both before and after the coming of week-work, by the same reasoning fell more heavily on the inside than the outside shop, logically increasing the value of the outside shop to the manufacturer.

It is sound to assume then that week-work applied to an industry of inside manufacturing is undoubtedly beneficial to the workers, but its consequences are decidedly questionable in an industry where the contracting system is active. That this conclusion is not far-reaching, we can learn from

the dress industry. The dress workers are divided in opinion whether the adoption of week-work would or would not be beneficial for them. The individual worker is, of course, prone to arrive at conclusions through personal experience in his own shop. If he has been able, at piece work, to obtain his labor and he has had sufficient work and fair conditions, he favors piece-work. If price disputes have embittered his experience and caused him loss of time and energy, he favors week-work. Or again, if a worker finds one or the other of the systems more desirable for himself individually, for egotistic or temperamental reasons, he will prefer that system. But we are not as interested in the individual preferences, likes and dislikes as we are in the economic effects of week-work upon the entire industry. In the dress trade, a piece-work industry, there exist a couple of hundred week-work contracting shops. These shops work for the same manufacturers (jobbers) as hundreds of other piece-work shops do and they compete successfully with the week-work shops for the jobbers' work. Now if the workers in these week-work shops were actually securing any of the superior economic advantages that week-workers should obtain over piece-workers, week-work contracting in the present highly competitive market would have been forced out of business. But they remain in business, neither more nor less prosperous than their fellow piece-work contractors, from which we must infer that week-work in its true sense is impossible in the contracting shop, yielding none of its benefits unless the manufacturer himself is controlled. The worker in the week-work contracting shop cannot relax, cannot reap the benefits promised by the week-work system. Though his pay is weekly, he is sweated to a standard of production, a sort of wholesale piece-work system. When the workers of a week-work shop refuse to meet this standard, the cost of labor to the contractor rises, making him unfit for competition and the shop disappears.

In studying the causes and growth of outside manufacturing (jobbing) we may say that the impulses that have led to its development were dual: first, the manufacturer grasped the opportunity of obtaining lower wage levels, and secondly, his anxiety to escape from union control.

We will now touch upon another and more recent factor which hastened the process. This factor is commercial, the reaction of which upon labor conditions and the future of the industry is of permanent importance.

Prior to the full growth of the contracting system, the manufacturer's capacity was limited to the output of his shop, by the size of his disposal, and limited to a certain specific line or number of lines of merchandise. With the creation of hundreds of small shops clamoring for his work, these limitations disappear-

ed. Through the proper selection of contractors he was enabled to produce unlimited quantities and styles, any and all lines, cheap or high priced. He was even able to produce, if he chose, both dresses and cloaks; in fact, he could deliver as much merchandise as his sales department could dispose of. Taking quick advantage of the opportunity, the manufacturer spread out, relieved of his production difficulties and concentrated his force upon the development of his selling department. Manufacturers who had sold one-half million dollars' worth of goods annually heretofore, increased the volume of their business manifold. Today, many jobbers sell two and three million dollars' worth a year, which is not considered extraordinary, a few jobbers having reached the seven and eight million mark and continuing growing. To these outside manufacturers the inside shop became of no consequence and it was abandoned by them entirely. They now used contractors' shops exclusively which sprang up in added hundreds to meet the requirement. These gigantic outside manufacturers, meanwhile, engaged in close competition with each other and were enabled, due to their tremendous sales, to considerably reduce the selling price of garments to the trade. The jobber selling a million garments a year has an overhead of pennies per garment, as against the dollar overhead which the inside manufacturer must pay. The large user buys materials at a closer figure, takes advantage of a better system, and drives a closer bargain with the contractor. The smaller inside manufacturer found the competition ruinous. He found that he must necessarily sell his garment at a higher price, while the competing jobber could sell at a net profit of three to fifty per cent, and by reason of the volume of his business, roll up profits of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually.

This development is not alone of the past. Its force is not yet spent. It is forcing out of business the smaller manufacturer, and even the smaller jobber finds the competition of the larger jobber too intense and is being forced out of business. The jobber's influence is extending to every cranny of the industry and even the highest priced merchandise is being brought under his control. As the triumphant march of the jobber continues, he feeds and is bound to feed upon the business of the inside manufacturer and the latter's future is not a bright one.

The larger jobber, as has been mentioned, does business at a net profit of three to five per cent and faces keen competitors of his own size and power. In simpler terms, his profit on a ten seventy-five garment might be in the neighborhood of forty per cent. It is reckoned in pennies. But competition demands even cheaper prices. Competitors are offering the garment at nine seventy-five. The jobbers again turn their attention to the contracting frater-

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The Chicago Conference for the Cleveland strikers is beginning to do real work and feel confident of raising a big sum of money.

The thirtieth week of the Cleveland strike finds the workers as courageous and militant as on the first week of the fight. The workers accept the proposal of the "Cleveland Press" for arbitration, but the manufacturers are hesitant.

New York cloakmakers are making big preparations to celebrate Labor Day.

The Philadelphia Joint Board announces in the press that their treasurer, Jay Rosenthal, a cutter employed by the firm Betelen & Cohen, has absconded with eighty dollars of the union's money.

The New York Waist and Dressmakers' Union calls a strike in the district from Broadway, 118 West 27th Street, because the firm treats its workers in the most despicable manner, forcing them to pay for thread, needles, etc.

The Lack Manufacturing Company, which was driven out during a strike from Brookville, opens a shop in Glen Falls. The union elects a committee to picket that shop and is determined to give the firm a stiff fight.

The contractor has been enjoying his golden age of prosperity. The jobber has encouraged him as a sub-manufacturer, has fed him tenderly as a subsidiary shop, and joyous at having escaped from union restriction, the jobber was accustomed to yield him another quarter or half dollar on the garment.

But the contractor who had led the manufacturer out of union "bondage" was destined to be sacrificed upon the altar of profit. Business knows no sentiment. The screws were applied to the contractors; prices were reduced again and still again. The contractor sought cheaper methods of production. He did his own cutting, made his own deliveries, found a shop at a cheaper rent, went bankrupt more frequently than usual, went out of business and re-entered as an "open shop," attempted "cooperation" shop, and so on, but not least fought the workers bitterly on prices, stripping the piece-work workers of nickles and dimes, rushing the week-worker to over-production, replacing the better paid worker by another at a cheaper price, etc., etc. But his nemesis, the jobber, stayed close at his heels, deducting penny by penny the total of the contractor's "economies," and demanding newer reductions. It will be evident that the jobber, while plucking the contractor, continued the struggle against the workers and aggravated their wages downward. It is this ruthless crushing power that now agitates the workers and makes the solution of the jobber problem imperative.

Before this latter commercial development, the contractor, placed in

(Continued on page 9)

Not so, however, is President Lewis of the Mine Workers. The clamor and howling of the press notwithstanding, Lewis calmly replies to them: "I am not employed by the public. I am the paid employe of the mine workers, and I am going to use my best efforts to see that my people get a square deal."

To make such a statement on the eve of a strike requires, indeed, a lot of courage. How easily his words, given the evil desire, could be construed to mean what the late Jay Gould has so bluntly said: "The public be damned!" But Lewis is surely not inclined to ignore or damn the public. He merely honestly and openly states that at this moment he is interested in but one thing: to win all he can for the hundreds of thousands of workers he represents. Their interests are his supreme concern, and he neither can nor will enter at this hour into a hair-

splitting discussion over the relative rights or lack of rights of the public in this clash of the miners with their employers.

Only when armed with such invincible firmness can a leader withstand the ferocious attack leveled against him in a moment like this by the entire enemy press and not be misled by either false praise and flattery or underhand insinuations and backbiting. The labor movement is safe in the hands of such strong, loyal men, and woe to that trade union whose leadership falls into weak, sentimental hands who are constantly swayed and carried away by either flattery or attack. It is the type of a leader like Mr. Lewis who is fit to stand at the head of a labor organization at a time when firmness of character is an urgent asset.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Angel Cake

By SYLVIA KOPALD

(Three Plays by A. A. Milne. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York and London. 1922.)

Mr. Milne made his bow to Broadway with Mr. Pim Passes By. Underneath the foam and froth of that offering there lay real substance, compounded of sharp observation, subtlety and pointed commentary. On the success scored by this first venture Mr. Milne presented three more plays to New York (besides increasing his drawing power in England). *The Dover Road*, *The Truth About Blayds* and *The Great Mr. Broxopp* came, were seen and conquered—more or less.

Since New York has become one of the theatrical centers of the world, a successful run upon Broadway possesses undoubted significance. However different in type, A. A. Milne is one of the foreigners who with the Moscow Art Theatre, the Chauve Souris, Shaw, Molnar, the Capeks, Chaliapin and others made a mark.

Perhaps that is why the printed edition of his plays comes as something of a shock. Candles may throw their beams far in a naughty world, but they are dim indeed among the stars. Mr. Milne lost rapidly even on the stage as the giants approached; but in the merciless permanence of the printed page he dwindles well.

nigh to complete insignificance. One asks in amazement, "What was all the shootin' for?"

It is not that these plays are entirely negligible. Mr. Pim is not present among them; but *The Dover Road*, *The Truth About Blayds* are. The Great Mr. Brouncker are there. *The Great Mr. Brouncker* is well done—yet light and spry. They remind one mostly of angel cakes—all sugar and icing and sweetness, but not much nourishment. Not that drama must ache and groan with the tragedy of life—not at all; but only that the lightest of them must contain a little of the dark. *The Great Mr. Brouncker* perhaps one should not say even so much; only the reckless would undertake to define greatness. Yet somehow one can sense its presence, and its absence. It is not in this volume. Milne has been compared to the great dramatist. But Barrie is not a great dramatist and Milne is not even a Barrie.

When the misconceptions created by his success have been cleared away it is possible to enjoy Milne. To approach him with smaller expectations is to get all the relish—that angelic cake can give. **The Dover Road** is amusing, edged and clever; **The Truths About Blayds** delicately suggests the tragedies and complications of a fam-

ly life centered upon a selfish and delightful old fraud; The Great Mr. Bronxopp, the least of the three, is what Duley would call a "cute little thing, but silly."

On the whole this is not a bad story for a volume that has no designs upon the sands of time. And each of the plays does say something, does have a definite idea for its readers to ponder. The *Dover Road* depicts the English class from the "barriages," before venturing upon the irreversible plunge. Mr. Latimer, an eccentric millionaire, has decided that the properst charity to which he could devote his money is the transmission of first aid and second sight to the English class from the Channel to France. So Mr. Latimer has house on the road to the Channel and by numerous wires and lavish tipping he keeps tabs on the plans of unhappy couples. He has concentrated on those who have been married in London, and are attempting to rush out again—into an-

other one. We meet in his house Leonard and Anne, and Eustasia (Leonard's wife) and Nicholas. Each runaway couple is subjected to Leonard's codified technique—an automobile breakdown and a trial week together—during which the men invariably acquire colds (what better test of love could be made) and lose their razors. After the week Nicholas knows that 365 breakfasts a year with Eustasia (with possible colds now and then to be nursed) would be a more sure and lasting reward. Leonard, who wanted wedding and cared more about his breakfast than his elopement would not make a husband for her. Incidentally Latimer and Nicholas fall in love with Anne.

The Truth About Blayde strikes as

stirly different note. William Blayds is an old man of ninety who for seventy years has been hailed as one of England's greatest poets. About him his whole family revolves. His son-in-law's life is devoted to secretarial duties and note taking of the old man's every word, for he has written the poems of William Blayds. His daughter, Isobel, has given up love and marriage to care for the old poet. His grandchildren spend their time revelling against being the grandchildren of William Blayds. On his nineteenth birthday, and just before he dies, old Blayds confides to Isobel that he has not been the author of the poems at all, but that he has written them, a young friend who left them to him to publish when he died. The tragedy of Isobel's wasted life, and Conway's (the son-in-law's) shattered future, and the grandchildren's quandy and their varying reactions to the revelation form a poignant and interesting commentary on life as that peculiar animal, man, lives it. Finally Isobel agrees not to take the poems to the publishers, for she has persuaded herself was a hallucination and each member of the family finds happiness in his own way.

The Great Mr. Broxopp attempts to poke fun at modern business advertising and its methods for "making the public want it." But the Broxoppes are adorable people and even "Broxoppes Beans for Babies" and "Chillinghams Cheese for Chickens" cannot snuff out their charm.

It has been rumored that Mr. Milne will be represented on Broadway again the coming season. On his previous record this is not cause for wild rejoicing. But neither is it cause for dismay. After all, angel cake in small doses does no harm and leaves a pleasant after-taste.

Why Workers' Education Should Be Under Trade Unions

By FANNIA M. COHN

(This article appeared in "The Locomotive Engineers' Journal" for March, 1933)

All those who are eager to see the world reorganized on a more just basis agree that this cannot be accomplished without the trade unions. There is a unanimous opinion among progressive groups that our Western civilization can be saved only when the economic and political structure is readjusted. All agree on the tremendous potentiality and power that the industrial worker holds within his hands.

How can this be wisely accomplished? This is the question that is in the minds of many thoughtful people. Can this change be accomplished by groups who are under the influence of the present conception of what our industrial, economic and political structure should be? Can this great task be achieved by persons who have not a broad grasp of world affairs? In our present industrial age, our entire civilization—our happiness and our very existence—depends upon the industrial worker. The first essential to the accomplishment of this change is that the group that is to play the most important part be prepared morally and intellectually for its historical mission.

Conventional Education Inadequate

Education in this respect is the greatest influence. Is it not true that the object of our present educational system is to adjust the individual to the environment, with a view to perpetuating our world as it is, with all its destructive influences? But the object of workers' education is rather to adjust the environment to the needs of modern life.

Many universities and colleges have extension divisions and courses that are accessible to adult workers. However, only a very few of the more ambitious workers will avail themselves of this opportunity. Of perhaps even greater importance, the atmosphere that prevails in these institutions appeals to the selfishness of the individual, and suggests to him that he use his education as a ladder for his personal advancement. The trade union must of necessity require the retention of this acquired education within its fold.

It is true that many organizations offer free education to adult workers, but this is not workers' education. It is education given to the worker. It is merely education for the individual worker, and not "workers' education."

- Value of Labor Education to Unionism

The object of workers' education as expressed in the present movement is to give the workers a new moral and spiritual attitude, a new grasp of social and economic questions.

The study in workers' classes must be selected with the definite object of giving the students the mental and moral equipment which will best enable them to be useful to their class and which will inspire them to disinterested service to the labor movement, since it is in the service to the group to which we belong that we receive the education which is fundamentally most valuable. To give such service we must receive a training that will strengthen and broaden character, develop discrimination, and create in the worker the ability to form judgments when he is con-

Labor is reaching out toward a new life. An educational training such as this is a necessary step toward its attainment.

By offering educational activities to the members of the trade union movement, it is possible for a person with innate intelligence and capacity to develop his ability and come to the front. It may not appeal to many. The labor movement is beset by pressing realities. There is more to working education than is coordinated with the interest of the labor movement. The teacher in a workers' class-room must realize that the labor movement deals mainly with facts and problems and not merely with the general subject of working education should be to influence the worker not only to fight the struggles of the trade-union movement, but also to stand by it. Education is not merely accumulation of knowledge, facts and information—it is more than that. An education should be able to apply these things in his daily life and in his constant struggles.

Workers' education should influence the individual worker to stand with his group and to impress upon the worker the necessity of being in touch with current problems and with social and economic developments.

Preparing Labor for Leadership

If workers' educational activities are under trade-union auspices, unions could interest the foremost men and women in the academic field in the labor movement and help them to understand it. Instead of sending capable, energetic workers to the extension courses of the universities to imbibe their conceptions and ideals, the trade-union movement will invite the economists, historians and philosophers to help them build their own institutions.

The workers' educational movement can no more be entrusted to

other groups than can the trade-union movement itself be entrusted to them.

The middle class and the upper class are as much interested in preserving their social status through controlling education as in the academic instruction itself.

The modern trade union is now becoming a gigantic enterprise. It takes part in cooperative, political and economic movements, and it will more and more be called upon to participate in the control of industry. The growth and development of these activities depend upon its leaders. There is no question but that the leaders will have to be developed from within its own ranks. Once the labor movement realizes this, it will provide ample funds for carrying on its many-sided educational activities.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

FRANCE

MARTY GRANTED AMNESTY.

Andre Marty has been set at liberty . . . The amnesty accords to him full civil and political rights, but does not reinstate him in his former naval rating as engineer officer of the second class . . . Marty's original offense was that, with others, he led the refusal of the French sailors in the Black Sea to bombard Russian ports or to take part in fighting the revolution at all . . . Marty has been elected at French elections to no fewer than 26 seats, as a protest against the Government's action, but he has not been allowed to sit.

YOUNG TRADE UNIONISTS IN FRANCE.

The National Congress of Young Trade Unionists was opened at Lyons on July 15th. The question of organization was discussed. Two proposals were submitted, the one for a federation with rules, the other for a correspondence bureau only. The latter proposal was adopted, and 3 members will be appointed to the bureau, which will devote its attention to the maintenance of national and international relations.

GERMANY

IMPRISONMENT FOR FREE SPEECH IN RUHR.

The Rhineland High Commission has issued a decree punishing with imprisonment all persons in the occupied area, who, privately or publicly, say or write anything in favor of the continuance of passive resistance. This is obviously directed solely against the Ruhr workers, whose spirit Poincaré hopes to break in the next few weeks, while the negotiations between France and England are being spun out.

SUFFERING WOMEN IN THE RUHR.

The Friends' Council for International Service (Quakers) has received an appeal from Duisberg against the Belgian order that all windows must be closed. Owing to the dearth of houses and the necessities of the occupation, this means that often 10 to 12 persons have to sit in a little room without light or fresh air from eight in the evening till five in the morning in the terrible heat. The sufferings of expectant mothers are specially severe.

FINLAND

WAGES IN FINLAND.

Finland's chief exports are paper and the products of her saw mills, and her purchasers are now the western states of Europe—Russia, once her only purchaser, having dropped out. In spite of the fact that the paper and timber industrialists are doing extensive business, the workers obtain only a starvation wage. Wages have risen, it is true, from M. 0.30–0.55 to M. 3.50–7 marks per hour, but meanwhile the cost of living has multiplied. A point of dispute which is exciting great interest at the present moment is the right to paid holidays, which the workers are claiming.

POLAND

A NEW NOMINAL CURRENCY IN POLAND.

At the proposal of the Polish trade unions, the Polish Parliament has approved a system, according to which workers' wages will in future be paid according to the "Zloty" currency, which is based on the value of the Swiss franc, and which fluctuates according to the foreign exchange. In this way wages and salaries will be stabilized, and their real value will remain unaffected by the continuous rise of prices which follows the steady fall of the exchange.

The "Zloty" is at present only a nominal currency, but it is expected that it will later be introduced in practice.

ENGLAND

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Continued bad trade is causing alarm among Tories as well as workers. "You cannot leave a million and a quarter men to have their morale rotted by compulsory idleness," said Sir Joynson Hicks, Secretary to the Treasury, speaking recently on the coming winter prospects. In view of the grave situation the Labor party has appointed an emergency committee to watch developments and take necessary action during the recess; the chairman will be Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P.

M. P.'S TURN THEIR COATS.

The Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, M. P., recently elected as an Independent, and formerly a Labor member, has decided to join the Conservative party. Captain Arthur Evans, M. P., elected as a National Liberal, is also about to cross the floor of the House and join the Government party.

WHAT WAGE CUTS MEAN.

Some twelve months ago, the reductions in wages of the last few years in Great Britain were stated to amount to £700,000,000. In the House of Commons on August 2, the Minister for Labor admitted that during the last financial year another £150,000,000 had come off the incomes of small homes, thus still further reducing the spending power of the nation.

JERUSALEM

ANTI-LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS IN JERUSALEM.

On July 16th the Jaffa police attacked a picket which was peacefully performing its duty outside a house . . . The local police called in the British gendarmes, and the Labor Federation states that the latter behaved brutally. The workers were beaten atrociously, and many wounded, four severely. No warning to disperse was given. The police entered labor institutes and the homes of labor sympathizers, arbitrarily arresting 22 workmen.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

HIGH COST OF LIVING STILL GOING UP.

The cost of living in the United States on June 15, 1923, was 60 per cent higher than in July, 1914, according to figures of the National Industrial Conference Board. There was an increase of six-tenths of one per cent in the cost of living between March 15 and June 15, 1923.

ILLINOIS GUARDSMEN AGAINST ZINC-STRIKERS.

Ten units of the Illinois National Guard have been ordered mobilized for duty at the plant of the American Zinc Company at Hillsboro, Illinois, where employees are on strike.

POISON IN FOOD.

A chemical analysis of forty food stuffs sold in New York City revealed that seven of the forty samples were found to contain foreign substances. The greatest percentage of adulterations was found in sausage and ice cream.

TO "PROTECT" AMERICAN INVESTORS.

New York attorneys representing large American interests in Cuba, announced that a brief had been filed with Secretary Hughes charging that the Cuban Congress was about to enact a measure which would confiscate millions of dollars worth of American property in the island. The legislation objected to aims to consolidate Cuban railroads and eliminate lines and sea-ports controlled by American investors.

EXPRESS WORKERS TO VOTE ON WAGES.

A referendum of 5,000 employees of the American Railway Express Company in New York will be held on the decision of the U. S. Railroad Labor Board granting an increase of 3½ cents an hour to drivers and helpers and 3 cents to clerks.

The Cloak and Dress Industry

(Continued from page 7)

a field not quite so competitive, might have conceded some of the workers' demands. Lately, the fortunes of this group have sunk low, — in the last year not more than 10 per cent of them in the dress industry as well as in the cloak trade, emerged with profit. The contractor has become irresponsible; the price of his own service and the labor of his workers is being fixed by the inside manufacturer, who buys this labor in the open competitive market. The contractor has degenerated into a sort of hybrid price-committee and shop-chairman, who strikes a bargain with his boss

for the price of the workers' labor and his own.

It follows, therefore, that strikes against the contractor cannot satisfy the demands of the worker. The price per garment is fixed by the jobber who dictates it to the contractor, the real price-committee having no representative of the workers on it at all.

That price limitation the worker in the shop cannot overcome, as a strike against the contractor would amount only to a strike against ten machines of the jobber's scattered three or five hundred.

Local 38

(Continued from Page 3)

supplementary agreement with security of \$1,000.00, and has also paid a fine of \$100.00 which is to go to charity. All the people are already back at work in both shops. I also wish to mention the fact that in this last settlement, as also in the case of Hatty Carnegie, Brother Feinberg, our supervisor, vice-president of the International and general manager of the joint board, took active part.

As to the general condition in our trade I may state that the season is beginning to pick up; some shops are already operating in full swing. The office is getting busier day by day issuing working cards to members who find jobs in the shops under our jurisdiction, and with other union matters. As it stands at present the office is quite in shape and is taking care of the interests of the members in our union shops to the best of its ability. Having in mind, however, the fact that we hope to spread our influence over the entire trade, we are now confronted with the question of putting on an additional organizer. The organization work as outlined which must be carried out is too heavy, in fact, impossible of realization with the size of the present office staff.

In conclusion I wish to call upon our membership to take more interest in the affairs of their union from now on. The more important questions are to be taken up and decided upon at the meetings during the coming months. Let every member make it his business to be present at the meetings, participate in the discussions of all matters and help decide upon them. Let no one then say that only a few run the organization and decide everything without the membership at large.

The following meetings will take place during the next two weeks:

Shop chairmen meeting—Thursday, August 30, 6 p. m., in the office of the union.

General member meeting—Tuesday, September 4, 6 p. m., in Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street.

First district meeting—Thursday, September 6, 6 p. m., in Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th Street.

Second district meeting—Thursday, September 13, 6 p. m., in Leslie Hall.

The next meeting of the Italian branch will take place on Saturday, September 1, at 1 p. m., in the office of the union.



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 4—Wasting Industry.

1. From the social and human standpoint there is one more way to judge the workings of the present economic system. We have seen that a great inequality in wealth distribution serves to keep from the large majority of our people a share of the wealth produced sufficient to satisfy their needs. We may now ask just how the present system is managed and used to produce human want satisfaction in the most efficient manner possible.
2. It is generally agreed, today, by most engineers and by many economists that modern industry is not devoted chiefly to the production of human want satisfactions, but to making profits. It is controlled by business men for private gain, "with the satisfaction of wants coming in the backdoor as a by-product." "There is a great difference between business enterprise and machine production. One is concerned chiefly with profit; the other with use: one is interested mainly in 'market conditions,' the other in productive capacity. (Thorstein Veblen, "The Vested Interests and the State of the Industrial Arts," Chapters 3 and 5.)
3. Because the present organization of modern industry is not managed chiefly to produce human want satisfaction, it is full of wastes — leaks through which three times more human effort, equipment and power are lost than are used.
4. Estimates have been made, which placed the efficiency and effectiveness of modern industry as conducted by "business as usual" at as low as 15 per cent of maximum capacity. (Quoted by Charles W. Wood in the "Great Change" page 42.)
5. The leaks through which more than three-quarters of our industrial capacity are wasted and lost to society are many, but all may be traced back in a final analysis to what Veblen calls the "businesslike management" of machine industry.
6. There is, first, actual "sabotage" upon production conducted in the name of "market conditions." This includes closing down plants entirely or operating on part time during business depressions; actual destruction of goods when "the market is glutted"; the use of inferior equipment when better technical knowledge is available because of the cost of scrapping existing machinery. (Veblen—"The Engineers and the Price System," Chapter 1; Stuart Chase, "The Challenge of Waste," page 22; Wood, above, Chapter 6.)
7. There are the wastes of bad organization, antiquated processes and poor co-ordination. This includes over expansion (excess capacity); wasteful methods, poor co-ordination between industries and wasteful utilization and manufacture of power. (Stuart Chase, above, page 19; Walter N. Polakow, "Mastering Power Production," Chapter 1—Gilbert & Pogue—"American Power Resources," introduction and chapter 1.)
8. There are the wastes lying in the production of useless or harmful products. These include super-luxuries (five or ten dollars a year) competitive advertising (2 and 4 billions a year); armaments; abrupt change in fashion; adulterated foods; shoddy goods; gambling, stock-exchange speculation, etc. (Stuart Chase, above, page 15-17.)
9. There are the wastes involved in unemployment and the strikes, lockouts, and labor sabotage caused by industrial warfare. There is also the minor labor wastes created by the "idle rich." This idleness wastes the labor power of from ten to twenty per cent of the labor force each year.
10. There are the wastes involved in salesmanship and faulty distribution. For example, before the war, 600 different styles of iron beds were produced, each with its special "talking points." In most of our industries, the sales department is the important factor with the accounting system possibly second — and the production of goods in third place. (Wood, above, chapters 4 and 5.)
11. Technical study of six representative American Industries in 1921, showed that the amount of waste in their operation was
 1. Metal Trades, 29 per cent waste,
 2. Boot and Shoe Manufacturing, 41 per cent waste,
 3. Textile Manufacturing, 49 per cent waste,
 4. Building Industry, 53 per cent waste,
 5. Printing, 58 per cent waste,

Announcement of Our Courses for 1923-1924

(Continued)

Civilization—H. A. Overstreet.

Course No. 1—Foundation of Modern

This course will attempt to discover what are the basic forces, individual and social, conscious and unconscious, historic and new that are actually at work in the shaping of our developing civilization. What are the institutions that mould our ideas and ideals? Are they themselves undergoing changes; and in what direction? What, if any, are the ideas and ideals that are remoulding institutions? Are there new material conditions that are bringing about new outlooks? Does voluntary purpose play any part in the reshaping of our civilization? Is there a new historic outlook; a new spirit in art and religion? The course will be as much an experiment in cooperative thinking as a straight lecture course, for stress will be laid upon working out these ideas by means of a large amount of group discussion.

Course No. 2—Political and Social Institutions—H. J. Carman.

The unrest which prevailed before the World War was only temporarily arrested by that great conflict. Even before the termination of hostilities, this growing discontent showed itself

in the arena of human thought and human activity.

In politics, in government, in industry—in fact, in every phase of institutional life — individuals and groups with different social ideals are today advocating social change. Of these, some would simply modify the existing order; others, more extreme in their demands, would destroy it. Opposed to both of these, and especially to the latter, are those who champion the status quo and who believe the last word has been said in shaping standards of human conduct.

All three of these groups exist in America today. Each from time to time pleads its case before the bar of public opinion. It is impossible for any man or woman, however, to weigh the merits of the respective cases without some knowledge of the facts upon which they rest. In other words, we must have some understanding of present-day civilization and its basis.

The present course is designed to give a summary view of the outstanding social, industrial and political features of American civilization since 1860.

Our Activities

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

(Continued)

2. WORK IN YIDDISH, RUSSIAN AND ITALIAN

Some of our members do not know enough English to profit by our classes in the Unity Centers and the Workers' University. Courses on the history and problems of labor unions and our own International were given in Yiddish in different parts of the city. They were attended by large numbers who showed great interest.

A series of lectures in Russian on labor problems was arranged for the Russian branch of the cloakmakers' union.

We are planning to organize educational activities for our Italian speaking members in their own language.

3. LECTURES AT MEETINGS.

We have always encouraged local unions to arrange for speakers to address their members on important labor subjects at their business meetings. During the past two years, such lectures were given. Generally about an hour was devoted to this. In each case the members who attended the meeting showed great interest and asked numerous questions.

These single lectures were given in English and in Yiddish. Since there will always be many of our members who can be reached only at the business meetings of their union, this work should also be extended.

The lectures serve a double purpose. First, they add interest to the regular business meetings of the unions and attract members who might otherwise not attend them, and secondly, by means of these lectures we reach a large part of our membership who for some reason or other do not attend our classes.

A list of topics for lectures is prepared by the Educational Department and forwarded to the Executive Boards and the Educational Committees of the local unions. From these they select the subjects best adapted to the needs and background of their membership.

6. Men's Clothing Manufacturing, 64 per cent waste. (Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of Federated American Engineering Societies, "Waste in Industry," Chapter 2.)
12. The bituminous coal industry in the United States upon which our whole industrial structure rests is probably (according to Herbert Hoover) our worst functioning industry. It is overexpended, wasteful in method, badly organized, badly co-ordinated with other industries and wasteful of labor power. (Walter N. Polakow—"Engineers Report," The Dial, November 1, 1919.)
13. Polakow has estimated that if waste were abolished, the necessary work of the world could be finished certainly in four and perhaps in two hours a day. (Wood, above, chapter 9.)

Manager Hochman's Final Report on Dress and Waist Industry

A Retrospect and Survey

(Continued from Last Week.)

FIGHTING THE JOBBER

As manager of the independent department of the Joint Board, I was, in accordance with the custom of our union, responsible for the organization work. Prior to my assuming the management of the Joint Board, I conducted a series of campaigns that netted the union a large number of shops. The management of the Joint Board added to my duties the direct supervision of the shops belonging to the Jobbers' Association.

Upon looking over the situation, I was impressed with the flagrant violations committed by the jobbers, independent as well as members of the Association. The clause in the Jobbers' agreement which provides that work be given to shops in contractual relations with the union is actually the only obligation the jobber assumes toward the organization. Upon investigation, it was found that jobbers were freely using non-union and union shops alike, ignoring the provisions of the agreement. In an attempt to investigate the books of the jobbers, in order to find out the extent of the violations, we met with many obstacles, either a complete refusal to show books, or, when books were shown, we found that they had been fixed in such a manner that the information we sought could not be secured.

When, as in the case of Dorfman & Wiesen, we insisted upon our right to trace back the different accounts in order to convince ourselves whether this firm is violating the agreement, the firm flatly refused to abide with our request and as much as admitted that the books were "covered" with an attempt to conceal the fact that work was given to non-union shops.

The situation became very critical. Something had to be done to curb this evil. It was not only a question of prestige on the part of the union as to its ability to enforce the agreement, but the danger was mainly that this condition encouraged the constant growth and development of non-union shops to a point where the situation became menacing and we therefore decided upon a policy of resistance.

The first firm to be called to account was Dorfman & Wiesen.

On August 4th, 1922, a strike was declared against this firm for violating the agreement by employing non-union contractors, attempting to conceal these facts from the Union, and refusing investigation of books.

We succeeded in stopping 80 contractors, employing approximately 900 people. We directed the efforts of the organization department upon the numerous open shops, slowly and surely choking the production of the firm. The strike against this firm, considered the largest and most important producer of the cheaper line of dresses, lasted three weeks. In the end the jobber, suffering heavy losses, was compelled to settle with the union, paying a \$1,000 fine and converting a large number of open into union shops. This strike aroused a great deal of interest among the jobbers and the trade.

As this strike progressed, jobbers began to show uneasiness as to the open shop situation and were becoming more conciliatory and yielding in disputes. The entire trade watched the development of the strike with great interest. The uneasiness of the jobbers was augmented when the union called the Monarch Dress Co., one of the leading members of the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association, to account.

This firm has persistently employed

non-union shops. At a conference with the Jobbers' Association, the union threatened to call a strike unless this matter was settled. The firm surrendered, delivering its open shops to the union and paying a fine of \$1,500.

Thereafter in rapid succession followed strikes against:

Wiesen, Cohen & Smith, independent jobbers employing 75 contractors. After two weeks' strike, firm paid \$1,000 as liquidated damages and unionized its non-union shops.

Ullman-Jessel Co. This firm has distinguished itself by entirely disregarding the terms of its agreement, by employing open shops in and out of town. Before a strike was called, firm paid \$3,000 as liquidated damages and unionized the majority of its open shops.

Nat Goldstone. An investigation of this firm's books disclosed the fact that the firm continued to work with an out-of-town non-union shop, after instructions were given to discontinue. After a few days of striking, firm paid \$500 as liquidated damages.

Samuel Silver (Jas Co.). This firm originally a dress house is one of the largest operators in the dress industry, employing about 80 contractors. Its strike against this firm was decisive and of short duration, the union having successfully tied up production. All the open shops of this jobber were organized, besides imposing a penalty of \$1,500.

Schroeder & Co. Firm refused to recognize union control. After a short strike firm was forced to sign an agreement with the union.

Fair Waist & Dress Co. one of the most important of non-union jobbers, was struck and compelled to sign an agreement with the union abandoning its open shops.

Bijou Dress Co. This firm had flagrantly violated the agreement, refusing to permit inspection of the books. After a short strike the firm was compelled to assume obligations of the agreement.

During August and September, 1922, in our campaign against the jobbers for violations of the agreement, we collected the sum of \$8,001.60 by way of damages.

LIQUIDATED DAMAGES

We found that there was no better way to check the many violations on the part of jobbers, manufacturers and contractors than by enforcing the clause of the agreement which gives the union the right to liquidate, either the whole or a part of the security for any breach of contract.

I am quoting a report, from March 5th to August 4th, to give you an idea for what violations and in what proportion liquidated damages were collected.

Cutting	\$1,085.00
Bad treatment	225.00
Wage scale violations	190.00
Sending out work	145.00
Non-union help	125.00
Lock-out	150.00
Open shops	435.00
Refusal to deal with union	375.00
Dual system of work	100.00
Hours of labor violations	663.72

As a result, we collected, during the term of my management of the Joint Board, liquidated damages amounting to \$23,067.51, as follows:

From independent manufacturers	\$7,985.31
Independent Jobbers	3,901.50
Jobbers' Association	7,500.00
Dress Association	4,580.60

CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION

When we took over the management of the Joint Board, the rela-

tionship between the union and the Contractors' Association was strained. At many of the meetings of our board of directors this was a frequent topic of discussion and a break was considered probable. But our fight against the jobbers and our general organization campaigns have tended to improve the relations between the union and the Contractors' Association.

We utilized the anti-jobber campaign to make an investigation of the entire industry. We visited all the contracting shops for the purpose of ascertaining for whom they were working and to see to it that union conditions prevail in the shops. As a result of this investigation, we found many violations which were immediately corrected.

In our strike against the jobber, the largest number of shops taken down were members of the Dress Contractors' Association. Even after the jobbers' strike was settled, association shops were not returned to work until union standards were established and violations of the agreement were corrected. This, of course, meant a complete reorganization of hundreds of association shops.

ORGANIZATION WORK

In the introduction of this report, we pointed out that the workers of our industry are a shifting element and change quite frequently. This is not only true of the workers, but even more so of the shops in our industry.

At the end of each and every season hundreds of shops are closing up and going out of business. A great deal of this is due to business failure, to disagreements among partners, and to many other causes. There is not for very little concern on our part for these outgoing shops, for, as a matter of fact, we are suffering from too many shops in the industry today. A cut of the shops in the City of New York in half would still leave enough to supply the needs of the industry and greatly reduce the unhealthy competition prevalent. The trouble is, however, that no matter how large the number of shops and how unfavorable the conditions within them, yet each and every season sees more new shops coming into the trade than what are going out. The jobber, in search of cheap labor, plays a big part in encouraging the opening of such shops.

During the year 1922, a peaceful year without any general strikes, we had no less than 1,034 shops on strike, involving approximately 12,000 workers. Out of this, 769 were open shops, 115 association shops, 119 independent shops, 4 local No. 23 shops, 3 waist association shops, 2 independent jobbers and two association jobbers. Of the large number of open shops on strike, we succeeded in signing agreements with 588 open shops. In addition to this, we signed up 145 shops without strikes during that year. This gives us a total of 737 shops organized in one year. Were this a stable industry we should have been able, with such progress to organize the industry 160 per cent in a very short time. When we look, however, at the list of our outgoing shops, we find that during the same period of time 715 shops have been taken off our list and with a very few exceptions, probably half a dozen shops, have all gone out of business. Since the general strike of 1923, we have organized 286 shops and 573 have disappeared. The total number of shops organized, during my supervision of the Joint Board, excluding the general strike, was 1,019.

In order to balance the number of incoming shops with the outgoing, we had to carry on an energetic campaign each and every season. Our organizers, officers and active members have done all they possibly could during these campaigns for which I take this occasion to express my thanks and appreciation to every one of them.

GENERAL STRIKE OF THE EMBROIDERY WORKERS

In speaking of organization work, we may as well include the general strike in the embroidery industry in August, 1922. The agreement between the Embroiders' Union and the Embroidery Manufacturers' Association expired on August 1st, and the Joint Board demanded an agreement similar to the one in vogue in our industry. The association, however, insisted on a renewal of the old terms and contract.

After making the necessary preparation, we issued a general strike against the association. The strike was marked by wonderful enthusiasm on the part of the workers. As a result of this strike, the embroidery workers for the first time obtained an agreement calling for complete unionization of every worker in the shop and introducing minimum scales.

While the Joint Board officers greatly contributed in helping to carry out this strike, yet the major part of the work was done by the active workers of Local No. 66 themselves, who displayed a wonderful spirit and energy.

PROPAGANDA

In carrying on this organization work, we have constantly appealed for aid to our membership. On the eve and during each and every campaign, we distributed hundreds of thousands of circulars calling upon the workers in the open shops to join the union. These circulars were distributed on certain mornings in the streets where our industry is located.

All business agents were called upon to organize committees from the workers of their districts to do this work, and, whether it was a cold, icy morning in February or a hot, sweltering day in July, we always succeeded in getting hundreds of workers who actually swamped the districts with circulars, calling upon the non-union workers to organize.

Besides this, a number of our active workers temporarily gave up their positions in the shops in order to give their full time to this work. All these campaigns were a great source of joy and inspiration to me, which I shall always remember.

DISTRICT MEETINGS

It is a known fact that the member meetings called by the locals do not get the attendance they should. Very few members come to these meetings to do the necessary organization work and as a result the majority are not acquainted with the work done and the problems facing the union. An organization like ours, constantly on the line of battle, must keep the membership well informed and enthusiastic about the organization.

To do this, we introduced the calling of district meetings, district by district, each and every season. These meetings would usually be attended by as many as 800 people. A series of such meetings at the beginning of each season would be attended by from eight to ten thousand workers.

PUBLICITY

We always saw to it that these campaigns received the widest publicity, because it strengthened the morale of the workers in the union shops, showing them constant activity on the part of our union and generally tended to create a favorable impression in the entire industry.

(To be continued.)

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The decision adopted by the General Executive Board at its last quarterly meeting, a statement concerning which appeared on the front page of JUSTICE last week, was the subject of a very interesting and excited discussion at our general meeting, held last Monday evening, August 27th, in Arlington Hall, which was attended by over five hundred members.

At the last meeting of the local executive board this decision and statement of the General Executive Board was received. There is no doubt but that the membership of the local is familiar with it. However, it is worth-while and important to quote in this report one part of this decision which is signed by Morris Sligman, President of the International, and Abraham Baroff, Secretary:

"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."

Elaboration on the meaning and intent of that part of the statement quoted above is unnecessary. It means that all of the members of Local 10, who are affiliated with any groups such as a "Good and Welfare League," "Shop Delegates' League," or any other league, are, either as a group or as members to cease their affiliation and activity. It might be appropriate to state here that some members appeared in the office and showed letters to Brother Shenger, who was in charge during the absence of Manager Dubinsky, in which a notice was contained to the effect that a meeting would be held in the Rand School on Saturday, August 25. This letter was signed "Provisional Committee, Cutters' Union, Local 10." Shenger expressed surprise over this letter, as he was not aware of any action taken by the Executive Board or by the members at any of the regular meetings, where the calling of such a meeting could have been authorized. Shenger further informed these members that he was not aware of the appointment of a "provisional committee," since Local 10 was not dissolved or bankrupt, and there was no need for any temporary arrangement for the handling of the affairs of the union.

Immediately before the reading of the reports of the Executive Board, a resolution was introduced, in which the members were called upon to take certain action against the order of the International. This resolution, signed by about eight members, was ruled to be out of order by President Philip Ansel on the ground that the action of the Executive Board in the matter of the General Executive

Board's decision has not yet been reported to the members. The six or eight members who had signed this resolution at once jumped up and began clamoring that the resolution should first be taken up. Having concluded that the action of the few "protesters" was the immediate outcome of the meeting of the "provisional committee" on the previous Saturday, the chairman was firm in his ruling and insisted that nothing would be taken up except the regular order of business, which was the report of the Executive Board. Order was restored and the secretary proceeded with the business at hand.

As soon as that part of the Board's report referring to the International's decision was read, the same few members rose again almost as one and placed a motion to accept the report of the Executive Board, excepting the part dealing with the International's decision. Immediately upon the seconding of the motion, Brother Samuel Perlmutter rose and raised a point of order, to the effect that the motion put out of order on the ground that since the International was the parent body of the local and since its laws and decisions could only be reversed by a convention, Local 10, until such a time, could do nothing but abide by the International's ruling. The chairman, Brother Ansel, ruled the point as well taken. Again there ensued tumult on the part of the few who seemed bent upon obstructing the regular order of the meeting. The chairman was, nevertheless, firm in maintaining the point of order and refused to grant an appeal against this decision on the ground that a reversal would be contrary to the ruling of the higher body, the International.

Again the question of having the resolution taken up for action was brought up by the few whose signatures appeared thereon. The resolution was up now before the chairman—as to whether it was in order. The chairman decided that it again would be contrary to the International's decision should any action upon it be taken. The chairman did not entertain the resolution because as it appears he was fully informed that at the previous Saturday's meeting of a group who met in defiance of the International's decision, that resolution was decided upon. The makers of it, or rather its signers, very plainly attempted by their obstructionist tactics to force action on it by the members.

The tactics adopted by these few and their desire to force their acts upon the members were in defiance of the International's decision. What was attempted by these few members is the very thing which the statement of the General Executive Board is warning against and which is put down in black and white in unmistakable terms. "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 . . . are undermining the very foundations of our union, and are its enemies."

Explanations by the chairman to the effect that action on the resolution or on the decision would be illegal, and his ruling to that effect, were of no avail. The few, who, by the way, were the only ones on the floor during the entire course of the meeting clamoring for motions and points of order, refused to abide by the decision of the chairman. They stood up on the floor and refused to

be seated, insisting upon continuing the turmoil. Failing to secure order and the business of the meeting having been practically disposed of, the chairman adjourned the meeting.

While the various points of order were raised and motions made, the question arose in the minds of some of the active members as to whether the chair was justified in ruling on the resolution as had done. The opportunity to discuss this point at the meeting in the heat of the excitement was lacking. It is quite possible that this matter may be taken up by the Executive Board for the purpose of having it decided by the International President as to whether the ruling of the chair regarding the resolution was proper, and the matter will be referred back to the membership.

MISCELLANEOUS

The result of the various conferences and of the Grievance Board meeting held during the past few weeks between the representatives of the Cutters' Union, Local 62, and the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association, was quite satisfactory to the union. And according to this there are very good reasons for believing that the relations will be more beneficial to the union than heretofore.

It will be recalled that for a time our relations with the employers' association were somewhat strained. Numerous complaints were filed against its members for various violations. The manager of the association did not see fit to make the customary joint investigations with a view to adjusting the grievances, nor did he as much as reply to the communications sent him with respect to this.

At one time this reached so exasperating a stage that it was seriously contemplated to dispatch an ultimatum informing it that the union would take the matter into its own hands. A request by the union for a conference, which was arranged, was practically disregarded because no representatives of the employers appeared. Finally, a joint communication was sent, which was signed by International President Sligman, the Manager of Local 62, and Manager Dubinsky for the cutters. This meeting took place and the grievances of the union were so plain that the association was compelled to decide upon the calling of a meeting of the

Grievance Board, where the problems of the union would be aired.

The Grievance Board, which consists of four representatives of the employers and four of the union's side, met on Wednesday, August 22, at the offices of the association. The representatives of the cutters had some four cases to be tried. Two concerned cutters who were discharged by reason of their activities as members of the union. The other two involved the refusal of members of the association to permit an investigation of the standing of the cutters, with respect to their union affiliation.

These last two were withdrawn by mutual consent, Brother Shenger as one of the representatives for Local 10 in the absence of Manager Dubinsky agreeing upon the association manager's promise to conduct a joint investigation.

The first one of the discharge cases was completely won by the union, as it was plainly brought out before the board that the discharge was caused as a result of the activities by the cutter in question in the last general strike to unionize the shop in which he worked. It was further shown that the cutter was employed by the firm for about two and a half years, during which time no question arose as to his competency, a lack of which the employer charged him with.

The second discharge case, which in the opinion of the union was the result of the insistence on the part of the cutter that he work forty-four hours per week and refused to work forty-eight, which the employer attempted to "compel him to do, resulted in disagreement. The employers insisted that he was discharged because he was incompetent. The union is so positive that it is a case of discrimination that it is proceeding with arrangements to have the case tried by an Arbitration Board in accordance with the provisions of the agreement.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS Monday, September 17th

GENERAL Monday, September 24th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place