

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."
—Job 27:6

JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. IV, No. 28

New York, Friday, July 7, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

AGREEMENT REACHED IN N. Y. CLOAK INDUS^{try}

All Union Standards to Remain Intact for Next Two
Special Joint Board Meeting Approves Unanimously Terms of
New Agreement—Final Ratification Referred to Locals.

The sub-committees of both sides, of the Union and the Protective Association, have finally reached an understanding last Saturday. The representatives of the Union succeeded in convincing the committee of the Employers' Association that the Union cannot give up any of the old work standards, and an understanding was finally reached to renew the agreement and to continue in the industry.

The sub-committee of the Protective Association, of course, was striving to drive a hard bargain, and did its best to wrest concessions from the workers. The sub-committee of the Union, however, with President Schlesinger at the head, had only one answer to give to the demands of the employers:

"Gentlemen, we have nothing to give up! The cloakmakers hardly make a living, even under the present work conditions, and their living standards cannot be reduced."

When the sub-committee of the manufacturers realized that the old

established work conditions cannot be bargained down or abolished, they brought forth new points, new demands. The last of their demands embodied a request for "insurance" against stoppages. Their spokesmen argued that some members of the Protective Association have been injured in the past by shop stoppages, and they demanded that the Union take upon itself the full responsibility for such occurrences. In other words, they wanted that in case a stoppage from work occurs in any shop of a member of the Protective Association, that it should be interpreted as a breach of the agreement and that the Union be held responsible in damages for the loss occurring thereby to the firm.

The sub-committee of the Union, however, took a firm stand against this demand, declaring that the Union is opposed to stoppages and does its utmost to prevent them. The Union, however, cannot take upon itself the responsibility for such untoward occurrences, as it would quite likely lead some firms to provoke the workers, through mistreatment, into stop-

page outbreaks, after which they might call upon the Union to respond in damages for losses. The logic of this argument did not fall to have its effect upon the employers, who withdrew this point after considerable debate.

Two other points on which the representatives of the employers insisted was the right to discharge workers without review at a certain fixed time during the year and a reduction in wages. This point our committee refused even to consider. As regards the request for a wage cut, our spokesmen pointed out that as long as the work seasons in the industry are as short as they are now there can be no question of reducing wages. The manufacturers depend upon their welfare and living upon the few months of the season, our representatives argued, and the workers are in a similar position. The wages in the cloak trade must therefore be somewhat higher than in other trades where the seasons are longer.

The shadows of a war in the cloak industry which hung over our heads
(Continued on Page 2.)

A Statement from President Schlesinger

"My action in the convention of the American Federation of Labor in connection with the proposed resolution on Russia has been so persistently misrepresented in certain quarters that I deem it advisable to make a public statement of the true facts.
"I did not vote against the resolution calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States government, nor did I vote for it.
"As a Socialist and Trade Unionist, I am opposed to the terrorist methods of the Soviet government, the suppression of free press and speech and the persecution of dissenting Socialist groups, as well as to the disruptive and reactionary tactics of the Com-

munist Internationale, and I consider it not only my good right, but my positive duty to protest against these methods and tactics in all socialist and labor gatherings.

"On the other hand, I fully realize that the refusal of the United States government to recognize the Soviet government of Russia has very little to do with the above considerations, but is based upon the fact that the government of Russia is anti-capitalistic.

"It is therefore quite consistent in my opinion for a Socialist and Trade Unionist to condemn the Communist dictatorship of Russia and the destructive tactics of the Communist Interna-

tionale, while demanding the formal recognition of the Soviet government by the government of our own country.

"This is not only my personal view on the subject, but also the attitude of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, clearly expressed in the two resolutions on the subject adopted at the recent Cleveland Convention.

"It was this position which I should have liked to see prevail in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and with that object in view, I suggested an amendment to the minority report, which if adopted, would have adequately covered both aspects of the question. My suggestion was ruled out of order by President Gompers at the insistence of two of the delegates who supported the minority report, *etc.*, the resolution in favor of recognition of the Soviet government.

"Thus the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union were placed in the position of either giving unqualified approval to the Russian Soviet government, or joining in unqualified condemnation of it, or doing neither. The delegates of our International, with one exception, felt the latter course was the most consistent for non-Bolshevik Socialists and Trade Unionists to follow, and was in full accord with the position taken by our organization. We acted accordingly.

"I am making this statement with no desire to enter into discussion on the subject, but solely for the purpose of leaving a record of facts in anticipation of further reckless misrepresentations."

All labor papers are requested to copy.

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New York City

Results of Elections in Local Number 22

Last Thursday there took place elections in Local No. 22, the Dressmakers' Union of New York, with the following results:

Secretary - Treasurer — Isidore Scheinholtz, re-elected.

Business Agents—Israel Horowitz, Julius Hochman, Joseph Shapiro, Abraham Bernstein, Max Moskowitz, Julius Portnoy, Samuel Goldstein, Jacob Hoffman, Abraham Elnick, Nathan Pogrom.

Members of the Executive Board—Peter Rothenberg, Simon Farber, May Rosen, Sonia Farber, Clara Goldberg, Sonia Chaikin, Isidore Farbiash, Bertha Kaplan, Abraham Lupin, Lena Klein, Rose Wolkowitz, Bessie Steiner, Rose Laskin, Ray Saperstein, Irving Weinberg, Anna Kronhardt, Joe Rabinowitz, Barnett Dorfman, Benjamin Katz, Julius Leibowitz and Isidore Eichenbaum.

Allentown Cloak Firm Seeks Injunction Against Union

The Kramer & Son cloak shop, which has left Philadelphia during the last general cloak strike in that city in an endeavor to escape the influence of the Union, and opened a shop in Allentown, Pa., has now embarked on a new course to defeat the effort of the Union to undermine their new shop in that city. It will be recalled that the Philadelphia organization, with the aid of the Central Labor Union of Allentown and of a number of active members of the Workmen's Circle in that city has declared a strike against this run-away firm. As a result of this strike, the shop is practically empty and now the firm, in retaliation against the Union's activities, has decided to go to court and ask for a drastic injunction prohibiting the Union from continuing any organizing activities in Allentown.

The first hearing on this suit took place last Saturday. The attorney for the Union succeeded in proving to the court that instead of the Union being compelled, to show cause why it should not have an injunction issued against it, the Kramer firm should prove why an injunction be not granted against the Union.

The hearing was laid over until July, and meanwhile the Union calls upon all the workers in Philadelphia, and elsewhere not to be misled by the advertisements of this firm and to avoid the Allentown shop as a snare net.

Students' Council Excursion Sunday, July 23

The Students' Council of our educational courses has arranged for an all-day excursion on a private yacht for Sunday, July 23, on the Hudson River.

The price for a ticket is \$15.50. The yacht will accommodate only 75 persons and those who desire to come should not fail to make reservations in advance. Tickets are to be had at the Educational Department, 3 West 10th Street, or the Dressmakers' Unity House, 125 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Joint Executive Board Meeting for Mine Strikers Held This Thursday

President Samuel Gompers Comes Specially to Meeting—
Lewis and Green, Leaders of Miners, Also
Address Gathering

As we go to press, the joint executive board meeting of all the locals of our International in New York City, the announcement of which was made in the columns of JUSTICE last week, is being held at the auditorium of our International building for the purpose of organizing a relief

drive among the ladies' garment workers of New York for the needy army of striking miners.

The details of the meeting, including practical means adopted for the immediate relief of the wants of the miners in the coal strike fields, will be reported in full in the next issue of JUSTICE.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

THE RAILROAD STRIKE

WITHIN less than two weeks, from May 22 to June 10, the Railroad Labor Board handed down three decisions which virtually condemned 1,250,000 workers to starvation. A call for a strike on July 1, when the new wage scale was to become effective, was sent out by the various unions involved. The returns indicated an overwhelming majority in favor of the only action open to them. But when the time set for the strike came only the shopmen stopped work. At this writing the maintenance of way men and the clerks are still on their jobs; while shop leaders are conferring with the Labor Board, which has proved to be the most potent tool of the railroad companies.

The shop craft unions, which are made up of 400,000 machinists, boiler workers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, car men, electricians and laborers employed in the various railroad shops, cannot paralyze transportation. The outcome of the strike, therefore, depends almost wholly upon the co-operation of the other unions. The wholesale assaults of the board must be met by the united front of the workers. But not even the most sanguine believe that the Four Big Brotherhoods, who occupy a strategic position in the industry, and who could paralyze transportation, will join the strike. They refused to accept the offer of their weaker brothers for co-operation a year ago, when their own wages were cut. They will continue to run the trains and thereby help the railroad companies to combat the strike of the lowest paid workers for a living wage.

But what about the workers who are directly affected by the infamous decisions of the board? The maintenance of way men voted solidly for the strike, but the Executive Council of the union held up issuance of the strike call until the board answers its wage-bearing request. The board, which, according to Samuel Gompers, "is second in incongruity only to the so-called 'open shop' movement", was, of course, delighted at this opportunity to split the ranks of the workers by vaguely promising some sort of a conference. But to confer with the Labor Board is nothing more nor less than to confer with a strikebreaking agency. For not only has it declared all strikers "out-laws," but it has invited strikebreakers to fill the vacant places under the protection of the government with certificates giving them "moral as well as legal rights."

The assumption of the right by a government agency to "outlaw" labor unions marks a new and dangerous precedent in the anti-union struggle. President Gompers fully realizes that when he says that "By this astounding ruling the board undertakes to disband unions at will and to command at will that new organizations be formed."

THE GOVERNMENT ABANDONS "NEUTRALITY" IN COAL STRIKE

PRESIDENT HARDING and his advisers finally realized that the policy of "neutrality" and watchful waiting is not necessarily a sign of constructive statesmanship. It has become apparent, particularly after the Herrin outbreak, that the further continuation of such a policy might have dire results, not so much to the coal industry as to his own party in the approaching fall elections. So the President left his observation post and threw himself into the fight. He invited representatives of the operators and miners to meet with him at the White House on July 1 "to devise methods upon which negotiations for the settlement of the coal strike can be initiated."

Last Saturday President Harding opened the coal conference at the White House with one of his characteristic speeches. That is, he proposed no plan of his own, but urged both sides to reach an understanding and thereby bring about "normalcy." If, however, the conference fails to achieve peace, "the servants of the American people," the President said, "will be called to the task in the name of American safety." How they will perform this task has not yet been made known, because the present conference is still intact.

Because the problems confronting the anthracite and bituminous groups were different it was decided to split the groups of operators and miners into two conferences, the bituminous conference meeting with Secretaries Hoover and Davis, and the anthracite conference meeting with Secretary Fall. But neither conference holds out any hope of success. The anthracite coal operators persist in their wage-cutting policy, while the bituminous operators stubbornly refuse to negotiate a national agreement with the miners. The operators as well as the miners know that separate and local agreements will place the former in a position to more effectively rob the union of its gains. The miners, on the other hand, refuse even to consider this proposal.

This difference, threatened to blow up the conference at its very inception. The only thing that saved it was its adjournment. When the conference convened again last Monday the same issue popped up again, and again it was "saved" by adjourning it for an entire week. Conference by adjournment may be a new type of conference, but it is doubtless the deadest thing ever undertaken by our government, which is saying a good deal. According to the latest reports, however, the government has still another plan up its sleeve, but no official pronouncement has as yet been made.

SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION

THE convention of the New York State Socialist Party last week was in a sense preliminary to the joint convention of the Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties to be held July 15. It has laid down a general working basis for political collaboration or fusion with the Labor Party. For this reason its platform and state ticket are tentative and open to modification.

The extent to which the Socialist Party is prepared to compromise and "deal with reality" was evidenced by the fact that the convention tabled a resolution to repudiate the action of the Wisconsin Socialists in failing to nominate a candidate in opposition to the Republican Senator Robert M. La Follette. The platform demands the repeal of the Lusk laws, which "tend to repress freedom of opinion and belief; liberal provision for free and equal public education; the 'absolute legal right of wage-workers to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike and picket'; the repeal of all direct and indirect taxes on articles of consumption; socialization of public utilities within the state, etc.

The candidates named by the convention are as follows: Edward F. Cassidy, a member of the "Big Six," for Governor; Charles F. Steinmetz, the

"Little Wizard" of Electricity, for State Engineer and Surveyor; Theresa B. Wiley for Lieutenant Governor; Randolph A. Phillips, Secretary of State.

IRELAND IN TURMOIL

A FEW weeks ago it looked as if Ireland had passed from the state of internal warfare to that of peaceful settlement of its differences and problems. The outcome of the elections, it was said, would finally decide the issues confronting that country. There are two outstanding problems in Ireland, unity and self-determination or national independence. There are two parties in the field, the Free Staters and the Republicans. The former are moderate and compromising. They made up the Irish provisional government and signed the pact with England, abandoning the plea for complete independence and accepting a place within the British empire similar to that of Australia or Canada. They also compromised on the question of unity, leaving the question of the inclusion of Ulster in the Irish Republic to be decided later. The Republicans, on the other hand, are uncompromising and unyielding. They demand complete and unconditional independence for Ireland. They demand the immediate inclusion of Ulster in the Irish Republic.

The assassination of Sir Henry Wilson a few weeks ago in London was a direct result of his bitter hostility to Irish independence and of his having acted as military adviser to the Ulster government in its policy of military conquest of South Ireland. This act was soon followed by an outbreak of civil war in Dublin, capital of Ireland. The Four Courts were occupied by the Republican forces and for a few days became the military headquarters of the Republican army. The Free Staters, that is, the provisional government, mobilized its forces. Machine guns, bombs and other deadly weapons were employed. The Four Courts were finally stormed by the Free Staters. The Republican chiefs were arrested, and the Republican troops were forced to retreat. But they have not surrendered. The chasm between the Republicans and the Free Staters is as impassable at the present as between the Republicans and the British government.

Cloak Agreement Reached

(Continued from Page 1.)
during the last few months have thus disappeared. All remains as of old, the same work conditions and the same Union terms. The only new feature of the new agreement is the creation of a joint commission to investigate and determine the earnings of the workers in the cloak industry of New York. After a thorough investigation has been made, the commission is to meet on December 1 and render a joint decision as to whether the wages in the cloak trade can be reduced or not. Should the commission fail to come to a decision on this matter, the question is to be referred to arbitration.

The sub-committee of both sides which reached a final understanding in the cloak industry, consisted of the following persons:

For the Union—President Schjevinger, Israel Feinberg, General Manager of the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, and Morris Hillquist, Counsel.
For the Employers—George Jah-

low, President of the Association; Max Lechman, Vice Chairman, and Max D. Steuer and Wm. Klein, Counsel.

On Wednesday, July 5, the full conference committee of the Union met in the afternoon at the auditorium of the International building, and after a thorough discussion, unanimously approved the tentative terms of the new agreement reached between the sub-committees.

On the same evening the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York was called to a special meeting in the auditorium of the International building, and after the terms of the agreement received a thorough and attentive consideration from every angle and point of view, the Joint Board unanimously endorsed the agreement reached between the Union and the Association for the next two years, and referred it for final endorsement to a vote of all locals affiliated with the Joint Board.

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The Street Car Men

By J. CHARLES LAUE

The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Railway Employees of America has a long name but a fine reputation as a militant labor organization. It acts and speaks for 100,000 street car and electric rapid transit employees in the United States and Canada. It is composed of about ten different nationalities, of whom 90 per cent are citizens but led by Irish-Americans who founded the union in the days of the horsecar and built it to its present eminence in the labor movement.

This Amalgamated is now the seventh largest union in the American Federation of Labor. Last year it was the tenth which is as good an indication as one can have that it is stable, holding its own when other unions were slumping under the period of depression.

Members in the needle trades of New York city will remember the great street car strike of 1916 and 1919 when the entire labor movement was set on edge by the commotion caused by 10,000 street car men that began to strike up in Yonkers and within three weeks had spread their organization to Coney Island and Canarsie, a rapid march of 50 miles.

This mushroom growth survived for a year, remnants of it still exist under cover, but it was finally crushed by the expenditure of millions of dollars by the Traction trust for spies and detectives, the formation of "company unions" and the subservience of the city administration which went more actively into the strike-breaking busi-

ness than has ever been recorded before in American industrial history.

This strike-breaking by the municipality which led 6,000 uniformed policemen, experts in their line to augment the swarms of "binks" and gunmen that manned the cars began under John Purroy Mitchell, a reform mayor, but reached its culmination under John F. Hylan, Tammany Mayor, so that the Amalgamated Association was driven out.

It is not gone for good by a long shot. This union is biding its time, and when the traction companies grind the motormen and conductors of New York's vast traction system too hard it will come back. When it does, the labor movement here, especially if it has some tangible political strength by that time to curb the city's strike breaking tendency, will again have its opportunity to unionize transportation the city's key industry for its millions of workers and business people.

Just now the street car men's union banner town is Chicago. Strong organizations exist in practically every other large city. Buffalo, organized in 1915 with the aid of the Socialist and labor movement, is just now on strike. In other up-state cities the farmers are organized. St. Louis, Detroit, Cincinnati are good union towns, New York still remains the "open shop" citadel as far as it concerns this union.

Last month the Chicago locals of the Amalgamated Association celebrated twenty years of successful activity in the beautiful Ashland Boulevard and

torium which is owned by the organization, one of the largest and most successful of Labor Temples. In six other halls celebrations were arranged for the wives, friends and children of the union members who number about 70,000 in that city alone.

When the union was organized wages were 12½ cents an hour. Today in Chicago wage rates run from 69 cents to 82 cents an hour, quite a contrast with the 50 cent rate which prevails for the New York transit employees whose wages have only recently been stabilized at this point for another year by an agreement between the Interborough Rapid Transit company and its "company union."

In the period twenty years ago, before the union became active, work for 12 and 14 hours a day was ordinary. At the present time with the exception of New York, the organized cities have the eight hour day as far as it is possible with the "split" time necessary in an industry that is governed by the daily rush to and from work of the industrial workers and commercial employees. Eight hours pay is guaranteed each day for the union car man and on Sundays, if he must work, it is limited to six hours in train service.

Overtime rate of pay was established for the union workmen after eight hours work. The union also acts as an insurance for its members, more than \$3,000,000 having been paid to widows and orphans of deceased members during the period of its organization.

The strain of the work and the anxiety and worry that it brings with it owing to the responsibility that street railway employees have in bringing millions of workers to and from, has been mitigated to some extent by

the union's demand for safety apparatus and labor saving devices. Only in New York is the man killing "one-man car" still tolerated, where the motorman must run the car, make the stop, give transfers, open and shut the door for the passengers and keep on the watch for reckless automobilists and pedestrians.

Street railway work today is a skilled occupation. The horsecar days are gone. Men in this occupation now operate ponderous cars, some double decked, some dragging trailers through congested thoroughfares, some pulling ten-car trains at high speed through subways and on elevated structures. The modern mania for speed has increased the responsibility of the motorman and the increase of automobile traffic has forced him to become still more watchful and alert.

Among the reforms that the union obtained are the closed vestibule cars, heated platforms, air brakes and seats for motormen and conductors. In many cities the open car men—with its exposed running board from which many a conductor was swept by his death has been abolished.

And yet the work despite the fact that a practical working schedule of 48 hours a week has been obtained in many cities has its disadvantages. A motorman or conductor must forego time off Saturday afternoons, Sundays and holidays, for when the rest of the world takes a vacation it... work for him. His heaviest labor occurs when the rest of us are finished with ours.

Yet if not for the union he would still slave for the fourteen-hours shift. Formation of such unions in the city and suburban districts have usually stimulated the entire labor movement of the locality to greater efforts.

Letters from Poland

By Our Special Correspondent
DAVID MEYER

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE JEWISH UNIONS IN POLAND

On the 13th and 14th of this month there took place the second national convention of the Jewish Trade Unions. As a matter of fact, this was the third conference of Jewish trade unions in Poland, but the first together in June, 1919, did not create a central organization for all the Jewish unions, but put into existence only an organizing commission which was to aid the individual organizations in the various cities to strengthen their forces and to call together later a national conference.

Such a conference took place in April, 1921, and established the "Union of Workers' Trade Organizations in Poland," which took in more than ninety per cent of all the organized Jewish workers in the country. Later, by the end of 1921, several smaller societies which were under the political tutelage of the Poale Zion came in, and by the beginning of 1922 this union had within its fold practically every organized Jewish worker in Poland.

In the report submitted to this convention we learned that there are affiliated with this union seven central organizations and five trade unions which are beginning to organize on a national basis now. All these local unions have in the various towns and cities of Poland 205 branches and 48,288 members. In addition, this union has organized in the 24 larger cities of Poland central bodies which embrace all the local Jewish trade organizations and supervise the work. The union has collected over four and a half million marks for the

famine-stricken population of Russia. It has endeavored all the time to strengthen the local Jewish unions and to aid them in their work and to meet all the problems that concern the organized Jewish workers of Poland.

The principal question that confronted the conference was affiliation with the Polish trade unions. Owing to various causes, the Jewish and Polish workers were organized into different trade bodies. For the last three years negotiations have been carried on between these two national organizations for a union of forces, but obstacles of a political and national nature have hampered these negotiations right along, until towards the end of 1921 a union agreement was finally reached between the union and the Jewish workers and the Central Commission of the Polish Trade Union. According to the terms of this treaty the Jewish local trade unions become affiliated with the National Trade Union of the same trade belonging to the Polish union, retaining at the same time their own organization apparatus. The Jewish branches have the right to use the Jewish language in their local business and are allowed a wide degree of autonomy. They have one central treasury for all the branches and divisions, except that they are permitted a certain percentage of their income for their local expenses. The central organization is to conduct the economic activity of the union, may do its printing in Yiddish and they are to be fully represented on all local city committees.

This agreement, however, does not satisfy the Jewish workers. They argue that it is not complete unity and they would have much preferred an amalgamation not on the basis of

separate Jewish branches, but of a complete union of the Jewish and the Polish workers in one organization, with the full right to conduct their own cultural work in their own language. Nevertheless, it must be stated that under present conditions this agreement is about the best and the utmost that could be obtained from the Polish workers. And the Jewish laborers can now say with satisfaction that their ambition of many years, to be able to fight side by side with the Polish workers, has been realized to a large degree. The conference approved of this treaty agreement, despite a strong opposition from the "Left."

The report also pointed out that in following out this agreement, several trade organizations have also effected an amalgamation between the Jewish and the Polish workers, such as the needle and textile workers. The leather workers have effected a union on the principle of a complete amalgamation and in other trades final negotiations are being carried on to that effect.

The conference elected national committee on the basis of proportional representation of 10 Bundists and 3 of the "red" faction. The conference marks a new departure in the work of the Jewish trade union workers in Poland. The amalgamation with the Polish unions has, indeed, taken away some degree of independence from the Jewish workers in the field of economic activity.

They have become a part of the general organized labor movement of Poland and depend on their aid and assistance. But they have, nevertheless, received guarantees that they would be able to conduct freely their cultural and educational work in their own way.

In the hard and bitter struggle which the international proletariat is now compelled to wage in all countries against the increasing aggression of capital, unity of action on the part of the workers is an absolute necessity. It is the sacred duty of all proletarians in the various national and racial groups. —By having united the Jewish and Polish labor movement into one, the Jewish workers of Poland have conscientiously carried out their duty.

Members of the I. L. G. W. U. who wish to join the Unity Centers where English for beginners, elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school English, History of the Labor Movement, Applied Economics and Physical Training are taught can register at the offices of their Local Unions, or at the office of the Educational Department, Fourth Floor, 3 West 16th Street.

JUSTICE

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A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

British labor presents this week some startling contrasts in achievement. The Irish elections, so far as they have gone at the moment of writing, demonstrate somewhat unexpectedly—that is, to some people—that, while political passions have run high in Ireland, Irish labor has been steadily building up its position and an influence that are now having their salutary effect. Already, where at the most five or six labor candidates were expected to secure election, fourteen have been returned, generally with large majorities, and these include men like Tom Johnson, William O'Brien (who in South Dublin City defeated the Countess Mervic) and Cathal O'Shanon, the latter heading the poll in the Louth and Meath constituency with a total of 13,000 votes, though the number required for election was only 6,000. It is clear from these results that not only are masses of Irish people sick and tired of political wrangles and anxious to get on to the reconstruction of their country, but also that they want it to be reconstructed on labor principles. Apart from opinions, too, the election of a practical idealist like Tom Johnson augurs well for Ireland's future.

Fight for Political Freedom

But while in Ireland labor wins successes, in this country it is engaged in a fight to secure the political freedom it has won in the past. The Trade Union Act (1913) Amendment Bill, to which I referred a few weeks ago when it passed its second reading in the House of Commons, is now being considered in committee; and it is clear from what happened at yesterday's sitting that the government majority is trying to make full use of its power to carry through, unamended, a measure which is a di-

rect attack upon the political power of the trade unions. The object of the bill is to prevent the levying by a trade union of a political fund unless each member of it, desiring to contribute to the fund, communicate his desire by writing once every twelve months. Further, it requires that the resolution to undertake political action shall be passed by at least a majority of 20 per cent, and that the number of those voting shall reach 50 per cent of the membership. It can easily be seen that to impose these conditions upon any union is to cripple its political power to an alarming extent, which is of course, the object of the promoters of the bill, though they pretend they are acting in the interests of members of trade unions who do not wish to be intimidated into taking political action. In committee the Labor M. P.'s carried on their opposition to the bill, shown at the second reading debate; but again their inferiority in numbers told against them, and every one of their amendments was ruled out by the Chairman who was clearly biased in favor of the majority to which he belonged. Unless labor throughout the country takes some action to prevent the passage of this preposterous bill the workers of this country stand a chance of losing an important part of the political liberties they have acquired with so much difficulty in the past.

Industrial Position

This attack upon the political power of labor is all the more ominous because it occurs at a moment when the industrial position is so bleak. Repeated statements in public and in the capitalist press that trade is improving and the unemployed are being absorbed, simply show a lack of arithmetic. The decline of the numbers registered unemployed is merely owing to the neat little plan of the government to compel the workless

and their families to be five weeks on and five weeks off the official list of those in receipt of the unemployment dole. Naturally, the numbers of the registered unemployed have gone down through the simple expedient of striking them off the list for five weeks at a time. It is an expedient worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan, or Lewis Carroll. In reality unemployment is as bad as ever, the end of the engineering and shipbuilding lockouts having resulted, as the coal lockout of last year resulted in numbers of the men not being taken back, ostensibly (or perhaps really) because there is now no work for them. A further cut in the wages of the wretched dockers threatens to lead to a strike, which must, in the present state of industry, be more or less abortive. Yet the general lowering of wages everywhere, as seen in the coal fields, for instance, means that men with families cannot live on what they earn, even if they are employed, and so they are forced to go to the guardians for relief. The fact that low wages are being subsidized out of the rates. As a consequence, rates go up in the very districts where people are least able to pay them; they remain unpaid, and the local authorities are faced with the alternative of letting the people starve (which is illegal) or of going bankrupt.

This would lead to the impartial observer a clear case for government intervention; and it was hoped that the reputation won by the boards of guardians of the impoverished districts where things have reached this climax, to the Prime Minister, would at least receive some constructive suggestion if not practical help. Neither, however, was forthcoming, the deputation being told that the government could not afford to help against the workless. The initiative left to the municipal authorities is to close down and leave the people to starve. Lord Haldane's regret, expressed in a public speech, that British labor was not a little more Bolshevik in tendency, stands a good chance of becoming meaningless in the near future, I should say.

International Matters

Two meetings occurred in London this week-end, concerned with international affairs—that between the English and French Premiers, and that of the Second International. The only useful outcome of the former seems to have been the assurance that France will not adopt punitive measures against Germany for failing to pay the reparations she has been rendered unable to pay by the peace treaty, for which France was mainly responsible. This would not sound in a sane world and to a normal outside a startling conclusion to arrive at; but so greatly have our standards been altered by the militarist madness of three years of peace that it really seems quite a big step in advance.

The Second International bustled itself, and quite rightly so, in making a strong protest against any intention that may exist in the mind of the Soviet government to evade the undertaking given by their recently at Berlin that the Social Democrats in their custody should secure a fair trial in Moscow, and the death penalty should not be enforced. It is extremely difficult to arrive at the truth of anything about Russia in these days of garbled news; but if there is any such intention in existence at Moscow, all Socialists must protest, as the British Labor Party has already protested. It would be difficult to exaggerate the harm such a policy would do to the Russian government alone, apart from the inhumanity involved. At the same time, one could wish that the Second International had not quite such a Freudian "complex" about the Soviet government. One expects this from the capitalist governments everywhere—and gets it—but a little recognition of the fact from the Socialists of the Second International that Lenin and his comrades have, with all their faults and mistakes, established the first real people's government in the world, would be at least refreshing, and might lead to a cessation of the methods at Moscow that are very rightly condemned.

The Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy

Men and women active in the labor movement, economists, statisticians, researchers, college students and members of various professions discussed together for five days the trend toward industrial democracy at the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy held at Camp Tamiment, in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania from June 21 to 25, 1922. Every session at the Camp was attended by a vigorous-minded group of young people vacationing at Unity House, the beautiful summer headquarters of the Joint Board of the Wait and Dress-makers' Union of the I. L. G. W. U. The Conference speakers included James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Morris Hillquit, counsel for the I. L. G. W. U., Stuart Chase of the Labor Bureau, H. W. L. Dana of the Boston Trade Union College, Henry R. Linville of the New York Teachers' Union, Horace M. Kallen of the New School for Social Research, Norman Thomas of the Nation, Robert Morris Lovett of the New Republic, Harry W. Laidler, Secretary of the League, Algren Lee of the Rand School and Henry Alsberg and Abraham Epstein, recently returned from Russia.

Mr. Maurer declared that, while the signs of progress in the organized labor movement were comparatively few at the present time, the tendency of labor to enter the field of co-operation, to organize labor banks, to build up their own colleges and universities, and to enter the political field were

among the most encouraging signs of the times. He declared that the so-called "intellectuals" were for the first time in the history of the labor movement, finding their real niche. Instead of drifting into the movement in order to tell it what it should do, they were doing specific jobs of research and statistical work, of teaching, of writing, etc., and were furnishing the workers with facts about wages, cost of living, profits, etc., which would aid in the immediate struggles of labor. Dr. Linville criticized the labor movement as a whole for failing to give wholehearted support to the effort of school teachers to organize. He asserted that the movement toward the unionization of the teachers was "the only movement in this country able to cope with the reactionary propagandists, who are using the schools to further their ends."

"With the schools in the hands of special privilege, with an educational program directed, perhaps, more directly than formerly toward the maintenance of the present social order, if the program of enlightenment must wait until the children are out of school, the work of social education is bound to be sadly handicapped."

He cited the work of the Teachers' Union in discrediting the committee of which Archibald Stevenson is secretary, and declared his belief that the Lusk laws would be repealed at the next session of the Legislature. The necessity of every union engaging in preventive health work was

urged by Dr. Cecile Greil, who has closely followed the health activities of the Unions. Dr. Greil drew special attention to the work of the Unity Health Center and of the I. L. G. W. U. and the need for such recreational camps as Camp Tamiment and Unity House, and declared that, in her belief, every union should appoint an active health committee, and should compel every union member to submit—free of charge—to a physical examination at stated intervals. In the discussion, a member engaged in health work in the unions protested against the practice of some of the unions in charging too high fees for such examination and in employing inexperienced practitioners.

"Whenever, as a result of physical examination, it is found that the physical organism of the worker is running down," declared Dr. Greil, "he should be taken out of industry, and given an opportunity of resting up, before a complete breakdown occurs."

The speaker bitterly denounced the present order of industry for its disregard of the health of the worker.

Morris Hillquit, at the Saturday night session, analyzed the development of labor's organization. Mr. Hillquit felt that ultimately the Socialists and Communists of Europe would be united in one international; that, in the meantime, the duty of international socialism was to create as powerful and effective an organization of socialists and organized labor in every country as could be achieved without the aid of the Communists, and thus to pave the way for an effective and enduring union of the working class all over the world.

Stuart Chase, accountant of the Labor Bureau, urged that the technician and the worker get together to operate industry. He declared that the Russian revolution proved the need of obtaining the co-operation of the technician, and that with his co-operation in organizing our present chaotic system, we could raise the productivity of labor many fold.

Labor in its schools must give the sort of education which enables the workers to control the conditions of their own lives, according to Dr. Kallen. They should not merely educate for hours of leisure.

Henry Alsberg declared that the Russian revolution had brought to the fore a number of vital problems which were now being discussed throughout the socialist and labor movements of Europe. The problem of land—should it be broken into small parcels and farmed by individual peasants or should it be communally controlled; the problem of proletarian dictatorship, the function of the technician, etc.

Abraham Epstein, just returned from Russia, stated that, while the Soviet government was the only possible government now, the condition of the country was tragic and an international loan was absolutely essential before it could be rehabilitated. He also pleaded for the recognition of the Soviet government.

Patronize Our Advertisers

Waists and Wastes

A Little Story of the Ladies' Garment Industry.

By McALISTER COLEMAN

This is for the ladies. It is for them to ponder over the next time the all too sweet saleswoman says:

"Only \$39.50, and, my dear, it's like giving it away at that price. So lucky you came in today, for these dresses were \$45 yesterday, and the only reason we're marking them down now is that we just have to make room for our spring stocks."

You know the rest. Sometimes in sheer desperation you take the "bargain" home and begin to wear it, and in a very short time, indeed, you commence wondering where in all the world they could have put \$39.50 worth of service workmanship and design into that thing of rags and tatters now so rapidly reverting to its primitive shoddy.

The answer is, of course, that the price the saleswoman quotes bears about as much relationship to the value of the article to you, the consumer, as a Broadway musical show bears to the art of the drama. All the way along the line, from the time it was just a bolt of goods, that dress of yours has paid tribute to capitalism's Great God Waste.

The Cost of Labor Turnover

To be explicit, here are a few of the many wasteful practices which are open secrets, to every one in the industry, and which contribute their quotas to keeping up the price of women's apparel:

1. An extraordinarily high labor turnover, due to seasonal depressions. Labor turnover goes into overhead costs, and is variously estimated at from \$25 all the way up to \$250 per worker. This cost must be met somehow, and it is naturally passed on to the consumer.

Rightly or wrongly, the leaders of the industry consider themselves so dependent upon styles that the women's wear business finds itself one of the highest in ranking in periods of unemployment. This means that every so often thousands of men and women are turned out upon the streets to find other occupations for themselves or subsist upon the savings from their wages until work for the next season begins. The unions have insisted, and rightly, that account be taken of this periodic unemployment in the fixing of wages, but one can easily imagine the state of mind of the workers who realize that immediately after a few weeks of employment they will be set adrift again to shift for themselves. Obviously, as long as styles and seasons govern the selection of women's fashions there will be some seasonal depression, but obviously, also, this can be overcome to a certain extent by the process known as "dove-tailing." Dove-tailing means manufacturing staple lines out of season.

2. "Trading down" and deliberate cheapening of fabrics, linings and findings for the sake of meeting a price. While at first glance this might appear to reduce prices, as a matter of fact, this skimping in materials actually has little effect on the final price, and works only to shorten the life of the garment. The few cents saved here and there in the complicated bargainings between buyers and manufacturers and sub-manufacturers and contractors and jobbers and resident buyers and all the army of commercial dependents that hatten on the industry, show only a fraction of a cent saving by the time the garment is offered to the customer, and really mean a great depreciation in the wearing value of the garment.

When a Manufacturer Is Not a Manufacturer

3. "Outside work." There are manufacturers in this amazing industry who are not really manufacturers at all, in the sense that they fabricate anything. They have perhaps a few machines, but the bulk of their work is set out to the sub-manufacturer, who gets his goods, cut or cut-out, from the manufacturer or contractor and makes them up in an outside plant. The sub-manufacturer does not necessarily have his money advanced, and in this he differs from the contractor, who always receives the goods cut up, and who always has his money advanced. Again, the manufacturer need know nothing about distribution methods. In most instances the selling is done entirely by jobbers, who take the whole output of factories. Although in this industry it is difficult to discover even the conventional reasons that are given for the existence of the jobber or middleman, i. e. the rendering of warehouse service, national merchandising, etc., those who know will tell you that the jobbers are coming to control the industry. Even the laymen can appreciate the fact that when a garment has gone such a tortuous course, with every one taking toll, a very substantial sum has been industry that today in New York City alone 55,000 workers in the cloak lines are employed in 2,300 shops. Why not in 200 shops? Imagine the colossal saving to the consumer.

The Art of "Creating" Designs

4. Cheapening of the art of design by slavish imitation. "Designer" is a fine, soul-satisfying word that brings to mind the patient craftsman in his studio or workshop, the creative spirit of the days of the old guilds and all that sort of thing. As a matter of fact, the run of designers in the business today would be more at home in a private detective's office than a workshop. They seem to consider that they have done their jobs and justified the high salaries paid them when they have gone sleuthing in various disguises along Fifth Avenue. Once their eyes light upon a design in a smart Fifth Avenue shop they come galloping back to the manufacturer in a fine frenzy. Then the machines start up and inevitably the one or two really remarkable details of construction that gave the original gown its distinction are omitted, because it is cheaper to omit them, or because the designer's hurried glance failed to appreciate them. Finally, the finished garment is on the model ready to be photographed for the catalog and taken up by the champing salesman. In bursts the designer with a brand-new model—"A sure hit this time!"—"It will knock the hicks for a pool!" He has just seen it in Madame Blah's show-rooms, and the first model is thrown in the discard and the whole show begins again. Cost money? Well, rather. But what's the difference? We must have the latest and the consumer will always pay.

High Cost of Retailing

5. Outrageously high costs of retailing. This subject deserves a separate paper to do it justice. Look over the competitive advertising in your evening paper. Figure the money spent on store rents, lighting, window-trims, "fixins" that add nothing to the service the store might render, but are various forms of cosmetics and pullerins, and you will real-

ize why the average department store cannot handle a ready-to-wear dress, for example, at anything less than 50 per cent profit "and make it worth while," and why a specialty shop must have a hundred per cent, and even higher profit.

Those "Union Fallers"

And for all of this you ladies pay. What do the manufacturer and sub-manufacturer and contractor and jobber and resident buyer and commission resident buyer and retail buyer and retail advertising expert and retail window-trimmer—what do they all say in one long breath when you ask them what is wrong with the women's wear industry? That's easy. The answer is always the same, "Labor and the ladies." They tell you, without smiling, that seasonal depressions that send thousands on thousands in this industry out onto the streets for weeks every year in search of other occupations to tide them over until the next season are due to "labor agitators," "union fallers," who must call strikes every so often to keep their jobs. Now, as a matter of fact, every one who knows the Labor Movement from the Movement to Abolish the Dumping of Garbage on Riverside Drive, knows that the various costume unions have done more to advance the cause of constitutional government in industrial relations than any other group in the country. They have shown a readiness for conference that is amazing, in view of the provocations they have faced. No matter what his

views on labor in general, I have never met an informed person who did not speak with the highest regard of the integrity and intelligence of the leaders of labor in this industry. One need only mention their names to be certain of this inevitable tribute.

It's Up to the Ladies

So it seems to be up to the ladies. Is it true, then? Do you really want the industry that clothes you to be in this state of constant upheaval? Are you really anxious to support a small host of middlemen so that they may go home to their Upper West Side apartments every night in their limousines? They tell us that it is because you are so insistent on having nothing but the latest and smartest that the seasonal production charts look like a relief map of the Rocky Mountains.

Some of these questions no writer but a woman can answer. The one who does not pretend to be a "style-expert." It is merely his humble opinion that the style-experts aren't what they claim to be, and that what the women's wear industry needs right now is expert advice of another sort. It needs, for example, to justify some of the prices it has been charging, some of the practices it has been indulging in.

Some day the workers will take this industry over on a co-operative basis. Speed that day. But until it comes there is no law against making dresses at home, no reason why added to the final cost.

(Labor Age, March, 1922)

Hours of Labor in the Iron and Steel Industry

The latest report of the U. S. Department of Labor through its Bureau of Labor Statistics on conditions in the iron and steel industry, now in the hands of the printer, shows that a considerable change was made in the hours of labor of employees between 1910 and October, 1920, the date of the last figures in the report. The report is based on data obtained at representative plants in the industry.

In 1910 12 hours per day were commonly worked by employees in the principal productive occupations of all departments, except sheet and tinplate mills and puddling mills, and by a few highly skilled Bessemer converter employees.

It should, however, be thoroughly understood that 12 hours per day on duty does not always mean 12 hours of continuous labor.

In blast furnaces the nature of the process demands continuous operation. In this department of the industry, in addition to the 12-hour day the 7-day week was generally in force in 1910, making 84 hours on duty per week. In many plants it was, and is, customary to divide the 24 hours into shifts of 10 and 14 hours, 11 and 13 hours, or some other combination, but as employees alternate shifts weekly their average became 12 hours per day.

In 1910, according to the bureau's figures, 75 per cent of the employees in blast furnace productive occupations worked an average of 84 hours per week, but in that year various relief systems began to be introduced which gave many employees one free day each week, so that by 1915 only 41 per cent of all blast furnace employees were regularly working 7 days of 12 hours each, and in 1920 the percentage was reduced to 29. The 12-hour day was worked for 6 days per week by a considerable number of the remaining employees in both 1910 and 1915, and no one worked less than 9 hours per day. In 1920 the 8-hour day was worked by 11 per cent of all blast furnace em-

ployees for 6 days per week, and by 23 per cent for 6 and 7 days alternately, in addition to the 29 per cent noted above as still working 12 hours per day on 7 days per week, making 63 per cent working 12 hours per day, 7 or 6 days per week.

However, a very notable change had taken place by the limited introduction of the 8-hour day, which was worked by 17 per cent of the employees in 1920 for 7 days per week, and by 1 per cent for 6 days. The introduction of the 56-hour week, therefore, appears as a concomitant to the diminishing 84-hour week.

In 1920 among open-hearth furnace employees 30 per cent were on an 8-hour basis as compared with 1 per cent in 1910. This reduced the 12-hour workers in open-hearth furnaces correspondingly from about 89 per cent in 1910 to about 50 per cent in 1920. One-third of all open-hearth furnace employees habitually worked 7 days per week.

Work in puddling mills—carried on only 5 days, or 6 days and 5 nights, per week, and puddles, bushers, and members of the muck rolling crews work little more than 9 hours per day. In 1920 all told, 65 per cent of puddle mill employees worked less than 60 hours per week, 20 per cent worked an 8-hour day, and an equal number, laborers and unskilled employees chiefly, worked 7 1/2-hour day.

The 7-day week has been rare in the several classes of rolling mills during the 11-year period, except in Blooming Mills, and the 12-hour day has prevailed much less in all rolling mills than in the iron smelting and steel making departments. Among sheet and tinplate mill employees less than 10 per cent worked 12 hours per day in 1920, and from 60 to 70 per cent were on 8-hour shifts. The average weekly hours of hot-mill crews in these two departments are either 48 1/2 or 45 1/2, that is, the three shifts work either 4, 5, and 5, or 5, 5, and 5 turns per week.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

PEACE IN THE CLOAK INDUSTRY

Independence Day this year was a double holiday to the cloakmakers of New York and of the entire country. It brought to them the great news that the dispute between the Cloakmakers' Union, on the one hand, and the Manufacturers' Protective Association on the other, has finally been straightened out, and that the only question that remains today is: When will the season in the industry begin and the period of stagnation come to an end?

The understanding reached between the Union and the Protective Association is the result of a long series of conferences held in the course of the last six weeks. And great as the result of these conferences is for the Union, it does not surprise us in the least. It simply could not be otherwise. The majestic persuasiveness back of every argument of the representatives of the Union at these conferences has made no other outcome possible. The employers were compelled, under the force of this logic, to give up, one after another of their demands, until it finally became clear to all conferees that the thing to do is to renew the old agreement under all the work standards contained therein: Week-work, the 44-hour work week, the old wage scale, pay for legal holidays, etc.

It is hardly necessary for us to emphasize what all this means for the 55,000 cloakmakers in New York City, and for the workers in the cloak industry all over the country in a material sense. This remarkable achievement stands out in even greater sense. This remarkable achievement stands out even in greater relief in days like the present, when the epidemic of wage-cutting and of so-called "industrial reconstruction" is still raging from coast to coast. Surely, our workers will understand that under present conditions the renewal of the old agreement, with all its former clauses means a great deal more than "status quo." For, if it is true, as it is alleged from various sources, that the purchasing power of the dollar has materially increased of late, it would mean that the retention of the former scale of wages would spell a net practical increase of the earnings. It goes without saying that our workers have learned from experience that wages are not actually determined by the amount of cash received in the form of pay, but by the amount of commodities obtainable for the dollar.

And as we see how everywhere the number of work hours is being increased, how the work systems are being changed to the detriment of the workers, and how the men and women of labor are compelled to tolerate these inroads upon their living standards in helpless silence, the fact that we have retained the work standards of 1919 must be considered as a majestic and outstanding achievement. We must not for a moment forget that in 1919, when we had fought for and won these work standards, times—in an economic and moral sense—were decidedly on our side. Today the country is, economically and spiritually, so to say, against us, and we have no one to thank for our victory but ourselves, our own adamant will, our own determination not to concede the least of the positions we have won.

Is it necessary to dwell more upon the great moral significance of this victory, or could such a victory be imagined had our leadership failed to muster such an immense moral force under the circumstances? If the leadership of our Union would have fallen under the influence of the disintegrating forces which are at work in most of the industries in the land, including the needle industries, if it hadn't had the ironclad firmness not to permit these demoralizing influences avert it from its road, such results would have been impossible.

No, indeed, we do not believe that it is necessary to emphasize this point much longer. If our great membership fails to appreciate these outstanding events now it will never be able to grasp their significance. We are convinced, however, that they fully know the meaning and importance of what is transpiring today in our industry and we shall proceed, therefore, to another point which is equally as pertinent at the present moment.

THE DANGER OF EASILY WON VICTORIES

It can hardly be disputed that what concerns the rank and file of our cloakmakers, their victories in the past have come to them with comparative ease. It is a matter of record that since the strike of 1916 the cloakmakers of New York have had no great fight to wage for the existence of their Union, and for all the rights and benefits which they have acquired since. Thanks

to the able leadership of the Union, the workers have made all these notable gains without any particular strain on their part. The winning of week-work and of the 44 hours, though it meant a real revolution in the industry, was practically a plaything for the workers. In a few days all was settled, and the majority of the workers returned to the shops as victors. Even the last ten weeks' strike was not fraught with unusual difficulties to the workers. Indeed, during the last few years, the cloakmakers have gone from victory to victory practically without hindrance. The President of the International, together with the other leaders of the Joint Board and of the various locals, have handed to the workers the present conditions in the industry on a silver platter, as it were.

And in this, indeed, there lurks a certain danger to the Union. If everything is being gained for the workers, as if the Union had been a good fairy to them, and things are not won by them, the energy and the initiative of the workers is bound to suffer and weaken. There is bound to arise among them a feeling that things must turn out favorably to them, whether they assert themselves or not. And eventually such a sentiment is bound to take the form of indifference towards the Union. If everything can be done for them without their participation, why be interested in the Union, why come to the meetings of the Union, and why maintain the Union in all its present force and strength? And even when dark and sinister forces are attempting to undermine the Union, it is quite likely that the membership would ignore these attacks and treat them as a negligent effort in the confidence that they cannot in any way hurt or injure their organization.

It is to this danger that we want to draw the attention of our membership. We believe that the time has come when they must abandon all this indifference and take up earnestly the work of combating all who slander and besmirch our Union and our movement.

A New York newspaper, for instance, came out the other day with a cry that President Schlesinger of our International had betrayed our membership by his attitude towards the resolution on Russia at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The man who had devoted his entire life to our interests, who has led you from victory to victory for years, is being proclaimed by a handful of charlatans as a traitor. Is it this a matter that should vitally concern our members? Is Schlesinger indeed a traitor to the Union? If he did "betray" our Union at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, why be silent about it? Why not call protest meetings against this "traitor" and his "treason"? It stands, however, to reason that our members see clearly through all this huge, unmitigated slander of those ugly creatures who are endeavoring to bring demoralization into the ranks of our members. The question, however, still remains unanswered. Why are our members silent about it? Where is their protest against this scandal?

The only explanation for this indifference on the part of our membership is, perhaps, the feeling that the Union cannot be hurt in the least no matter how loud these irresponsibles might bark. Nevertheless, it is our opinion that such an attitude is bound to produce, sooner or later, bad results. Think of it! A man has given up his entire life to the Union, has devoted to it all his gifts and ability and has led the workers successfully to a level of decent and humane living conditions. And now this man is being attacked by a pack of hyenas and the workers would not lift a voice or a finger to defend their leader! Has he given up his energies and strength to these workers in vain and are men of labor really the most ungrateful of the human species? And how will the other loyal and devoted union workers feel when they observe that the great membership remains indifferent at the sight of this outrage?

This indifference in itself is highly dangerous for the future existence and prosperity of our Union. But in addition it must be recorded that there exists in our Union an element which is not only indifferent but is actively on the side of these besmirchers and mudslingers and helps them in their union-smashing work. In that selfsame sheet which daily attacks our International and its leadership, you will find advertisements and announcements from many locals of our International. Moreover, some of these locals have supported this sheet with money from their treasuries, which makes the situation even more grave. For if this be the case, the enemy of our Union is not only outside its ranks but also within.

We warn our members that they must not remain so criminally indifferent to these developments. Both their material and moral interests require that they take greater concern in the affairs of our Union. And we are confident that once they set their minds upon it, they will do everything necessary to protect the honor of their Union and its leadership, safeguard its integrity and conserve its strength.

THE STRIKE OF THE RAILWAY SHOP WORKERS

On July 1st the railway shop workers of the country left their shops and went out on strike against the wage-cuts ordered by the Railway Labor Board.

So far, so good. It is obvious that there is, among the railway workers, at least one important element, about one-half million strong, determined to fight against the unbroken crusade of wage-cutting inaugurated against them some time ago. We are firmly convinced that these strikers will wage their fight with the greatest energy and resistance and that they will bother little about the statement of Mr. Ben Hooper, the Chairman of the Railway Labor Board, who "outlawed" the strikers and declared that the men who take their places are not scabs.

The A. F. of L. and Its Radical Critics

By D. N. SHUB

Every year, on the eve of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, there arises in our radical press a hue and cry: "Reaction is here!" "Reaction is winning!" Most of our Socialists and inter-denominational radicals, to be sure, interest themselves very little with what occurs within the American labor movement all year around and the problems that come up at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Their entire interest in the convention is limited to the question of immigration, industrial unionism and the fighting between the so-called "radicals" and "conservatives" at the convention. When you ask the average radical critic of the A. F. of L. about the various jurisdictional questions which agitate the unions of the Federation, or about the mining or metal departments of the Federation, or about any of the great unions that are still outside the fold of the Federation, or even about the actual number of members in the Federation, they extend blissful ignorance about it.

On the other hand, you will very seldom find a radical critic who has not ready at the tip of his tongue the number of votes cast at the last Federation convention, for instance, for the recognition of the Russian Soviet regime, or who will fall to tell you what the radical candidate who ran or wanted to run against Gompers, or who of the Jewish delegates at the convention had sinned by voting for Samuel Gompers as President of the Federation. Big of all the questions at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor that interest our radical public most, is the question of the administration, or, better to say, the Gompers problem, surely occupies the most prominent place. Gompers, in the eyes of most of the deep-red and pink radicals is reaction incarnate, the symbol of densest darkness, and his role in the American labor movement is, in the opinion not only of the official communists but also of those who are meandering in the twilight zones of communism, negative and harmful in every respect.

Only not so long ago, the American Federation of Labor used to be

This the strikers themselves will have to determine and their determination in this matter will be final whether Mr. Hooper and the entire press like it or not.

The only weak point about this strike is that it was declared so far by the shop men only and that their cessation from work has so far not had any effect on the railroads. Trains are running regularly and will continue to run for some time until the railroad owners will begin to feel the pinch of this walkout.

The president of the Railway Shop Men's Union is of the opinion that the effect of the strike will be felt in a few days. The railway executives, however, think differently and only the future will show which of the two is correct. Meanwhile, however, there exists the danger that the strike might lose a great deal of its driving power before its effect on the railway situation is felt.

Had the other railway workers come out together with the shopmen, there would have been little doubt of the outcome of the strike. It would have been won in advance. Unfortunately it was not so. The other workers on the railroads, the engineers, the conductors, the firemen, remained on the job as their wages were not threatened by the Labor Board, and the question arises, Will the shopmen be able to force the railroad executives to capitulate by their strike alone?

Of course, at this moment, it is difficult to foretell future developments. It is quite possible that the railway workers belonging to the Four Brotherhoods will join the struggle, as they must know that if the shopmen lose their own turn will come next. We dare hope that the railway brotherhoods will not prove to be as shortsighted and narrow-minded as they used to be in former years and that they will show by their action that they understand that the fight of the shopmen is their own fight and that it deserves the full moral and material support of every thinking union man and woman in America.

labeled in certain section of the radical press as the "strongest citadel of capitalist reaction in America," and in these circles there was no other name for Gompers but that of "labor faker" and "loyal servant of the capitalist class." Today, however, such talk is heard only from official Communists and even they, at least the more sensible of them, use it only in a figurative sense while in their hearts they themselves hardly believe it. Even the bitterest opponents of Gompers admit today that he is honest in his convictions and is wholeheartedly to the interests of the American labor movement as he understands it. The majority of our radicals, however, will not admit that Gompers represents the will and the mind of the overwhelmingly great majority of organized labor in America. They will admit even less that Gompers is far more radical than the average American trade unionist and that he is not such a reactionary as some radicals would portray him, not only in pure trade union matters but politically as well.

Our radicals believe that if Gompers were defeated by a Socialist, the entire Federation would turn immediately to the "left" and the American labor movement would become a counterpart of the radical labor movement of Europe. Our radical people, therefore, concentrate their entire attention on the fight against the personality of Gompers. A big voice against him at a convention is being proclaimed as a radical event, while the opposition against Gompers is weak and insignificant and he is re-elected. It is regarded as a reactionary and well-nigh hopeless case.

Needless to say that such a conception of the American labor movement is thoroughly false. The trouble with our radicals is that they measure all and everything by the same yardstick and have the same recipe for disorder and all ills. And if one dares to doubt the efficacy of their recipes he is declared not only as a hopeless imbecile but is unhesitatingly branded as one who has "sold out." Most of our radicals, even those who derive their entire Socialist gospel from the columns of the New York "Nation" and the "New Republic," are accustomed to gauge the American labor movement by the European yardstick.

They will not understand that the American labor movement is developing according to its own laws; that the problems which confront the American labor movement are different from the European and must be solved in a totally different manner. Even Karl Marx had pointed out, fifty years ago, that in such countries like England, for instance, the transition from capitalism to socialism would take place in an entirely different manner than in Germany or any other country. Marx, who believed in the inevitability of a social revolution in Germany, had admitted that in England the transformation of society from a capitalist to a socialist state would very likely be achieved in an evolutionary, peaceful way and that the methods that are applied or should be applied in Germany have no application whatever in England.

Our radicals, however, have one proposition for all countries and they would not even admit the thought that one can be a loyal Socialist and still view the social labor movement and its problems differently from the European labor movement. Not only the Communists, but many of the "right" Socialists in America can not still wean themselves away from the idea that the labor movement is not a self-acting phenomenon with an objective of its own but that it is a means for another end. In the eyes of the first, this end is Communism, while the others believe it to be Socialism.

No matter what we may think of the trade union movement and of the role the unions might play in the reconstruction process of society upon Socialist precepts it is time, nevertheless, to quit recognizing the fact once and for all that the object for which unions are formed and maintained by the masses of their members is not to reconstruct society but to improve the condition of the working masses today. Individual leaders and theoreticians of the labor movement will have a right to think and believe that the ultimate aims of the labor movement is the abolition of the wage slavery. They may even write this down in black and white in the by-laws of the trade unions. The working masses who belong to the union, however, care little for the distant future. To them the union is valuable inasmuch as it improves their conditions right here and now, or at least in the very near future.

Such is the point of view with regard to labor unions not only of the

conservative workers of America but also of the Socialist workers of Germany, France and other capitalist countries in Europe. Only in backward countries, where the trade union movement is still in its teens and undeveloped, such as Poland, for instance, the labor bodies devote their time largely not to the present but to the future. There we have Bund unions, Communist unions, Socialist unions, and Catholic unions that fight and wrangle among themselves about the form and the shape of future society. These unions exist principally as adjuncts to the Socialist and Communist parties. Only the select among the workers belong to these unions but not the masses as is the case in America and other highly developed industrial countries.

In the industrial countries, however, where the trade union movement is not sectarian but is a mass movement, the ideal of future society is a private affair in the unions. One may believe that the unions will, in the future, play a big part in the reconstruction of society that will eventually abolish wage slavery; or other may have his doubts about the possibility of a Socialist order and yet remain a good and loyal union man. For, as we already stated, the principal purpose of the trade union movement in these countries is not the achievement of the Socialist paradise but the improvement of the condition of the workers in present-day society; not the distant future, but the present; not tomorrow, but today.

Whoever recognizes the importance of improving the condition of the workers today—and this is recognized now even by the extreme radicals—must accept the trade union movement as it is and judge it inasmuch as it fulfills its own purpose. That union is progressive which can best defend the interests of the workers of a given industry, regardless whether a given industry, regardless whether its secretary or president believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat or not.

Of course, there is a lot to criticize in the American unions just as there is enough to criticize in the unions of other lands. But every honest critic who knows what he is talking about must admit that the American unions, with all their political conservatism, fulfill their direct aim and purpose—the betterment of the condition of their members—and, perhaps even more effectively than some of the radical unions in some European countries. We shall discuss this in our next article.

GRAIN DEALERS FLEECE FARMERS OF \$23,000,000

The Federal Trade Commission has just reported its findings on speculative grain marketing, pursuant to a congressional resolution passed last December through the efforts of Senator Ladd, of North Dakota. The Trade Commission examined the books of all the big grain dealers, with the exception of several Baltimore exporters who refused it access to their records. These investigations revealed that the white-handed gentlemen who "market the farmers' grain" made an average net profit of 58 per cent on their capital stock, surplus and reserves for 1920, and of 50 per cent in 1921. The Commission reports "the average profit of wheat exporters in 1920 was nearly 8¢ a bushel." While the 1921 average was lower, yet some of the concerns "turned their money over more than one hundred times a year." The Trade Commission also found that the grain exporters were so closely joined together that eight large concerns handle more than 50 per cent of our entire wheat exports.

The findings of the Federal Trade Commission show that these few big exporting firms took over \$23,000,000 from the American farmers last year for "marketing their wheat" on a speculative basis. While these speculators were waxing rich without toil, several hundred thousand farmers were going bankrupt. No wonder that farmers by thousands are forming their own co-operative marketing societies, which are already exporting millions of bushels of wheat to the Orient and the big grain markets of Europe. When middlemen get rich gambling in wheat, the farmers and consumers have to pay the bill. The sooner they learn to cut out the middlemen by co-operation, the quicker will prosperity come for both.



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Among the Designers —Local No. 45

By M. GOLDOWSKY

The designers in the ladies' wear industry are waiting impatiently for the settlement in the cloak trade. There is an enormous amount of unemployment at the present time among them and it is hard to recall a year when there was so many designers out of work. The reason is simple: The manufacturers are hesitating to do business in the expectation of the settlement.

We would therefore advise the designers to have a little more patience and less fear. Nothing will happen to the cloak trade, and women's fashions will not go out of existence so quickly. There will be more work for designers than there was before. They must, therefore, cling to their union and remember that they can not stand alone but that together they might lessen the evils of unemployment and all other ills that affect the life of a designer. We have been informed that many small manufacturers, former designers who belong to a certain society, have been seen on Fifth Avenue agitating among the designers that they

could pay dues to the union as they have very little to gain from the coming settlement. To this I have to say the following words:

The demands which the designers have made upon the manufacturers are intended to affect not only their own interests, but the industry in general. If a manufacturer will have to employ a designer in order to stay in the business, he will not be able to drive out of the industry his fellow manufacturer who has always employed a designer. This, in turn, will lead to a strong organization of designers that will be able to control all the shops and will likewise enable the men to make a living without going around selling patterns to sub-contractors or making side jobs.

Keep all this in mind, designers, and help your union to wage the fight for a better existence, higher wages and better treatment of 114 members. Whenever you accept a position with a firm, see to it that the shop chairman is present when the terms are agreed upon so that these terms will be lived up to in the future.

The Custom Dressmakers' Union—Local 90

By I. BERNADSKY

While the season in the private dressmaking trade is not yet at an end signs are not lacking that its days are numbered. The union office, of course, is beginning to feel it first. When it is busy in the shops there are few complaints, as the employers court no trouble with the workers in the midst of the season. But when we become busy in the office and complaints begin to pour in by leaps and bounds, we know that the slack season is at hand.

The complaints that are coming in are of a varied nature. Some are for non-payment for the first of May, which is one of our legal holidays; some are for unequal distribution of work; for discharges; for failure to pay overtime, etc. So far all of these complaints have been settled to the satisfaction of our members. We only wish to call upon our members not to fail to come to the office of the union when they have a real grievance. Do not give the employers the opportunity to think they can do whatever they wish to the workers.

At our last general member meeting on May 27th, the delegate of our local to the Cleveland Convention reported upon the proceedings of the convention.

As known, our local was principally interested in two problems: First, how to organize the non-union custom dressmakers in New York City; secondly, in the so-called "50-50" union shops, that is, the shops where union and non-union workers are employed in different departments, the ladies' tailors working under union conditions and 44 hours and being paid a regular scale of wages, while the dressmakers, in another department are making the same line of work and are working 48 hours a week, without a scale. It is quite natural that the relations between the workers of these departments have been far from friendly. And it is just as natural that the only factor that benefits from this strained relationship is the employer. It is quite usual that when there is trouble in the ladies' tailoring department, that the work is turned over to the dressmaking department, and vice versa.

It is understood that such a state of affairs is harmful to both the ladies' tailors and the dressmakers. And it was for this purpose that a joint committee of both locals, 3 and 90, was formed several months ago to work out plans for the abolition of the "50-50" system in these shops. The committee decided to introduce a resolution to that effect to the convention and our members, at the gen-

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eral meeting, and were glad to learn that the convention adopted this resolution and instructed the incoming General Executive Board to begin a campaign among the unorganized private dressmakers without delay, and also that the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, in renewing the agreements for the ladies' tailors, take care that no agreement be signed with the master tailors unless they include the dressmakers employed by them also.

Our Executive Board has taken up the question of membership meetings and the causes why members do not come as often to meetings as they should. It was decided to call a meeting of chairladies and active members each month and to seek plans of how to interest the members in attending meetings and in aiding the union in its work. At one of the last meetings of our Executive Board the chairlady of our local, Miss Minnie Chaikin, declared that she was compelled to leave the city for the entire summer for the sake of her health and that she must therefore give up her post. The Executive Board accepted this resignation with regrets and at that same meeting drafted one of our most active and loyal members to the union, who was a former chairlady of the local, Miss Tillie Leibowitz, to act in this capacity for the coming term.

We wish to remind our members that several weeks have passed already since they were taxed \$5.00 each for a strike fund. Hundreds of members have already paid this tax and we call upon those who have been delinquent in meeting this debt, not to delay any longer. The union will need this fund soon, as the renewal of our agreement with the employers is at hand and we must be prepared.

To Punish Amnesty Picketing

Washington. — Political prisoners whose wives and children are picketing the White House to secure their release will be penalized by the Administration. Their cases will be held back by the Department of Justice until all other cases have been reviewed and sent to the President with recommendations for or against reduction of sentences to a peace time basis.

This direct threat has been officially conveyed to the leaders of the Children's Crusade in an effort to force abandonment of the picketing campaign, which daily is placing the Administration in a more uncomfortable position. If any threat could accomplish the purpose of those who

made it, this one was calculated to do so.

The leave reply of the Children's Crusade has been given in a continuation of the picketing without let up. When the question was put to them, the crusaders showed no hesitation. The implied promise of early and favorable action on the cases in which they were most interested, if the picketing were dropped, caused no wavering. The unanimous decision was to "go until all are out."

The fact that the Administration, in its effort to check the picketing well in advance of the Congressional elections, has been reduced to extreme measures of this sort serves to convince the leaders of the Crusade that the public pressure upon the President caused by the picketing has been far greater than is indicated by the Administration's outward attitude of indifference.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

"LOYALTY" CHAMPION IS NOW DISCREDITED

Clayton R. Lusk, leader of the New York State Senate majority, and author of so-called loyalty tests, has reached the peak of his popularity and must fight to hold his position. He is one of the original "100 per cent Americans," but he is now charged with mixing his activities as a lawyer with his position as Senate leader.

His "loyalty" test for public school teachers was declared an insult to the teaching profession by the Cincinnati Convention of the A. F. of L.

This test provides that teachers take a special oath of allegiance to the constitution of the United States and of the state, and specifies that a teacher may be dismissed for deficiencies in character or for "disloyalty."

"Exactly what is 'disloyalty,' and who is to be the judge?" asked the A. F. of L. Convention.

"Is it disloyal to discuss possible constitutional changes in our form of government? Many narrow-minded politicians would call it so.

"Is it disloyal to tell the truth about vested interests in industry, or to explain the justification of a strike? Many chambers of commerce would call it so.

"Such laws are not needed to prevent the encouragement of violent revolution, but they do make it possible to prevent any discussion which does not sanctify the status quo. They open the door to all reactionary powers, which can use them to introduce fear and compulsion into public school teaching, to encourage petty administrative tyranny and espionage, and to discourage any form of instruction which might offend the temporarily ruling political machine or commercial interest."

BLACKLIST IN IOWA

A city-wide blacklist operates in Cedar Rapids, according to statements made at the last meeting of the Federation of Labor. Anti-union employers, it is stated, have copies of the blacklist. The Federation of Labor instructed its Executive Board to investigate the matter.

COURT IS AWFUL SACRED

How a group of nine men can be referred as gods was indicated by United States Senator Pepper, of Pennsylvania, in an address to the Bar Association of New Hampshire. The Senator said:

"When somebody attacks American courts in general or the Supreme Court in particular we are moved to resent it almost as we would blasphemy."

The speaker stated that England has placed her supreme trust in Parliament and Parliament has proved to be the palladium of English liberty, but "continued the speaker, 'it is clear to me that nine selected men, with life tenure of office and written constitution to guide them, can safely be trusted to determine the conformity or non-conformity of legislative enactment to the prescriptions of the constitution, and may be allowed the authority to invalidate legislation found to be in conflict therewith.'"

The speech stamps Senator Pepper as ideal Supreme Court timber.

MARKED DECREASE IN WORK HOURS

There has been a general and marked decrease in the prevailing hours of work in the United States in the last ten years, which has had a decided influence on the productivity of American industry, according to studies by the National Industrial Conference Board. This trend has been checked somewhat by the industrial depression and since June, 1920, there has been a tendency for actual working hours to increase.

FIRST FREIGHT REDUCTIONS SINCE 1921

A 10 per cent cut in freight rates on all commodities, except cotton, and approximately 30 per cent on cotton, between Gulf and Atlantic seaboard points, was announced yesterday by the Southern Pacific Company and the Mallory Lines. The new rates go into effect July, and are the first reductions since the blanket increase of 33.3 per cent was granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission and took effect August 20, 1921.

C. OF L. \$4.59 PER CENT HIGHER

In spite of the deflation of prices since the high peak of 1920 was reached, the coming wage-earning families in the United States on May 15 of this year was \$4.9 per cent higher than July, 1914, according to figures made public by the National Industrial Conference Board.

75 PER CENT INCREASE FOR LAUNDRY WORKERS

An average increase of 75 per cent in the minimum wage of women employed in the laundry establishments of the state has been announced by the Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts, the decree to become effective July 1.

CO-OPERATIVE BAKERY OPENS

The Southampton Co-operative Society has opened its new co-operative bakery, costing \$32,000 for building and machinery. The automatic weighing and loaf-making machinery can turn out 1,400 loaves an hour.

CUT DIVIDENDS, NOT WAGES, CANADIAN OFFICIAL SAYS

"I have consistently, and I think irrefutably, taken the position that in periods of depression, such as we are unfortunately experiencing, dividends should be sacrificed before the worker should be compelled to accept less than a living wage," declared Mr. McDougall, mine workers' representative on the Government Conciliation Board, considering the demand of the Nova Scotia mine owners for a drastic wage cut.

The government and employer members of the board, constituting the majority, disagreed with McDougall and approved the wage cut on the ground that the present market price of coal "does not give the mine owners a profit."

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

LORD HALDANE AND BOLSHEVISM

At a labor meeting recently Lord Haldane said he had no intention of being a future Lord Chancellor. He regretted that the Labor Party had not made more electoral progress, adding: "There are people afraid of Bolshevism in the Labor Party. When I see the British democracy I sometimes wish I saw a little more of the Bolshevism."

IN INDIAN PRISONS

The Secretary of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress, Chaman Lal, recently informed the "Daily Herald" that certain cablegrams of his to that journal had been stopped as "objectionable" by the Punjab government. These cablegrams have now been received by mail and published, and it appears from them that the situation in the Punjab is getting no better, and that the government has good reason to suppress their doing, in view of the treatment of the Indian prisoners in the jails.

UNEMPLOYMENT A CRIME

A story of conflict between the unemployed and the police comes from Sheffield. Five hundred unemployed collected to oppose the ejection of an unemployed laborer with a wife and two small children. Anticipating trouble, a large force of police was also present. The unemployed worked their way round into a court at the back of the houses, and the police were then given orders to charge. The men were jammed into the narrow court, the pressure being so great that a solid stone pillar 18 inches by 6 was snapped off at the base. Five men were hurt—one so seriously that he is not expected to live.

At the time only one arrest was made, but since then two Councilors, both representing the unemployed, and six other men, one of whom has frequently represented the unemployed on deputations, have been arrested in connection with the affair. They are charged with assembling with others to disturb the peace and to riot. Considerable difficulty was experienced in securing bail, the Magistrates being very unwilling to allow it.

EDUCATION COMMITTEES' STAND

The annual meeting of the Association of Education Committees rejected all motions calling for a reduction of teachers' salaries and the President-elect declared that he declined to bring any pressure to bear on the teachers to alter in any way the solemn bargain made with them. The cost of living had fallen, but the Burnham scale must be taken as the basic scale which gave teachers what they were entitled to before the war and today.

WAGE CUTS THREATENED TO PRINTERS

The printing trade is threatened with a stoppage owing to the rejection, by ballot, of the Master Printers' proposals to reduce wages by 15s a week for men and 7s 6d for women. This does not affect London newspapers. It is expected that many members of the employers' organizations will refuse to post lockout notices.

GERMANY

EIGHT HOURS IN GERMANY

Investigators employed by the "Iron Age," a paper devoted to the iron industry, report that the eight-hour day is almost universal in the German iron and steel trades.

The eight-hour day was proclaimed by provisional revolutionary decree, it is stated, on November 23, 1918, and although the decree expired on March 31, 1922, it has been prolonged until October, pending the passage of a definite eight-hour bill which is now before the Reichstag.

In case nothing there is a legal maximum seven-hour day. The government lately submitted, under labor pressure, a seven-hour day bill for all underground mining, iron, etc., but this has not been passed, and the most general rule in the iron and steel trades, shipbuilding and allied branches is a 46-hour week.

ITALY

METAL WORKERS CO-OPERATE

By an overwhelming majority, the National Council of the Italian Metal Workers' Federation, meeting at Genoa, decided to call a national strike. This action is taken in support of the metal workers of Lombardy, who struck ten days ago against a wage cut. It was decided that the Strike Committee should keep in touch with the Labor Alliance, and consider jointly the advisability of giving a national basis if necessary to the metal workers' struggle.

AUSTRIA

TROUBLED WATERS

Wild rumors circulate in Vienna, in consequence of the new crash of the Austrian crown to the fantastic rate of 100,000 to the pound sterling, and of the fantastic rise in prices. The government will introduce drastic financial legislation at Tuesday's session of Parliament. Feeling among workers is reaching a high pitch, and it was only with difficulty that labor leaders, hastily summoned yesterday, succeeded in preventing a proletarian march upon the West End, which might have entailed grave consequences.

The question of "Amsterdam or Moscow?" was answered at the International Union of Woodworkers at the second day of their Congress here. By 89 votes to 11, the resolution was passed. The government will introduce drastic financial legislation at Tuesday's session of Parliament. Feeling among workers is reaching a high pitch, and it was only with difficulty that labor leaders, hastily summoned yesterday, succeeded in preventing a proletarian march upon the West End, which might have entailed grave consequences.

Educational Comment and Notes

The Potency of Labor Education

As Given Delivered Before the Second Annual Conference of the Workers' Education Bureau of America

By DR. CHARLES A. BLAIRD

More than half a century ago Thomas Carlyle exclaimed: "Universal democracy, whatever we may think of it, has declared itself as an inevitable fact of the days in which we live; and he who has any chance to instruct or lead in his days must begin by admitting that." If the stormy old sage were alive today he would no doubt hail the modern labor movement as a fact immense, inexorable, indubitable, and would warn all governing persons in their several spheres to take heed of it; for did he not say: "All true work is sacred; in all true work, were it but true hand labor, there is something of divineness. Labor, wide as the earth, has its sanctity in heaven. Sweat of the brow and up from that to sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart, which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all sciences, all spoken epics, all acted heroisms, martyrdoms—up to that agony of bloody sweat," which all men have called divine. . . . Look up, my wearied brother; surviving there, they alone surviving; sacred band of the immortal, celestial bodyguard of the empire, mankind." Labor, fact indubitable. "No man can roof his clouds and moonshine, so as to turn the rain from him." Labor movement, also facts indubitable—fact new, authentic, and obscure. Some trade unions flourish and decay. Labor parties appear and disappear and come again. But the labor movement, in its numerical strength, in the power of its organization, in the force of its ideas, in the circulation of its periodicals, in the range of its activities, gains momentum from year to year. The reorganized and federated, most of them in a world-wide society of labor.

There are now organized in the several industrial countries more than thirty million trade unionists and in some form or other federated internationally or having a common policy, politic and purpose.

It is often said that "history repeats itself," and as I turn over and over the pages of the old record I am more and more impressed with the profound truth in that saying; but the modern labor movement is something novel in the history of empires and states. There were guilds in the middle ages and in ancient Rome; but they were mainly local organizations and far different in character from the modern labor movement. Modern trade unionism has no roots in the guilds of the old days. There was nothing like it in any of the nations of antiquity. If you will read Davis' remarkable book on "Wealth in Ancient Rome" and Fowler's fascinating work on "Roman Society," you will discover that the capitalistic system of Rome was very much like our own. There were great merchants and manufacturers in those old days. The Appian Way was lined with the banking houses that did business with the uttermost parts of the empire—with London and Alexandria. There were artists, physicians, architects, artisans; there were lords and ladies with their beautiful country estates scattered up and down the fair coasts of Italy. Sometimes there were great, fearful servile revolts in

which slaves from Roman fields wreaked a terrible vengeance on those who held them in bondage; but there was nothing like the modern labor movement—with its organization, its government, its press, and its philosophies.

The labor movement is a fact that will not be denied. It is not necessary to go into prophecy. There are some who believe that labor will play a role in the future comparable to that played in the past by the military caste, the landed aristocracy, and the capitalist class. That is a speculation. But in the realm of historic fact we have seen labor, organized as the only coherent force that could act as a receiver for the bankrupt German empire and save it from falling into chaos. I pass no judgment upon the quality of that something else. The fact, however, is significant for those that have eyes to see. Who will act for receiver for the defeated nations in the Tenth World War? Is an interesting subject for speculation?

Neither do I care to pass judgment upon the merits of the various creeds proposed as the one and only philosophy of the labor movement. Whether labor a hundred years from now will be discussing hours, wages, and injunctions, or something else, is a matter that no amount of dreaming can determine. The worthy creeds of mankind have little effect upon the main course of things, because life is so full of unforeseen events and crises that no philosophy can prepare and determine decisions in advance. The Russian communists had a philosophy, and they preached it in season and out; but it did not carry them to power. A World War, a bankrupt Tsardom, a revolt started, it seems, by allied forces, a discontented peasantry, and a war-weary nation, enabled them to get possession of the trappings of state.

In our individual lives, our course of action seems as much determined by things that are thrust upon us by unforeseen circumstances as by our little plans and schemes. So in the labor movement. Having its roots far down in the life of millions of people, being interwoven with the very fibre of industrialism, it partakes of the character of a huge natural process, swinging forward under the stress of relentless circumstances that will not be denied. It may have a neat little philosophy, like that of Marx, or it may laugh at all philosophies and think mainly of hours and wages. Still, in the modern world, crises are forced upon it by circumstances not of its own making, and it is compelled to make momentous decisions on matters unrelated to collective bargaining. The labor movement, in the modern sense, is barely fifty years old. But think of the crises not made by labor leaders but by force. Can we doubt that in the future—in the long sweep of centuries—labor will have to make decisions and take actions more fraught with human destiny than any thus far taken?

Therein lies, in my opinion, the significance of the labor education movement: It has manifold functions to perform. Somewhat strictly confined, the labor college has a function in training leaders—men and women who are to handle the tech-

nical and difficult problems that arise in collective bargaining. There is a great field, not yet fully appreciated, it seems. I do not mean to say that any kind of education can make a leader out of a person with no natural qualifications; but, owing to the complicated character of modern labor bargains, there is an imperative demand for highly specialized knowledge which could be organized and imparted by competent labor colleges.

There is a second function, somewhat wider in scope, which might be undertaken by these colleges. The American Federation of Labor has consistently refused to endorse the idea of a separate labor party; but an examination of the reports of the annual convention reveals the fact that the Federation has from time to time taken a stand upon certain matters of public policy. There are also other issues which are the subject of continuous debates at the annual conventions. Would it not contribute to the wisdom and understanding of the rank and file to have all these problems judiciously analyzed and fairly treated in courses offered by the labor colleges?

Finally, come those larger matters related to citizenship in this republic. Labor is forced from time to time to take a position on large questions of national policy—foreign relations, domestic controversies, economic measures, and constitutional changes. There are always many people ready to offer quick and simple remedies. Many philosophies will be expounded, and many skeletons will be rattled, and many revelations will be offered. But infallibility is not given to mortal man or mortal woman for that matter. Therefore, the best we can do is to bring to bear upon each decision all the pertinent and available facts that throw light upon it. That may seem somewhat prosaic, but I believe that it holds more of promise than a multitude of creeds. There is another great function to be carried out by the labor colleges.

Here I take leave of my theme. Labor movement, indubitable fact. Knowledge, power and our best hope. Is that not a program broad enough to bring together many people with many opinions in a work of such transcendent importance that our little minds cannot grasp its full significance?

An Estimate of the Importance of the Educational Leadership of the I. L. G. W. U.

By FANNIA M. COHN

One of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, who is a student of the labor movement, and who is very well informed regarding its history and problems, said to the writer:

"When your organization, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, sponsored Labor Education at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and expressed itself willing to make the experiment for the American labor movement, we were doubtful whether your organization, which is radical and the majority of whose members are of foreign birth, should be entrusted with this great task.

"But gradually your organization succeeded in having the American labor movement at its conventions give consideration to your work and in having a special committee appointed to investigate it, and give a favorable report on it. After we watched your work carefully, looked over your outlines, considered your plan and policy, your work was not only endorsed and approved by the American labor movement, but it was accepted—the principle of the necessity of workers' education within

trade unions, together with your plan and your method of teaching.

"And you succeeded in making the convention provide for a permanent Educational Committee appointed by the A. F. of L.

"The movement for workers' education within trade unions that is of such paramount importance to the American labor movement will always be identified with your union as the pioneer that had the vision to start it and the ability to make the experiment a success, and the willingness to finance it. Isn't that a great compliment to your organization?"

"As added that although he doubts whether results will be noticed before another twenty-five years, it is a great work that had to be started by some one. I feel that those of the members of our organization who had the patience that comes with vision to support this work and pay the price of the pioneer should congratulate themselves and be proud of the fact that it was the good fortune of our organization to give an intellectual and spiritual meaning to the American trade unions.

Students' Council Arranges Excursion Sunday, July 23d

The Students' Council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers, inspired by the success of their previous hikes and outings, went into a bigger "venture" and arranged an excursion for July 23.

For this purpose a private yacht was chartered by them for our members only. It is only regrettable that the yacht can accommodate no more than seventy persons, which means that so many of our members who are desirous to join in this pleasant trip on the Hudson in most inspiring company will be unable to do so.

But those of our members who are interested in the enterprises of our Students' Council and are eager to join us on our private trip up the Hudson on July 23 will act wisely if they will at once place their reservations by paying \$1.50 either to the office of our Educational Department,

3 West 16th Street, or at the Unity House, 135 Lexington Avenue, where they will place their reservations with the Raffoff Sisters.

The \$1.50 will include passage, entertainment and soft drinks. RESERVATIONS MUST BE MADE AT ONCE!

BABY CLINIC OPENS THIS WEEK AT THE UNION HEALTH CENTER

The baby clinic of the Union Health Center, 131 E. 17th Street, opens July 8. Members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are urged to bring their children to the clinic and keep them healthy throughout the summer by having frequent physical examinations.

Open daily from 9 A. M. to 12 noon.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

(Minutes of Meeting, June 21, 1922)

Brother Berlin is Chair

Brother Lawrence Dwyer, representing the United Mine Workers of America, appeared before the Board on behalf of the striking miners in West Virginia, and in an elaborate speech pictured to the members assembled the conditions prevailing in West Virginia previous to the calling of the present strike. He sketched the control of the coal barons of the very life of the community from the operators' stores to the churches, clubs, etc. Even the priests are hirelings of the coal owners, and as for Sheriffs, Deputies and other supposed representatives of the government of this country, it is an open secret today that all these were in the employ of the mine employers.

It was these conditions, Brother Dwyer explained, which led the miners to organize themselves as a part of the Union of the United Mine Workers of America. When the miners went out on strike the coal operators immediately started a procedure of evicting the strikers and their families from the company-owned homes. It was fortunate that the miners owned a piece of land upon which they were able to build tents and thus house the miners and their families. These tent colonies were attacked more than once by these so-called "deputy sheriffs," and in more than one instance such attacks were followed by fatalities on the miners' side. Brother Dwyer then enumerated the incidents which led to the armed resistance of the miners, and later the arrest and trial of many of their number. He concluded with an appeal to the Joint Board for financial aid in order to enable them to feed the families of the strikers and to combat the stubborn stand of the coal operators.

Upon motion the request of Brother Dwyer was referred to the Board of Directors.

Brother Hudens, of the "Labor Age," appeared before the Board, requesting first: that we donate \$25 to the "Labor Age," for which, in turn, we will receive twelve subscriptions; and, second, that we appoint a member of our Board to be represented on the "Labor Age."

Upon motion, the request of the "Labor Age" was referred to the Board of Directors.

The recommendations of the Board of Directors of June 15 read as follows:

1. Brothers Miller and Goldberg, who were employed by the DeLite Dress Company, requested that they be employed by this firm when they will have cloth dresses to make. It was brought out that above said brothers worked in the shop when it was not organized. In the course of time the Union succeeded in organizing this shop, and Brother Goldberg was appointed shop chairman. Upon an investigation, it was found that in the operating department there is a dual system of work which the chairman failed to report to the office of the Union. He furthermore failed to urge upon the workers in the shop to become Union members.

The recommendation of the Board of Directors is to refer the request of Brothers Goldberg and Miller to the office.

2. Miss Grelick, employed in the clerical department, in a letter, informed the Board that upon the advice of her physician, she is obliged to take an eight-week vacation.

Therefore, she requested the Board to grant her permission for a leave of absence.

The Board, considering the decision recently adopted to eliminate part of the clerical staff, therefore decided to inform Miss Grelick accordingly.

3. A communication was received from the "Freiheit," asking for support, and offering publicity. Upon motion, it was decided to leave the above matter in abeyance.

4. Brother Horowitz, Manager of the Association Department, reported that the shops of the Association Department were divided into nine districts. Arrangements were made that seven business agents should go out with the clerks of the Association on complaints only, while two business agents were assigned to make visits only and to see that the agreement is lived up to, and that the members are in good standing. In connection with same, Brother Horowitz stated that a letter was sent to all the shop chairmen requesting them to urge upon the workers in the shops that they always have their Union cards with them, as the Union cards are to be presented to the Union officer whenever he visits the shops. A letter was sent to the shop chairmen regarding vacations for our members.

Brother Horowitz further reported that recently there have been a great number of disagreement cases between the chief clerks, and same had to be referred to an impartial chairman.

Brother Horowitz further reported that the Association granted vacations to its clerks, and the clerks will start on their vacations beginning Monday, June 19. Due to this, some of our business agents will be left without a clerk of the Association, and therefore will not be able to go out on cases. Upon motion, it was decided that the officers of the Joint Board in charge should make arrangements as to vacations for the people working for the Joint Board.

The following communication was received from the Jewish People's Relief Committee:

"Herewith you will find our receipt No. 9168 for the sum of \$1,725.92, representing shop collections which you have made for our tool campaign.

"In the name of all those brethren of ours who are waiting for us to help them rehabilitate their shattered lives, we extend to you our heartfelt thanks and appreciation for your kind and ready assistance.

"Sincerely yours,
(Signed) "B. ZUCKERMAN,
"General Manager."

Brother Berlin, in the name of the Joint Board, expressed thanks to all those volunteers who helped make the "Tag Day" a success.

Upon motion, a committee, consisting of Brothers Berlin, Mackoff, Halperin, Hochman and Horowitz, was appointed to co-operate with the committee of Local 66 to work out the necessary changes in the contract to be entered into with the embroidery shops, which will take effect August 1.

Brother Berlin reported on behalf of the sub-committee which was appointed to work out the quota of business agents each local is entitled to.

According to the figures, the locals

are to pay to the Joint Board the following pro rata share:

Local 10	6.6
Local 12	48.0
Local 25	9.2
Local 60	4.8

Local 66	5.6
Local 89	25.8

It being understood that after July 1, when the new census will be taken, the pro rata share of Local 22 will be much smaller.

It Happens Even in Our Midst

By THERESA WOLFSON

There were two of them on that committee, the one, a worn-out, round-shouldered man, old before his time, with large, bright eyes and deep hollow cheeks. The other a young woman of twenty-five, also shop-worn, but with that peculiar type of Russian-Jewish beauty that mingled sadness with a keen love of life. They were sent from a large shop on 28th Street, where they had both worked for many years; they represented the workers in their shop and they had a strange story to tell.

About four years ago there came to their shop a young Russian girl; she was only 21, full of the joy of life, love, and health and youth. They welcomed her spirit into their midst and worked side by side with her for two years. They watched her gradually lose her enthusiasm and brightness, as they had done, some years before, but even so she was still the liveliest of the shop, and the joy of her fellow workers.

One day something happened, the girl was stricken with "sleeping sickness." What a mysterious thing was this sleeping sickness! For two years a girl had consumed all her energy, had burned her life flame down to a mere ember, and then suddenly nature compelled her to sleep! Day after day, night after night the girl slept—a curious blank expression came over her features—a tiredness, a sort of resignation. She had no relatives here in America—she had but a few friends, but then there were her fellow workers in the shop! They could not stand idly by and see their companion fade away into un-

consciousness. So a shop meeting was called and a plan was devised by which each worker must contribute a per cent of their wages to a fund to be used for the girl. Then they could call "Professors," "Doctors," pay hospital bills, and bring her back to their midst.

For two years the workers in this shop contributed to the fund—gladly, hopefully, certain that she would return to them.

Over four thousand dollars were raised and spent—and the girl received the best of care, saw the best doctors, and was even sent to the country in the hope that she might regain her strength.

And then came the strike—the workers had no money, for it was a long, hard strike, and they were helpless. The girl no longer slept, she could not sleep, but she could not move, either, for she had become paralyzed. The paralysis was slowly creeping through her body, stretching its tentacles around her brain. She was losing the keenness of mind, she had long ago lost the light from her eyes; she was becoming an "incurable." The workers who came to visit her felt helpless, they had sacrificed so much, and yet the fates had tricked them. What could they do? Their own wives and children had no food or money, and they were at the end of their rope.

And so they sent a committee of two to the Health Center to see what could be done, they had given their all and could give no more! And we, what could we do, the case was "an incurable"—no funds, no hope!

PEGGY UDELL'S WEIRD WEDDING



The Pretty Follies Girl Tells How She and Jack Montgomery Taxied All Night To Find An Obliging Clergyman. But the Millionaire School Boy in a Suit To Annul the Marriage Swears He Was Vamped and Befuddled and Didn't Know He Was a Bridegroom

ONLY IN NEXT SUNDAY'S NEW YORK **Sunday American**

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

CLOAK AND SUIT

The situation in the Cloak and Suit Industry has not as yet been fully settled, but it is understood that an agreement between the union and both manufacturers' associations will be reached in the very near future. The matter between the union and the Manufacturers' Protective Association has been left to the sub-committee consisting of Brothers Schlesinger and Feinberg and Attorney Morris Hillquit for the union, and Messrs. Jablow and Lachman and Attorneys Klein and Steuer representing the association.

The main question that the organization is interested in is the elimination of the so-called "social shops." These shops generally run between four and six machines and consist of a few operators, a presser and a cutter who, although members of their respective locals and very often attending the union meetings, are nevertheless members of the firm. These people do not consider themselves workers in the full sense of the word, i. e., they do not work for a fixed salary and do not work the regular hours that union men should work. The intention of these people generally is to get in as much work as they possibly can produce, irrespective of the number of hours they work, thereby competing very keenly with the legitimate manufacturer who has to pay the regular scale of wages and work the regular amount of hours. The competition caused by the existence of these shops, constitutes a menace to the trade, and it is of interest to both sides, the union as well as the association, to see that these shops are eliminated.

A plan has therefore been devised, whereby a general strike of the entire industry will be called. Only those shops which are considered legitimate, i. e., those that employ a certain number of operators, cutters, pressers and members of the various other crafts, will be settled with and the workers of these shops returned to work, while those people who are working in the "social" or corporation shops will not be allowed to return to work and will be distributed among the settled shops, as a means of eliminating the corporation shop.

Among the demands presented by the association to the union, aside from reduction of wages, is the demand that the cutters should be permitted to work day work or hour work, the same as the other crafts of the industry are working at the present time, whereas, originally the cutters working in Protective-houses were not permitted to work day work, and if a cutter came in to work on a Monday, he was entitled to a full week's wages. This request of the Association was flatly turned down by the union's representatives.

As far as the question of a reduction in wages is concerned, the contention of our representatives was that the employment period of our industry is such that it does not yield sufficient earnings for a man to earn a livelihood. On the other hand the Association did not want to grant a specified number of weeks' work, whereby a decent livelihood should be made possible. Statistics have been presented by the union, proving our contention so far as the length of employment and average earnings are concerned. The Association has also prepared statistics to that effect, but attempting to prove just the opposite. No definite conclusion was reached in this matter, but an understanding was arrived at to the effect that a commission be appointed which should go into the

matter very thoroughly and bring in a report by December 1st, when the question of wages will again be taken up. Should no agreement have been reached by that time the entire question of a reduction in wages will be referred to a board of arbitration.

The conferences with the American Association are still in progress, the managers of the various locals constituting the conference committee of the union. The outcome of these conferences will be reported to the membership from time to time.

The union is also conferring with the Jobbers' Association, the main issue between the two being that all the work which the members of this association give out to contractors shall be sent to union shops only. No trouble is expected from this source and an amicable understanding undoubtedly will be reached. The union will in the future pay more attention in this direction than it has in the past and a special department for this association will be organized.

A special Out-of-Town Department will also be created, and it is the opinion of the union officials that the organization of these two departments and the understanding with the association, as has been mentioned above, will also help to eliminate the "social" or corporation shop.

MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to having denied an application for an injunction, the firm of M. Kaufman, manufacturer of bath robes, of 110 West 23rd Street, a shop controlled by the Miscellaneous Joint Board, the firm may see its manager, Henry Zucker, cited before the Grand Jury for perjury for having falsely caused the arrest of two innocent workers.

Zucker will be remembered by the members of the miscellaneous branches as a former officer of one of the locals comprising the Joint Board. Upon severing his connections with the union he became Manager of H. Kaufman and almost at once inaugurated a campaign in the shop for the lowering of labor standards. He went so far as to compel the union to call a strike.

Thinking that he knew the "ropes" of the union better than other labor hating employers and their benchmen, Zucker got the firm to apply for an injunction. After a number of weeks, during which time the court was studying the case, a decision was finally given out affirming the right of the workers to strike, which meant that the firm was denied the injunction.

Not satisfied with the defeat, Zucker, the instigator of the injunction proceedings, made another attempt to attack the union and this time at the expense of two workers of the shop.

The ex-union official and present defender of the rights of the down-trodden employing class, caused the arrest of the two workers and entered what was in effect a charge of assault. Zucker swore in an affidavit that the workers, employees of M. Kaufman, assaulted him. The men were each held in \$500 bail in a lower court.

While the case was held for the higher court, Zucker saw that his frame-up would fail and made an effort to have the case squashed. He succeeded in getting one of the two men to tell his lawyer not to try his case. The second worker refused to do this and insisted that he would have his lawyer press it. Zucker's object was, apparently, to get his own lawyer, who probably would attempt to have the case thrown out.

In spite of Zucker's attempts to withdraw from the trial the case came up. During the course of the trial Zucker admitted that he was not sure as to whether the men he had arrested were guilty. In the lower court, however, Zucker had sworn that he was struck by both men. Fol-

lowing a brief cross-examination, it developed that it was a frame-up and one of the Justices sitting at the trial said that Zucker ought to be sent up for ten days for perjury. The Justices then suggested that the matter should be referred to the Grand Jury because it was evident that Zucker's testimony was plainly one of perjury.

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Members of Local 10

ATTENTION!

Beginning July 1, 1922, working cards for the new season must be secured; and those having working cards should have them renewed. Failure to comply with these instructions will be subject to action by the Executive Board.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Monday, July 10th
 Cloak and Suit Monday, August 7th
 General Monday, July 24th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

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