

"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. V, No. 32.

New York, Friday, August 3, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

## DRESS AND CLOAK LOCALS UNITED IN ONE JOINT BOARD

Final Act Takes Place at Meeting on July 26th—Joint Board of Cloak and Dressmakers Name of New Body.

After a series of meetings with representatives of the locals and joint boards involved in the consolidation plan of the cloak and dress organizations of Greater New York, the decision of the General Executive Board was finally carried out, on Thursday last, July 26th.

On that date President Morris Sigman had a meeting with all the sub-committees elected by the dress and cloak locals at which final details were agreed upon. The consolidation is practically a fact now and within one week it will be complete.

A few days ago President Sigman forwarded an official notice to all the locals concerned in this amalgamation in which, among other things, it was stated:

"The joint meeting of the committees appointed by Locals 22 and 89 and by the joint boards in the cloak and suit and waist and dress trades respectively to carry out the plan of merging all dressmakers of New York into one local under the jurisdiction of the Cloak Joint Board, was held on July 26th at the General Office at 3 West 16th Street. This meeting adopted several decisions which I beg leave to bring to your attention:

"1. Locals 22 and 89 are to be notified to send delegates to the Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union beginning with the meeting on Fri-

day, August 10th. The delegates of Local 22 are to be seated provisionally until such time as Locals 22 and 89 will have held their regular election, when permanent delegates will replace these provisional delegates.

"2. That the general manager of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board shall immediately proceed with the plan of merging the work of attending to the shops of the dress departments now controlled by both joint boards. This is to be done as soon as possible and not later than August 15th.

"3. The Cloakmakers' Joint Board is to begin attending to all matters affecting the merged dressmakers' organization, including all

financial arrangements beginning Monday, August 13, and as of that date, all payments will be distributed by the Joint Board proportionately among all locals including the newly affiliated locals.

"Furthermore, yours, "MORRIS SIGMAN, "President."

This is a historic event in the life of our organization in New York and we can only hope that this amalgamation will bring greater success and prosperity to the tens of thousands of workers belonging to the various locals now placed under the control and supervision of one big central body, the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union.

## Excursion on Hudson This Sunday

There are still a number of tickets uncollected for our excursion on the private yacht, "Lady Fair," which will leave this coming Sunday, August 5th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, from Hudson River, at 11st Street, and will sail to Croton. Those members of the International who desire to make reservations, for themselves and friends can do so by paying \$1.50 subscription to the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

The private yacht was chartered by the students of the Workers' University and Unity Centers. It will be a whole-day trip. Refreshments can be obtained on the yacht, but everyone will have to bring lunch with him.

According to the arrangements, the excursionists can expect to spend a day of jollification, good fellowship and sociability. There will be dancing, singing and recitations.

## Vice-President Lefkowitz Leaves Los Angeles

TAKE CHARGE OF LOCAL ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN

The Cloakmakers' Union of Los Angeles is in a weakened state and something must be done immediately to put it in fighting trim, which in other words means to improve the condition of the workers employed in the cloak trade of Los Angeles.

Such was the decision of the General Executive Board at a meeting held two weeks ago and this week President Sigman appointed Vice-President Lefkowitz to go forthwith to Los Angeles and to prepare the ground for an organizing drive in that city. Last Wednesday, Brother Lefkowitz left New York and it can be expected that, with his experience and organizing ability, he will succeed in accomplishing a great deal of good for the local organization.

Vice-President Lefkowitz will also visit San Francisco and will survey the situation in the cloak trade there. In his absence Brother D. Rubin, former secretary of Local 2, will take charge of the organization of the sample cloak tailors, of which Vice-president Lefkowitz is manager.

As we go to press, Vice-president Lefkowitz has requested us to extend in his name farewell to all the members of Local 3. Owing to the hurriedness of his departure for Los Angeles, there was no possibility of his calling together a member meeting of the local.

## Sub-Manufacturers Up in Arms Against Cloak Jobbers

Cloak Market Filled With Rumors of Deep Discontent

The New York cloak market has been in recent weeks full of rumors of an impending rebellion of the sub-manufacturers in the trade against the jobbers for whom they are working. The contracting firms appear to be very much disinclined with their condition and are threatening, it is alleged, to close down their shops.

It is difficult, of course, to say definitely how grave the situation is. It is certain, nevertheless, that the sub-manufacturers are suffering a great deal from the chaos produced in the cloak trade by the jobbers. To get their work done as cheaply as possible, the jobbers have developed intense cut-throat competition among the contractors until now it has about reached its limit, menacing the existence of many sub-manufacturing firms and also the living standards of the workers in the trade.

It stands to reason that the sub-manufacturers are not much worried about the condition of the workers. Yet, should they make an earnest attempt to withhold the avarice of the jobbers, it might indirectly help the workers too. If the sub-manufacturers will make a unified effort to resist further cutting down of prices, it might put a check to the insidious and quick process of wage reduction which has been going on in the cloak trade in recent months. Af-

ter all is said, there is no reason why these sub-manufacturers should act as a cats paw for the jobbers and operate as a medium for such wage reductions without benefiting themselves by it.

It will be worth while watching this "rebellion" of the sub-manufacturers and what they are likely to achieve. The sympathy of the workers will surely be on their side.

## Lefts Lose Control of Philadelphia Cloak Union

Ousted in Last Week's Elections

The reign of the "lefts" in the cloakmakers' union of Philadelphia is at an end. It seems that they could rule only as long as the masses of the members were indifferent and did not display any interest in their activities. Until last week the Philadelphia cloak union was entirely under "left" control. They had a majority on the executive boards of all the locals and in the Joint Board proper.

On Thursday last the situation changed entirely. On that day elections took place in practically all the locals for executive boards in which the "lefts" suffered a crushing defeat. Only here and there did they succeed in electing a single candidate. All the executive boards have now a majority of members unqualifiedly opposed to "left" activities.

The outcome of these elections means that the Joint Board will henceforth devote itself to trade problems and will cease to be a political debating club, which it has been ever since the Lefts gained the upper hand in that body.

It is hoped that the "lefts" in the cloakmakers' union of Philadelphia will read correctly the meaning of this last election; and that they will come to realize that during the period when they had the union under their control they misused the mandate given by the members and that they were defeated because they misrepresented the will of the workers.

to reason that not until they have all joined the union will they have a chance to establish a shorter work day, get better pay and better treatment from their employers.

## Bathrobe Workers Prepare for General Strike

Local 91 Wages Preliminary Campaign

The drive started by the children's dress, bathrobe and housedress makers' union, Local 91, to organize all the bathrobe makers of Greater New York is meeting with fine success. If kept up at the same pace, it can be expected that very soon the workers in this trade will be in a general strike against their employers.

On Tuesday last, July 21st, Brother Greenberg, manager of Local 91, held a meeting of bathrobe makers

in the big Arlington Hall which was crowded to capacity. The workers in the trade are displaying eagerness to join the union and to fight for better work standards. A large percentage of the workers are Italians.

The meeting was addressed by Giovanni, Luigi Antonini, the manager of Local 89; and Harry Greenberg, manager of Local 91. The conditions in the bathrobe trade are very bad. The employers cut wages at will and, as only a small fraction of the bathrobe makers are organized, it stands

# Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

## THE ANTHRACITE DEADLOCK

AS WE forecast last week, the anthracite operators and the miners are again at stalemate on the question of recognition of the union and the check-off system. The breach is definite and widening, and a shut-down of the hard coal mines is imminent if not unavoidable in the near future.

The Miners' Union demands the closed-union shop not merely as an organization weapon. The miners point to the fact that 500 men were killed yearly and thousands injured in digging hard coal. Because their life depends on the skill of those who work with them, the anthracite miners would feel safer if their organization controlled absolutely the standards of admission into the craft as a protection against incompetence.

The miners have a powerful case and they are confident that they will win. If the final break should bring Government intervention and the Government took over the conflict from the operators, the miners know that it could only be settled by acceding to their demands. The contention of the operators that the closed shop would mean a monopoly in the hard coal fields seems absurd in view of the fact that it is generally recognized and admitted that the mine-owners themselves constitute a monopoly. The miners' delegates in demanding the check-off system are authorized to demand it by the workers in the mines themselves, and to smalt it because it is "un-American," is piffling and subterfuge.

The intrusion of the Soft Coal Association into the controversy early this week by appearing before the Federal Coal Commission and offering the soft coal output of the country in case of an anthracite strike at prices to be "fixed by the G. Government" has added nothing save irritation to the dispute. The soft coal barons reaped a great harvest during the coal strike last year and they are probably not averse to a repetition of such a conflict in the anthracite region.

## THE "FLOWER OF FASCISMO"

MUSSOLINI was forty years old last week, and, according to press reports, received on his birthday more than 50,000 messages of congratulation. Italy's black-shirted dictator is a comparatively young man and the senders of these messages expressed the hope that he would be long spared "for the good of Italy and humanity."

Mussolini's power over Italy is still rampant and unshackled. His new electoral law which is designed to place permanent and unchallenged rule in the hands of the Fascisti—the majority party by the grace of the gun and stiletto—has been passed in lightning order by a cowed and outwitted parliament. The press has been made to feel the iron heel once again by Mussolini's defiant order, which prohibits Italian newspapers from indulging in discussion of anything that might lead to lack of respect for and insubordination to Fascist authority.

Last week again the Fascisti all over Italy met in a "grand conference" in Rome and unanimously approved a plan to reorganize Fascist militia. This armed force of black shirts, 300,000 strong, the "flower of the party," is now being converted into a political police. Its task is to "render impossible all disturbances of public peace, of action tending towards sedition against the Fascist government, and to free the regular army from political work." Of course, this political gendarmerie is to be under military training and discipline.

It is idle to predict how long this dictatorship will last. While on the surface of things everything is subdued, browbeaten and whispers to the tune of the Fascist song of victory, it is barely possible that all is dead in Italy and that the powerful forces which have for years been building the fundamentals of a new life in that country have been entirely dried up at their source by the banditry of Fascismo. After all, Mussolini and his black shirts are but an ugly aftermath of the war. Normal life and normal progress in Italy will come back as the brutalities of war, which have given birth to Fascismo, recede into the background.

## SPEAKING OF REVOLUTION

FROM two startlingly opposing sources there came last week warnings of some revolution,—political and industrial—facing the United States if that drastic changes in our economic and spiritual life are not forthcoming. One came from Magnus Johnson, recently elected Senator from Minnesota on the farmer-labor ticket, and the other from former-President Woodrow Wilson in a magazine article.

This is the first time since his illness that Mr. Wilson has made public his views on present-day problems. The former President realizes that all the world is at unrest and that the road ahead is darkened by shadows which portend dangers of many kinds. "The real ground for the universal unrest lies deep at the sources of the spiritual life of our time and leads to revolution." The great body of Russians were denied rights and privileges which all normal men desire and that is why they had their revolution. Wilson sees farther than that. "The Russian leaders," he says, "directed their attack against Capitalism, and it is against capitalism and not one name or another that the discontented classes everywhere draw their indictments." "Is it not true," he continues, "that capitalists have often seemed to regard a man as a mere instrument of profit?"

Of course, Wilson offers nothing constructive. His is only a message of fear and doubt. He would have the United States go to the rescue of the world, meaning to the rescue of the present order of things, by making some concessions here and there. He would have America guide "civilization" in this crucial hour so as to save it from destruction.

In contrast to Wilson's fearsome plea, Magnus Johnson's warning is plain, crisp talk. The Senator-elect says that 65 per cent of the wealth of the country is in the hands of two per cent of the population and, unless there is a change in the distribution of this wealth, the common people are going to revolt against it. Johnson does not delve in foreign revolutions; he would have taxes on non-productive incomes, excess profits and profiteers, and shift the burden from the people upon the capitalists.

It is safe to say that neither of these warnings will give sleepless

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nights to the rulers of industry in America. Wilson's fears and prayers will appear to them the mild babble of a superfluous old man; and Johnson's warning, together with his final statement that he wants everybody to understand that he would not consent "to burning Congress over for the exclusive benefit of the farmers and laboring men, but would have it run for everyone and run on the square," will not send shudders down their backs either.

## THE ALBANY CONFERENCE

LAST week there took place in Albany a conference of representatives of labor unions, farmer-labor party groups and Socialists, for the purpose of creating a State agency for progressive political action.

The majority of these delegates went to Albany not for the purpose of forming a political party. They had had enough experience and maturity to know that such a party, even if launched, would not prove a success and that a great amount of organizing and educational work would have to be done in order to prepare the minds of the workers in New York for such a party. What they had in view was the launching of a State-wide committee that would be in charge of such educational and organizing activity. A minority of the delegates, those belonging to the railway unions, however, thought that they could go into politics at once and organize campaigns in individual assembly districts in the State for the purpose of defeating a number of legislators who have a particularly bitter anti-Labor record and for electing candidates friendly to Labor in such districts.

The Socialists and a number of labor union delegates would not support such guerrilla politics and withdrew from this specific activity. To them the guerrilla policy of "reward your friend and punish your enemy" is stale and sterile enough. The railway men, who are comparative novices in labor politics, will have their first fling this fall and will probably come out wiser from this attempt, at least to the extent of realizing that the "punish and reward" game is a mirage and a snare, and that independent labor politics can be successful only when conducted on straight labor party lines with labor party candidates.

## FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

## Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

## WAIST AND DRESS

The dress trade seems to have become an all-year-round industry in Boston. Before the slack season was hardly two weeks old and before our girl workers had returned from their vacation, the new fall season started with a rush. Let us hope that this will keep up, for it helps not alone our own members who have been working fairly steadily, but it also provides employment for many cloakmakers who have been idle for over three months each year. The outlook in the bleak and suit trade for the coming season is not very bright, as suits are not in style this season, and even coats are not manufactured in very great quantities. These cloakmakers are welcomed in our shops and our office is cooperating with the office of the Joint Board in supplying jobs to as many employed as possible. The beginning of the new season was used as a pretext by some of our manufacturers to ask for a change of system of work from piece to week-work and vice versa. The firm of Blatt Dress, 673 Washington Street, started in business at the beginning of last season on a week-work basis. After an experiment of two weeks, the firm requested permission from the union to change to piece-work. A shop meeting was called and, with the consent of the workers, the change was granted. Under piece-work, the workers in the above shop earned at least 50 per cent above

their previous weekly wages. This, naturally, was not to the liking of the firm, and about two weeks ago, the employer again applied to the union through the association, of which he is a member, for a change from piece to week-work. In spite of the fact that the union favors week-work in principle, it refused to grant the request of the firm and the workers all returned to work to the shop on the old basis of piece-work. In the case of the Bedford Dress, 241 Tremont Street, and Sol Raphael, 786 Washington Street, the firms requested a change from week to piece-work, but this was refused by the office of the union. Previous experience with these manufacturers was the cause of the refusal. The office felt that, should these employers be permitted to change the system, there would be constant wrangling and fighting over prices in these shops.

The number of complaints lodged by our members against the employer has diminished lately. This is due to the fact that many of the employers have come to realize that the dressmakers' union is here to stay, and that it does not pay to give cause for complaint.

## WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS, LOCAL 7

The controversy between the Amalgamated and our union, which was described in detail in the issue of JUSTICE of July 20th, was finally

settled to the satisfaction of both sides. As our readers will recollect, the dispute arose in the shops of Shapiro and Bickerman, 170 Harrison Avenue, where the firm deliberately violated its agreement with us by calling upon the Amalgamated for additional help, and, to add insult to injury, abused the shop chairman, who called the firm's attention to this flagrant violation.

All the workers in the above shop including the Amalgamated members thereupon stopped from work. This incident was the cause of bringing up the question of jurisdiction. Our local claimed, and rightly, that just so long as an employer signs an agreement with our union, our office is to have full control of the shop, notwithstanding the fact that some of the workers employed there may happen to be members of the Amalgamated. We demanded that only one shop chairman be elected in the shop, and only a business agent of our local shall attend to all complaints in the factory, whether these complaints are filed by members of Local 7, or by members of the Amalgamated.

The two organizations failing to come to an understanding, the entire dispute was left for adjustment to the general office of the International and the Amalgamated. A committee consisting of Vice-president Samuel Lefkowitz of the International and Joseph Schlosberg, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated, arrived in Boston on Wednesday, July 25, and immediately began meeting with both sides. After a full day's deliberation, the following decisions were reached by the committee:

1. That one organization will not sign an agreement with a firm with which the other organization has an agreement; 2. The organization which has an agreement with a firm shall have sole control of labor conditions in the shop; 3. There shall be one shop chairman in the shop to take up matters with the firm.

It has been agreed that Local 7 will not demand that members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union transfer their membership to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Further details were left to be worked out by the managers of the two unions, Brother Fred Monosson of the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, and Brother Frank Lerman of the Amalgamated. The Committee representing both organizations expresses its regret for the misunderstandings that have taken place between the two organizations, and it is our sincere desire that in the future the relations between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Boston, and the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union shall remain as harmonious as in the past, and that they pledge their cooperation should any dispute arise between the employees and their employers.

The committee extends its thanks and appreciation to General Secretary-treasurer Schlosberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Vice-president Samuel Lefkowitz, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for their taking the initiative in clearing up this misunderstanding to the satisfaction of both organizations.

## News From Local No. 5, Chicago

By MORRIS GOLDSTEIN, Sec'y

Reading in JUSTICE reports from locals in various cities where cloaks are made, I began to feel rather envious. Why not a few lines from Chicago, too? Otherwise our workers in other cities might come to believe that everything is nice and smooth in our city, while as a matter of fact we have just as many "burning questions" as any of them.

Take, for instance, the problem of work. Where can we get the "bundles," where is work to be had that would enable us to make a living while prices are soaring so high? Everything is on the increase while work there is none. And the employers are creating another problem for us, that of maintaining wages at their present standard. They are using the hard times to reduce these wages by hook or crook and are giving us plenty of worry in this direction.

The executive board of Local No. 5, the operators' local, is carrying through a registration of members in order to find out what their earnings are. At every meeting of the executive board, we have entire shops appear and register each worker's earnings, and what we have learned from this registration has given us plenty of food for thought.

Regardless of the unbreakable heat in the Windy City during the last few weeks, we have had pretty good meetings. It is quite likely that our members are coming to realize that they must come to meetings in order to get more life and vim in the organization. It may be also because of the hellish fine which we have imposed upon members who do not attend a meeting at least once a month. At rate, the meetings are far better

attended now and we do not mind saying that we like it very much.

Local No. 5 just got through with the election of officers, and a large number of members participated in this election. The balloting took place without the urgent campaigning and without the injection of outside issues. Brother Novak was re-elected as chairman of the local and the writer of these lines was elected secretary. Several new members were elected to the executive board and to the Joint Board, and a few were returned who at one time dropped out of activity and have now again become interested in the administrative work of our local.

And now that the installation of the officers is over, we are ready for work. The office is crowded with complaints, individual grievances, by literally hundreds of members. Sixty shops have to be investigated with regard to labor conditions, and in addition to that there are a lot of other trade questions which will occupy the attention of the elected officers. A couple of weeks ago we had President Sigman here and he met with the Joint Board and the executive boards of all the locals and spoke with Vice-president Perlatin on a great many subjects which involved the well-being of our trade. He declared that the International is now considering several important plans that will tend, if carried out, to improve conditions in our industry fundamentally.

We are conducting at present in Chicago a campaign with Vice-president Perlatin at the head to organize the dressmakers who work for misfargo pay and under very poor conditions in our city. The campaign has been very lively. It seems to have hurt

the employers already, for they are beginning to resort to one of their last weapons, the injunction. The hired thugs whom they have placed

around the shops seem to be of little use and we are all convinced here that even injunctions will not help. The dress trade will be organized.

## The Russian-Polish Pressers

The Pressers' Section, Local 35, of the Russian-Polish Branch of the Cloakmakers' Union held a meeting on Wednesday, July 18, to discuss a number of very important matters. Notwithstanding the oppressive heat, the meeting was very well attended.

On the order of the day was the question of adopting rules for the Relief Committee, a financial report of this committee, and the raising of dues from 25 cents to 50 cents for this fund. After an adequate discussion the following decisions were adopted:

1. To ask the Relief Committee of Local 35 to translate the financial report of this committee into the Russian language.
2. To ask the Relief Committee to translate and publish the by-laws of the Relief Committee in the Russian and Polish languages together with the regulations for members in case of sickness.
3. Owing to hard times in the trade and because the members are not in a position now to pay their dues and

assessments regularly, the Executive Board and the Relief Committee of Local 35 are to be asked to refrain from making changes now and to endeavor to practice every possible economy.

We hope that the Executive Board and the Relief Committee will recognize the soundness of this decision and will do their best to carry it out. We shall, moreover, regard any decision adopted contrary to the spirit of this resolution as forced upon us against our will and we shall not be responsible for its being carried out.

By order of the Pressers' Section,  
A. E. SAULICH, Sec'y.

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## JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFFSKY, Editor.  
A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer ABRAHAM TÜVIM, Business Manager

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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# Set A Million Children Free

By HAROLD CARY

There were three men around the liverable. King Tut was a person they pined because he lived it a time before most knew how to live. They talked about it.

"The advance of civilization, the climb out of the Dark Ages, is the greatest achievement thinkable. No man can deny."

One of the other two interrupted him: "Deny that little boys and girls, true slaves, give up body and soul to us for these pleasures?" He asked cynically. With a wave of his hand he included practically everything that made up the comfort and pleasantness of the room.

"Child labor." The first man spoke again, smiling tolerantly. "Pshaw, it doesn't exist in the United States! I happen to know that every single State in the Union has a law against child labor working. That is one of our greatest advances!" He was complacent, triumphant. He was presenting typical, well-informed American opinion. He didn't know he was wrong. He was ignorant. He is fooled. He uttered the great American child-labor lie.

The shirt on his back—it may be cotton picked by a baby, perhaps seven years old; the cloth worn in the North, processed by a fourteen-year-old; tailored in a tenement by soft little fingers, wrapped by a child, delivered by another, and then worn by a man.

The food on his table was almost surely cultivated, picked and packed by tiny, aching hands; strawberries, lettuce, vegetable. The coal in his furnace was sorted by a kid, black with dust, probably illiterate.

Child labor! Why, it does not exist! Or, if it does, only in a few backward communities. It will be wiped out even there in a year or two. "They" are after it now. That's what I thought, and it is my business to be informed. That's what almost every one thinks. And now the very feel of my clothes and the taste of my food are bad. Oh, you and I are so well fed and groomed, so happy and prosperous, while the outrage goes on even in the most progressive States of the North!

## WHO MADE YOUR SHIRT?

The four of the great cotton mill

riated under my feet; the power looms sang a song of industry, a life that in this great, rich, colorful world is sweet. Fall River, Mass., close by Boston, in one of our thirteen oldest States, is one of the greatest mill towns in one of our most enlightened States. The weaver beside me as I was watching the shuttle shooting back and forth was a kid in short pants. He was little. He seemed dull. He was very busy.

You and I aren't sentimentalists. We don't know much about that kid. We don't care about him. In such a great world we cannot stop to listen to the story of such a fourteen-year-old worker. We smile when some softy speaks tearfully of "tiny wage slaves." But I'll go this far with the tender, pitying fellow: I don't want to wear a shirt that kid or any other kid helped make. And I can't help it! How can I tell? There are two or three thousand boys and girls working in that Massachusetts center.

There is at least one mill in New England, probably many, in which there is no child employed. That one is known throughout the world as one of the finest, if not the finest institution of its kind. The reason children are not employed there is not a matter of sentiment, law, or public opinion. They have found that children are not good workers; they don't want them working on their fine cottons, and they don't let them work there. It's purely a business matter.

No, the reason why many of the children in Massachusetts are working when medical science and students of society know they should not be working, is because the parents of those children are exploiting them and because the Legislature permits that exploitation to go on. A minute minority is forcing upon the great majority the work of the former's children. It is forcing me to buy shirts made by them.

## THE LAW AND THE FACTS

We have heard more than enough about Massachusetts, so much perhaps that the good people of that law-enforcing and law-abiding State (where a child does have to go to school four hours a week, where he does have to be a sixth-grader to get a working per-

mit, where the trust officer really works, where a medical certificate—of doubtful value, of course—is required) will think they are being singled out for spite. They were chosen to talk of only because they are among the best. A greater percentage of the kids are working than in most States, and that percentage has increased in the past ten years while it decreased in other States, yet the laws are fairly good and those they have are well enforced.

The percentage of children working is worse in Rhode Island. It is worse in South Carolina and North Carolina. There are more of them working in Pennsylvania, a larger State, than in Massachusetts. New York has some seventeen thousand. New Jersey is worse now than it was in 1910.

This is factory work and mechanical pursuits, mind you, that we speak of. It doesn't tell the story of violations of the law where enforcement is a joke. It doesn't tell the story of tenement work, or the street trades; it does not tell about the unbelievable conditions in the great agricultural factories, which turn out fruits and vegetables such as door knobs are turned out of a mill, by machine work. Nor does this tell how this the census figures probably are, as shown by the fact that the report states that less than 11,000 children are gainfully employed in Wisconsin, although local authorities estimate the figure at from two to three times as high!

Moreover, it might be worse, as it was a century ago in England, and America—yes, as it is right this minute in the State of Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

That great State has a governor who is ranked one of the most far-seeing, progressive. The old-time politicians feared him as a doctor fears pneumonia. We have no idea of saying for one moment that Gifford Pinchot is responsible for the fact that the boys are still working at the mines, a great many of them illegally, underground in the Pennsylvania fields, but what we do call to attention is the fact that an electorate which put in a man of that type is the same electorate which permits the damaging work to go on. It is no backward community. It is one of the greatest in the United States.

What gets the man who sees this thing going on in the fifteen-year-old breaker boys. Ask any number of

citizens if children are still working in the breakers in the United States, and they will practically all say no with great finality. They are wrong. You can see them any day in the Shenandoah district. And what is this: nice, clean, easy work that teaches a young fourteen-year-old racial discipline?

The Children's Bureau, dealing in facts, not in sentiment, reports it as follows: "These boys worked in the constant roar which the coal makes as it rubs down the chute, is broken in the crushing machines, or scuffed in the shakers. Black coal dust is everywhere, covering the windows, and filling the lungs of the workers. The slate is sharp, so that the slate pickers often cut or bruise their hands; the coal is carried down the chute in water, and this means sore and swollen hands for the pickers. The first few weeks after the boy begins work, his 'fingers' bleed almost continuously and are called red-tops by the other boys."

## TWO MILLION SUB-CITIZENS

That's the kind of coal you and I burn in our furnaces. It is anthracite. The boys who pick out the bad stuff, the slate, for you and me work on the average eight hours a day at

A few weeks as much as sixty hours a week. There are a mere minority in it for them if they are blind and can lie about their age, defeat the sixteen-year-old law and work underground. But one of them ever amount to much. They are illiterate in many cases. We can't expect much of them as citizens, even less, perhaps, as individuals.

We have not gone far yet; we have not seen all there is to see, for we have discussed only mills and mines, two of the worst things and yet not the greatest. There are over a million children at regular work today. It is a thing which the minority is putting over on the majority. We know Congress is against it, for instance, because it has passed two national child-labor laws. But both were thrown out by the Supreme Court, bag and baggage. Conditions are getting worse again. These laws did some good, but it is amazing how the situation has gone back since they were killed.

Doesn't it sort of turn your stomach? It does mine.

(From an article in *Colliers*, "The National Weekly," July 25, 1922.)

# The White Goods Workers Again on the Job

By MARY GOFF

The White Goods Workers' Union of New York is starting out again to do some serious organizing work.

We are faced with quite grave conditions in our industry and, unless an uninterrupted agitation is kept up in the non-union shops, we cannot expect a substantial improvement of the status of our union members. It is all but certain that labor conditions in the non-union shops cannot fail to have their influence on the shops controlled by the union and we must bear in mind that we still have shops in the white goods trade where girls are working forty-eight and fifty hours a week, and where the workers are fed with promises for raises, while the girls in the union shops get wage increases in spite of the very poor season. In the unorganized shops, the employers while promising the girls that they would get a raise as soon as "business improved," kept on at the same time advertising for more hands. This last move naturally was calculated to make the workers pally, to keep them in fear of loss of their jobs, and to force them thereby to give up hope for more pay. We are aware that we set our seed

union basis.

I said there are a great many difficulties in the path of organizing activity in the white goods industry. One is that the overwhelming majority of our workers are women. Another is that in our trade we have to deal with immigrants from literally every country in the world. We are confronted, therefore, with racial prejudices, national customs and a multitude of languages. Most of the girls in the trade are young and as such are likely to display little interest in a labor union. They naturally consider their stay in the industry as temporary. They expect to marry and leave the shop and are either indifferent or intolerant of union workers who speak to them or distribute literature among them.

Nevertheless, we are going on with the work. Our organization committee is as determined as ever to make Local 62 a one hundred per cent organization. The attempt of the manufacturers to discourage the girls from union activity has failed. As a matter of fact, it has had the opposite effect. We have now prepared a complete organization campaign for every shop in the trade and it will be shortly submitted to our chairladies and active members for sanction. As organizer in charge of the work, I shall do all in my power to carry out this organizing plan. Yet, I believe that unless the work from

its very inception is placed on a sound basis with a sufficient number of active members taking part in it, we cannot expect great results.

We call, therefore, upon all those who understand the importance of this work to give us a helping hand. Whether working or idle, whether employed a full week or only a couple of days during the week, you must contribute your share to this very important task. We call especially upon all our members who are now employed in non-union shops and ask them to explain to the union the conditions in their shops and to help the organization committee in its efforts to organize these shops.

The girls in the white goods industry have very good reason to be proud of the spirit they have displayed in every conflict, in every fight against their employers. Their task, however, is not at an end yet. And it is not enough to win a point. It is much harder to retain what was won and after that to make a step forward.

Sisters, let us maintain this spirit of enthusiasm and the will to build a permanent and powerful union on a high level. We have proved until now that we can battle for as just an industry as we can. We can just as easily prove that we can win not only the full influence of our union in a partial control over our shops but every shop in our trade.

# A Week in Commons With Labor

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service)

In the House of Commons, the resumed debate on Socialism reached its foregone conclusion with a division that chronicled 121 votes for, and 363 against the "gradual supersession of the capitalist system by an industrial and social order based on public ownership." Some excellent speeches were made, mostly from the Labor benches, for, as Ramsay MacDonald remarked in his summing up, not one single speaker on the other side had defended the capitalist system, but had merely attacked Socialism. On the whole one felt that very little had been gained by a debate that belonged more to the academic platform of the private debating society than to the People's House, where its effect was rather to discourage those who hope for something a little more rapid from the Labor party than such a very gradual revolution as the one it depicted.

The dock strike, the heat wave and Mr. Baldwin's statement about the Ruhr are the three subjects that have had public attention during the past week.

The Prime Minister's speech on the Ruhr had a curious reception, most of the applause in the House of Commons coming from the Liberal and Labour benches, while the Tories sat silent after their approbation of the first passages relating to our friendship with France. This has given rise to a rumor that there is a split in the Conservative ranks, the Diehards being by no means in favor of Mr. Baldwin's glimmering of good sense as shown in the new French policy. Labor came out at once with a strong message of encouragement to him to go on as he has begun. A joint meeting was at once called of the Labor party and the trade unions, which passed a resolution to welcome and approve the Prime Minister's statement, which, indeed, largely followed the lines of the Labor policy as hitherto held on the Ruhr situation. At the same time, the resolution very carefully dissociated itself from any desire to create ill-feeling between the French and British peoples, thus emphasizing the fact that used to be absent from the old diplomacy, that it is perfectly possible to be on with a new Entente without being off with the old.

Labor altogether has taken a good line about the Prime Minister's new French policy. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's immediate questions in the House produced the important assurance that the British reply to the German note would be drafted as rapidly as possible (it is in the point of being dispatched as this is written), that it would be communicated to the

United States, and that the House of Commons would have an opportunity of discussing the whole matter before the recess. It is impossible to ignore the influence of Labor as shown in the change of Ministerial attitude towards this question.

In Belgium, the attitude of Labor, as defined by M. Dejarlin, a miners' delegate to the Folkenstone Miners' Conference, is one of pacifism and opposed to the Ruhr occupation. While at the same time irritated with Germany for her treatment of the reparations question, Belgian labor believes this problem could only be settled by the cooperation of the League of Nations in fixing Germany's capacity to pay, and by the cancellation of Allied war debts, the latter necessitating the assistance of America as well as England.

## THE DOCK STRIKE

Although the leaders of the Dock Strike Committee, concurring with the advice of the leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union, told the men they had better return to work, at the end of last week, the dock strike still continues in the ports of London, Hull, and Manchester and Salford. This unusual defiance of the advice of trusted leaders, coupled with the grave risk of playing with such a two-edged weapon as the breaking of an agreement, shows how deeply is felt the impossibility of accepting a wage-cut of a shilling a day, based on a technical fall in the cost of living which is not reflected in the actual articles bought by the dockers' wife with her husband's earnings. Whatever the result of the strike, it will almost certainly lead to a revision of the methods by which official figures of the cost of living are arrived at. As for the strike itself, it is beginning to affect food supplies, and the employers, trading on this, are calling upon the Government to intervene and to take steps to enable ships to be unloaded. There is no doubt that any attempt to use blacking labor for the purpose will be met with violent opposition from the strikers, who feel they are fighting for a minimum standard of living. It is evidence of the general sympathy with this point of view that the outcry against the men's refusal to honor their agreement with the employers (that is, to allow a shilling a day to come off wages as soon as the cost of living stopped ten points, which it is alleged to have done) has not been greater. The fact is, however, in every class of society, know that the official cost of living figures do not tally with their own experiences in the shops.

## Union Health Center News

During the month of August the Union Health Center will undergo an enlarging process. The third floor of the building, formerly occupied by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, will be developed into a modern equipped physio-therapeutic department. New baking machines will be installed, complete outfitting for an efficient department will be made ready for the fall activity of the Union Health Center.

The Health Education Department of the Union Health Center is making arrangements now for a special corrective exercise course to be given in the gymnasium of the Washington Irving High School. This course has been outlined for a period of four

months or approximately sixteen lessons. Each worker will receive special exercises to fit his particular defect in posture. Because of the expense involved it will be necessary to charge \$5.00 for the course. All those who are interested to make this course a reality should communicate with Miss Theresa Wolfson of the Union Health Center and state their intentions to register for the course.

Mr. Bernard Shientag, Industrial Commissioner of the State Department of Labor has already appointed the members of the Committee on Plans and Scope to organize ways and means of conducting the campaign

# A Letter from Unity-Land

By L. FINKELSTEIN

My Dear Editor:

If I wanted to punish my bitterest enemy I would assign him the job of going to the Unity House in Forest Park and write articles there. One of the principal requirements for writing is, of course, ideas and thoughts—but above all one has to plant himself down squarely in his seat before he can even begin doing work. And so we ask—how, in heaven's name, is it possible for one to nail himself down to some work here in Unity-Land?

Here is a list of a person's activities for a day, from which you might easily choose your little, if any, time one has left for work out here.

Life here begins, as a rule, at seven in the morning. On the minute, a young man assigned to this task with bell in hand covers "Unity Square" with the shrill noise emanating from that ancient instrument. It is the signal to rise for all Unity-folk. You might ask why it is necessary to wake the people here with a bell—wouldn't they rise without it? For this there are several reasons.

First, sleep is softer and sweeter here than in New York, and no matter how gay and distracted the day might be, if not for this bell too many of them would probably spend most of their waking hours in bed. To be sure, many of them also ring religiously by the summons of the bell either. For many this bell serves only as a clarion call to turn on the other side and to continue their wanderings in dreamland. You can easily appreciate, dear editor, what active souls there are if they prefer the bed to the outdoors even in Unity-Land!

Another reason is that we have here a goodly sprinkling of what you might term "night birds," such as are always inclined to go to bed "just a few minutes later." These dark souls are attracted at night by the beautiful walks and forest paths that abound in this locality and when they get back to the house the hours are past midnight or even smaller. Yet, the reader might ask, why wake these poor fellows? What matters it when and how late they rise?

The answer to this is: Breakfast. At eight o'clock the bell rings again, which is an announcement that the tables are set for the morning repast. In the Big City no one seems to be concerned whether we eat breakfast or not, but not so in this end of the woods. The people here are so taken up by our welfare, our needs, that they cannot overlook the legitimate demands of our appetite. We are all so neatly registered and catalogued here—men and women alike—and our wants are as carefully catalogued and measured out in advance. I said men and women alike, though I should have said women even more than men. For Unity-Land, you must know, was first placed on the map by the women folk, and though today the administration is largely in the hands of men, still the women have a great deal to say about it. Our "governor," Peter Rothenberg, is, as you might conclude, a man, but he is surrounded with many officers in bloomers and knickers that one gets the impression that Unity is still a female-governed retreat.

Please, dear editor, do not, by any means, infer from this that Unity is worse off for that. Quite to the contrary, this prevalence of femininity—added to the beauty of the country—

side, just makes this Forest Park corner as charming as it is. It intoxicates the men visitors and makes them ready and uncomplaining victims to the wiles of the irresistible charmers.

I am wandering off my track, I know, dear editor. I began with the breakfast bell and ended up with the mid-summer romanticism that overcomes the strongest of us as we leave the confines of the city for our brief vacations! Nevertheless, you must not, for a moment, come to think that eating is a negligible subject out here in Unity. Perish the thought, we have among us even the type that is usually referred to in summer boarding houses as the "double-portion" fellow. It is the bird that continually molests the waitress for a second helping of any of the dishes that are served on the table.

I sit there in amazement and watch this fellow. Hardly have we had a chance to get to the food, when this "double-portion" fend is already imploring the girl who serves us for another portion. How did he do it, I wonder? The helpings they hand out here are immense—so why, in health's name, another portion? At last I make up my mind to timidly inquire:

"See here, young man, what is the good of four eggs for breakfast, don't you think there would be enough for any of us?"

"Well, well," my neighbor laughs, "can't I afford it or what? Will the union go busted if I take another two eggs, eh?"

Thus the day begins. I forgot to mention that even before that, as early as half past seven, we are being lined up here for a cup of hot water, which, they say, is very good for one in the early hours of the day before the meal. Oh, that hot-water line, how funny and interesting it is! But of this and many other equally interesting things here in Unity-Land and of how we spend the rest of our active day, I shall write in my next letter.



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# JUSTICE

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## EDITORIALS

### UNIONS AND POLITICS

Whatever the outcome of the conference for progressive political action which gathered at Albany, N. Y., early this week, one thing is clear,—the conviction is ripening in the more enlightened circles in the labor world that the time when most everybody believed that trade unions should have nothing to do with politics and that it is more healthful for them not to permit politics within their midst—is gone for good. Rightly or wrongly, the Albany conference delegates came there with the belief that political activity is an indispensable weapon in the hands of the workers in their fight for supremacy in our social order. It may be true that the economic struggle yet the principal fighting arm of the labor unions, but it would seem that most of the progressive workers are also agreed that the workers must not content themselves with the economic struggle alone, but must also use the weapon of political activity.

This is the chief meaning of the political conventions which have been held in the last few years by various workers' and progressive groups. At all these conventions, there prevailed the fundamental thought that, in order that the workers might achieve something substantial, they must sooner or later take up the political fight with the same enthusiasm that they have displayed in all their economic conflicts heretofore.

Small wonder that this thought of political activity is beginning to permeate more and more the workers' minds. On the one hand, it is beginning to impress many workers that, in spite of the victories of labor on the economic field, the results have not been any too great. It also is becoming clear that even economic struggles could be carried on more effectively if the workers were organized politically as strongly as they are industrially. It is sufficient to point to the injunctions and other restrictive legislation that is being constantly directed against strikers in time of industrial conflicts to understand the growing popularity of political activity among organized workers. The example of the Labor Party in England with its increasing importance in the entire social life of England, has also contributed to this change. As a result, a substantial element in the American labor movement is today materially more inclined to the idea of independent and united political action than ever before.

The question remains: How big is the number of these workers who have come to realize that the two old existing parties in America are twins in purpose and action, and their platforms are sham and fake; that, in order to once for all free themselves from the charmed circle of "republicanism" and "democracy," they must form their own party just as they had formed their own labor unions, and that just as they do not admit into their trade unions the employers with whom they are constantly in a fight, they must not admit into their party any one who does not belong to their class? Through the medium of such a labor party, they would strive to elect to the various city and state legislative bodies only those who are in thought and interests one of their own and who, by word and action, stretched over their entire lives, proved their genuine allegiance to the interests of the workers.

How large is this number of workers who already believe in independent political action is quite impossible to estimate. Signs there are that the worker and farmer are already beginning to wake up. In Minnesota and other States of the Northwest, if we are to judge by recent election returns, the political nightmare of the old parties is beginning to vanish. The Minnesota success will doubtless have a great propaganda influence on the workers and farmers in other states. It would, nevertheless, be too hazardous to infer from this that the majority of the workers and farmers of America are all ready to swing in line for independent political action. The allegiance of the American workers to the old parties, illogical, stupid as it might be, is still a tremendous factor to be reckoned with. That is why it is so difficult to judge whether the time is ripe for the formation of a real national labor-farmer party.

Of course, it is easy to adopt resolutions for the formation of such a party, just as it is easy to adorn any platform with beautiful political planks. The history of the labor movement is strewn with such labor parties without labor, which attract from time to time only an insignificant minority of the workers. The danger that a newly formed party might meet with the same failure is quite real, and we need not emphasize that the breakdown of such a new attempt to form a real labor party would set back the idea of independent political action for many years to come.

In brief, whether one is for it or against it, one must admit that the tendency among the more enlightened workers in the

unions is in the direction of united political action, which sooner or later will have to become part of general union activity. One thing, however, must be clear. In order that the success of this experiment be made more or less secure, with a minimum of jeopardy and risk for the economic and industrial activity of the unions, such steps must be weighed with great care and made only after thorough and all-round consideration.

### NEW ORGANIZING ACTIVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL

As reported in the news columns of our last week's issue, The General Executive Board has appointed a number of organizers for various cities and various trades to unionize the unorganized workers in such localities and to strengthen the already existing unions. These are all facts which prove that our Union is never satisfied with things as they are and is constantly on the alert to widen out and extend its activities. We have mentioned this more than once before, but it is never amiss to remind our members of this side and function of our organization.

There are, for instance, thousands of miles away from our principal cloak centers, a few hundred workers in the cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles engaged in the making of cloaks and dresses. They work principally for the local market and their condition cannot affect in the slightest degree the condition of the great masses of cloakmakers and dressmakers in New York City or any other center.

Nevertheless, the International is ready to do its utmost to help this handful of workers on the Pacific Coast. Our readers already know the big effort we made to win the union shop for the cloakmakers of San Francisco. Now comes Los Angeles, where the cloakmakers are in bad shape, and their union barely in existence. They recently called upon the International for aid and our union, though its coffers are not bulging, has now decided to start a campaign in Los Angeles in earnest, and, moreover, will send there one of its vice-presidents to take charge of the organizing work.

Of similar importance is the decision to appoint organizers for the private dressmakers in Philadelphia, for the embroiderers in New Jersey, and for Local 66 in New York. The trades in all these localities need the aid of the International. Nevertheless, if the workers in these places expect that the International will do all for them while they sit idly by, we might as well tell them that their expectations are in vain. The International will help only those who would help themselves. Our organizers will do their best to aid them, but in order to succeed, these organizers must have the fullest cooperation of the workers in the local shops and the local unions. Only then can effective work be done and only then will these workers prove themselves worthy of membership in our International.

### THE FOREST PARK UNITY HOUSE

The Unity House at Forest Park, Pa., which is five years old this season, continues to grow steadily.

Only a few years ago, the management found it difficult to fill the place with members of the union and had to look for visitors from the outside. Today the Unity House is filled to capacity with vacationists and the number of outsiders is comparatively small. It may be reasonably expected that the number of Unity House guests will increase every year and we shall not be surprised if it will reach one thousand in two or three years.

To meet this increasing demand, our Forest Park summer home must be materially enlarged and improved. Already the Unity House is too small for the large numbers that crowd it and its facilities are taxed to the utmost. The Unity House needs now a big investment of new capital to extend it and the sooner this is done the better.

We hope that this work will be undertaken and carried out as quickly as possible. The Unity House is one of our most important and beautiful institutions, and now that the amalgamation of the dressmakers into one local and under one Joint Board is already an accomplished fact and the Unity House becomes thereby the joint property of the dressmakers and the cloakmakers, this extension should be done without delay. It stands to reason that what was difficult for the dressmakers to achieve single-handed would be comparatively easy for the united dress and cloakmakers' unions.

### MATERIAL FOR OUR HISTORY

The big task which the General Office has entrusted to Dr. Louis Levine, that of writing the history of our International, is proceeding very successfully.

Dr. Levine is engaged now principally in the seeking out and searching for more and more material, in interviewing old-timers, and in tapping every possible source that could throw a light upon the origin, the early stages and the later development phases of our union.

There is, however, a lot of material which cannot be found in libraries or public collections. From time to time, in the past, for instance, locals and other subdivisions of our union used to publish leaflets, handbills and other printed matter. Dr. Levine has requested us to ask our readers, among whom there are no doubt many old-time union members who might be in possession of such brochures, handbills, and papers, to forward them, through our editorial office, to him.

We address this request not only to our New York members, but to readers in every garment-making center in the country, and we hope that the response will be generous and that all such material like old minutes of meetings, resolutions and every printed or written bit of reference that pertains to the history of our International, particularly in its early days, will be placed at the disposal of Dr. Levine to help him compile as thorough and comprehensive a book of life of our International as can possibly be done.

# The Sub-Manufacturer and the Jobber

By MORRIS SIGMAN  
President, I. L. G. W. U.

## II.

Before we go a step farther in discussing the main causes which led to the development of jobbing and sub-manufacturing in the cloak industry, we deem it very important to stop and cast a look backward to the time when our unions were still a minor factor in our industry.

Cloakmakers, I am sure, still remember how, at the beginning of each season, when we would settle down to regular work, the employers would fix the price for each style made by the workers during the initial week. Such a price, once fixed, would remain the price for the entire season. Cloakmakers remember, too, how very often the employers would later cut these prices for one reason or another, but largely under the pretext that the workers were earning too much money. In some shops where the workers had the courage and the daring, they would upbraid the firmness of the employer and complain bitterly against these reductions, pleading that even at the old price they could not make ends meet. Invariably they would get the same answer: "Labor is too high; we cannot sell the garments."

Was this the truth, or was it mere dishonest subterfuge on their part? It is quite likely that in individual cases a manufacturer may not have been in a position to buy his raw materials as cheaply as his competitor, if he could not afford to buy them in large quantities. It may have also been in single cases that one employer was not as capable a business man as the other, and that his overhead charges and wastage were prohibitive. But as the worker in those days was well-nigh defenseless, the manufacturer under all circumstances could do with them what they pleased and use them as a handy means of competing with each other.

Old cloakmakers doubtless will remember how the so-called decent cloak manufacturer would frequently come into the shop before he would announce such a reduction in the prices, with a telegram in his hand and tell the workers: "My salesman has just informed me that they cannot sell our garments." This burst of confidence was a sufficient hint. The workers knew what was coming next.

Conditions changed entirely when the workers in the cloak trade organized a real union. The cloakmakers obtained a firm in fixing prices for

garments through their price committee who would figure out what in their opinion the garment was worth in order to enable the workers to make a living. This brought a thorough upheaval in the trade and checked entirely the former tendency of the employers to compete with the others at the expense of the workers.

And now we are approaching the particular causes which have subsequently brought jobbing and sub-manufacturing in the cloak trade. It is more or less generally known that each employer or certain groups of employers specialize in certain lines of work. There are in the cloak industry a high class line, a medium line, and a cheap line. Yet there are in each line, besides that, several grades of work. For example, a manufacturer who makes a medium line of clothes produces suits or coats at \$12 apiece, wholesales price, and also suits and coats which cost \$35 and \$40. The expensiveness of the better garments in this medium line is caused not only by a more intricate design, but also by the better grade of material from which the garments are made. In such garments, naturally the investment of the manufacturer is proportionately greater, and, when the union obtained a measure of control in determining prices of labor, the following situation developed.

The price committee, when the price would be settled, had to take as a basis for their calculations in order to protect the workers in the shop, a better garment. When the price for a body, let us say, was fixed at 90 cents, it was not only for the body of a garment which would sell for \$40 but also for a \$12 garment. If an extra seam was placed at 10 cents, a button-hole at 5 cents and a pleat at 15 cents, it was fixed for all garments in the shop with the exception that on garments made of "mixtures," the body would cost 10 or 15 cents cheaper than if it were of serge. But for all other standard parts that were added to the body of the garment, the prices were uniform.

To be sure, it could not be otherwise. The machine sewing was the same on the better grade as on the cheaper garments and the work done by the finisher by hand was the same too. The workers could not have been expected to be interested in the quality of the materials as long as the amount of work on the garment was practically the same. The result

was an enormous inequality in the cost of making between garment and garment inasmuch as the cheaper garment cost proportionately a great deal more to make than the better product. And the workers were, of course, far more content to work on the cheaper lines as it afforded them a chance to earn more money.

It would be needless to expand here on the damage to mind and body and to the spirit of the union shop which this inequality has caused among our workers. The manufacturers at that time were confronted with two problems: First, it was the union which had come to stay; and second, this comparative inequality of cost of the various grades of garments. Then came another problem—inequality of settled prices between shops in the same line. As you know, the price on the body of the garment and of all other parts, and the classification of the line itself were dependent on the workers in the shop and their price committee. As a result there arose on this account, too, a sharp competition between manufacturers on the basis of the cost of labor, and under the piece-work system there was hardly a way of equalizing such costs. Naturally the manufacturers began to seek for ways of weakening the control of the union, and to eliminate, as far as possible, the throat-cutting competition between firms.

It must be mentioned here that even before 1910 there existed a small number of sub-manufacturers. These worked for the leading members of the Protective Association. I remember that as far back as 1909 I led a strike against a certain Bergman who had a shop in Orchard Street, New York City, and worked for either Rubel or Weil. He used to make up some samples, cut the goods in his own place and would make up garments for these manufacturers in the same manner as they make them up today. It stands to reason that the leaders of the Association, during the first season of their operating under union conditions, were to learn from their sub-manufacturers the difference between the cost of labor on the garments made in the "sub" shops and similar garments made by the employers in their "inside" shops. Then these manufacturers began to advise their fellow-members to start making their cheaper lines in outside shops—and sub-manufacturing thus blossomed forth on a large and ever-

## INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York calls a strike in the shop of the Boston Dress Company, 734 Broadway. The workers demand that the prices be so settled that they might be able to earn two dollars a day.

The Cleveland cloak firm of Landon & Herzschelmer published an advertisement in the Cleveland papers in which they promise a reward of \$500 to anyone who will disclose the identity of the persons who broke up the furniture in the home of scab foreman S. Levin. In addition the Cloak Manufacturers' Association announces a prize of \$5,000 to such workers who would disclose the persons who participated in the beating up of their poor, defenseless strike-breakers.

The strike against the firm of Percival Palmer in Chicago is already six weeks old. The union says that the prices be so settled that the strikers maintain a firm front.

growing scale. The "legitimate" manufacturer gradually began to abandon inside work until he turned jobber completely. In 1912 we already waged a fight against them.

There were jobbers in the cloak trade before too, but they conducted their business on a different scale. They would only do themselves to buying garments from the "subs." Later, when these sub-manufacturers began to develop they evinced a tendency to become regular manufacturers. Most of them, however, did not have sufficient capital to buy materials and to sell their ready-made product in the open market. So they were compelled to peddle their styles to manufacturers and to jobbers. This gave the jobber his opportunity. He began to buy more and more materials, turning them over to the "sub," who in return sold the jobber his ready-made product.

The effects of this "upheaval" on the labor conditions in the industry, have been discussed by me on more than one occasion at joint meetings, at the gatherings of our Joint Board, and at meetings of the G. E. B. of our International Union. The editorial pages of JUSTICE have carried numerous articles on this subject as well.

In my next article I shall try to tackle the main point—how to solve this problem and how to improve conditions for the workers in the cloak trade.

Let me confide to you, I shouldn't even shed tears if the farmer becomes the king pin of them all and links the daylight out of the city workers as well! For, and let the cloakmakers forgive me here, I still believe that if anyone can honestly be called a laborer it is he, the tiller of the soil, the "dirt" farmer. His hours are the longest, his toil is the hardest, and, above all, his labor is the most useful.

We can, somehow or other, get along without cloaks, even our women can, to a degree. But just try and get along, man, woman and child, without corn and potatoes.

Indeed, I lay my great hopes on the farmer.

Just give him a chance, and you will see that he will yet elect himself President some day. And why not have a farmer, a real-dirt-one in the White House? We have had three rough-riders, professors, newspapermen, and goodnests knows, we did not get too much happiness or glory from either of them. So let's far a change try a farmer as President.

A farmer as President would at least see to it that the people get enough bread, milk, and potatoes at fairly reasonable prices.

I fear only one thing. Politics might spoil the farmer. Politics have such a nasty influence over people that they might contaminate even children of nature. There is the danger that when the farmer plunges into politics he will become as corrupt as the city man.

But this danger is after all only remote. For the time being I vest my hope in the farmer.

## THE "LADY FAIR"

The private yacht "Lady Fair" was chartered by the Students' Council of our Workers' University and our Unity Centers for a trip on the Hudson River to Croton, for Sunday, August 5th. Members of the I. L. G. W. U. only can make reservations for themselves and friends by paying \$1.50 per person at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16 St.

## The Farmer Comes

By A. LEBEDIGER.

The Farmer comes, he is on his way,  
From farmhouses to the Senate.  
If "Big Biz" will nothing do for him,  
He'll be there himself to plan it.

Strange to say, it looks as if the farmer had sort of made up his mind to have a word or two to utter with regard to things political in America.

The farmer will wait no longer for a chance bone. If there are any bones to be given out, he would much prefer to preside at the ceremony. In a word, instead of "dominating" as heretofore the producing end of wheat, corn, hops, and potatoes, the farmer intends to get hold of the tools of government as if it were a plain, common thrasher.

Is it fair?  
Why not—by way of an answer, until now we have been governed by city folk all the way through—and a change to "peasant" rule might not be a bad thing at that. We poor fel-

lows of the city surely stand to lose no time by it. The only people that might get hurt are the rich, the capitalists and that should really not worry us.

Besides, there is that sporting interest involved in this coming fight as to who will win: city or farm. It is a duel, between "nature" and "culture," as it were, between living interests of the farmer and the purse interests of the bankers.

Personally, as an old friend of the village, I should love to see this farmer combine grow strong enough to catapult to the ground both the old donkey and elephant outfits. How much I would prefer a winning Potato Party, a Tomato Party, a Wheat Party, or even a Cattle-Poultry Party! Surely we cannot suffer half as much from a potato-tomato-hen combine as we have suffered in the past from that duplex donkey-elephant arrangement.

# The Melting Pot Boils

1. The Russians and Ruthenians in America. By Jerome Davis. George H. Doran Co., 1922. (Asiatic Interchange World Movement.)

By SYLVIA KOPALD

"Where did you come from, my pretty maid?"  
 "We came from Europe, sir," she said.  
 "What did you seek here, my pretty maid?"  
 "We sought freedom and comforts, sir," she said.  
 "What did you find here, my pretty maid?"  
 "We found starvation wages, Company laws, Chubbings and raids, Sir," she said.

Every school textbook, whether approved by Commissioner Hitchcock or not, can tell you that America from the beginning has represented two things beyond question or doubt: the golden land and the refuge for the oppressed and sorrow-laden of the world. Were not its richest men once poor boys? Does not the Statue of Liberty guard its gateway? Every one hundred per cent American knows the proper emphasis required for the answers to such questions.

I have heard of a shrewd business man who got his workers to perform the sternest jobs at the meannest wage by somehow convincing them that he was doing them a great kindness and favor in taking them on. His work needed skill and expertness; the men he turned out at once acquired enviable reputations in the trade; really they were in his debt, no matter what he paid them. And the technique worked splendidly until the worms suddenly and dramatically turned. The employer was hurt and perplexed until he began to pay his "strike costs." Then he joined the open shop campaign.

We are beginning to realize that America in its attitude toward the immigrant was much like that employer. It showered the poor of Europe with promises and glowing pictures of the splendid life they would find here, it beat tom-toms all over the world announcing the kindness and democracy and opportunities it showered upon the "foreigners"; and all the while it was growing rich and fat upon the toll of these same foreigners from whom it took far more than it gave.

There is no greater tragedy in the history of our class, probably, than the disillusion of these poor seekers from abroad who came here expecting to pick up gold on the streets. But New York only to be dumped into the steel towns, the textile mills and the sweatshops of ruthless American industry. Some day their poets will rise to catch and preserve that tragedy of bewilderment and pain in epics that will stir the hearts of American workers as Homer stirred the young Greek warriors. Meanwhile the sober mass facts upon which that epic may rise are being gathered. For here, too, the worm is turning. The huge melting pot is boiling dangerously and the rising rage of millions of disillusioned, suffering toilers sounds ominously through its hum.

The very hugeness of the melting-pot is as dangerous as its angry boiling. From its beginning America received some 25,000,000 men and women from the Old World. But 23,000,000 of them came after the Civil War, chiefly from Eastern and Southern Europe. It was during this period that machine industry was taking root in America—and there is significance in that fact. For the 23,000,000 whom we then welcomed to America came largely to do the "dirty work of factory, mine and mill without which the great triumph of industrial America would have been impossible. In a last analysis the most hated foreigners—the Wops and Sheenies and Mickers and Hunks

and the rest—made America what she is today. There are at least 56 different nationalities contained in our working class and more than three-fifths of it is foreign. Even after the war when America began to decide she had offered "refuge for enough of the oppressed" and passed the restrictive immigration law, the industrialists raised a howl. Judge Gary and his tribe want the immigrant—but they also want him where they want him.

And that's why the melting pot is beginning to boil. Company towns, twelve-hour days, starvation wages, slums, monotonous heavy toll with contempt as a reward are reaping their inevitable harvest. And so our democratic Americans are giving the protesting immigrants just what they boasted they would to help them escape from: anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-syndicalist laws, raids, Cossacks, strike-breaking soldiers, Lusk laws, segregation and all the rest of the tyrants' bag of tricks. The immigrants are fighting—and would that more of our unions realized the importance of that fight. And "liberal" Americans, shocked and frightened, are adding their force to the growing revolt. Theirs may indeed be a tiny strength; but their activities certainly build up sympathy, fighting facts, and protective shields about the strategic fighters.

The New American Series, produced under the auspices of the Interchange World Movement, can play a significant role in this liberal movement of protest and aid. Each study

is undertaken by a writer who is either "a kinsman or has had direct and intimate relationship with the people, or group of peoples presented." Each one is designed to be "sympathetic but critical." At present some twelve groups of people have been chosen for study. Your reviewer plans to select from these groups those which are of particular interest to the members of the I. L. C. W. U. either because of relationship or contact: namely the Jewish, Polish, Russian and Italian. If any members desire to read about some other group we shall be glad to give them the informative review, if the material is available. For admitting the undoubted religious slant of these studies, they are popularizing significant facts on what the American melting pot really has meant in terms of reality rather than of promise. And, after all one can always discount a bias.

The story of the Russians and Ruthenians in America may be stated with comparative brevity. For there is a fat sameness in that story which is relieved by neither isolated Russian-American millionaires nor bright spots of middle-class comfort. The Russians in America are found in the company towns, the steel mills, the heavy casual jobs and the slums. There are hundreds of thousands of them here—the Christian Russians from the Tsar's government and the Ruthenians from Austria-Hungary (little Russians from Bukovina, etc.). They have concentrated in the industrial centers—New York and Pennsylvania together hold over one-half of the million contained in this group. Which means of course that the steel mills, the coal mines and the factories have drawn these husky peasants. Mr. Davis has many a sad story showing how these new occupations slowly break the health of the powerful mujiks. But their returns for their

hard toil have won them only the thinnest pay envelopes. In 1920 at the peak of the boom period the average Russian workman earned from \$25 to \$30 a week, which did not take into account time lost through shut-downs, sickness and other causes.

Such wages naturally cannot buy satisfactory lives in a world whose common denominator is money. Company-town shacks or slum tenements with their garbage piles, outside toilets, lack of plumbing and crowding (as many as 17 in a room at times) have led a Russian doctor to exclaim bitterly "Americans build holes which are not fit for pigs to live in and rent them out to Russians." And of course these same Americans turn up their noses at Russian peasant tunes. The Russians with their love for music and dancing usually make some of their own recreation and also frequent movies, clubs and other group amusements. Yet when an investigator asked some of the steel mill Russians "What do you do when you want to have a good time?" they said, "When you want a good time, sleep a couple hours." A large majority of the men, finally, are forced either to remain single if unmarried or to keep their wives in Russia if married before they left Europe because they cannot afford to maintain families on the wages they receive.

Since the war, of course, all these Russians have come in for some measure of persecution because of the Bolshevik hysteria. Refused jobs, mistreated on the job, attacked through the papers, the Citizens' League and what not and raided at their most harmless club meetings, the mounting of distrust of the Russians at American promises has turned to a vast bitterness. Every one of the workers whom Mr. Davis interviewed was anxious to go back. They distrusted their church, they distrusted the campaign for Americanization, they were bitter because of experiences with foreman, taxer, landlord, government, and boss in America. A group of men arrested for alleged Communist sympathies conferred to Mr. Davis that they had never met any American who had lent them a kind helping hand.

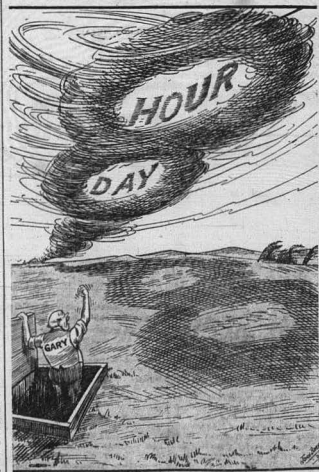
And so Mr. Davis, surveying this group of hard working, patient, long-suffering, fundamentally simple and kindly people asks: "Bolshevik or Brothers?" Well, the church may strive hard to win them as brothers. But the employers who light the flames that keep the melting pot boiling will do their best to make them Bolsheviki. And because low wages and long hours are more potent than professions of love and paternalism, I have a hunch the employers will win.

## LABOR SUMMER SCHOOLS IN EUROPE

At Schloss Tins, near Gera, Thuringia, Germany, a summer school will be held by the Young Workers' International, in conjunction with the International Federation of Trade Unions, from July 26th to August 9th. The age limit of visitors is 19. The director of studies will be Herr Müller.

At Schloss Schönbrunn, near Vienna, the International Federation of Trade Unions will hold a summer school for workers from August 10th to 25th. Trade Unionists and members of labor parties and Cooperative societies are eligible to attend. The director of the school will be Dr. Max Winter of the "Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung."

A summer school for young people and others will also be organized by the International Federation of Trade Unions at Schloss Brühl, near Bonn. The director will be Dr. Karl Gebhardt, an expert on labor education. The school will be open from August 4th to 18th.



By Courtesy of the American Federationist

Gary: "God of Steel, can this menace be stayed?"





# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### INDICMENTS IN FRISCO FOR ANTI-UNION ACTIVITY.

Industrial associations and 49 firms and individuals were indicted in the Federal Court in San Francisco recently for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They were specifically charged with refusing to sell building material to contractors unless at least 50 per cent of their employes were non-union. The cases have been set for trial September 12th.

### INDIANA OPENS LABOR BANK.

The Indiana Labor Bank being organized at Indianapolis, has among its stockholders 38 Indianapolis labor unions. The institution will be patterned after the bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Cleveland.

### INJUNCTION AGAINST KU KLUX KLAN.

A temporary injunction restraining the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and its sister organization Kamelia, Inc., from exercising any corporate rights under their incorporation papers recently filed with the Secretary of State was granted by Supreme Court Justice Hinman.

### AMERICA WITHDRAWS RUSSIAN RELIEF.

The American Relief Administration is withdrawing from Russia. For almost two years 200 Americans have been fighting famine there and have saved more lives than were lost in the World War. The Relief Administration cost America about \$62,000,000.

### SCHWAB FAVORS EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

An eight-hour day in the steel industry has been approved by Chas. M. Schwab, who said he was "heartily in favor of Judge Gary's recent promise to President Harding to cut the steel day down from twelve hours." He expressed the opinion that this should be done as soon as possible, but he thinks that will be a long time.

### SERIOUS DANGER IN BOOTLEG LIQUOR.

One per cent of 80,000 samples of liquor seized by prohibition agents during the 1922 fiscal year and analyzed in government laboratories was genuine. Prohibition Commissioner Haynes declared, reiterating that adulteration of bootleg liquor was leading to serious physical consequences.

### RAILWAY CLERKS ASK WAGE INCREASES OF BOARD.

Requests for increases in wages by the clerical forces of 68 railroads and for adjustment of working rules will be argued before the United States Railroad Labor Board by the carriers and representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks.

### NEW ENGLAND PHONE STRIKE FAILS.

The strike of telephone operators in New England was declared off by Julia O'Connor, president of the Telephone Operators' Department. The strike has been in force since June 28.

### COST OF LIVING STILL RISING.

The cost of living advanced an average of one-half of one per cent in the United States between March and June, and in the latter month it was 69.7 per cent higher than in 1915. Figures compiled in 22 representative cities reveal that in the period from March until June living cost changes ranged from a decline of 1 per cent in Savannah to an increase of nearly 3 per cent in Seattle.

### U. M. W. A. ASKS SCIENTIFIC WAGE BASIS.

Thomas Kennedy, president of District No. 7, United Mine Workers of America, caused a stir in the anthracite wage negotiations at Atlantic City when he proposed that the operators and miners take cognizance of the United States Coal Commission's recent report by putting into effect its recommendation number 7, and establish a "scientific and equitable basis for (wage) rate making."

### NATIONALIZATION NOT CONSIDERED AT CONFERENCE.

Denial that the National Conference on Railway Valuation has made any move that would result in government ownership or confiscation of the railways was made in a statement by Donald Richberg, general counsel for the conference. The conference contends that the valuation of the carriers for rate-making purposes should be based on the original cost of the building and equipment, against the contention of the railways that it should be based on the present costs of replacement.

### D. UGHERTY PROTECTS SAN FRANCISCO UNIONS.

Criminal action by the Federal Government against San Francisco building material dealers to protect the right of building workers to organize, is in view. Attorney General Daugherty announced in Chicago. The dealers and certain trade associations are charged with conspiracy to boycott labor unions by refusing to furnish material to contractors employing organized labor.

### FRAYNE TO ASSIST IN IMMIGRATION INVESTIGATION.

William Fellows Morgan of New York accepted the honorary chairmanship and Hugh Frayne the vice-chairmanship of the Advisory Council as pointed by Senator Cullis to aid his joint legislative committee in its investigation of immigrant exploitation. The actual work of investigation was begun by a questionnaire sent out from the office of Bradley Buell, Secretary of the Council.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### ITALY

#### THE POPE AND WARS.

According to "Tourneymen" in the NEW LEADER (July 5) the Pope proposed to issue an Encyclical which will make it part of the law of the Catholic Church that every soldier who crosses a frontier with arms in his hand is liable to excommunication—which means the outlawry by the Church of aggressive warfare. If this reform is carried into effect it will be after the next Catholic Conference in 1925.

#### THE LIRA FALLS.

The continual fall of the lira has had the effect of concentrating Italian attention upon the Anglo-French crisis. The bourgeois opposition is discontented with Mussolini's attitude as insufficiently clear. Some newspapers complain that he is less in harmony with England than Italian opinion is. Official organs reply that Italy must follow her own interests and concentrate exclusively upon the recovery of the Italian debt.

#### ITALIAN TEXTILE WORKERS' COMPLAINTS.

In a report sent by the Italian Textile Workers' Union to the International Workers' Secretariat, the usual complaints are made of the atrocities of the Fascist hands. An attempt to lengthen working hours has failed, thanks to the passive resistance of the workers, but land-workers' hours are still quite unlimited. The cost of food is steadily rising, as the shopkeepers now have nothing to fear from the competition of the cooperatives. Discussions or expressions of disapproval of any act of the Fascist trade unions are not permitted. The Fascist unions alone make contracts with the employers, and trade union contributions go straight into their coffers from the employers. Despite all persecution, however, the kernel of the members of the Textile Workers' Union remains faithful, and makes great sacrifices for the sake of the union and the union press.

### RUSSIA

#### NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION.

Under the new Soviet constitution recently ratified at Moscow by the Assembly of delegates, Lenin will be the Union President, while Trotsky, Tchibeterin, Dzerzinsk, Krasin and Sokolnikoff have been appointed Commissioners of War, Foreign Affairs, Transport, Foreign Trade and Finance respectively. Christian Rakovsky has been selected to succeed Krasin as Official Agent of the Soviet Republic in London.

### GERMANY

#### BERLIN'S METAL STRIKE.

The strike of the German metal workers began on July 7th. It is the policy of the Strike Committee, with an eye on union funds, only to call out a certain proportion of the men in order to induce the employers to negotiate. The Communists disagree with this policy, and advocate a strike along the whole line, as in the case of the Ruhr strike last May.

#### AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' STRIKE IN SILESIA.

The causes of this strike, which has already lasted for several weeks, and which affects some 90,000 workers in all, are to be found in the starvation wages of the land-workers, and the breaches of contract by the employers. The conduct of the workers has been excellent, and they are very determined to hold out. The industrial unions of the district are giving assistance and making representations to the authorities, who may intercede; but the union is resolved not to call off the strike until a satisfactory agreement has been concluded.

#### THE GERMAN FACTORY-WORKERS' UNION.

This union has made rapid strides during the year 1922; its numbers rose from 681,971 to 735,013, an increase of 51,042; and this in spite of the fact that the Communists possess a rival union.

### SWEDEN

#### YOUNG SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Young Socialist International held a great gathering at Lund in Sweden on June 9 and 10. The total attendance numbered no less than 16,000 people. Three thousand young Swedish workers took part and 500 Danish delegates; Norway was also represented. A great torch procession through the town was organized. Foreign guests were Voegd, from Holland; Westphal, from Germany; Postervell, from Norway, and Christianson, from Denmark, all of whom, together with Lindström of Sweden, are leaders of the Young Socialist Movement. Addresses were given by Stauning and Branting.

### ASIA

#### THE WEST'S GIFT TO THE EAST.

Poison gas, which had so deadly an effect during the Great War, has now made a successful entry into the Land of the Rising Sun. It was at one time reported that we owe this triumph of civilized warfare to the Tartars, but recent investigations prove that the Tartar race rejected this means of warfare as too barbarous! The West with its much-boasted civilization has therefore surpassed Tartar barbarians in its choice of weapons! Now the Tartar is receiving back from the hands of the European his own invention in a more powerful and more deadly form.

### DENMARK

The Labor Bank in Copenhagen (founded by the Danish workers' organizations) had a turnover last year of 429 million kroner, or 89 million kronen more than the previous year. There was a balance of 105,254 kronen. In order to comply with the legal regulations, the share capital has had to be increased by one million kronen.

# EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

## Report of Education Sub-Committee, Trades Union Congress General Council

(Continued from Last Week.)

### FUNCTIONS OF ORGANIZATION

An organization of the character here suggested will require to be organized in national, district, and local organizations, and be representative of the bodies concerned. The following is a brief indication of what their functions ought to be:

**National Organization**—The national organization should be representative of (a) the General Council of the Congress; (b) trade unions and such other bona fide working-class organizations as offer special educational facilities to their members; (c) district organizations. It should be responsible for policy, principles, methods, finances, the preparation of text-books, syllabuses, the organization of special schools and of correspondence tuition suitable for study circles, and be finally responsible to the General Council for conducting its educational activities on lines approved by the Congress.

**District Organizations**—District organizations should be representative of local organizations and be responsible to the national organization for the development and the maintenance of the principles and policy of the movement within their own area, and for the setting up of local organizations. They should be responsible, also, for the organization of classes, study-circles, the provision of teachers, lecturers, etc., in those parts of their respective districts in which local organizations have not been established. To be really successful, districts will require the services of full-time organizing secretaries who should be responsible to the national organization.

**Local Organizations**—The functions of the local organizations should be both educational and recreational. They should be concerned with the educational and recreational needs of adults (men and women) and adolescents. The percentage of boy and girl wage-earners who are trade unionists is very small. How to win and retain their allegiance has as yet received practically no consideration. They are too young to be appealed to by friendly, unemployed, or strike benefits. Their experience has been too limited to awaken interest in the working-class movement, its history, and problems. Having left school, for the most part, before having acquired the reading habit, much less the study habit, they have no desire to join classes or to study social questions. Their interests are in the direction of sports, games, and friendly gatherings. Their interests are being catered for to an increasing extent by welfare workers, semi-philanthropic bodies; etc., none of which are necessarily interested in winning the allegiance of these young people to the working-class movement. On the contrary, their interests usually lie in an opposite direction. If the trade union movement intends to take its educational problems seriously, then it will have to give a great deal of consideration to its young people. Much of the kind of work done by work schools, scout clubs, and welfare organizations ought, in the interest of all working-class movement, to be provided by an organization of the kind outlined above. The physical, moral, and intellectual value of the work now being carried out by such bodies is obvious; but it must also be recognized that the organiza-

tions that provide these facilities win the allegiance of the young people, color their minds during the most formative period of life, and their bias is frequently anti-labor. The local committees should also be responsible for lectures, study-circles, classes, week-end schools, etc. It is equally important that they should represent the interest of organized labor in all educational questions. The time has come when no young person should grow up without a general knowledge of the history of the working-class movement, including trade unionism and cooperation. At present there is no adequate history of the working-class movement, but it is being written gradually, and, although it is intended for adults, its contents ought to find a place in all histories used in our schools.

### CONCLUSION

While, however, your Committee is of the opinion that the extensive and varied educational needs of the trade union movement can only adequately be met by a comprehensive scheme of the character outlined above, it recognizes the need for further negotiations with the bodies concerned, including not only those specially referred to in the Congress resolution, but the board of education, the authorities responsible for tutorial classes, the Association of Education Committees, the Workers' Educational Association, the Central Education Committee of the Cooperative Union, the National Council of Labor Colleges, the Workmen's Club and Institute Union, etc. As each of these bodies will be in different degrees affected by the development of such a scheme, it is right and necessary that they should be consulted. To attempt to establish it without consultation with these bodies will inevitably lead to overlapping and retard developments. After relations with these bodies have been determined the bigger task of organizing it will have to be undertaken. We therefore recognize that complete effect cannot be given at once to our recommendations in regard to an inclusive scheme, and that it is therefore necessary to consider what is possible in the immediate future.

The serious depletion of trade union funds due to unemployment, and attacks on wages prevents your committee from recommending the immediate taking over of any of the bodies specially referred to in the Congress resolution, if such transfer involves an increased contribution from the affiliated unions to the funds of the General Council. We are of opinion that the time will come when the trade union movement as a whole will levy itself for educational purposes, but for the reason stated above, we regard such a proposal as impracticable for the time being.

### OUR OUTLINES

Last week was completed in Justice the outline of a course on the "Social and Political History of the United States," given by Dr. H. J. Carman. This is the description of eighteen lessons that Dr. Carman gave at our Workers' University for the season 1922-23. The outlines are especially prepared for our members in simple language, and a reprint will appear in pamphlet form for distribution among them.

## A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the  
UNITY CENTERS

of the  
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION  
Season 1922-1923

### DESCRIPTION OF THE COURSE

(Introduction to a Course of 8 Lessons which will appear weekly in JUSTICE)

Men everywhere, are seeking to discover what's wrong with the world! And certainly, labor wants to learn just where the trouble lies, for labor suffers most from what is happening. Economics can furnish the key which will reveal the true nature of our present problems.

For, economics begins with fundamentals by calling attention to the basic purpose of the complex thing we call modern industry. It shows how industry is rooted in two facts: First, in the fact that man is an animal, and secondly, in the fact that he is the highest of all animals. As an animal, he must have food and protection from the elements, which means, shelter, protective clothing and fuel. Food, shelter, clothing, fuel—give us these or we die. Because he is a social animal, man obtains these necessities by group activity.

This group activity, however, has been tremendously advanced by the fact that man is the highest of all animals—a tool using animal. The tool is the second foundation pillar of modern industry. For in the continuous task of satisfying his animal wants with the aid of tools, man has advanced from the rough stone chopper of the Old Stone Age to the power driven automatic machine of today. The most complex modern machine, however, is merely a grown up, infinitely improved stone tool. It is part of a productive system whose primary function is the primary function of every productive system, i. e. the satisfaction of human wants.

Building on this basis, economics can go on to show how industry as organized today, is not devoted first and foremost to satisfying human wants. Modern industry is used for making profits. Business enterprise (profit-making) and machine production are two entirely different things.

This course, will attempt to show, therefore, how the business management of modern industry has and is working out; it will point out how and where the waste in modern production comes in; it will analyze the internationalism of industry and its relation to War. Finally, it will consider the various suggestions for economic reorganization that have been made to bring modern industry back to its original purpose of satisfying human needs; and it will attempt to explain labor's part in such reorganization.

## Content of Our Courses

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

At present our chief concern is the teaching of the social sciences. As never before the unions are called upon to work out their relationships in the industrial life, to find their places before the law, and to define their position in the world of politics and government. Without a good education along these lines, it is impossible for our members to understand how existing economic conditions can be changed with the least difficulty and with the greatest possible success. This is the reason that so much time is devoted to industrial history, social psychology, economic geography, government, injunctions, trade union history and policy.

But we also recognize that our members are interested in other things besides their economic and social problems. They are human beings endowed with the irresistible human desire for play, joy and happiness. They are men and women who are interested in life as a whole. They seek to satisfy this interest, and turn wherever they can to do so. Hence, workers' education must not be narrow and the curriculum of the workers' college must be all-embracing.

We satisfy the desire of our members not only for the social sciences, but also for the best of literature, the truths of psychology, the beauties of music, the joys of dancing and play, the pleasure of social gatherings and the delights of nature.



## With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary  
(Record of Meetings, July 16 and 23, 1923.)

### OUTSIDE COMMITTEES

Upon opening the meeting Brother Hancock, representing the Butchers' Union of Chicago, appeared before the Board, stating that their union was compelled to legally defend one of their members on whom a frame-up was made and who is at the present time held under \$100,000 bail on a charge of murder. Brother Hancock stated that the employers of Chicago, as elsewhere, are doing all they possibly can to have a member of their union convicted, and though the indicted Brother Green is innocent, it is, nevertheless, necessary to defend him legally and this is quite expensive. He appealed to the Joint Board to help financially towards that defense. A committee was appointed to investigate this request and to submit a report of its findings to the Board of Directors at their next meeting.

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS' REPORTS

The Board of Directors submitted the following reports of their meetings held on July 16th and July 23rd:

In accordance with the decision of the Joint Board that the Board of Directors take up the question of devising ways and means of safeguarding the wages due our members, the Board of Directors decided that the Joint Board send out a letter to all the shop chairmen and also advertise in the press, advising the workers that they should refuse to accept checks in payment of wages and that they should report to the office immediately, any delay in securing their wages.

### MANAGER'S REPORT

Brother Hochman reported on the Kane Costume Company, stating that they had negotiations with them and also with the workers of the shop; a shop meeting had been held. He recommended that unless the firm is willing to sign a Jobbers' agreement and to deposit a substantial sum with the Joint Board as security, steps be taken against them.

Brother Hochman stated that he intends to have Brother Friedman transferred from the Organization to the Investigation Department due to the fact that there are many investigations on hand. Brother Friedman will take care of the members of the Jobbers' Association and of the unorganized sample-makers, and Brother Ackerman will take care of the general investigations. Plans for

organization work are under way and we may expect to get busy in that direction in the near future. It is very likely that additional people will have to be engaged to conduct the organization work.

Brother Horowitz reported that during the week of July 16th, 14 discharge cases were filed in his department. Of these 11 were reinstated, one was withdrawn, and two received compensation as a dismissal wage. There were also filed 16 cutters' cases. Of these, three were found guilty and a monetary fine of \$44 each was collected and six employers were instructed to employ cutters. Seven were either dropped or withdrawn. There were also 22 cases for claims of wages due for either failure to pay for overtime or scales. These were adjusted amicably.

Brother Horowitz further reported that a stoppage of work occurred in the B. Annis shop, and the Association demanded the discharge of the chairman, charging him with causing the stoppage. This case was brought before an impartial chairman and, after a great deal of wrangling on the contention of Brother Horowitz that in accordance with Paragraph 26 of our agreement the Union is the only body which can discipline its members for violations in regard to stoppage of work, the Association finally withdrew from the case with the intention of taking it up in conference with the Union.

### REPORT OF JULY 23, 1923—OUTSIDE COMMITTEES

A committee representing the Labor Center of Coney Island appeared before the Board stating that Coney Island is not only a pleasure center but has a large and steady population, a great part of which is clamoring for a permanent radical organization, and that representatives from various organizations, as well as individuals, have decided to build a Labor Lyceum in Coney Island. In order that this may be accomplished they appeal for financial aid. The secretary was instructed to investigate the request and submit a report to the Board of Directors.

### MANAGER'S REPORT

Brother Hochman, general manager, reported that the negotiations with Harry J. Kane did not bring about the desired results and a strike was declared against this firm.

In regard to the organization work, Brother Hochman reported that during the past week eight new shops were taken down on strike and settled the same week and that additional shops are being taken down.

### ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE REPORT

The Organization Committee submitted the following report of their meeting held on Tuesday, July 17th, at 16 West 21st Street:

"Upon the suggestion of Brother Berlin the committee took up for discussion ways and means for the functioning of the Organization Committee. The committee decided that the Joint Board adopt the following:

#### 1. Shop-chairmen meetings.

To continue calling regular shop-chairmen meetings at which the officers of the Joint Board in conjunction with the Organization Committee should acquaint the shop-chairmen with the doings of the organization, and also impress upon them the need for observing union rules in the shop where they are employed and the bearing of conditions in each and every shop on the industry in general.

The shop-chairmen are also to be instructed to communicate to their co-workers in the shops what transpired at the chairman meetings.

#### 2. District meetings.

District meetings should be called periodically. At these meetings the business agent in charge should report on the activities of the district in question for the given period. The members present should be given an opportunity to discuss that report.

Appeals should be made to members at these meetings to join in the organizing of non-union shops within the near reach of their place of employment.

#### 3. Non-union shops and workers.

The committee, being aware of the great number of non-union shops as well as the great number of non-union people, decided to urge that the proposed organization campaign be carried on and that a sub-committee consisting of Brother Berlin and Sister Auerbach be appointed to appear at the next meeting of the executive board of Local No. 89 with a view to asking that executive board to advise them how best the non-union Italian workers may be organized.

#### 4. Colored workers.

In order to stimulate greater activity among the colored workers, the Organization Committee decided to notify some of the active colored union workers to attend a meeting of the Organization Committee in order to work out ways and means with their advice how to reach the colored workers employed in our indus-

try and make them understand the importance of unity.

#### 5. Next Shop-Chairmen Meeting.

It was reported that a shop-chairmen meeting was arranged to be held on Thursday, July 26th, at Beethoven Hall, right after work, and that letters to the shop-chairmen will be mailed by the end of this week.

It was further decided that the order of business should be:

1. How to organize the non-union shops.
2. Enlistment of an Organization Committee.
3. Amalgamation of the Dress Union with the Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Union.

The report of the Organization Committee was taken up serially, each and every recommendation being carefully discussed. In particular, the recommendation as to the order of business for the shop-chairmen meeting scheduled to be held on Thursday, July 26th, brought about a long discussion.

A motion to approve the report of the Organization Committee as a whole was carried. It was furthermore decided to extend an invitation to President Sigman of the International, to attend this shop-chairmen meeting and address the shop-chairmen, it being understood that the shop-chairmen may modify the order of business.

### AMALGAMATION

Sister Rose Wortis reported for the committee on the amalgamation, stating that at the committee meeting held on Monday, July 23d, the committee decided to inform the International that in reply to their communication of June 21st, the Joint Board appointed a committee to meet a sub-committee of the General Executive Board in order to come to certain understandings as to the basis on which the amalgamation should take place. The committee further decided that when the sub-committees meet, our sub-committee should demand that Local No. 60 should remain as a local and be taken in as such to the Cloakmakers' Joint Board until the next convention. As to Local No. 25, the committee decided that this local should become a branch of Local No. 22.

This report brought about a warm discussion in which many delegates and officers participated and after due deliberation upon motion it was decided to approve the action of the committee in sending a letter to the International. As to the recommendation about Local No. 60, a motion to concur in the recommendation was defeated. As to the recommendation of Local No. 25, in regard to its becoming a branch of Local No. 22, a motion to that effect was carried.

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# The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

## GENERAL

The last general meeting which was held on Monday, July 30th, in Arlington Hall, was converted into a gathering for the discussion of the future of labor politics, though actually, of course, it was the regular monthly meeting of all the branches of Local 10, at which the month's reports of the executive board were up for discussion and adoption.

The board's minutes contained the usual requests for donations, some of which received favorable consideration while others were referred to the two joint boards.

In the report for July 5th there was contained the statement of Max Stoller to the effect that the present conditions in the trade no longer required him to serve as business agent. It will be recalled that immediately after the 1923 general strike in the dress trade Manager Dubinsky practically defeated Stoller into service as a business agent to investigate and control dress shops.

Stoller served for about five months. Recently work in the office slowed up. Controllers White and Leder and Business Agent Stoller saw this and decided to quit. The season was beginning and with it began a temporary slowing up of slack time problems. In the case of Stoller, who was appointed by a general meeting as business agent upon the recommendation of the executive board, it was decided that he be granted a week's notice, since he practically gave up a job to serve the office.

Following the adoption of these reports President Philip Ansel and Business Agent Benjamin Sacks, delegates to the central trades and conference of the American Labor Party, respectively, reported.

In one of the reports of the executive board it was stated that the union's chairman was appointed to represent it at the Albany conference of the labor party. The delegates, representing railroad unions, which called the conference, and unions in the needle trades as well as the Socialist Party met last Sunday in Albany.

Because the communication reached the executive board after the last general meeting had already taken place, and because the last meeting was to take place after the conference was to have been held, the board decided to appoint a delegate, particularly in view of the fact that Local 10 was affiliated with the American Labor Party.

It would take a great deal of space to recount all the talk and action at this conference. Suffice it to say that the railroad unions were bent upon a policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" as their political weapon. And it was upon this point that the conference ended. However, it was not broken up. The door was left open for future parleys of the political and labor organizations towards unified action on the political field.

Following President Ansel's report the floor was thrown open for discussion. One of the members spoke at some length on this question. He seemed to have been very enthusiastic concerning the political future of the American workers. To him the millennium had already arrived. He said, in effect, the farmers and laborers had already organized in Chicago and all the members present had to do in order to usher in the new social order was to affiliate with the party organized in Chicago.

Brother Perlmutter spoke in favor of the American Labor Party. He said that political action for the

American workers was a matter of education. He pointed out that while one should not despair concerning the political future of the workers of this country, nevertheless the prospect towards this end is slowly but surely favoring the advocates of independent political working-class action.

Brother Sacks delivered a report of the doings of the Central Trades and Labor Council, of which he is a delegate from Local 10. One of the most important questions touched upon during the course of his report, is the matter of the issuing of credentials to an officer of the militia for the purpose of soliciting recruits of labor unions.

This was once approved. But such a storm of protest was raised against it that the central body withdrew its sanction. The executive board of the cutters' union received a communication with regard to this question recently. No action was taken on this communication as its delegates knew the position of the membership. And when the issue was raised again before the central body it received a death blow.

Latest reports with respect to the progress of the amalgamation of the dressmaking locals shows that the International's committee which was charged with the duty of making the arrangements is not losing any time in carrying out the G. E. R.'s decision.

This also practically means that the membership of the pressers' local, No. 69, is to be transferred to Cloak Pressers' Local No. 35. And it also means that within the next two or three weeks the Dress Joint Board will hold its dissolution meeting. Thus before the end of the present month is over the business of the dress industry will probably be conducted by the Cloak Joint Board. Complaints of cutters will be handled as usual through the office of the cutters' union. Cutters may, as they have in the past, file their complaints directly with the Joint Board, which will be the cloakmakers' organization. In other words, the complaints of the cloak and dress cutters will receive the attention of one central body.

The completion of the amalgamation, of course, will necessitate the calling by the secretary of the constitution committee to determine the future of Local 10 in line with the change.

## CLOAK AND SUIT

Manager Dubinsky is calling a meeting of the cloak cutters in the Brownsville district this week. Numerous complaints have reached him of the conditions obtaining in that section, and in order to receive first hand information he has decided upon this step.

Last week and the week before Brother Shenker, upon instructions of the manager, made a survey of the shops in that part of Brooklyn. The report shows a need for very close watching of the shops there.

Manager H. Slatky, of the Independent, American and Reefe Departments of the Cloak Joint Board, submitted a report of the conditions obtaining in the shops under his jurisdiction. A copy of this report was sent to Manager Dubinsky.

The report shows a total of 367 cutters in the cloak and suit shops and 220 cutters in the reefe shops. The average wage paid to cloak cutters is \$52.56. The reefe men earn an average of \$52.70.

Six cloak cutters are receiving from \$39 to \$42 per week. These are shops recently organized in which were found men who received very

low wages, which are now being raised gradually. Forty-five are receiving the minimum and up \$45 per week; 118 cutters earn from \$46 to \$50; 101 men are paid from \$55 to \$55 weekly; 62 men receive from \$56 to \$60 a week; and, 32 men earn from \$65 to \$85 per week.

The wages of the reefe men are: 8 from \$30 to \$43 per week; 35 from \$44 to \$45 weekly; 72 men are paid from \$47 to \$50 per week; 51 men earn from \$51 to \$55 per week; 34 men receive from \$57 to \$60 per week. And the wages of 20 men range from \$63 to \$85 weekly.

## WAIST AND DRESS

Judging by the number of desiring players found in the office the dress trade seems to be picking up slightly. However, the prospect is by no means optimistic. Normally, this should have been the busy season. The larger shops did seem to have some work during the past few weeks. But one shop, which placed eight additional men and supplied them with work for about two or three weeks, laid off twelve men last week.

Organization work in the joint board is lagging just now, largely because the season is a see-sawing one; now work is plentiful and now it slows up. As soon as the organization department is about ready to call some open shop on strike, the trade takes a sudden drop and the union is compelled to postpone the strike.

The office naturally feels this. Manager Dubinsky had decided some time ago to call shop meetings of the dress and waist shops. But when the shop records were gone over lately it was found that a large number of the men had been laid off.

The fact that the joint board is doing little organization work is also partly attributable to the pending amalgamation. This question, as will be seen from the general report, will shortly be disposed of and the union will then be able to launch its full resources in the organization field.

## MISCELLANEOUS

The result of the communication which Manager Dubinsky dispatched to the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association in which charges were preferred against the association as such and some of its members for failure to live up to certain parts of the agreement, is winding itself up into a conference.

The manager requested in his letter that the grievance committee be convened for this purpose, in accordance with the agreement. But the manager of the association as yet did not reply, and when this matter was taken up with President Sigman, he suggested that the office request a conference where these problems would be aired.

Of course, the association's manager could not refuse this. The conference took place last Wednesday. The results cannot be made public, as this publication was in the press at the time the manager's representatives met the employers.

The complaint of the union is a very serious one. Aside from the fact that its representative cannot gain admittance into the shops of the association members, which is contrary to the agreement, the manager of the employers' organization has up to the present time not investigated with the representative of the cutters' a single one of the many complaints filed by the union. This in itself is a serious violation. Whenever a representative of Local 10 would request a joint investigation he was always met with advice or with words to the effect that the complaint was unfounded. Requests for a proper adjustment were practically ignored. Aside from one or two telephone calls, the manager of the association has not properly looked into any complaint. Manager Dubinsky was well armed with facts to bear out the union's charges. He showed where letters were dispatched to employers who were members of the association in which the bosses were told that the complaints will have to be adjusted individually. It was the contention of the union's representative that this was no way of collective bargaining. In next week's issue the stand of the employers and the result of the conference will be given in detail.

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# CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

## Notice of Regular Meetings

CLOAK AND SUIT	Monday, Aug. 6th
WAIST AND DRESS	Monday, August 13th
MISCELLANEOUS	Monday, August 20th
GENERAL	Monday, August 27th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place