

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 38.

New York, Friday,

1923.

Price 2 Cents

FIVE INTERNATIONAL NEEDLE TRADERS ALLIANCE

Morris Sigman Elected President of Alliance—Executive Council Consists of Sigman, Zaritsky, Hillman, Kaufman and Sweeney

Last Friday and Saturday, September 7 and 8, a conference of five international unions of needle workers in America met and achieved definite and highly pleasing results. The conference began on Friday morning at the Hotel Martinique, Broadway at 224 Street, and ended its sessions in the Council Room of the International Building, 3 West 16th Street.

The following organizations were represented at the conference: The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union by President Sigman, Secretary Baroff, Vice-president Feinberg, Heller and Wanderer; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America by President Hillman, Secretary Schlossberg and H. Blumberg; the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers' Union by President Zaritsky, Secretary Zuckerman and Budish, Specter and Goldberg; the International Fur Workers' Union by President Kaufman, Secretary Wexman, Braunstein, Cohen and Silverstein; and the Journeymen Tailors' Union by Secretary Thomas Sweeney, Avids and Boller. Thomas Sweeney acted as chairman and Max Zuckerman of the Capmakers' Union as secretary of the conference. The delegates of these five needle workers' unions, representing several hundred thousand members, worked out a program for the future activities of the Alliance and its bylaws. An executive council of five and general officers were

also elected.

Morris Sigman was nominated as president of the Alliance by Joseph Schlossberg, general secretary of the Amalgamated. At the end of the conference, President Hillman of the Amalgamated pointed out that he was highly gratified that President Sigman's nomination came from a representative of the Amalgamated, in-

dicating beyond controversy that the campaign of slander which is being leveled now against our International Union and its officers from the outside has not made the least impression upon any section of the organized workers in the needle industry. At the end of the conference the presidents of each of the international unions present were present.

(Continued on Page 7)

Disturbers Break Up Meeting of Local 1

Local Will Call Culprits to Account

The member meeting of Local 1, which was scheduled to have taken place last Thursday evening, September 6th, at Manhattan Lyceum, did not materialize. This meeting was to have discussed the question of a general organization department to be formed by the Joint Board to organize the non-union shops and to install stricter control over union conditions in all other shops; the problem of overtime in the shops; means of finding places for unemployed shopmakers; the fixing of wage scales for new workers in the shops; more frequent meetings of shop-chairmen; and mass meetings to acquaint the workers with the new demands that are to be presented to the manufacturers, including a labor bureau and an unemployment fund.

Local 1 also invited President Morris Sigman of the International to report on the recent negotiations between the union, the sub-manufacturers and the jobbers and the effect these negotiations have had on the conditions in the trade.

Unfortunately the meeting was broken up by a few disturbers who insisted that the entire order of the day be sidetracked and that the meeting occupy itself primarily with a letter recently forwarded by the International to all the locals concerning disciplinary measures to be adopted by the locals towards members who join opposition unions or the so-called "leaguers" that aim at the disruption of the organization. The chairman of the meeting, Brother Levy, endeavored for more than an

President Sigman Visits Executive Board of Local 15

Last Wednesday evening, President Sigman attended a meeting of the executive board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union of Philadelphia, Local 15, which met especially to devise ways and means for starting new organization activities among the large number of dressmakers who are still outside the fold of the union in Philadelphia.

While the last general strike in Philadelphia succeeded in putting Local 15 on a sound foundation and swelled its membership to more than 2,000, there are still a great many shops belonging to association members as well as to independents which have failed to respond to the call of the union. The coming drive will devote its attention primarily to these shops.

President Sigman outlined to the executive board of Local 15 an organizing proposal which was accepted unanimously. Beginning with next week, a house-to-house canvass and a literature campaign will be under way in a strong endeavor to complete the unionization of the dressmakers in Philadelphia.

hour to conduct the meeting but, having failed in that, was compelled to close it.

These meeting-wreckers will now be brought before the executive board of Local 1 and will no doubt be heavily penalized for their scandalous misconduct.

Philadelphia Private Dressmakers, Local 76, to Organize Trade

Under the supervision of Vice-president Reisberg, the private dressmakers of Philadelphia, Local 76, will begin a canvass of the workers in the trade, commencing early next week, for the purpose of enlisting their interest in the union and enrolling them as members of the organization.

Sister Ruth Gordon of Baltimore, recently appointed woman organizer for Philadelphia, has been assigned for this task. There are almost 2,000 women workers in this branch of our industry in Philadelphia and only a fraction of them belong to Local 76. The labor conditions in the Philadelphia private dressmaking shops are very dismal and it is hoped that Local 76, with the help offered them by

the International, will in short order build up an influential labor body in their trade.

I. L. G. W. U. Delegates Will Present Resolutions at A. F. of L. Convention

On Friday afternoon, the I. L. G. W. U. delegation to the American Federation of Labor will leave for Portland, Oregon, where the convention is to be held this year. The delegates will go to Portland via Chicago, the Grand Canyon, Los Angeles and San Francisco. The delegation consists of President Sigman, Brothers

Greenberg, Amdur, Pinkovsky, Langer and Antonini.

Our delegates have prepared a set of resolutions which they will present at the convention. Among these resolutions there will be one on present immigration problems and also on the activities of the Fascists in the United States.

to a close. At the meeting of the Bank Committee on Friday last, September 13th, which was attended by practically all its members—including those representing other labor unions besides the International, a report was rendered to the effect that a suitable place for the bank has finally been secured and that the building at the south-east corner of 21st Street and Fifth Avenue has been leased for that purpose. The committee has engaged an architect to draw up the plans for the interior construction of the bank and, from all appearances, it can be safely stated that the bank will be open for business on or about November 1st.

Cloak Cutters Must Not Work for Jobbers

At a meeting of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions last Friday an important resolution was adopted in relation to those cutters who are now working for jobbers in the cloak industry. There are several such jobbing firms, which employ cutters and send out the material cut by them to contractors to be made up into garments.

The Joint Board will not classify such jobbers as "buyers" of garments but as manufacturers without shops, and, as under the circumstances it is impossible to correctly trace where

these garments are being made, the order was issued to all cloak cutters not to work for such jobbing firms.

Brother Louis E. Langer, secretary of the Joint Board, requests us to publish the following statement in the name of the Joint Board to all cloak cutters who are members of Local 10:

"BROTHERS: The Joint Board at its last meeting decided to accept positions with all cloak cutters not to accept positions with cloak jobbing firms.

"The union will insist upon the strict observance of this order and members of Local 10 who know of

International Congratulates Miners Upon Victorious Settlement

The Ladies' garment workers, speaking through their General Office, last Saturday, upon learning of the splendid victory scored by the anthracite miners after a short and decisive battle, forwarded a telegram of congratulation to John L. Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers of America. The telegram reads as follows:

"The Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 130 East 25th Street, sixth floor."

"The Ladies' Garment Workers have watched with breathless interest the admirable fight which the hard-coal miners have been putting up to raise their standard of living and to secure union conditions in the mines. We are deeply excited over your wonderful victory for we know that your fight is the fight not only of the miners' union but of every working man and woman in America."

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary."

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

THE NEEDLE TRADES WORKERS' ALLIANCE

LAST week saw the formation of an alliance of the workers in the needle trades' unions of America, after a two-day conference of representatives of the five principal international unions of the needle industry. The organization of this alliance marks the culmination of a movement launched more than two years ago by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union which for several reasons failed to materialize at that time.

This alliance, which takes in, besides the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Fur Workers' Union, the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers' Union, and the Journeyman Tailors' Union, will represent a membership of approximately 350,000 workers. It will be one of the largest labor organizations in America and will undoubtedly be a decisive factor in molding labor conditions for the overwhelming majority of the workers in the needle trades. As constituted, the alliance is formed along the line of a federation with complete autonomy for each of the participating international unions. At the head of the alliance there is an executive council which at the present time consists of five members representing each of the international unions, and this executive council is to have full authority in carrying on the work of the alliance.

The formation of the alliance marks a definite step forward in the life of the labor organizations in the needle trades. It is a practical, sane step, calculated to bring the labor organizations in the needle industry closer together, and to eliminate all discordant notes that may have existed between them in the past. It will be a true alliance of independent labor organizations without a dictatorial super-structure that might from time to time be tempted to encroach upon the rights of the individual organizations or to dictate to them a line of management and conduct. The alliance will, nevertheless, evolve means of mutual defense and offense for all the participating unions and will no doubt strive to unify and level up as far as possible labor standards and work conditions for the entire industry.

MUSSOLINI'S RETREAT

ON the face of it, it looks as if the swashbuckling Italian dictator has suffered a rather humiliating setback. It would seem that, from an attitude of hurling defiance toward everybody in the world, and particularly at that offensive, harmless creature called the League of Nations, Mussolini overnight changed into a person "imbued with sadness" over the uncompromising hostility displayed against him by the American and British press, and quietly instructed his man at Geneva to inform the world that he is not quite as black as he is being painted, and is willing to come to terms.

The terms which he now accepts are practically the same as were offered to him by the Greeks at the very outset. The matter will be referred to The Hague Court and the indemnity for the killing of the Italian officers will be fixed by that tribunal as well.

Nevertheless, it would be premature to conclude that the matter has already been settled and that "Right has triumphed over Might." It must be kept in mind that for the time being at least Mussolini holds "that coveted gem of the Adriatic," the island of Corfu. Somehow or other, these gentlemen who are in the business of grabbing other people's territory for the purpose of "preserving their national honor" have a way of holding on to what they lay their hands upon. It takes time for The Hague Court to decide upon indemnities and to work out details of a settlement. The Fascists will meanwhile hold on to Corfu and, in the course of a short span of time, the island might easily become transformed into part of "Italia Irridenta" with a hundred and one reasons advanced for holding it in perpetuity.

THE COAL PEACE

THE anthracite mine workers, headed by John L. Lewis and his associates, have won a highly satisfactory settlement and will return to the mines on or about September 20th.

The terms of the new agreement, which embodies most of the points suggested by Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, includes a ten per cent wage increase, complete recognition of the union—minus the check-off—and a number of other smaller gains. It is a clearest, definite victory such as any labor organization might be proud of.

The agreement is to last for two years, though the term of its duration is not absolutely binding, and either side might demand an upward or downward revision of its terms before the two years are over. The question agitating the mind of the public after the settlement has been,—Who will pay for this wage increase? It appears that neither the press nor the general public would suspect that the mine owners, who since the war have become accustomed to huge margins of profit, would shoulder the loss. All signs tend to indicate that the wage increase will be switched over to the consumer.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that, immediately after the settlement, Governor Pinchot forwarded a letter to President Coolidge recommending that the Government take steps to safeguard the consumer against increased prices and proposing that the Interstate Commerce Commission investigate coal transportation rates with a view to their reduction, and also investigate the profits being made by wholesalers, brokers, jobbers and retailers of coal. In the opinion of Pinchot, the entire wage increase can be absorbed by the operators and will leave them with abundant profits. But, of course, all this is rampant optimism. Neither the operators nor the railroads are going to pay for this wage increase and it is doubtful whether they can be compelled to do so.

1,500,000 RADICALS

FROM two sources—diametrically opposed to one another in a social sense—there have come during the last two weeks warnings of the presence in our unsuspecting midst of millions of "radicals" bent on mischief, disruption, and perversion of existing social and economic institu-

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tions. The Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association at its meeting in Minneapolis places this number at a million and a half, and credits the "reds" with 400 periodicals and newspapers, a reading public of 5,000,000 and an annual budget of \$3,000,000,—while the committee of the miners' union, which has for the past few months been investigating "red" activities in the coal fields, places their number at one million and credits them with huge, widely-outbranched plans and activities.

On the face of it, however, these figures and alarms are absurdly exaggerated. If the solons of the Bar Association cannot distinguish between the ever-growing legitimate and natural discontent among the great masses of workers in factory, foundry and on the farm who are out to win for themselves a "place in the sun" through their labor unions and their political organizations, and the isolated small groups of ill-balanced disrupters who take their orders from Moscow, we have nothing but pity for their mental equipment. The report of the miners' union's committee, while plausible on the whole as far as it describes the skeleton of the Communist activities in America, is a great strain on our credulity when it asks us to believe that this handful of agents, for the most part aliens and unequipped even with the English language, have had a big influence in the steel strike of 1919, in the switchmen's strike of 1920, and in the railroad and coal strikes of 1922.

There are more than one million and a half men and women in the United States who are convinced that they are not getting a square deal in our social scheme of things and they want a change. More than ten years ago almost a million men voted for Debs, the Socialist candidate for the Presidency, and the hundreds of thousands of voters who have in the last couple of years cast their vote for the farmer-labor movement are golden evidence to the undying virility and growth of that blessed spirit of discontent. But to credit an isolated and "underground" group of fanatics with influence and strength they do not possess and never can possess in America—no matter how lavishly they may be supplied with contributions from abroad—is neither good sense, policy, nor will it inspire belief.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

In Local 62

By ABRAHAM SNYDER, Manager

Some few weeks ago, we had a conference with the representatives of the employers' association in our trade. It was held at the office of the International and President Sigman presided at the meeting. We discussed a number of important subjects, but could come to no decision and agreed to meet again.

We have now had a second meeting in which Secretary Baroff participated. At this conference, several cases of discharged cutters and other workers were taken up which we, to some extent, straightened out. Three other grievances were taken up at the meeting.

First, there was taken up the charge of the union that there are members in the cotton garment association who do not employ even a single union worker. They are thus insured against any strike while they successfully dodge union standards in their shops. On this subject, it was decided that the managers of both the union and the association make an investigation and, after this charge has been substantiated, the association is to notify the manufacturers in question that they cannot remain partners to the agreement unless they actually conform to its conditions as do all other employers.

Second, the union demanded that the white goods manufacturers cease sending their work out to contractors and that they register with the union the names of the contractors to whom they are forwarding such work. In this connection, there was adopted at the request of the union a decision that every time the union presents a charge against a manufacturer to the effect that he has violated the clause of the agreement dealing with the sending out of work, a thorough investigation be made and the burden of proof be placed on the manufacturer to show that he is living up to the agreement.

Third, at the request of the union, it was decided that both managers forward a letter to those association members who have non-union members in their shops, instructing them to give these non-union workers a definite time limit in which to join the

union at the penalty of leaving the shop if not complied with.

And now that our discussions with the association are over, the union has before it a very important problem to solve. It is a raise in wages for certain classes of workers in both the association and independent shops. This increase is provided for in our agreements and it affects workers who have been in the trade for over a year and who do not yet receive fixed wage scales. Already last March when we renewed our agreement, we had a considerable number of workers in the shops who were not receiving the full scale though they were entitled to it. The general trade situation before the signing of the agreement, however, was such that they were compelled to work below the scale. We gained for them at that time a wage increase and also a specific promise of another increase in the future.

We do not expect much trouble in attempting to enforce this second increase and we are confident that by the first of October it will have become a fact. A meeting of the shop chairladies will be held soon at which they will be instructed how to help the union carry out this wage raise.

We have had the regular summer slump in our trade during the last few months, and, as is always the case, many of our employers have made attempts to use this slack period to their advantage. The union, however, resisted every one of their attempts with the result that now, when work is beginning to show up in the shops, our wage scale and other conditions are intact.

The out-of-town problem is as much a menace and annoyance in our trade as in the other ladies' wear trades. We have a number of manufacturers who have shops in small cities in other States which they utilize as a whip against their New York workers. Other manufacturers are looking around for such out-of-town places, and the union is compelled to be on guard and fight at every opportunity against these tactics employed by our manufacturers which tend to weaken the local work standards and to demoralize the union workers.

Among The Button Makers

By HARRY DUBINSKY

Local 122, the button makers, is in a very satisfactory condition today—despite the fact that most of its members are without work owing to the unprecedented poor season in the cloak trade in New York.

We felt somewhat uneasy at the beginning when they began to lay off workers in the shops, especially in those shops where the employers wanted to lay off some men and to retain a few. The energetic stand taken by the union, however, has made clear to the bosses that they would have to distribute the work equally among all the workers. We have in the trade a considerable number of colored workers and these, in the past, would be the first to be laid off. But the union succeeded in preventing this practice this time.

Last Friday, at a general meeting of the members of Local 122, our Negro fellowmembers openly expressed their thanks to the union for this tangible recognition of racial equality. The general routine work of the local and our business relations with the

employers are being carried on to the general satisfaction of everybody. And in spite of the prevailing slack, our members are paying their union dues with unflinching regularity.

The local has also carried out a radical reform with regard to the make-up of our executive board, namely, that every settled shop—we have twenty of them—is directly represented on this board.

The general member meeting has voted for a 50-cent tax per member in favor of the Denver Consumptive Sanatorium.

The meeting also decided that, as soon as work begins in the shops, every celluloid button worker contribute six hours of labor for the raising of a defense fund for our local.

We are also now making arrangements to form a fund for crippled members (only last week one of our members lost three fingers at the power press machine), and such accidents happen quite frequently in our shops.

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

During part of last week we had with us in Boston a few very prominent guests. Almost all the members of the General Executive Board of the International were here as delegates to the People's Relief Convention. The Joint Board of Cloakmakers took advantage of their presence and invited them to address a mass meeting of cloakmakers which was called for Tuesday evening, September 4th, at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton Street. Vice-president Israel Feinberg and J. Heller accepted the invitation. Notices and circulars were sent to the shops, informing the members of the intended meeting which had as its object a discussion on the general situation in the cloak and suit industry here in Boston and in the rest of the country. How surprised and astonished were the members and officers of the Joint Board to read in the Boston news of the "Freiheit" that a meeting was called by the International for Tuesday, September 4th, for the purpose of ousting three active members of the Trade Union Educational League from the Union. This piece of deliberate falsehood was so provocative in nature that even some of the so-called "lefts" were furious to think that a newspaper which pretends to represent the workers' interests and to have a monopoly of honesty, should attempt to spread such malicious rumors with the object of causing turmoil and disruption in the ranks of the workers. It is well worth noting that the representative of the "Freiheit" in Boston admitted to the writer of these lines that the particular news was a lie, but defended himself by saying that someone else and not he had written it. He, the reporter, faithfully promised to immediately send a denial to his paper. So far no such denial has appeared. It seems that the paper would rather have the wrong impression remain in the minds of the readers. Fortunately the latter are very, very, few in number here in Boston.

The mass meeting of the cloakmakers was very successful in every respect. Both Brother Feinberg and Brother Heller delivered interesting talks on the present situation of the cloak and suit industry. They pointed out that, due to certain economic causes as well as to change in styles, there is general slack in the cloak trade everywhere. All cloak centers in the United State, and Canada suffer alike. This depression, they further pointed out, is used by a certain element in and outside of our unions as a means of bringing chaos to the minds of our members. These people who call themselves the high sounding name of "Trade Union Educational Leaguers" make use of the misery of the workers to arouse their passions,—not against their exploiters or against a system which per-

mits a state of things in which men who are healthy and willing and anxious to work find themselves without employment, but against their own unions, which are their only protection in the present era of reaction. These statements were interrupted a few times by a couple of outsiders, not members of the cloakmakers' unions, who were permitted to come into the hall as a matter of courtesy. The truth was not to their liking and so they tried to break up the meeting. The cloakmakers present were so incensed at these actions of the intruders that, were it not for the pleadings of the speakers and the chairman, they would have been shown the door. In spite of these interruptions, the meeting was a great success and the members left the hall determined more than ever to fight all enemies of the organization, whether these enemies be inside or outside of the unions.

Subsequent to this mass meeting, the Joint Board of Cloakmakers held a meeting on Thursday, September 6th, at which a resolution was passed condemning the "Freiheit" in no uncertain terms for its deliberate spreading of false news and for its attacks on our International. The same resolution also expressed full confidence in the General Executive Board of the International. Even the one solitary "left" in the Joint Board proposed that a protest resolution against the "Freiheit" be adopted. We wish to remark on the great change that has taken place in the minds of our members since the latest attacks on the International by that irresponsible group whose mouthpiece is the "Freiheit." Only a few months ago the very same Joint Board, in answer to an appeal for funds, donated \$25.00 to the "Freiheit." Our members are rallying to the colors of the International.

WAIST AND DRESS

Circulars are now being prepared and will be sent to the shops regarding the forthcoming special meeting of Local 49, next Monday evening, September 17th, right after work at Paine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton Street. A number of important subjects will be taken up at this meeting. The order of business will be as follows:

1. Nominations for manager, business agent and secretary, and election of members to the Executive Board for the coming term.
 2. The \$4.00 International tax levied by the last convention.
 3. An organization committee for the purpose of organizing the few non-union shops in our industry.
 4. A unity house for our members.
- The importance of these questions cannot be stressed too much, and the members of Local 49 are urged to attend this meeting in great numbers.

JUSTICE

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Big Profits For Industry

On The Continent

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

If anyone tells you that American corporations are poor, that they are suffering from previous depressions, or from taxes, wage advances, or low prices, refer him to the following facts. They concern 141 representative American corporations, and were compiled by the organ of big business—the Wall Street Journal. These corporations include almost every line of production. The figures are for the eight years, 1915 to 1922 inclusive. They thus cover the war, the boom of 1919-20, the depression of 1920-21, and the recovery year of 1922.

The figures do not tell how much profit was made altogether and given out to property-owners. They do tell, however, how much profit was left after dividends and everything else had been paid out. This extra profit was added to the corporations' surplus, and furnished new capital and reserves. It amounted, for the 141 corporations, in the eight years, to the tremendous sum of \$3,069,431,945. This figure is net, all losses being deducted.

The following table shows how this surplus accumulated year by year.

ADDITIONS TO CORPORATE SURPLUS, 141 INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS

| Year | Surplus |
|------|--------------------|
| 1915 | \$350,374,903 |
| 1916 | 893,119,741 |
| 1917 | 656,687,055 |
| 1918 | 422,765,977 |
| 1919 | 462,475,857 |
| 1920 | 379,049,620 |
| 1921 | (loss) 379,460,035 |
| 1922 | 284,418,827 |

Total, 8 years... \$3,069,431,945
This table shows numerous inter-

esting facts. The largest surplus profit was made in 1916, when the war purchases of European countries were heavy, and prices had risen, but wages had not yet gone up much. The next largest was in 1917, the year we entered the war. In 1918 extra dividends, wage increases, and heavy taxes had cut down surplus again. In the following years increases in dividends and interest paid, as well as wage increases, left a smaller surplus from the annual profits.

Many people say that the depression of 1921 robbed industry of all its previous war profits. This table shows that such statements are untrue. Most firms kept on paying their regular dividends in 1921 and 1922 and charged any losses up to the surplus account. The figure for the surplus loss in 1921 therefore includes nearly the total net loss of these companies. This loss is almost exactly equal to the gain paid in 1920. It left the surplus profits of war years virtually untouched.

CAPITAL FROM PROFITS

Another fact of an importance hard to exaggerate is that the surplus profits accumulated by these corporations in the last eight years is 25 per cent greater than the new capital they have obtained by borrowing and by sale of stock. The new bonds and stocks amount to \$2,488,957,817 (excluding stock dividends), as against over three billion dollars of accumulated surplus. About two-thirds of these new bonds and stocks were issued by 10 corporations so that the proportion of surplus is even greater for the majority of the firms. This means that corporations are to a large extent procuring the capital necessary for enlarged production out of their own surplus profits, instead of turning to outside investors. The statement acquires meaning when we remember that economists usually justify the return on investment capital on the ground that without that return there would be no incentive to saving, and that without saving we could not accumulate capital and enlarge production. If corporations, after paying high rates of interest and dividends, can still save out of profits much more than half of what they need for expansion, the necessity for saving on the part of individuals is less apparent.

The size of what is called "working capital" indicates the financial strength of these companies at the present time. Working capital means the amount that is immediately available for use in the business, as against "fixed capital," which is tied up in the plants and machinery. The working capital of the 141 companies was \$4,441,778,566, on December 31, 1922, as against \$1,935,778,984 in 1914. Of course, some allowance must be made for the decreased purchasing power of the dollar, but even so the increase is remarkable.

Still more indicative of sound condition is that this increase is largely made up of cash or its equivalent, rather than of increases in materials and goods on hand. In 1922 cash was 64 per cent of inventory value, whereas in 1920, the year when the depression began, cash was only 39 per cent of inventory value.

All this takes us only up to the beginning of 1923. When this highly profitable year is finished there will be still more to tell.

Why should anyone be afraid increasing wages are too much for industry to bear? Why should business talk of the "crushing load of taxation"? Why should anyone be puzzled at the unrest of the farmer?—Facts for Workers, Sept., 1923.

OUR OWN WORKERS

Prospects in our own country do not improve while Europe goes to ruin. Our army of workless grows daily, 11,426 having been added in the last week alone; on the Clyde many shipbuilding and engineering firms are in a bad way, owing, it is considered, to the government's failure to organize international business and to the unfair competition of reparations ships; and the situation is not lightened by the continuance of the boiler-makers' lock-out which has now continued 23 weeks, in spite of the men's offer to submit it to arbitration, and to resume work on the old agreement (the dispute is on a matter of overtime and night shifts) pending negotiations. Another industrial contest is threatened in the action of a big London municipality, Ilford, in withdrawing from the Joint Industrial Council, which fixes the wages and conditions of all municipalities in London. Other withdrawals are threatened, the idea being to place themselves in a position to attack the present wages of municipal employees, of whom there are some 30,000 in the metropolis.

In connection with this renewed attack upon wages, the demand of the workers for a new method of estimating the cost of living grows stronger. Even the "Times," that stronghold of capitalism, is of opinion that a change in the way of calculating what a decent wage should be is desirable, and certainly, every fair judge must agree that a method based on calculations made in 1904, when the industrial situation was admittedly bad, and when workers were less educated and had fewer wants than at present, must be entirely out of date.

ABROAD

The Irish elections, the full results of which are not known at the moment of writing, are declared to have been held more peaceably than ever before known in the history of the country. For the first time, every man and woman of the age of 21 was entitled to vote, which has added over 300,000 names to the register. Proportional representation was the method of election, and on polling day all shops and places of business were closed. Whatever the results of the election, it was certainly held more democratically than Great Britain yet knows how to conduct one! The number of parties was also greater, and a straight fight did not take place in any constituency. "P. R." made it possible for Government, Anti-Treaty Labor, Independent Labor, Farmer, and Independent candidates to be run against one another, with no real estimates being possible as to the result.

In India the unrest has been decreased by the unfortunate decision of the Home Government on the question of Kenya Colony, a decision which is regretted by the viceroy of India himself, Lord Reading. From the Indian Congress of non-cooperators down to the Liberal League of the Moderates, all India is advocating retaliatory measures against England, among which are the boycotting of British Dominion goods, withdrawal from the British Empire Exhibition, the resignation of the Indian members of the Indian Government and the exclusion of Colonials from India. It is lamentable, in the present state of the world, that such fresh impetus should have been given, for the sake of pleasing a handful of British settlers in one British Colony in Africa, to new racial enmities and national passions.

THE GERMAN WORKERS

The new German Coalition Government is proceeding with its plans to stabilize the currency and to make the big industrialists do their share towards effecting this. Probably it is the only sound financial course to pursue, but it is going to mean unemployment. Already German prices are reaching world prices, as a result of this policy, and the necessary rise in wages to meet the rise in prices that makes it impossible for most employers to continue employing as many workers as before. The Association of Metal Manufacturers at Cassel has announced that "as a protest against the unjustifiable demands for higher wages" it is dismissing all its employees on September 15. Less drastic measures are being taken by others who really cannot afford to employ as many workers as before. If this is to be the answer to the efforts of the Government to make Big Business contribute seriously, (as the workers have contributed all along), to the payment of reparations, by forcing them to contribute to a compulsory gold loan, the workers, through unemployment and high prices, will still be the chief sufferers—as they always are! This renders the warning of the German Communists, just issued, all the more pointed. They declare that if British workers do not help them to prevent a union between French and German Big Business in the Ruhr and elsewhere, the German workers will rise in revolution, and that the same policy will mean a victory for reaction in Great Britain also.

In Bulgaria, the reactionary government which overthrew the Peasant Government and murdered their Prime Minister, Stambulsky, with singular brutality, is in none too secure a position, it seems. Perhaps, for once, a militarist coup will not succeed in subduing a people who have tasted the sweets of constitutional power. In Finland, however, reaction is on the advance, according to news received in Great Britain. In 1918, it will be remembered, some 100,000 workers were murdered in that country as a result of a White Terror organized against a supposed Communist revolutionary movement. A new terror is now threatened in the situation of the government upon the Finn Labor party, the biggest working-class organization in the country and a menace to a capitalist government. Already 200 working-class leaders have been arrested; arrests are continuing, and the party papers are suppressed and the printing-presses confiscated.

Members of our International who wish to join the Workers' University, the Unity Centers or the courses of the Extension Division, should register at once in person, or send in their names to the office of their local unions or the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

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The American Farmer in a New Role

The American farmer may not yet have come fully into his own in the political, economic and social life of the nation, but he certainly is engaging a large share of the public attention. He has broken into the news columns and editorial pages of the metropolitan press, is featured in the leading articles of standard magazines, made the subject of exhaustive discussions in the publications of our greatest banks, is being courted by labor organizations on the one hand and by shipbuilders and manufacturing interests on the other, and has become an important factor to be reckoned with by the politicians. Since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the plight of the farmer has never been so fully considered from so many sources as considered ordinarily to ignore him.

On the surface, the reasons for so much agitation are many. Fundamentally, there are but two reasons. The first is that agriculture, our greatest and basic industry, bore the brunt of the post-war deflation and has rallied more slowly from it than any other great industry. It was to be expected that the deflation period would accentuate certain weaknesses inherent in our agricultural system. It found farmers artificially inflated from the war's demands and temporarily over-capitalized on borrowed money. Anticipated difficulties became ruinous in the face of political events at home and economic collapse abroad. The farmer's dollar quickly became the most depreciated currency in America. Temporary measures relieved the situation somewhat; conditions are better this year than last in most sections, but still decidedly acute. This is the big reason. The second is that the American farmer is beginning to learn the power of collective activity. He has a Farm Bloc in Congress that comes near to holding the balance of power. Discontent has had several opportunities to express itself at the polls and the results have been startling. The situation might be expressed briefly by saying that our whole industrial balance will be seriously disturbed, and, on the other, that the existing political balance will be disrupted. And those are contingencies that are bound to attract attention.

WHEAT

When the sower went forth to sow there was no doubt in his mind as to his return from the seed which fell on good ground. But with September wheat at less than one dollar, harvest this year will not pay cost of production. This is the fourth successive year in which the wheat farmer has been in a more or less difficult place. Social results are appearing. Many a church in the wheat belt which once had a full time resident pastor is now on a circuit. Others have reduced the salaries of their ministers. Some county agents have been dismissed, and an even larger number of home demonstration and public health nurses have been dispensed with.

The situation is a result of the Great War and its aftermath. Due to the need for food, wheat production was enormously stimulated during the conflict. After the war, one group of advisers told the farmer that it would be some years before Europe could grow grain in the same quantities, and that his crops would find a ready market. This optimistic view coincided with the farmer's desires, and wheat production remained exceptionally high. But the optimists reckoned without the economic consequences of the peace. Depreciated foreign currencies could not pay for American grain. As it became apparent to Europe that no help could

be expected from the United States the farmers of a number of countries turned to wheat growing. Italy's acreage and yield, for instance, have gone up by leaps and bounds. Production is picking up again in Ukraine and the Balkans, while Argentina and Australia, to say nothing of Canada, have been able to sell largely abroad. The carry-over from our last year's crop is over one hundred million bushels and the forecast for this year is about eight hundred million bushels. If all is harvested, wheat may fall even below the panic prices which followed the outbreak of the war. Gray Silver of the American Farm Bureau Federation points out that eventually this may mean another nationwide depression because of the serious curtailment of the farmer's purchasing power. There are many plans looking toward the relief of this situation, but all face in either one of two directions. Some would sustain the price by legislation, others by credit. The farmer group desires government price fixing. The latter, and this group includes the American Farm Bureau Federation, would hold one quarter of the new crop in warehouses under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture and finance the whole move through the new Intermediate Credit Banks.

Price fixing is easy but if a profitable price is set without regard to quantity on hand or to demand, what acreage next year will be increased rather than decreased and the last state of the wheat farmer will be worse than the first. With the latter plan the crop carry-over would be known in advance and the proper sort of campaign might prevent increased acreage. It must be admitted that farmers have not yet demonstrated a capacity for readjusting either live stock production or crop acreage with reference to a future situation.

FARMER-MANUFACTURER

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association has entered the lists against the Farmer-Labor movement. It has made public a letter sent to leading farmers which points out that logically the farmers have more to gain by political alliance with manufacturers than with labor. The basic place of the farmer in national prosperity is recognized and present ills are laid to labor's door. The letter says in part:

"The following shows how the farmer gets the worst of it: 'It takes 63½ dozen, or 762, eggs to pay a plasterer for one day of eight hours' work."

"It takes 17½ bushels of corn, or a year's receipt from half an acre, to pay a bricklayer for one day."

"It takes twenty-three chickens weighing three pounds each, to pay a painter for one day in New York."

"It takes forty-two pounds of butter, or the output from fourteen cows, fed and milked for twenty-four hours, to pay a plumber \$14 a day."

A farmer-manufacturer conference is proposed as a first step to improve conditions and to break the grip of "such men as Senators Brookhart, and two Johnsons, and LaFollette," none of whom are "going to fool any one very long." The circular credits LaFollette with being the "brains" of the group.

On the same day on which this letter was released to the press Senator Brookhart declared that the unrest of today is economic and therefore not understood by the old line politician, and that a coincidence of grievances makes farmer-labor cooperation necessary. Into this alliance he would bring the workers of the nation in a united attack upon the middleman and those capitalistic forces which are responsible for the present situation.

CAN THERE BE EFFECTIVE FARMER-LABOR COOPERATION?

The possibility of a working alliance, political or otherwise, between organized labor and organized agriculture, is an interesting possibility, though it does not at present seem likely. Each group has political and economic grievances which seem to emanate from similar sources. Discontents much more diverse than these have been known hitherto to make common cause, at least for a time. The two groups are at one in some of the policies they are advocating. For example, they are not unlike in their attitude toward transportation problems. They have, however, fundamentally, quite different objectives. Each group has a consumer's interest in the product of the other group's labor. Each group wishes to improve its buying power relative to the things it must purchase. The farmer has a laborer's interest only in part. He also has a capitalist's interest. Emergencies past, it is a question how far such a combination would go together.

Nevertheless, a good many besides the Committee of Forty-eight are interested in working on this Farmer-Labor idea.

A political conference in Chicago met under the inspiration of this idea but the net result was not of large significance from the rural point of view. Neither the more influential farm journals nor the "releases" of the large farmers' organizations treated the gathering as of much importance. Agriculture is based upon the ownership of land and the farmer has no such ready-made strike as his basic concept of land as property. What he does desire is the opportunity to earn a fair return upon his investment.

In the face of the meagre results at Chicago, measured in terms of widespread farmer support, comes the election by Minnesota of a "dirt farmer" to the United States Senate. Labor leaders, both state and national, and active in the campaign and for the second time within a year this state swept a Farmer-Labor candidate into the Senate. Senator-elect Johnson's platform may look radical to the city voter. Actually there appears to be no conscious philosophy of radicalism behind his demands for government control of the railroads, mines and other natural resources and for taxes which would shift a larger share of the burden to the urban and industrial tax payer. His demands but expressed the immediate discontent of the economically disadvantaged farmer — and particularly the wheat farmer. The platform also appealed to labor and hence the alliance was formed. Can this movement continue and will it spread? In this connection the comment of the agricultural press upon Mr. Gompers' address before the Wheat Growers' Association of interest. He told the farmers that their income could not increase if the wage of labor either remained stationary or declined. He complimented the farmer upon increased production in the face of a stationary farm population and then pointed to labor's gains through organization said, "Go thou and do likewise."

The farmer finds two weak spots in this line of reasoning. Prices are relative. The farmer would not be badly off today if the prices of what he has to buy were on the same relative plane as the prices of what he has to sell. Mr. Gompers' declaration means that if farm prices increase, Labor's wage must also increase. The result would be that the disparity would remain the same. Again, the farmer feels and the papers he reads are publishing many figures supporting his belief, that Labor's production

has steadily dropped while his own has been rising. Pointing to his record the farmer today is saying to Labor, "Go thou and do likewise."

Some of the farmer groups go deeper than this. They point out that many of the labor leaders who have sought farmer-labor cooperation in the political field have opposed the curtailment or control of agricultural production, on the ground that it would raise food costs to Labor, while at the same time they have advocated coal and rail strikes which have raised fuel and transportation costs to the farmer, and which aim not merely at curtailment but at suspended production. As the farmer sees it, Labor is off the international market due to the tariff and the immigration restrictions; the farmer is on the international market, and a mighty weak market it is. The fundamental problem at present, says Wallace's Farmer, is to get the farmer off the international market and raise the price of agricultural products as far above pre-war levels as are wages. It asks whether organized labor will help in this "fundamental" adjustment. This seems at present to be the price of really effective and continuous farmer-labor cooperation.

THE WEALTH OF THE FARMERS

In the March issue of the American Economic Review, appears an article by L. C. Gray on the accumulation of wealth by farmers, in which he attempts to estimate the status of American agriculture on the basis of investment and income. His detailed analysis shows total assets for men actually engaged in farming, including the value of farms, their stock, implements, etc., and other assets owned by farmers, as about seventy-three billion dollars, or an average per farm family of \$11,298. This does not include the farmer's share as citizen in the public welfare of the nation, the wealth accumulated in the past by men who have since retired from the farms; nor does it give a measure of the entire savings of men out of their production as distinguished from wealth acquired through changes in value. Against this total of assets, there are liabilities of various sorts totalling about \$11,000,000,000 or an average of \$1,710 per farm. This makes the net assets of the farming class just under sixty-two billion dollars, or an average of \$9,587 per farm family. To this may be added some \$700,000,000 as the net worth of farm laborers. This gives a net worth of the farming class as a whole of approximately \$19,978 per capita. This estimate compares with the net wealth per capita of the remainder of the population of 1920 as \$244. The amount of net income varies a great deal. Over one-sixth in 1920 were in groups which had an average income of \$177 or less, while a little more than eight per cent were in groups averaging over \$2,000. This bears out the conclusion of many other studies that the net income of the farming population is low out of all proportion as compared with many other elements of our population.

(Extracts from Information Service, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, September 1, 1923.)

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A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

THE NEEDLE TRADES WORKERS' ALLIANCE

We cannot recall a time when any of our needle trades unions, in time of stress or strife, failed to receive the moral and material support of its sister unions. In this sense it always appeared that we had an alliance of the organizations in our industry all the time, though its existence was not registered in so many words on paper.

That is why, when the proposal for a needle trades workers' alliance was made by the general officers of the International at the Chicago Convention in 1920, the plan was adopted by the delegates by acclamation and practically without debate. Voluminous explanations were not needed, as everybody felt that the plan of forming an alliance meant only to materialize the spiritual background of a moral force that has always imbued our labor movement. There was little doubt in the minds of the delegates, too, that this plan would speedily and without difficulty be carried into effect.

In point of fact, however, and for reasons which we find it unnecessary to discuss at present, this resolution remained practically dormant for over three years. Only last week this needle trades workers' alliance became a reality. The five big unions in the needle trades of America concluded an official treaty in accordance with the terms of which they are obligated to aid each other in time of need and to carry out jointly all such activities as can give better results than when done by each union singly.

The formation of this alliance is an event of first magnitude in the history of the workers in the needle trades. Only in later years when this alliance will have ripened into maturity and effectiveness will the importance of this achievement be fully appreciated. Yet, even today it would not require an excessive imagination to visualize to what such an alliance must and will lead.

Despite the sense of friendship manifested by its unions toward each other all these years, they have still remained in many respects at a distance and quite apart. Their solidarity was only evident when it from time to time became necessary to resist and defeat the common enemy. This accomplished, each union would again part company and continue working and functioning entirely by itself, which not infrequently led to misunderstandings and even to friction. It would happen, for instance, that one of the needle trades' unions would be attacked and slandered from purely dishonest motives while the other unions would not only remain indifferent but would, to a certain extent, even aid the slanders morally and financially. Such an attitude necessarily has made even more difficult the growth of true and genuine friendship between the workers' organizations in the needle industry.

In an atmosphere like this, an act by one union committed under the pressure of certain circumstances could easily be interpreted wrongly by the other. The formation of this alliance will create a basis upon which a relationship of intimate and loyal fraternity can be built up and reared.

The Alliance will have to establish an organization department in order to "carry out joint organization work in such localities and at such times as conditions may warrant." There are a number of smaller cities with different garment factories still unorganized and until now very difficult to approach. Instead of each union having organizers and offices of its own, the organization department of the Alliance can conduct in such towns at a much smaller expense joint organization work for all affiliated unions. Of even greater importance are the following three points which were adopted among the by-laws of the Alliance:

1. That the Alliance meet annually in conference.
2. That the executive council of the Alliance have at least a meeting every three months.
3. That at our convention of the affiliated unions the Alliance be represented through fraternal delegates to be elected by the executive council.

These meetings will offer the opportunity to eliminate misunderstandings that might arise between union and union in the needle trades. Through these meetings the needle trades unions, and their problems will be brought in closer contact with each other. They will make the Alliance not merely a pious wish but a real living fact.

There is nothing in the program of the Alliance that can in any way hinder its usefulness and efficiency for the welfare of the workers in our industries. The Alliance does not take away one iota from the freedom, independence or the initiative of any of its affiliated unions. The Alliance does not pretend to set up a supreme authority over the participating unions, as it realizes that none of these unions would tolerate such a usurpation, and, secondly, that it would eventually lead to a fight for influence, bonds and power.

As it stands, the program of the Alliance, modeled in its main

features along the line of the resolutions adopted by our former conventions, has no ingredient that might eventually threaten its existence. It has, on the other hand, every prospect of becoming a power for joint action and solidarity for all the needle trades workers.

In addition to the five international unions already affiliated with the Alliance, there are several other labor unions,—among them the United Garment Workers—who rightly belong to the needle trades. For many reasons these have not yet joined the call to form an alliance. As the Alliance, however, becomes active, there is no valid reason why other needle trades labor bodies should not become its members. The Alliance, indeed, has every opportunity to grow both in quality and quantity. Already at present it is a great power and its membership of over 300,000 can in the near future grow to half a million. And a half million of class-conscious workers, organized into five powerful free unions, cannot fail to make their influence felt, respected and reckoned with in the needle industry of America.

A WARNING BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

The last issue of "Justice" contained an announcement to the effect that the Cloak Operators' Union of New York, Local 1, was to have a member meeting on Thursday, September 6th, to discuss several trade questions, and that President Sigman would report at that time upon the negotiations between the union, sub-manufacturers and the jobbers, and on the prospects in the trade for the near future.

A more important meeting from the point of view of a trade union and its interests, one can hardly imagine. A large number of members came to listen to what the President of the International had to tell them on what steps and measures have been taken until now to bring more work and more order into the cloak trade. The chairman, Brother Levy, opened the meeting, yet this extremely important meeting did not take place. A few men, members of the local, would not let the meeting go on unless the letter forwarded by the General Executive Board to all the locals of the International concerning members belonging to "leagues" and other subversive little organizations within the union be taken up for discussion first on the order of business of the meeting.

Without doubt, we consider a discussion of the above-named letter very important and the locals, who are obliged to carry out the decision of the Board if they are to remain locals of the International, have certainly the right to discuss it. But the September 6th meeting was not called for this purpose. It was summoned to debate problems of supreme importance for the cloak trade in general and of Local 1 in particular. More than any other workers in the trade, the cloak operators are very much concerned about the jobber problem. To them this problem is a most burning question, transcending in importance everything else, and surely around this problem all cloak operators, without regard to political opinions, should have united as one man.

The breaking-up of this meeting was therefore a scandalous and unforgivable offense. Local 1 must call these disturbers to account and visit exemplary punishment upon them. It is not merely a question of a few irresponsible fellows, agents and victims of the dark forces that are doing their utmost to break the unions. We know that these forces that aim to destroy the labor movement will find other dupes to do their dirty work for them. The union, however, is interested particularly in seeing that no such deplorable occurrence shall recur.

Frankly speaking, we believe that the breaking up of that meeting is not entirely due to the two or three disturbers who engineered it. It is the apathy, the inertia, and timidity of the majority of those union members who were present that was responsible for it. Had they firmly supported their chairman, the wreckers of the meeting could not have carried out their scheme. We know the great majority of the members of Local 1 are against such rowdiness and such intolerable behavior, but they have failed to show the proper spirit and courage in preserving the dignity and the honor of their meeting, and have allowed that handful of deluded souls to convert the meeting into a bedlam.

It is this side of the story which appears to us to call for serious reflection. Let this be understood, once for all, that a labor union, the members of which are indifferent and apathetic, is impotent even in time of absolute peace. But at a time when a gang of disrupters is up in arms against the life of the organization,—a band that is even more dangerous because it parades as "idealists," "revolutionists" and "radicals," at such a time the indifference of its members places the very existence of the union in jeopardy.

This is therefore our message to the members of Local 1: Now that your union is at stake, you must not remain apathetic. The few disturbers must be curbed. You must come to the meetings and give full support to those you have elected and in whose hands you have entrusted the leadership of your union. You must not permit a desperado or two to violate and scatter your meetings. Upon you devolves the duty of maintaining order in your assemblies, no matter how wide apart your viewpoints or other matters may be. As union men, you must understand that your organization can conduct its business and carry on its work efficiently in an atmosphere of sanity and order only.

FOSTER THE LIAR

From the so-called replies which Foster is reported to have made to our questions at his meeting last Saturday on Rutgers Square it is becoming increasingly clear to us that in addition to all his other attainments Foster is a liar and a coward.

We have not put to him these questions at a helter-skelter

The Cloak and Dress Industry

Its Problems—Past, Present, and Future

By BERNARD ACKERMAN

(Conclusion)

Before leaving this important subject, it is necessary to mention that the contractor who has degenerated from a business man to almost a semi-proletarian has an axe to grind with the jobber, whose heel rests heavily and evermore heavily upon his neck. The present day contractor would cooperate to deprive the jobber of power in the hope that his own condition would ultimately be bettered. To the worker, the thought of the contractor as a possible ally is as bitter as wormwood, but as against the jobber, up to a certain cleavage point, they have a mutuality of interest and the contractor is an important economic factor, a pipe-line for the flow of the workers' wage. In warfare, the character of an ally is not as a rule questioned.

In returning to the problem, let us say, that we have unionized the jobber, and eliminated open shops. We call him manufacturer now. We see him as the owner of a shop. He fears the power of the organization. But the industry is still diseased. No single step can suddenly reestablish its health. What is to be done with the manufacturer?

Let us invoke the law of supply and demand in our own favor. You will find without discussion that the small shop must be abolished. The elimination of the small shop, in itself a menace on account of its irresponsibility, keen competitive strength and cheaper prices, includes also the removal of the family shops, the sweatshops and the "cooperative" shops. Destroy the small shops, and these symptoms of dryrot will disappear. With the control over the jobber comes the power to control the birth of new contracting shops which the jobber would have so that the market be filled with more competing units. It will be the policy of the Union to bear heavily against the entry of new shops by the strength of its control over the manufacturer.

The policy would be to resist the recognition of new shops at all costs, from the imposition of all sort of obstacles and handicaps, to the point of flatly refusing permission for new units to enter the field. Given the control of the union jobber, this policy must lead to success. He must necessarily refrain from employing non-union shops on pain of strike which would threaten his existence.

The union shop has no friends, and contractors in business are not interested in more competitors. Where would this procedure lead to? Inasmuch as several hundred shops disappear from business seasonally through bankruptcy and natural causes, and new shops would not be permitted to replace them, we might expect that within two or three seasons the number of contracting shops would decrease by, let us say, one-third. Now the normal growth of the volume of business, we will say, is about 20 per cent. Then, if at the beginning of this policy there were roughly 3,000 shops in the combined cloak and dress industry, we would find that the jobbers would be compelled to give the sum total of work that went formerly to 3,000 shops to the number of actually existing shops, 2,000. 2,000 shops would be compelled to do the work formerly done by 3,000. And adding on 20 per cent increase of business, which formerly would have created 600 additional shops, we conclude that the work once done and divided among 3,000 shops must be produced in a scarce 2,000 or less. With the continuation of this policy, an ever increasing quantity of work must accommodate itself to an ever decreasing number of shops. Unfailing consequences must follow. The average shop must increase in size to accommodate itself to the increased volume of business, approximately, let us say, to 50 per cent within the year. If stronger pressure is applied, combing the industry

for undesirable shops and compelling their abandonment by the jobber, the percentage might become even higher.

The contractor would find orders piling up, competition in a great degree lessening, and he would grow from a shop of twenty-five workers to a shop employing forty or more. With the increase of pressure, the number employed would begin to mount to fifty, seventy-five or more workers per shop, and with the appearance of this type of shop, the "social" shop and sweatshop would disappear and the small shop would become extinct. Competition would be further lessened and a great move forward registered. In the course of time, the appearance of the contractor employing even two hundred to five hundred workers would not be improbable, because with increasing control over the manufacturer (jobber), the prevention of new shops, and the abolition of shops already established would lie in the hands of the workers, and the manufacturers would be forced to deal with a smaller number of contractors who would manage increasingly growing shops.

With these great changes battled into reality, the industry would be moving rapidly toward absolute control. The next step would undoubtedly be the establishment of the right of the shop to the job, i. e., the apportionment of a certain number of contractors to each jobber, so that each shop and its workers are given an equal share of the jobber's work and the limitation of the jobber to as many shops as he must have and no more, to manufacture his goods. With this condition imposed, and lived up to, competition would be further limited with a wholesome reaction on the conditions of the workers. Week-work applied at this point can and must work out satisfactorily, as it will give the employers no opportunity to evade the full economic benefits promised by the economist. The job-

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Thirty-five thousand cloakmakers attended a picnic arranged by the New York Joint Board. The proceeds, which amounted to three thousand dollars, were forwarded to the Cleveland strikers.

Toronto cloakmakers are slated with the victory over the Gordon-Mackay firm. The strike lasted a long time and the firm was finally compelled to sell out to another company which fell through with the Union.

Owing to the strike of the Hosenwasser Brothers firm, Judge Goff of New York issues an injunction against Iorria Winchevsky, secretary of the Local 25.

The General Executive Board of the International holds a quarterly meeting at Cleveland. Among other decisions, there is one appointing a committee to handle with full power the protracted strike of the ladies' tailors in New York City. A committee is also appointed to aid Local 25 to start organizing activity preparatory to a general strike.

her would still have some power to play a limited number of shops against each other. But to eliminate this the wage scale of the contractor shops will have to be adjusted in harmony with the scales of the other shops that are part of the same jobber's machinery. Eventually the workers could commence to ignore the autonomy of the contractor entirely and deal with the jobber directly, fixing in his office the prices, terms, standards and conditions that are to be the law in the jobber's contracting or subsidiary shops.

When this is accomplished the last remnants of the jobbing evil would vanish. Out of the chaos of the industry would rise distinctly the two contending classes, the manufacturing-capitalist class and the working class and the lines of the class struggle would once for all again become clearly defined.

Campaigning to Organize Bank Clerks

I progress in the campaign for a \$100,000 organization fund is reported by Ernest Bohm, secretary of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, this fund to be used mainly for an organization drive among the bank clerks.

Labor, Mr. Bohm says, is aware that the employers of the very bank clerks the union seeks to organize, were the main backers of the recent "open-shop" campaign in which millions of dollars were used by the Wall Street employers in the fight to crush organized labor.

Now it is Labor's turn. Just as the

bankers struck at the workers through organizing the employers in the various industries into "open-shop" groups, Labor will now strike back and hit home by unionizing the bank clerks and the office workers in Wall Street and elsewhere. Labor realizes that the organization of the bank clerks and the office workers, who number nearly a quarter of a million, will not only add immeasurably to its physical strength but it will be a great moral victory. It is therefore no surprise that labor officials have assured the union of their support in the drive for the \$100,000 organization fund.

meeting consisting of park-benchers the majority of whom did not know what it was all about. We have put to him these questions black on white in this journal. Had he answered them in any of the publications that print his vapors we should have known at least how he had attempted to dodge and squirm an honest reply. But he chose his own cowardly and contemptible way of "replying," a characteristic Fosterian way, which we do not at all begrudge him.

So we are through with him. Except that we want to draw attention to another thing: According to a report which appeared in the New York Call of that Rutgers Square meeting Foster is alleged to have said that "he is ready to name the man who shot at him three times." Now, if Foster knows his assailant why does he not name him? Foster is again reported to have said that "the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Chicago is employing gunmen to carry out its purposes." In the eyes of every honest person Foster will remain stamped a malevolent liar and detractor until he proves his mouthings and bloody slanders.

Union Health Center News

Many members of the Union complained that, when they came into the Medical Department of the Union Health Center before 12 a. m. or between 2 and 5 p. m., they could not be examined, for there was no physician on the premises. The Union Health Center is glad to notify the members that they have appointed a resident physician, Dr. Ehrenberg, who is in the Union Health Center, Medical Department, every day from 10 a. m. to 8 p. m., and our patients will therefore be able to get attention any time they confide in.

About two weeks ago a committee went to Liberty to inspect the conditions under which our tuberculous members are being treated. They found conditions very unsatisfactory and, after the investigation, have come to certain conclusions, which, if adopted, will greatly improve the

treatment of our tuberculous patients.

The Board of Directors of the Union Health Center, at a meeting held on Friday, September 7th, decided to call a general meeting on Monday, September 17th, at 6 p. m., at the Union Health Center, to discuss and make final arrangements for the disposal of tuberculous patients. All members of the Relief Committees of the locals and others interested in the subject are invited to the meeting.

Preparations are being made to install a fully equipped electric treatment room at the Union Health Center. For this purpose the sum of \$4,000.00 has been voted on by the Board of Directors of the Union Health Center. We hope to open this department on October 1st, with a full equipment of electric and baking machines for rheumatic and similar conditions.

Needle Trades Alliance

(Continued from Page 1)

nationals delivered talks pledging themselves to keep the Alliance alive and to do everything possible to make it an effective and useful organization.

In the course of the conference, the delegates adopted a number of practical decisions for joint organization work and also for the rendering of moral and financial assistance to each other during strikes, lockouts

and other industrial emergencies. It was decided that the Alliance meet annually and that the executive council have meetings at least once every three months. It was also decided to raise a fund for the benefit of the Alliance on the basis of a monthly per capita not to exceed one cent per member per month. The Alliance will also be entitled to have fraternal delegates at the convention of each of the international unions.

The Labor Press for August

By BERTHA WALLERSTEIN

Labor editors generally paid a tribute to the memory of the late Warren G. Harding. Some were unquenching flowery eulogists; others were simple and sincere marks of respect. On the whole, the occasion brought forth remarkably little hypocrisy. Especially was this true in regard to the coming into office of Calvin Coolidge. Apparently Labor is adopting the President's own tactics of silence and discretion. It is well known that labor circles have regarded Coolidge as an enemy in the past, and to welcome him as a great President at this juncture would be no less than absurd. Most labor journals have wished him the best of luck, and assured him of the support of the people, which every President has had. Few have mentioned the part which he played in the Boston police strike. The *Boiler Makers' Journal* hopes that that will not be characteristic of his policy in the White House. It points out that, while Coolidge has pledged himself to carry out Harding's policy, yet that policy may change considerably in the process of interpretation.

In general, labor politics has not changed complexion by the change in the White House, nor is it much stirred by the change. The *Labor Age* reports that the workers are rapidly curing the country of "Elephantiasis"—that is, the power of the Republican party, with the elephant as its symbol. The paper is not an

old party supporter, of course, but hails the growth of a third party. It is more or less silent on the Chicago affair. On the other hand, several organs of the older American Federation of Labor unions repeat what they have so often said: Labor has its part to play in politics, but through the existing parties, not through a third party. One journal cites the experience of the Prohibitionists, who for years tried to gain their end through a separate party, but succeeded only by the non-partisan campaign.

"Look at Europe," says the *Third Party-ites*. It is true that Labor has real political strength there through its separate parties. But Gompers and all his supporters feel that there is a great difference in the conditions and problems of European labor and of American labor. They feel, too, that Europe has made mistakes which they would have American labor avoid. The American Federation of Labor, consequently, has stayed out of the International Federation of Trade Unions. One delegate, secretary of that organization, has criticized Gompers, saying that he has failed as a leader. Several union journals have indignantly snatched the gantlet that One delegate threw down, and have rushed to the defense of their leader. They say that American labor has made real progress because it is interested in facts and conditions, not in formulas. It points proudly to

the high American standard of living, and the high standard of sanitation, and health conditions.

It is too bad when American labor is attacked from without, not because it cannot stand criticism, but because attack always drives us to our own defense, and makes us entirely too pleased with ourselves. It is not the spirit of self-praise that has made an American standard of living high. It is the spirit of self-criticism. That is a much healthier thing than the eulogies of Labor's achievements, which run through the August press, in commemoration of Labor Day. It is good to dwell on what the unions have done, but it must not be forgotten that there is still much for them to do. Only a few journals have made this the chief text of their Labor Day sermons.

What there is still to do for the brain worker, for instance! A farmer's publication says: "Don't pity the worker—he is the plutocrat. Pity the salaried man—his troubles are like yours." (i. e. the farmer's). And the *Bricklayer* retorts: True enough, for the brain worker is not organized; Magnus Johnson has told the white collar slaves that if they don't earn as much as the manual laborer, they should not grumble and give way to fruitless envy, but should "go and do likewise"—that is, organize. The labor press takes up the cry, in commenting on the organization of bank clerks. "Go and do likewise." The journals are all more or less patronizing to the brain worker. The time has long passed when the man in shirt-sleeves felt a little ashamed and inferior and envious. He is now proud of the high standard which he has won for himself where he has organized, and a little scornful of the "intellectual proletariat."

So far as the fighting field goes,

Labor is showing a stiff upper lip. The Chicago electric railway employees are congratulating themselves on the gain in wages, made not by virtue of an increased cost of living or because their wages were below those of other carmen, but simply on the plea of a higher standard of living. The *Boiler Makers' Journal* shows as firm a tone as ever in the Ward bakeries struggle. Most remarkable, the striking shompen on the railroads that have not yet settled are still holding out, and many union papers pay tribute to their persistence. The *Boiler Makers' Journal* points out that the engines on the roads that have not settled with the shompen are suffering badly. These roads have from 45 to 84 per cent defective engines, and more than half of them have at least 72 per cent. The *Journal* reminds us of the danger to the public in the bitter-end policy of these railroads. Special attention is given in the labor press to the Pennsylvania Railroad, and you could hardly call it flattering attention. Labor is outraged at the P. R. R.'s refusal to deal at all with labor organizations, in defiance of the Railroad Labor Board. The *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine* prophesies that the result will be simply that the Board will demand power to enforce its decisions, and the P. R. R. will have less freedom than before.

Southern Labor is making a drive against prison production. Especially the *Garment Worker* is interested, because men's clothing is being produced in large quantities in the prisons. Ironically, most of this clothing consists of workshirts, bought by workers, and defeating other workers in their attempt to organize. The *Garment Worker* rejoices that the system has been ended in Oklahoma, and will soon end in Virginia.

West Virginia Citizens Organize to Wipe Out Rule by Coal Bosses

A number of citizens of West Virginia, determined to wipe out the rule of private coal interests which have in recent years made their State the scene of violent conflicts between capital and labor development, at times, into virtual civil war, have banded together into an organization called the "Defenders of West Virginia" for the purpose of "enforcing the Constitution of the United States and revising the Bill of Rights of West Virginia."

The new organization, according to its secretary, Sallie Starr Chambers, young widow of the murdered Ed Chambers, who with Sid Hatfield was shot in cold blood on the Court House steps at Welch, McDowell County, by agents of the coal operators, "has the backing of at least 90 per cent of the citizens of West Virginia."

Notable among these citizens who have organized the "Defenders" is Thomas C. Townsend, attorney for the mine workers' leaders in the recent trial at Lewisburg; Sam B. Montgomery, former State Senator; W. A. Miller and George W. Oldham, members of the House of Delegates, and Benjamin L. Rosenbloom and J. Alfred Taylor, members of Congress.

"The 'Defenders' will not quit until free speech is a reality in Logan," President Townsend declares, "and until the miners there have the right to meet and to speak freely and to join a union or not as they see fit."

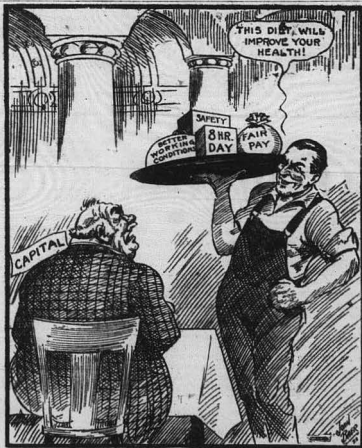
That the West Virginia State Federation of Labor will also give full support to the "Defenders" is evident from the proclamation sent out by the officers of District 17 of the United Mine Workers of America, urging all union miners in the State to become members of the new organization. The Union's proclamation, signed by C. F. Keeney, president of District 17, William F. Fry, vice-president and Fred Mooney, secretary, declares:

"We predict a rapid growth of this organization, which is now in its inception, and feel that before many

days have elapsed thousands of members will be enrolled, composed of men from every walk of life, as every true American believes in the principles on which our Nation and State

were founded—that is, that we should not be deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the enforcement of this is the purpose for which this organization is created, and

in view of this undisputed fact that these rights are being denied our citizens, they will hasten to enroll their names as the Defenders of West Virginia."



DOCTOR'S ORDERS



FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

LABOR CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND VERY BAD.

William C. Robinson, member of the British Parliament, who arrived in the United States to attend the American Federation of Labor convention at Portland, Oregon, said that labor conditions in England were very bad. The number of unemployed has increased again to nearly 1,500,000 and the government is still paying out the doles and likely to have to do so for some time.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR AND THE RUHR.

An international delegate meeting, called by the Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International, met under the chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Henderson at Easton Lodge on Sunday, July 22nd. (Easton Lodge is the country house of the Socialist Countess of Warwick, which she has placed at the disposal of the Labor Party for week-ends.) It was attended by Messrs. Léon Blum (France), Adolph Braun (Germany), Emil Vandervelde (Belgium), Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., Tom Shaw, M. P. (Great Britain). It was decided to send out Tom Shaw to the Ruhr and to decide after his report on the best steps to take to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the problem.

SWITZERLAND

WAGES AND COST OF LIVING.

According to an interesting report just issued by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, "real" wages—i. e. wages after currency and cost of living adjustments have been made—are found to be definitely lower than before the war in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Australia. Countries in which the level is about the same as in 1914, or only slightly lower, include Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, the United States, Canada and South Africa.

RUSSIA

"THE GREATEST RELIEF SERVICE."

America's aid to Russia through the American Relief Administration is called by the Soviet government "the greatest single service rendered in the history of the world by one nation to another," according to Colonel William Haskell, Director of the American Relief Administration, who returned to the United States.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA.

Mr. W. P. Coates, secretary of the national "Hands Off Russia" Committee, who has recently returned from a journey through that country, said in the course of an interview with the "Daily Herald" that there is a maximum eight-hour day in Russia, and for dangerous trades a six-hour maximum. The output of the factories is rapidly reaching pre-war level, and in many cases has exceeded it. Dockers at work told him the docks were more efficiently managed than in pre-war days, and capable of berthing steamers of a deeper draft than in 1914. Every factory has its own country home, in which every worker, from manager to charwoman, can spend a month's holiday, with full pay, at a very small charge.

HOLLAND

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS.

Development of a closer relationship between the I. T. W. Federation and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Workers of America was discussed at the I. T. F. meeting in Amsterdam with representatives of American rail-ways. It is hoped that at the next I. T. F. Congress, not only Europe, but also America, Asia, and Australasia will be represented.

BELGIUM

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY.

The Socialist Trades Union Congress in Brussels on July 8 adopted an order of the day urging all Belgians officially connected with the International Trades Union Federation to support every measure the I. F. T. U. may contemplate, undertaking with the object of securing unity in the international trade union movement.

INDIA

INDIAN NON-COOPERATORS.

The government of the Central Provinces in India has given way to the non-cooperators, who, forbidden before, now are allowed to carry the Indian flag through Nagpur in procession.

ITALY

FASCISM AND THE PRESS.

The Fascist government of Italy has decided to enforce the measures previously passed, but not enforced, restricting the liberty of the press. This is explained on the grounds of the revival of the anti-Fascist campaign.

MEXICO

VERA CRUZ IN GENERAL SHUTDOWN.

Due to a strike of several thousand workers at Vera Cruz, Mexico, in sympathy with a strike of street car and electric plant employees, Vera Cruz is without bread and numerous other things, as well as street cars, telephones and electric lights. Three thousand longshoremen are scheduled to strike.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA, BARS DEBS.

Eugene Debs will not be permitted to use Long Beach, California, auditorium, or any public building, on his appearance there September 20, it was ruled by the city council, following a protest from the American Legion.

MORE HUGE WAR FRAUDS.

The series of alleged fraudulent transactions by which the United States government was cheated out of \$2,000,000 in the sale of war material at half its current value, was charged in three indictments returned by a federal grand jury in New York which has been investigating the matter for over a month.

6,000 TEXTILE WORKERS STRIKE IN NORTH CAROLINA.

A strike became effective in the Highland Park Mills of North Carolina, when workers walked out in protest against what they allege is unfair treatment of members of the union, particularly those who have been active in the union's affairs. The mill is one of the Johnson chain and employs about 6,000 workers.

THE LABOR BATTLE IN FRISCO.

An economic battle is raging in San Francisco with organized labor on one side and organized business on the other, declares Frank R. Kent, in a special article written for the Baltimore Sun. The fight has been in progress for two years and probably will continue for a good many more. Neither side can surrender without throwing away its protective armor and exposing itself to the power of the other.

SAFETY METHODS FOR MINERS.

Twelve thousand coal miners are being trained annually by the government in safety methods of mining, rescue and first aid work, according to an estimate made recently by the Department of the Interior through the Bureau of Mines. Ten rescue stations and ten safety stations are now being maintained throughout the mining sections of the country.

CITY OF BOSTON TO SELL COAL.

Mayor Curley of Boston, announced that he had started his plans for the sale of coal to the public at cost plus the expenses of handling, as the law provides. Superintendent Rock of the supply department has been given authority to negotiate with the navy department for coal pockets at the Charleston Navy Yard, to be used for the receipt and storage of municipal coal.

MR. J. H. THOMAS AND THE RUHR.

On his return from presiding over the Amsterdam meeting of the International Federation of Trades' Unions, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P., the railwayman's leader, said that it was his opinion, after a long discussion on the Ruhr, that the existing German Government will be the last coalition government. "The alternative," he added, "is either a dictatorship by the military party or, what is more likely, by a party from the Left dominated by the Communists. Either of these would be a bad thing for Europe."

TO SEEK JOBS FOR 19,000 VETERANS.

Director Frank T. Hines of the Veterans' Bureau believes it will be possible by the end of this year to complete the rehabilitation of 19,796 veterans and put them into jobs with the cooperation of industry. The estimated number of the Second, or New York district is 2,279.

APPRENTICE SYSTEM FOR CARPENTERS AND BRICKLAYERS.

The building trades industry has made considerable progress in Greater Boston in the development of its apprenticeship system, and already the carpenters and bricklayers have adopted the system. Full term in the bricklaying trade is three years; carpenters' apprenticeship term calls for four years.

UNITED STATES HAS 5,000 VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS.

The federal vocational education act has justified itself in the first five years of its operation, says Harry L. Fidler, vice-chairman of the Vocational Board. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1922-23 there were nearly 5,000 approved vocational schools in operation in the states receiving federal aid. A total of 475,000 pupils were enrolled.

GOMPERS TO INVESTIGATE INJUNCTIONS.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has named a committee of fifteen labor officials to investigate "the uses and abuses of federal injunctions." Mr. Gompers recently declared a federal injunction issued in Chicago against union organizers soliciting non-union dressmakers was an invasion of constitutional rights.

PORTO RICO TO REQUEST MORE AUTONOMY.

The War Department has been advised that a Porto Rican Commission will visit the United States shortly after Congress convenes to advocate a change in the organic laws to permit the people of Porto Rico to elect their Governor.

PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS FOR FEDERAL WORKERS.

All federal employes may be included in a general order soon to be issued by the civil service commission for physical examination of United States workers. The order at first contemplated only applicants, but the commission has been collecting data from all departments which indicates general demand for medical inspection.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the

UNITY CENTERS

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Season 1922-1923

LESSON 5.—Banking Control of Modern Industry.

- One of the outstanding characteristics of the present organization of machine industry, is the way in which it is controlled by the financiers. The Pujo Investigation in 1912 showed how finance and business have become interrelated and how control of the business world in the United States has been concentrated in a few hands. Through interlocking directorates, 18 financial institutions hold in all 746 directorships in 134 corporations having total resources or capitalization of \$25,325,000,000. An "inner group" of 5 New York banks control 112 of these corporations. This control extends to banks, trust companies, transportation systems, public utility companies and producing and trading corporations. (Report of the Committee appointed to investigate the Concentration of Control of Money and Credit, 62d Congress, 3d Session. "Money Trust Investigation: Interlocking Directorates.")
- Financial domination of modern industry has become so marked that many economists believe that capitalistic society has passed through two stages—first, an industrial phase, and second, a financial (the present) phase.
- The conditions which made it possible for the men who control the money supply to control all industry, lie in the very nature of machine industry. Because it is a round-about system of production in which many steps separate the raw material from the finished product, it needs a continual advancement of funds. Expensive equipment must be bought, materials purchased, workers paid often before money is realized on the goods turned out. All goods devoted to further production, such as machinery, power, plants, railroads, technical improvements, etc., and most durable goods, such as expensive houses, automobiles, etc., take time to construct and yield returns over long periods of time. We must take from today to produce things that will yield returns in the future.
- The money (or labor and material) needed to construct these things can be taken only from one source—the excess of our production over our consumption. We are continually baking a cake which must not be entirely eaten.

Announcement of Our Courses for 1923-1924

(Continued)

Course No. 5—The Economic Basis of Government—Lindsay Rogers.

Forms of government, it has been said, are less important than the forces behind them, and since, in the world in which we live, the government affects all of us, it is worth while to attempt to see what those forces really are. It is worth while also to ask what the government does, and to study the ways in which it affects the citizen and groups of citizens.

The literary theory is that popular governments obey public opinion, although it is difficult to determine what is "public" and what is "opinion." Another widely held theory is that the possessors of economic power possess political power; that governments are controlled by capitalists. What is the truth? In order to form an intelligent opinion it is necessary to see how governments actually work, through political parties, executives, legislatures, and courts. Any theory is inadequate unless it is based on facts and these discussions on the

American Government will attempt to deal with actual conditions, so that, when the student announces a particular view of the forces behind the American Government, he will not simply state an opinion, but will be able to know how he reached that opinion and will be able to argue intelligently in its support.

Course No. 6—Economic Basis of Modern Civilization—Alexander Fichandler.

The study of the history of different nations reveals the fact that their growth, development and institutions are influenced to a very large extent by the natural resources of the country and the prevailing methods of production. These play an important part in determining not only the economic but also the spiritual life of the people.

In this course, a study will be made of the natural resources of the great production areas of the world, the methods of production employed, their effect on the social, political and economic life of the people, and their relation to the Labor Movement.

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY
Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.
Room 603

UNITY CENTERS

The following Unity Centers will be opened Monday, September 17th:

- East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63—Fourth Street, near First Avenue, Manhattan, at 7:45 p. m.
Wailmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40—320 East 20th Street, Manhattan, at 7:30 p. m.
Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61—Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Bronx, at 7:45 p. m.
Second Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 45—Washington Avenue and Claremont Parkway, Bronx, at 7:30 p. m.
Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43—Brown Place and 135th Street, Bronx, at 7:30 p. m.
Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 150—Christopher and Sutter Avenues, Brooklyn, at 7:45 p. m.
Williamsburg Unity Center—P. S. 147—Bushwick Avenue and McKibben Street, Brooklyn, at 7:30 p. m.

Instructions will be given in English at the above enumerated Unity Centers on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Our Activities

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

(Continued)

SIZE OF CLASSES

While large classes are useful for general cultural purposes and to instill enthusiasm, and while certain subjects lend themselves readily to large numbers as, for example, the study of literature, all agree that in the study of labor and economic problems, the best results are obtained when a comparatively small number of people participate in the discussion.

Accordingly, most of our classes in the social sciences numbered between twenty and fifty students, while our classes in literature and psychology had as many as 150 at a time.

OUR UNITY HOMES

The effort to develop the artistic sense in our members has resulted in the establishment of Unity summer homes, conducted on a cooperative basis, by our New York Dress and Wailmakers' Union, the Italian New York Dress and Wailmakers' Union, and the Philadelphia Dress and Wailmakers' Union. In these, thousands of our members live in an atmosphere of perfect democracy and fellowship in cottages surrounded by gardens and forests, and equipped with all the conveniences that one could desire.

Through these enterprises our members showed to the other workers that the beautiful and comfortable are no longer the monopoly of a few, that the workers who build palaces for others and unsanitary and ugly tenements for themselves can also become the owners of a magnificent Unity village.

They showed that ideals and visions of a beautiful future can be realized through the collective power of modern trade unions. Most valuable in the fact that through such experiments our members learn to manage their own affairs efficiently and economically.

While our members pay for all this, the Educational Department stimulates the desire for wholesome and enlightened recreation.

OPENING OF THE UNITY CENTERS POSTPONED TO MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

The opening of our Unity Centers which was planned for Monday, September 10th, has been postponed to September 17th.

A number of our members have received notice to this effect with an enclosed registration card on which their name and address appear. On the presentation of this card at the nearest Unity Center to their home, they will be assigned to the I. L. G. W. U. classes. Even those of our members who plan to join our classes at the Unity Centers later in the season should register at once. This will make it possible for us to arrange the classes more efficiently.

In every Unity Center, as has already been announced, classes will be organized in English for advanced and intermediate students and for be-

ALEXANDER FICHANDLER, OUR EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR, HAS RETURNED FROM EUROPE

Mr. Alexander Fichandler, our Educational Director, and Mrs. Fichandler returned from Europe a few days ago. They visited France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Austria, in which countries they had an opportunity to observe the conditions of the workers. We know that Mr. Fichandler's experiences in connection with this trip will be valuable to our Educational Department.

We welcome Mr. and Mrs. Fichandler home.

winners. In addition to this, courses of six lessons each will be given on labor, economic and industrial questions. Once a week instruction will be given in physical training, under the guidance of competent instructors.

Manager Hochman's Final Report on Dress and Waist Industry

A Retrospect and Survey

(Continued from Last Week.)

The cutters' minimum in 1913 was \$25. In 1923 it is \$44, which is an increase of 76 per cent.

The operators' minimum in 1913 was \$15. In 1923 it is \$46, which is an increase of almost 167 per cent. The pressers' minimum in 1913 was \$20. In 1923 it is \$42, which is an increase of 110 per cent.

The samplemakers' minimum in 1913 was \$14. In 1923 it is \$30 which is an increase of 114 per cent.

The drapers' minimum in 1913 was \$14. In 1923 it is \$28, which is an increase of 110 per cent.

The examiners' minimum in 1913 was \$10. In 1923 it is \$22, which is an increase of 120 per cent.

The finishers' minimum in 1913 was \$8. In 1923 it is \$22, which is an increase of 175 per cent.

The cleaners' minimum in 1913 was \$6. In 1923 it is \$17, which is an increase of 183 per cent.

The simple average of eight occupations in 1913 was \$14. In 1923 it is about \$30.63, which is an increase of about 119 per cent.

GENERAL CONDITIONS

What is of special note in the preceding table is that the least paid workers received the highest increase, such as cleaners who were increased 183 per cent, and should we take the prevailing wages of our pressers and compare them with the minimum wages of 1913 what a comparison that would make! Of course, under a week-work system all these increases would have been more permanent and the workers would derive greater benefits from them. Nevertheless, it shows great progress and proves they were always on the lookout to improve the conditions of the workers.

In comparing the minimum scales of 1913 and 1923 we must also remember that the 1913 minimum scales were based upon the conditions in the waist industry whereas the 1923 minimum scales are effective for the dress industry. Considering that we are engaged in a seasonal industry and that our workers are working not more than 30 full weeks during the year, even the minimum scales of today are barely sufficient to maintain a reasonable living standard.

If the comparison would be made between the agreement of 1913 and the agreement prevailing in the industry today and if we would put up each and every clause and analyze the rights of the workers in the shops in 1913 and the rights of the workers in the shops today, what tremendous differences would be found! We can get a fair idea of it by comparing the discharge clause of 1917 agreement and the discharge clause of today.

In the year 1913, there was no clause regarding discharge, the employer presumably being left free to use his own discretion. The first discharge clause was introduced in the agreement of 1916, which read as follows:

All employees shall be duly safeguarded against unfair and wrongful discharges and against oppressive exercise by the employer of his functions in connection with all dealings with the workers.

(b) No employee shall be discharged or discriminated against on the ground of his direct or indirect participation in union activities.

(c) The employer is entirely free to select his employees at his discretion, free to discharge the incompetent, the dishonest, the inefficient, those unskilled in the work of the shop, those subversive of order and

harmony in the shop and those unfaithful to their obligations: He is free, in good faith, to reorganize his shop whenever, in his judgment, the conditions of business should make it necessary for him to do so and he is free to assign to work requirements a superior or special kind of skill to those which he possesses the requisite skill. No shop chairman or member of a price committee shall be discharged on account of such reorganization.

(d) A reorganization in good faith shall be taken to mean a bona fide reorganization of the employers' business necessitated by the permanent curtailment of his business, or a fundamental change in the character of the business.

(e) When any worker, under this agreement, including cutter, apprentices and cleaners reaches or is approaching a higher grade by reason of length of service, his discharge for the purpose of evading the payment of such higher wage shall be deemed a wrongful discharge.

As compared to the present discharge clauses:

(a) Should any employer desire to discharge an employe the employer may file a complaint with the Union through the Association and such complaint shall be referred to the Adjustment Committee, to be composed of a representative of the Union and a representative of the Association, who if they cannot agree, shall select a third impartial person as umpire and they shall determine the question of such discharge within 48 hours after the filing of the complaint. The

decision of said Adjustment Committee upon the question of such discharge shall be final; pending such decision, the employe shall continue to work at full pay. In case the employe has been discharged by reason of misconduct, the decision of said Adjustment Committee upon the question of such discharge shall be final. Pending such decision, the employe shall continue to earn his wages at full pay.

(b) The Association agrees that if a member discharges a worker in violation of the terms of the agreement, this member in addition to compensation to the worker for loss of time, shall pay a penalty of \$50 for such violation. This clause shall apply only when there is no stoppage as a result of such discharge.

(c) Upon complaint of the Union that any member of the firm or its representative has misconducted himself towards a worker or workers, such complaint shall be referred to the Adjustment Committee to be composed of a representative of the Union and a representative of the Association for a decision. If they cannot agree they shall select a third impartial person as umpire and they shall determine the penalty for such misconduct within 48 hours after filing complaint. The decision of such Adjustment Committee upon the above complaint shall be final. The same comparison would be true of all other clauses of the agreement.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Other activities such as the Educational and the Unity House, etc., we have already discussed in detail.

COMPARATIVE MINIMUM WAGE SCALES IN THE DRESS AND WAIST INDUSTRY UNDER THE PROTOCOL OF PEACE 1913-18

| Occupations | WEEK WORKERS | | | | Per cent Gained | Period |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------|---------|
| | 1913 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | | |
| Cleaners, Grade A | \$4.00 | \$6.00 | \$7.00 | \$8.00 | .58 | 5 years |
| Cleaners, Grade B | 5.00 | 7.00 | 8.00 | 9.00 | .50 | 5 years |
| Finishers, Grade C | 6.00 | 8.50 | 9.50 | 10.50 | .75 | 5 years |
| Finishers | 8.00 | 9.50 | 10.50 | 12.00 | .50 | 5 years |
| Examiners | 10.00 | 11.50 | 12.50 | 14.00 | .40 | 5 years |
| Joiners | 12.00 | 13.00 | 14.30 | 15.50 | .29 | 5 years |
| Drapers | 14.00 | 15.00 | 16.50 | 18.00 | .28 1/2 | 5 years |
| Samplemakers | 14.00 | 15.00 | 16.50 | 18.00 | .28 1/2 | 5 years |
| Ironers (women) | 14.00 | 14.00 | 15.00 | 16.00 | .2/3 | 5 years |
| Ironers (men) | 15.00 | 17.00 | 18.50 | 20.00 | .33 1/3 | 5 years |
| Pressers | 20.00 | 23.00 | 25.00 | 27.00 | .35 | 5 years |

PIECE WORKERS—HOURLY BASE RATES

| Occupations | Per cent Gained | | | | Period | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 1913 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | | | |
| Operators | .30 | .35 | .38 | .41 1/4 | .37 1/2 | 5 years | |
| Hemstitchers | .. | .. | .. | .41 1/4 | .37 1/2 | 1 year | |
| Lacerunners | .. | .. | .. | .38 | .40 1/4 | 1 year | |
| Button sewers | .. | .. | .. | .38 | .41 1/4 | .08 1/4 | 1 year |
| Ironers | .. | .. | .. | .38 | .41 1/4 | .17 1/2 | 2 years |
| Pressers | .49 | .45 | .47 | .53 | .47 1/4 | 5 years | |
| Buttonhole makers | .. | .. | .. | .50 | .54 1/4 | .08 1/4 | 1 year |
| Tuckers | .. | .. | .. | .50 | .54 1/4 | .08 1/4 | 1 year |
| Clackers | .. | .. | .. | .50 | .54 1/4 | .08 1/4 | 1 year |
| Sleeve setters | .. | .. | .. | .50 | .54 1/4 | .08 1/4 | 1 year |
| Hemmers | .. | .. | .. | .50 | .54 1/4 | .08 1/4 | 1 year |

CUTTER'S SCALE

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Full fledged cutters | \$25.00 | \$27.50 | \$29.00 | \$31.00 | .24 | 5 years |
| 2d grade cutters | 25.00 | 25.00 | 27.50 | 29.50 | .18 | 5 years |
| Cutters doing pattern grading | 25.00 | 27.50 | 29.00 | 31.00 | .24 | 5 years |
| Apprentices, Grade A | 6.00 | 6.00 | 7.00 | 8.00 | .29 1/3 | 5 years |
| Apprentices, Grade B | 12.00 | 12.00 | 13.25 | 14.50 | .20 2/3 | 5 years |
| Apprentices, Grade C | 18.00 | 18.00 | 20.00 | 22.00 | .22 | 5 years |
| Apprentices, Grade D | 21.00 | 23.00 | 25.00 | 27.00 | .19 | 2 years |

(End next week)

NEUROLOGICAL INSTITUTE OPENS NIGHT TREATMENT CLINIC FOR WAGE EARNERS

The Neurological Institute, 151 East 67th Street, has just opened a Night Treatment Clinic, where patients, (Monday and Thursday evenings for men, and Tuesday and Friday for women, at 7:00 p. m.), may receive electrical and massage treatments, baths and bakes.

This Clinic was opened to fill an urgent need of wage earners who have

found it a hardship to take time off from their work to follow the special treatments prescribed by the doctor.

Patients wishing to attend the Night Clinic must first be examined by a doctor at the Afternoon Clinic, any day at 1 o'clock, as no doctors are in attendance at the Night Treatment Clinic.

Industrial Japan

Sherrwood Eddy writes of working and living conditions in Japan in the May International Trade Union Movement (review of the International Federation of Trade Unions). A summary of his observations follows:

Japan's industries have developed tremendously since 1914 when they had an opportunity to secure markets. Japan is handicapped by her limited area, the poor quality of her farm land and the tremendous competition between the still cheaper labor of India and China, and the great industrial organizations of the United States and Europe.

In 1914 the Japanese government was in danger of bankruptcy, but with the increase in exports over imports from 1915-1918 the national debt was reduced until it is now the smallest among the allied nations.

Within twenty-five years there has been a tenfold increase in her foreign trade and a 400 per cent increase in the volume of business done by the banks. The per capita wealth which was \$250 in 1904 was estimated at \$765 in 1919 and the national wealth at \$43,000,000,000. Yet with this tremendous increase in wealth in 1918 92 per cent of the population had an income of less than \$250 per year. In the slums of Tokyo, Kobe and Osaka thousands of people are crowded into little alleys with one-room hovels for entire families. Osaka and Kobe have the highest death rate in the world.

Working conditions in Japanese factories and mines are very bad. The ten to twelve-hour day is prevalent though a few progressive employers have granted the eight-hour day. Many of the cotton mills still keep the fourteen to seventeen-hour day. Child labor is general. Wages are very low (though we have not at hand the means of comparing "real wages" in Japan with those of the United States). Women workers receive an average of twenty cents a day. According to a study made by one of the leading economists of Japan, the average wage in Tokyo is less than fifty cents a day with a minimum of twenty cents and a maximum of one or two dollars a day for skilled labor.

The labor movement is growing slowly with much opposition. The first unions were started about forty years ago under the Christian leaders. Most of them are now in radical leadership. Labor unions have no legal status, so that the number of state conditions in the country, unions and their membership fluctuations. The latest returns give 300 organizations with 365,700 members. The employers have several organizations with large sums of money for propaganda. There are some forty radical groups in and near Tokyo which have been much affected by the Russian revolution. The labor movement is greatly hindered by laws which de-legitimize labor for strike leaders. The police, labor spies, and gangsters are used to break up the unions.

The labor leaders are chiefly state socialists, guild socialists or communists. One of them is reported as saying, "To be frank with you we are all radicals and out to abolish the present system, because the government, the capitalist courts, and the big business men are all united against us. We have arrived late upon the scene in the labor world and we have started, with advanced ideas and principles. We are persecuted, hounded, and betrayed, but we will win."

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The past few weeks have seen increased activity in the trade; so much so, that few cutters were idling in the office seeking jobs. This, of course, refers to the cutters of the two larger divisions, cloak and dress.

In fact, for a period of almost two weeks the office besieged with calls for men which it could not fill. This week saw a little slump, presumably on account of Labor Day. But towards the end of the week, as the Jewish holidays loomed up, those who had been laid off were called back to work.

The office, while seeking men to send out on jobs, learned that unemployed cutters were to be found on the various markets. The attention of these men is directed to the fact that jobs may be secured through the office. They should therefore make it their business to visit the office at least twice a day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. According to present indications, calls for jobs may still come in for a while.

Another thing to which the attention of the members is directed is that the payment of dues through the Joint Board offices has been suspended. All members of Local 10 should now and hereafter pay their dues directly at the office of Local 10. The Finance Department of the Joint Board has received notice to no longer accept dues from members of Local 10.

The biggest surprise yet experienced by Dubinsky during his incumbency as manager occurred Thursday night, when a committee of the cutters of A. Portfolio, headed by the chairman, Milton Cwin, appeared in the office and presented him with a beautiful gold fountain pen.

That Dubinsky was taken aback need hardly be said. He knew that the members, in the final analysis, appreciate the efforts of their officers. But he also knew and felt that it was expected of an officer to do his best, and that it was sufficient gratification for one to do his utmost.

In spite of this feeling, however, the manager was more than pleased upon the presentation of the gift. He knew his efforts were crowned with appreciation. But when the Portfolio cutters expressed their appreciation by means of a gift, it carried with it the lasting well wishes of men who sincerely appreciate effort.

What prompted the presenting of the gift is really not very important in itself. Dubinsky felt that the cutters were entitled to an increase. He felt the firm owed it to them. And he took the matter up and secured it. This is something he has done numerous times,—something that he is anxious to do daily.

One particular reason why the present so elated Dubinsky was that it was compensation in its finest form amid the trials that are experienced by an officer of an organization during the course of his daily struggles, some of which take a good deal of joy out of one's life.

CLOAK AND SUIT

While the great mass of the members in the cloak and suit industry were peacefully going about their business, a controversy of considerable dimension, in which the question of a tie-up in the industry was very much in the balance, was taking place within the confines of the offices. The members are no doubt familiar with the fact that the contractors in the cloak industry, by an overwhelming vote, decided upon a stoppage. While only the employers were concerned in this matter, nevertheless a stoppage

would have thrown out of employment thousands of members of the union. It was apparent at once to the union that it is being forced into this situation for the good of the workers. I saw that the controversy very much affected the great mass of the members. For this reason the union did step in and assumed the position of mediator.

When the officers of the union, among whom were representatives of the International and Joint Board, became familiar with the situation, they pointed out at once that as long as the jobbers would permit such a state of affairs in the future as existed up to the time of the dispute, there would not be any semblance of order in the industry. They pointed out the method of procedure and proved to the employers' organization that so long as they persisted in their present methods, the stoppage on the part of the contractors could not be avoided.

The union therefore pointed out that the Jobbers' Association would have to take measures to discipline its members for violations of the agreement. It would furthermore have to see to it that the work of its members must be sent to union contractors. Only in this way, the representatives of the International and the Joint Board stated, would the keen cut-throat competition which caused the vote by the contractors for a stoppage be averted.

The jobbers finally consented to these conditions and the threatened stoppage was withdrawn on the following conditions: (1) Should any member of the Jobbers' Association be found to give his work to a non-union shop, a fine will be levied against him; (2) the union has the right to investigate the books of both the contractors and the jobbers. This condition was secured because it was seen to have been the only means of checking up on both organizations.

That the union should be commended for these arrangements need hardly be emphasized. These are measures which will considerably aid them in properly controlling the trade. This practically means a revision of the agreements in the middle of the term without a struggle.

What is more, it means that a stop was put to the chaos, and the industry was not thrown into turmoil. For this to have taken place would have meant great privation, particularly for the workers.

As a result of the final understanding and in accordance with which the Union has had at work some fifty accountants who were charged with the duty of examining the books of the manufacturers. The purpose of this examination is to determine the earnings of the workers and where the work is being sent. These accountants have completed their work and will now proceed to further investigations. These will be directed against some jobbers against whom complaints have been received to the effect that they are not living up to the agreement.

The union has every reason to be proud of its present accomplishments in the jobbing field. The jobbers today represent a powerful group in the ladies' garment trade and in this country. There is no doubt that the investigations will considerably help the union in unearthing violations of the agreement.

WAIST AND DRESS

One of the first acts of the new management in the dress industry was to take up the question of why there is such a lack of attention with respect to the complaints filed with the

Contractors' Association against some of its members.

An examination into this led the union to the conclusion that no proper attention was given complaints and that considerable delay was experienced in their adjustment. As soon as this state of affairs came to the attention of I. Feinberg, manager of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board, he at once took the matter up with Brother Horowitz, manager of the Association Department of the Joint Board.

A conference was arranged between the union and the heads of the Association for the purpose of considering this matter.

The conference was held recently and this matter was gone into at some length. A policy was formulated by means of which the union feels certain it will secure the desired results.

The problem brought about by the lack of attention with regard to the union's complaint on the part of the Association is by no means the only one with which the dress industry is faced.

Just now a strike is being waged against one of the larger firms in the trade. The Board of Directors at a recent meeting, decided to declare a strike against another employer who also is considered one of the important ones.

During the course of the last general strike in the dress industry, this employer attempted to put up a stubborn fight. However, the union did succeed in signing an agreement which was observed by the firm until recently. Now, however, thinking that the union is not in the habit of closely controlling the industry, the employer decided, of his own accord, to modify some of the conditions. The union, however, informed him that the modifications were detrimental to the work-

ers and insisted upon the observance of the agreement in its original sense.

Unless this firm decides to live up to the agreement, a strike seems inevitable. The union felt so certain of this, that the Board of Directors, as was stated here, had already decided upon such a step.

MISCELLANEOUS

The next meeting of the Miscellaneous Branch, which will take place on Monday, September 17th, in Arlington Hall, will be an important one, as Manager Dubinsky will render a detailed report of the results of the various conferences and the Grievance Board meeting, before which the problems of the cutters were taken up.

As a result of the favorable decision of the Grievance Board with respect to the discharge of one of the cutters and the insistence on the part of the union to go to arbitration on another discharge case, the temper of the Association has somewhat changed in its relation to the union. It was noted at once, following the action of the Grievance Board, that the manager of the Association was convinced of the union's determination to have the agreement enforced. This was noted by the fact that whatever cooperation the union sought since this time was secured.



D'ALESSIO'S ACADEMY

24 W 24th St., N. Y. City
Designing, Dressmaking, Patternmaking, Grading, French Drapery, Embroidery, Fashion Illustration, Clothing Designing, Manufacturing and Dressing Courses, Day and Evening Classes, Total Income Established 1891.

MEMBERS OF LOCAL 10

SPECIAL ATTENTION

All cutters are hereby warned against working on Sunday to make up the Jewish Holidays. In addition, cloak cutters are not to work on Saturday afternoon; dress cutters must not work Saturday all day.

Permission to this effect has not been granted to any member of Local 10 through any source.

Committees will be scattered throughout the districts, and cutters found going to work or working will be summoned to the Board.

By order of
EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 10.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS Monday, September 17th
GENERAL Monday, September 24th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place