

"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. IV. No. 24

New York, Friday, June 11, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

NEW YORK CLOAK CONFERENCES POSTPONED FOR TWO WEEKS

Sub-Committees Hold Several Meetings—President Schlesinger Rejects the Four New Demands of the Manufacturers—Union Also Confers With American Association.

Yesterday, Wednesday, June 7, in the afternoon, President Schlesinger received a reply from Mr. Max Lachman, Vice-President and Manager of the Protective Association, with regard to the Association's final stand on the question of the renewal of the agreement. Mr. Lachman stated that the Conference Committee of the Association has held meetings together with the Executive Committee of the Association, but has arrived at no definite results as yet. They will, therefore, need more time to discuss the principal questions advanced by the Conference Committee.

In view of the fact that the General Executive Board of the International left on Wednesday for the first quarterly meeting at Cincinnati, and as some members of the General Executive Board are at the same time members of the Union's Conference Committee, President Schlesinger and Messrs. Jellow and Lachman, of the Protective Association, issued the following statement:

"The Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association is

still holding under advisement the final proposal of the Union with respect to the terms of a new agreement.

"Since several members of the Union's Conference Committee, including President Schlesinger, are leaving this afternoon for Cincinnati to attend a meeting of their General Executive Board, and also the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, the negotiations between the parties will remain in abeyance for about two weeks.

"In the meantime, operations will be continued under the old agreement."

The next full conference can, therefore, be expected not sooner than approximately seventeen or eighteen days, until President Schlesinger and the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention will return from Cincinnati.

The four new demands of the Protective Association, as presented during the last meetings of the sub-committee appointed from both sides at the conferences, are presented in

full on the editorial page of this issue and the Union's side explained in detail.

CONFERENCES WITH THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

The American Association has forwarded a letter to our International and to the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, declaring that, in view of the expiration of its agreement with the Union on June 1, it is desirous to begin negotiations for a new agreement.

In response to this letter, the Joint Board appointed a committee, headed by General Manager Israel Feinberg, to meet the representatives of the American Association and a conference with them was held last Monday, June 5.

Various trade questions were taken up for discussion, and it was agreed that further negotiations be laid over for two weeks until after the members of the General Executive Board will return from Cincinnati and the convention of the American Federation of Labor will adjourn.

Waist Joint Board Aids Tool Relief Campaign

The Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union undertook enthusiastically to aid in the Million Dollar Tool Drive conducted at present by the People's Relief Committee. At the last meeting of the Joint Board, at which several plans were perfected to help the People's Relief Committee in the course of this drive, the Joint Board forwarded the following appeal to its membership: To all members of the Waist and Dress Locals in New York.

Sisters and Brothers: The People's Relief Committee has fixed Saturday and Sunday, June 17 and 18, as two "tag days" for the great Million Dollar Tool Drive for the Russian Jews in the Ukraine.

During these two days every city and town throughout the country will be canvassed for aid to this tool drive and the collected money will be utilized for the purchase of tools and implements for the Jewish workers in Russia and in the Ukraine so that they may go on constructing their shattered lives, till the soil and begin to produce living commodities.

Seven years of war and pogroms have all but ruined the Jewish workers of Russia. They appeal to us and we in turn appeal to you to join the army of volunteers and to make your greatest effort on June 17 and 18 to raise money for this noble purpose.

All volunteers are to report to 16 West 21st Street, Room 5, where the details of the tag collections will be cheerfully given.

An Important Shop Strike in Boston

The Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Union in Boston declared a strike against the firm of Goldman and Silverman, in reply to a lockout made by this firm. Two weeks ago, on a Saturday, the firm called together its workers and declared to them that it gives up manufacturing and that they are to look for work in other places. Shortly thereafter, the firm closed its shop.

It appears, however, that what this firm intended to do was to close up its inside shop and to make work in outside, sub-manufacturing positions. This is not the first time this firm has made an attempt in this direction. A year ago it attempted the same trick but the Union compelled it to open up its inside shop and the Union intends to conduct a strike against it as energetically as last year and to make it re-employ its workers if it intends to stay in the cloak business.

First Quarterly Meeting of the General Executive Board

The first quarterly meeting of our newly-elected General Executive Board opened its sessions on Thursday afternoon, June 8, at the Hotel Gibson, Cincinnati, Ohio. This meeting will have to decide upon numerous important questions and outline a course of activity for the International during the coming months.

First of all, the General Executive Board will have to go through all the resolutions adopted at our last convention and analyze the mandates referred to it by the convention. The

meeting will pay special attention to the problem of an Organization Department decided upon by the convention. It will work out plans how to establish this department and how to make it function. It will decide, first of all, upon the districts where organization activities should begin first and whom to entrust the management of this work. It is a work that requires a lot of endurance, patience and love, and its success will depend greatly upon the ability of the persons charged with the task of accomplishing it.

This meeting will be attended by the full personnel of the General Executive Board, which consists at present of the following persons:

President, Benjamin Schlesinger; General Secretary, Abraham Baroff; First Vice-President, Salvatore Ninfo; Vice-Presidents, Jacob Halperin, Jacob Heller, Israel Feinberg, Samuel Lefkowitz, Joseph Brodsky, David Dubinsky, Harry Wander, Fania M. Cohn, Meyer Perlstein, Hyman A. Schoelman, Elias Reinsberg, Sol Seidman, Max Gorenstein and Fred Monosson.

Brother S. Yanofsky, editor of "Gerechtigkeit," will attend the quarterly meeting, and his letters and impressions from this meeting will be given to our readers, beginning next issue of JUSTICE.

42nd Convention of the A. F. of L. in Cincinnati

Monday morning, June 12th, the 42nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will begin its two weeks' meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio. It will be held simultaneously with the meeting of our General Executive Board. In the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to this Convention a great many vital and interesting questions, affecting the labor movement, are being touched upon. The injunction fight of our

International against the Protective Association during the last general cloak strike is also being touched upon in this report. We shall discuss this comment in these columns at some other time.

Our delegation to this Convention consists of the following: President Benjamin Schlesinger, Louis Pinkofsky, Local 23; L. Langer, Local 35; Max Amdur, Philadelphia Joint Board, Luigi Antonini, Local 69, and Harry Greenberg, Local 50.

ONLY ONE WEEK LEFT TO OPENING OF UNITY HOUSES

The Unity House of the New York Waist and Dress Makers, at Forest Park, will open next Friday, June 16, with a first-class concert.

Don't fail to be at the opening celebration. Register at the office of the Union, 16 West 21st Street.

The Unity House of the Philadelphia Waistmakers, at Orville, Pa., will open on Sunday, June 18.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

THE CORONADO DECISION

FROM the partial summary of the decision of the United States Supreme Court handed down last Monday, June 5, in the case of the Coronado Coal Company, available at this writing, it is clear that the labor movement has sustained one of the heaviest blows in its history. The decision that actions could be brought against labor unions for damages caused by their strikes, and that the strike funds could be assessable for damages, sets a dangerous precedent to be used by the various anti-union organizations, such as the League for Industrial Rights, representing the "open shop" employers, which has already prepared to file suits against the more important labor organizations.

The decision was the outcome of the Coronado coal mine open shop fight in Arkansas in 1914. In April of that year the Eache-Dennan Coal Company, owners of nine coal mines, broke its agreement with the United Mine Workers. Two mines were non-unionized and the miners of a third, nominally owned by the Coronado Coal Company, struck. Starting as a strike and without clash there followed, between April 1 and July 20, rioting, dynamiting, murder and arrests, after the fashion of West Virginia. The mining business was destroyed and a receiver appointed for the mine properties. The receiver began suit against the United Mine Workers for \$625,000. The jury in the District Court returned damages of \$200,000 against the miners' union, district branches, locals and members, 65 individuals named and 400,000 unnamed members "acting in conspiracy." The judge of the court increased the award to \$600,000, added \$120,000 interest and \$25,000 counsel fees. When the case was appealed by the miners to the Circuit Court, that body upheld the jury award of the lower court, eliminating, however, the \$120,000 interest added by the District Court judge. Nearly two years ago the case was argued, on appeal brought by the miners, before the United States Supreme Court, Charles Evans Hughes, now Secretary of State, appearing as chief counsel for the miners.

There are three chief points in the Supreme Court decision: First, that labor unions may be sued under the Sherman anti-trust law and their strike funds seized as security. Second, on occasion of a local strike, international officers of a union are not "necessarily" parties to alleged criminal acts of workers who destroy property. Third, that riots or other troubles growing out of a local strike are not "necessarily" in pursuance of a conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce.

While with one hand the highest court in the land delivered a nasty blow at the vitals of organized labor, with the other it tried to soften the effect by throwing a sop to the workers. The court found that the national organization of the United Mine Workers was not responsible for the strike, but solely District 21 and its included locals, and that the case against this district organization would have to be retried in the Arkansas Federal courts because it had not been proved that the district local interfered with interstate commerce as had been charged. Another gain for the union is that the decision releases \$1,100,000 of union funds now tied up by litigation. The money will, of course, be found highly useful in the miners' relief projects growing out of the coal strike. But these concessions pale into insignificance when compared with the sweeping measure against organized labor.

THE NEW RAILROAD WAGE SLASH

A WEEK ago the Railroad Labor Board cut the wages of 400,000 railway workers, amounting to \$48,000,000 a year. Now comes the decision of the same board cutting 400,000 shopen approximately \$60,000,000 a year. The present wage reduction of 7 cents an hour for railway shop mechanics and 9 cents for freight carmen will be followed shortly by reductions for railway clerks, telegraphers, and all other classes of railway employees except perhaps the train service men.

As in the former decision the three labor members on the board, representing the minority, issued a strong protest against the majority decisions, stating that it tended "to substantiate the position of the railroads that wages need not be established with reference to the needs of the family," contending that a minimum wage for the shop crafts should be 50 cents an hour, which would mean at a rate of 87 cents for skilled mechanics. "The majority failed to carry out the functions for which the board was created," the minority report reads. "Such decisions giving no explanation to the public of the process by which the majority arrive at the rates established gives the public an impression that these rates are not founded upon a careful consideration of facts."

But the railroad unions are not satisfied with mere protests. They called a special conference in Cincinnati last Tuesday, with a view to decide whether the shop craft workers and the maintenance of way employees, clerks, station employees and other smaller unions will walk out August 5. President Jewell and the other A. F. of L. leaders declare that if a strike vote is ordered and approved, it will mean a strike of nearly a million men. Such a strike would proceed, however, without the big brotherhoods, which would make the struggle futile from the start. Although the result of the conference is not known at this writing, it can hardly be believed that the leaders contemplate a strike at this time. The Coronado decision of the Supreme Court, making labor unions liable for strike damages, will surely act as a restraining measure in the deliberations of the labor chiefs.

COAL OPERATORS PROPOSE COMMISSION

THE anthracite coal operators want the coal strike settled. So do the miners. Yet the conference between the two parties could not bring about the desired settlement. The coal barons stubbornly refused a living wage to the miners. They now come with a new proposal to the miners, namely, that all questions in dispute be referred to a commission to be appointed by President Harding, mining to be resumed on conditions fixed by this body pending its final determination.

This proposal was not received by the miners' representatives with enthusiasm. From their experience with presidential commissions in the past the miners are not disposed to look for justice or fairness from such bodies.

Unless they can get assurance that they will have better success with the proposed tribunal, there is a likelihood that the miners will decide to fight the issue out directly with the coal operators. This proposal, however, is being discussed at the conference of the scale committee of the miners in Hazleton, Pa. The Hazleton conference will doubtless find it difficult to reject this proposal, for that would be construed by the government and the press as a rebuke to the President's fairness and as an expression of war-spirit on the part of the miners. President Harding, on the other hand, expects readiness to appoint such a commission and end the controversy for the fall elections are approaching and his administration sadly needs some justification for existence.

"AMBASSADOR" BAKHMETEFF RETIRES

ON the 30th of this month, nearly five years after the death of the Kerensky government, the functions of its "ambassador" to this country will terminate. Surprisingly enough, it has taken that length of time for a practical, matter-of-fact government like ours to discover that it has been engaged in communications with a spiritualistic medium rather than with a representative of a real and living government. What is more, Bakhmeteff proved to be the usual article, that is, a fake medium who failed to bring forth the ghosts devoutly longed for by Washington.

The retirement of "Ambassador" Bakhmeteff was not entirely due to the realization of our Secretary of State Hughes that it was not for politics to indulge in spooks. There were more urgent considerations. Several weeks ago Senator Borah raised a series of questions in connection with the Siberian arch-bandit Semenov, which shed a flood of light on Bakhmeteff. Senator Borah brought to public attention the facts that this "ambassador" used \$187,000,000 loaned to the Kerensky government, not only to support the Kolchaks, Denikins and Wrangels, but that he turned real estate dealer and invested great sums of this money in buying property for himself in Chicago, New York and other cities.

The "ambassador" was apparently given to understand that a letter from him suggesting the termination of his "services" would be appreciated by the State Department. Accordingly, Bakhmeteff wrote to Secretary Hughes, expressing his gratitude for the "deep and sympathetic understanding of Russia's process of transformation" displayed by our government, as well as for "good-will and consideration" shown the "ambassador" himself, and he suggests that his job should come to an end on June 30. Secretary Hughes promptly replied that he "believes that a change in the present situation is desirable," and that he is "glad to be able to concur" in the "ambassador's" suggestion. Yet the "diplomatic" relations between our government and the ghost of Kerensky's government have not ended with the retirement of Bakhmeteff. A ghost of ghosts has still remained behind with our State Department will hold communion. Bakhmeteff's "financial attaché" will be henceforth recognized as the "custodian and agent" of Russian affairs.

Secretary Hughes has reiterated that the attitude of the American government toward Russia continues to be unswerving and immovable. The "custodian" left over by Bakhmeteff will serve as a signpost of this policy.

PRESIDENT HARDING, DAUGHTERY AND FREE SPEECH

WE may be pretty certain now that Attorney General Daugherty will not resign, as it was demanded of him in Congress and by the press, but will hold on to his important job and mete out justice as heretofore. It is true that he has been involved in the Morse scandal. He does not deny it. He does not even need to explain it. The administration has a safe majority in Congress, and so the Woodruff resolution to investigate the Department of Justice has been buried. This resolution was defeated in the rules committee of the House on the ground that such an investigation would embarrass Daugherty while he is trying "to put the halter on some conspicuous crooks who conspired to defraud and rob the government during the war and lead them to the penitentiary." Those who attack Daugherty and want him to be investigated are, according to administration leaders, accountants, thieves, crooks, grafters, falsifiers, etc. Daugherty, then, is a martyr who rented an office of forty rooms, mobilized an army of lawyers, investigators, accountants, stenographers, etc., who are on the track of the crooks and defrauders.

Last week President Harding has come out in defense of his Attorney General. In his conversation with newspaper correspondents last Friday the President referred to those members of Congress who led the attack on Daugherty as "blackguards" and "political blackmailers," and requested the newspaper men to "put on the brakes" in criticizing public officials. In other words, the President suggested a sort of voluntary censorship when it comes to criticizing the work of his administration.

This advice of the President was met with an outburst of criticism and invectives. The attention was shifted from Daugherty to Harding. Senator Stanley, a Democrat, delivered the first blow. He warned the President "that this is not Austria; this is not Prussia; this is the once-free America, at least." The Senator continues: "Not the President, nor Congress, nor the Senate, nor Judges shall shackle or abridge the freedom of the press in the United States while the First Amendment to the constitution is intact." The press of the country follow the Senator in its vehement protest against the attempt of the President to undermine the constitutional right of the freedom of speech.

The big issue has become free speech. This sudden outburst, when hundreds have been jailed and scores of Socialist and labor papers suppressed for the exercise of the constitutional right of free speech, is another example of the brazen hypocrisy and cynical campaign manoeuvring of the politicians and press of the Republican and Democratic parties.



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"Open Shop" Poison in Public Schools

By WESLEY STURGIS

In connection with its campaign to bring up the school children of the country as propagandists for the "open shop," the National Association of Manufacturers is conducting propaganda in the public schools for the perpetuation of gunmen rule in the non-union coal fields of West Virginia. From the headquarters of the Employers' Association at 50 Church Street, New York City, leaflets are being shipped to schools in all sections of the country to arouse teachers and pupils against the United Mine Workers.

One of the latest propaganda leaflets is known as "Open Shop Bulletin No. 6." It contains a number of anti-union articles, but the most important is that beginning on the first page, entitled, "Why West Virginia Coal Operators Should Not Deal With the United Mine Workers."

This propaganda is a mass of falsehoods, as an analysis will show. Unfortunately, the United Mine Workers and the American Federation of Labor are not given an opportunity to furnish antidotes for the poison that is secretly placed in the minds of the young and their teachers.

The first reason given by the National Association of Manufacturers in this pamphlet for its fight against the Miners' Union follows:

"Questions of wages, hours and working conditions are not involved in the present disturbances. Union 'recognition' is the only question. And 'recognition' means the closed shop and compulsory acceptance of union working rules."

The National Association of Manufacturers makes much of the horrors of recognition in its literature. It does so because questions of wages, hours and working conditions will be settled to the workers' satisfaction when there is recognition, despite the Association's declaration that these questions are not involved in the West Virginia struggle.

The first falsehood is followed by many more, one of the most vicious being presented as follows:

"Undisputed wage statistics sub-

mitted to the United States Senate Investigating Committee show that piece workers in the Williamson field receive, for the time actually employed, \$9.84 per day; union miners doing piece work in the Kanawha field receive \$7.85 per day. Day workers (those paid fixed wages) in the Williamson field earned for the time employed, in the twelve months ending March 31, 1921, \$6 per day; in the union Kanawha field they received \$6.10 per day. These comparisons further showed that the five coal loaders making the highest earnings at 26 Williamson field mines in October, 1920, averaged for the 26 mines, \$240.89 in actual cash received; the leaders at 26 Kanawha union mines averaged in actual cash received only \$156.73."

That makes an imposing argument to the school teacher and inexperienced pupil. But the facts are that the high wages received in non-union mines go to contractors who pay, from the \$9.84 received by them, \$2.50 to \$4 a day to helpers. The men who work for the contractors are not on the pay roll, so their miserable wages are never revealed to the investigating committees. The "five coal loaders" mentioned in the leaflet are probably favorites, bootlickers, who are always paid higher in non-union mines so that the employers can create a caste system that will destroy solidarity. Contracting is not permitted in union mines, so the \$7.85 wage for the Kanawha mine worker may be accepted as the money he actually received, but no mention is made of the number of hours he had to work to get that much money.

Officials of the United Mine Workers are much amused by the Association's comparison of wages. They say it would be idiotic for them to attempt to organize a coal field where wages are as high as claimed by the employers' propaganda bureau.

"The present effort is not for the raising of wages," the falsehoods of the pamphlet continue. "It has another and more sinister purpose, the suppression of West Virginia coal output to enable operators of the Middle West to retain Western markets and thus insure the retention of closed shop control of their mines. Evidence as to this conspiracy will be offered later."

There is a hint in this statement of the reason for the maintenance of the great army of gunmen in West Virginia non-union coal fields. The non-union fields of West Virginia have the lowest production cost of any coal mines of the country, because of the accessibility of the coal. With the additional advantage of low wages, unrestricted hours of work and absence of union conditions, the non-union fields have been an obstacle to progress of the organized miners' movement. The coal from non-union fields can be sold cheaper than that from union fields, with enormous profits for the owners, so these coal barons can afford to wage an expensive war for the perpetuation of their autocracy.

The benevolent guise of the coal magnates of the non-union fields, given by this pamphlet, is one of its amusing features for those who know conditions. The pamphlet says: "Of the 5,200 workers employed in the Williamson coal field, June 20, 1921, 4,931 have stated in petitions that they are entirely satisfied with their terms of employment and do not desire to join the United Mine Workers."

The school teachers are not told that referendums in the non-union fields are conducted by gunmen, armed with repeating rifles, pistols and riot sticks. The pupils in the public schools are not informed that five minutes after a man signed a pro-union petition in this field he would be fired, and he and his family would be thrown out of their company-owned dwelling house by ruffians in the service of the mine owners. But that is the way referendums are conducted in the democracy of West Virginia.

"Recognition" would assist the United Mine Workers to secure its radical demands," the pamphlet continues. "The national convention of September, 1919, adopted a program which demanded a six-hour day and five-day week, and the nationalization of coal mines through congressional action."

The employers never explain that the mine workers wanted to work a maximum of 30 hours a week, continuously through the year, that they suffer from long periods of unemployment due to the seasonal character of the industry, that it is a fortunate coal miner who can put in as much time as the "radical demands" call for. The nationalization of coal mines is opposed, of course, because the coal barons don't want to see their profits ended by the government.

"Violence and disregard of the law is condoned. . . . Eleven Arkansas members of the United Mine Workers pleaded guilty to various offenses against the state and national laws, one of them having gone so far as to threaten the life of a federal judge if he did not decide as the miner desired. The union paid the fines of all these men and rewarded most of them by elections or appointments to union offices."

"The purpose of the efforts made by the United Mine Workers is to so raise the operating costs of West Virginia operators that they cannot successfully compete with the operators of the central competitive field (Ohio,

Indiana, Western Pennsylvania and Illinois). The United Mine Workers propose to retain its absolute control by protecting closed shop operators from competition they are unable to meet. If successful it will restrain interstate commerce and the price of coal would undoubtedly increase tremendously."

After producing "evidence" in support of this contention, the pamphlet concludes:

"The present attempt to violently establish closed shop conditions in the mines of West Virginia is an effort by the United Mine Workers to pacify the coal operators of the Middle West. The operators of West Virginia, unshackled by restrictive union conditions, can produce for less, sell for less and endanger the market and profits of the operators who have yielded to the United Mine Workers."

There they tell the story of the struggle in West Virginia. "Unshackled by restrictive union conditions," such as decent wages, hours and working conditions, the coal barons of West Virginia are amassing enormous profits by undercutting prices of their competitors, but they are not trimming their profits to a reasonable income on their investment. They are taking all the traffic will bear, just coming under the other coal prices to put the other mines out of business.

It is the same story as that of the New York sweatshop. The garment workers were compelled to organize all the sweatshops and better wages, hours and working conditions because the bad conditions of the competing sweatshops dragged down the conditions of the organized workers. The non-union fields of West Virginia are the sweatshops of the coal-producing industry, but there is not a line in the manufacturers' pamphlet about this situation.

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A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service)

The news from Ireland is both serious and confusing. Most people, I imagine, shared my innocent joy on hearing, last Monday, that De Valera and Michael Collins had at last hit on a working agreement whereby the election could be held and some sort of a government carried on in order to restore order. That only showed how foolish we were to reckon with our diplomats and our Die-Hards. For now we learn that the agreement is an infringement of the peace treaty, though it is the first indication of any peace in Ireland that has occurred since the "peace" treaty was made public in that country. Mr. Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, has invited the two Irish leaders to London—he calls it an invitation, but it is, of course, a summons—in order to discuss the pact they have with so much difficulty made and passed through the Dail; Mr. Michael Collins has made an enigmatic speech, in which he seems to anticipate trouble on account of his pact with the Republicans, and somewhat vaguely promises to meet the trouble with a united Ireland; while in the Ulster Parliament, Sir James Craig makes a flamboyant speech, turning the pact into an excuse for throwing over the peace treaty altogether, refuses to treat with Southern Ireland at all, and behaves generally like the bold baronet of romance. It is a distressing development of the treaty that was to have "settled" Ireland for the fat is now in the fire with a vengeance, and in Ireland there is always as much fat as there is fire to burn it. We in England who know how much of this present disorder is the legacy of the violence for which we were originally responsible, can only wait in hopes that the great majority of Irish people who are said to be in favor of the treaty may in time assert themselves.

The Irish Labor Party may prove to be the saviors of their country. They have already intervened once with a reasoned manifest against the violence on both sides of the dispute; and now their election program is a refreshing breath of realism in the midst of the fog of war in which other political parties in Ireland seem to have lost their way. The labor statement just issued orders that taxes on tea and sugar shall be greatly reduced before any reduction takes place in the taxation of the rich, and goes on to demand compulsory tillage of 20 per cent of arable land, a national scheme for the housing of workers, nationalization of railways and canals, and pensions to mothers left without support for children under 16. A large meeting in Newbridge of the Transport Workers' Union decided to give their first and second preferences at the general election to Labor candidates, and subsequent votes according to individual opinions.

France and Reparations
As May 31 draws near the question of German reparations becomes acute. It is not very generally credited that France will really march into the Ruhr if Germany defaults on her day of reckoning; and if she does so she will certainly march alone and confirm her moral isolation in the eyes of the world. A more immediate danger is outlined today by the Paris correspondent of the "Daily Herald," Geo. Stoenbe, who, on the eve of the meeting over there of bankers, to discuss the question of a loan to enable Germany to pay her debts, has some sinister remarks to make about the possible conditions attached to such a loan. He reports that Germany will be asked to balance her budget by withdrawing bread and unemployment subsidies, by the imposition of new taxes

(which must necessarily fall principally on the working classes), and by the abandonment of the nationalized railways and other reconstruction schemes undertaken since the Revolution. More serious still is the suggestion that the German government will have to consent to foreign control of its finances, whether by the Reparations Commission or by the bankers who make the loan. It is not yet known, of course, what support will be given to these conditions by the British and American representatives at tomorrow's conference of bankers in Paris; but it is known that the spirit of them sums up the French hopes with regard to the enslavement of Germany, and that the clause about denationalizing the railways will have the support of big German capitalists like Stinnes. The German worker stands to lose, whatever happens, it seems!

The Aftermath of Genoa
Genoa seems suddenly very remote, though intense in it will be revived by the approaching debate in the Commons. Quite a small revolt has occurred on the Labor and Liberal benches (reinforced by the Die-Hards on the Unionist side of the House), with reference to the Prime Minister's intention to allow the Secretary of War to narrate what happened at Genoa, while he reserves himself to reply to subsequent criticisms—to secure the last word, in fact. J. R. Clynes, as head of the opposition and of the Labor Party, has written to Mr. Chamberlain as leader of the House, informing him of the decision of the Parliamentary Labor Party not to speak in the debate until after the Prime Minister has spoken. As the other criticism in the opposition has decided on a similar boycott, it is probable that Mr. Lloyd George will have to speak first and face his critics. But it does not matter much how or where he speaks. The really significant truth about the Genoa Conference is that the Russian delegation went there, alone in their demand for disarmament, which was rejected. Tchitcherine sums up its failure in his

words at the concluding session: "If we entertain any hope so far as concerns the general pacification of the world, it is due chiefly to the expressions of warm and deep sympathy we have received from the Italian people." This superiority of "peoples" to "kings or crowns," as the old hymn has it, was demonstrated in the almost unrecorded instance of the spontaneous and touching farewell given to the Russian delegates by the workmen of Genoa as they left the hall.

The Engineering Dispute

While rumors of trouble in the railways and mining industries are gradually growing, the dispute in the engineering trade, now in its sixth week, shows a gleam of light. The Amalgamated Engineering Union, the first to be locked out, are meeting the employers today to put before them alternative proposals to those last submitted by the employers. Yesterday the 47 allied unions decided to submit the employers' latest terms to the employers. These steps do not mean a great advance towards a settlement; but in view of the evident disunion among the employers themselves, several of whom are known not to hold the extremist views of their leader, Sir Allan Smith, it is possible that some way may soon be found out of the present deadlock.

Constructive Famine Relief

The Workers' International Famine Committee, who has been working so hard to relieve the famine in Russia, is now preparing to float a workers' loan in all countries, for the purpose of setting factories going in Russia on concessions that have been granted to the committee by the Soviet government. The loan will be guaranteed on the value of the concession and by the Soviet government, and details will be worked out at a conference in Berlin on June 21. This attempt, not only to send food to starving people, but also to rebuild their economic life, is a thoroughly constructive proposal, and should appeal to workers all over the world.

The Organized Cigarmakers

By J. CHARLES LAUE

One of the most remarkable records, from a trade union point of view, is the publication recently of the extraordinary expenditures that the Cigarmakers' International Union, one of the oldest labor unions in the American Federation of Labor, has made for sick relief, death benefit and out-of-work insurance for its members.

Here is an organization that has been functioning for 54 years in the larger cigar centers and for over 42 years as a national organization that tried everything that was suggested to relieve the poorly paid cigarmakers from the extreme hardships that workers in a luxury trade are subject to. This union has developed this activity so completely that its radical critics claim it has lost its strictly fighting functions in the over-burdensome work of an insurance company and a fraternal order.

However, like most labor organizations, the Cigarmakers' International Union is subject to the will of its membership (too much so our Soviet friends would say) because of its elaborate system of initiating referendums, with the result that every local union that has sufficient persuasive power is able to amend the union's basic law by the simple process of sending out an amendment, getting the sufficient number of endorsements and then submitting the issue to a vote. The result is that the C. M. I. U., as it is called for short, is con-

stantly in a fluid state and more responsive to the will of the membership than nearly every other international union in America.

A secretary of a cigarmakers' local is usually a grizzled veteran of the bench who is usually competent to hold a job as bookkeeper or actuary, and it has become a custom whenever a job of a financial nature is open in the central labor union, that a cigarmaker is the first to be suggested for the position.

In the last 42 years the Cigarmakers' International Union has expended benefits, including loans to traveling members, amounting to a total of \$1,933,000. Of this sum the highest amount was \$5,780 paid for death and total disability benefit; sick benefit amounting to \$5,300,000 was paid; strike benefit of about \$2,514,000 and loans for transportation of members to the nearest local unions amounted to nearly \$1,580,000.

It is becoming more and more evident, however, with the increasing severity of the pressure upon the union of the Tobacco Trust, which is wiping out the small factories and "buckeye" shops, where the union had its main strength for over a generation, that the international's main attention has to be given to strikes. The strike in Tampa two years ago was a beginning when the cigarmakers of the United States, Canada, Cuba and Porto Rico, where the international has locals, sent in over

\$1,000,000 to help the Tampa strikers survive a crucial fight.

At the Baltimore convention in 1912, and again at the Cleveland convention in 1920, the staggering burden of the death benefit policy and sick benefit of a membership which was largely composed of "old timers," was the most vital part of the discussion, and it was suggested that the union turn over or sell to some insurance company the insurance obligations of the union. Statistics are now being collected by the international with this end in view, the plan as announced by President George W. Perkins being to have the private insurance company, preferably one of the well-established and more responsible concerns, take in every member of the C. M. I. U. entitled to death benefit and place him precisely in the same standing as in the union fund, without a physical examination and regardless of age.

If the plan as it is now being worked out by the International Executive Board of the union, goes through it will permit the leaders of the organized cigar workers to devote their entire energies to cope with the constantly growing attacks of the Tobacco Trust, which only recently gobbled up the biggest chain of retail cigar stores in the world to handle its products.

The insurance company will pay a pure death benefit up to \$500, meeting all the obligations of the union's policy. If this innovation goes through it is regarded as entirely probable that the only cigarmakers' organization worthy of the name, with its long record of honorable service to

the movement, will take on a new lease on life and engage in the important task of organizing an industry which has expanded to employing nearly 150,000 men, women and children, of whom but 34,000 are organized at the present time.

Renewed life is already being shown by cigarmakers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and other Eastern cities, where, with the active support of the entire labor movement generally, the cigarmakers are carrying the fight to the Trust factories.

A not inconsiderable part of the service of this labor union during its long history has been in mitigating the shocks of industrial depressions for its members by payment of an out-of-work benefit, the sum total for a period of 32 years being \$1,762,000. These payments register the periods of industrial depression, the greatest amount having been paid out in the years from 1894 to 1897, when this country experienced its greatest crisis. This benefit cost the average member \$6.43 a year at the height of the period and dropped to 32c in 1920, when the out-of-work benefit was discontinued, since the burden had become too great.

Owing to the repeated shocks the union has had to stand within the last six years, the total cost per member for all forms of payment has been steadily rising, the annual contributions in the form of dues and assessments already high in 1918 at \$16.39, rising for 1920, the year of the great strike, to \$31.46. Last year, despite

(Continued on Page 8)

The Efficiency System and the Workers

By L. BORODULIN

The natural logic of events demands that owners of industrial enterprises should be directly interested that their hired workers produce the maximum amount of results during a given measure of time. This has been achieved in divers times and places with the aid of various means and methods. They used to flag and whip slaves and even hired laborers and slave them into working their hardest. Later they would inflict money fines upon laborers. In Russia, as recently as a couple of decades ago, they would impose money fines upon workers for various transgressions, and one of these was slothful labor.

The principal methods employed today for extracting more work from workers in industrial enterprises are the following: A "slow" laborer is being unceremoniously discharged, or under the best of circumstances is paid little in comparison with wages prevailing in the trade. This, in fact, amounts to a sentence to slow starvation. Another method is the division of work into sections. A worker nowadays is not given to make the entire article—whether that be a garment or a machine—by himself, but only a part of the article. Experience has demonstrated that through the section system a great deal more work is obtained. A third method is piece work. Under piece work a worker is being paid not for the time of his work, but by piece, i. e., for a fixed measure of production. The worker is thus placed in a situation wherein he is directly interested in producing a maximum amount of work.

Today science, principally psychology, offers a new method for extracting the maximum amount of labor from workers. As we had an occasion to note, already this method is generally known as the efficiency method. This method is based, generally speaking, on the following premises: Each human being possesses individual abilities and inclinations, which fit them to some kind of work or activity to the exclusion of others. Many persons, it is true, do devote themselves to the kind of work or calling for which they are fit; but the majority of us take up work without regard to personal fitness. The result is that a great many people are occupied at vocations which run counter to their natural inclinations, and are merely taking the places of those who are naturally fit for such tasks.

Jewish workers, who are largely immigrants from Europe, are familiar with the following phenomenon: When the adult relative or "townsman" of an immigrant worker arrives from Europe, he is usually received by his kinsmen on this side, taken into a shop and taught a trade. Some of them learn the work faster, others acquire it slower; some become fast workers, while others remain slow and slothful. The reason for this, of course, is that these slow workers haven't the ability required for the particular kind of work at which they had been placed. Had they been put to different, more suitable work, they might have learned it quickly and turned out to be fast workers.

How, then, can we learn what work one is suited for? What we term abilities are usually more or less hidden inclinations of ours. A man may work all his lifetime as an "operator" on skids and be a failure at it, a slow "hand," without knowing that he has the makings of a very successful carpenter or baker. How can these concealed inclinations be brought out

on the surface? Well, for this psychology has invented apparatus and instruments, a multitude of carefully calculated tables and data, with the aid of which the individual inclinations and abilities of a person might be reasonably ascertained. Such an analysis is called "psychological test," as it leads to the discovery of the psychological and spiritual faculties of the examined person.

There is already a considerable amount of such apparatus and instruments, and there is quite an extensive literature on the question of psychological tests. We could not, of course, dwell at length upon this subject in these articles, but we shall cite a few points regarding it which may give the reader a general idea of the subject.

One of the elementary faculties of every normal human being is the power of observation, the ability to notice the outstanding features of the object under observation. Two mechanics of the same grade of ability might be called upon to examine a machine which refuses to work properly. The machine may be new to both of them and neither may have used it before. One of them, however, will take it apart, grasp its mechanism at once and be able to tell why it has gone out of commission and what ails it. The other will take hours to learn what is the matter with the machine and why it refuses to work. It is a question of the power of observation which is decidedly different in both men, and such examples can be cited by the thousand.

To gauge the power of observation of a person subjected to a psychological test several methods can be used. One method is as follows: The person is shown several drawings with figures upon them, each figure with some limb or feature. One figure, for instance, may represent a dancing girl with an arm missing; another may show a woman before a mirror powdering her face, her face reflected in the mirror but without her hand and the powder puff similarly reflected. The examined person is supposed to observe these figures and tell what is missing in them in a limited time. The more flaws he can discover during that fixed space of time the greater are his powers of observation.

Another important human faculty is the memory. The power of remembering things differs with every person. A person may have a generally good memory, but it may be faulty with regard to certain particular things. One may have a poor memory for faces; another may have a faulty memory for places; and still others may have defective memories for other individual single phases. A psychological test can lead to the discovery of the strength of one's memory in general and with regard to certain particular features. One way of learning this consists in offering the examined person a number consisting of four figures, say 3784, and ask him to repeat it several times. Then he is asked to say it backwards—like 4873. After that he is given a number consisting of five figures and asked to go through the same process, and later numbers of six and seven figures, and so on until a figure is finally reached which he might find impossible to repeat. Through this method one's ability to memorize can be fairly well established.

A person's certainty of movement is also an important factor—particularly in certain mechanical vocations, and even in art. A good artist is

usually spoken of as one painting with bold, sure strokes; a good violinist is also commented upon as one displaying a confident, steady tone. This surety or confidence of movement is also examined with the aid of various apparatus which tend to establish the degree of a person's steadfastness of temper and mental and physical competence.

There are other instruments adapted for the discovery of various other physical and mental faculties. Optical and mechanical instruments are, of course, applied to determine the strength and clarity of one's vision. Other instruments are used for the gauging of the keenness of one's hearing. There are charts and figures by which the grade of a person's intelligence and degree of common sense, the rapidity of thought, etc., is determined. And the correctness, or the near-correctness of such replies are usually taken as the criterion of determining the general physical and mental condition of the person examined.

The subject of psychological tests for the purpose of determining the fitness of a person for this or the other form of activity is, in fact, not a new one. They spoke and wrote about it as far back as fifty years ago. They, however, began applying it in practice only during recent war years, and have made a huge success of it. More than a million and a half men recruited in America during the war were subjected to psychological tests,

and through these tests it became possible to divide the material and mental forces of the country in a way that they might bring the greatest possible results. Each one drafted into the army was put into such place and given such occupation that fitted best his faculty and ability.

The success obtained from these psychological tests during the war has made these tests very popular, and they are now being applied on a large scale in many places. Several universities have adopted the policy of compelling each candidate for admission to undergo a psychological test, which is a contingent condition prior to admission. This decision is based upon the supposition that even if the prospective student had passed the general test, his failure to pass the psychological test is a sure sign that he has not the required ability and will not be able to complete the entire course successfully.

Gradually the practice of psychological tests is beginning to enter into our industries, too. There are already a number of large industrial establishments where each new worker is supposed to undergo a psychological test for the purpose of determining to what part of the work or what branch of production he is best fitted, depending on his specific, individual faculties. The general purpose is to attain a higher degree of efficiency, a greater output of work, during a given fixed time.

Summer Colony of the Italian Dress and Waist Makers

Villa Anita Garibaldi, Summer Home of the Italian Dress and Waist-makers' Union, will open this season on Saturday, June 24, 1922.

The Board of Directors has endeavored to have everything up to date and comfortable to meet the requirements of all who spend their vacations there.

The rate this year for all members affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U. has been reduced to \$15 per week, plus the registration fee of \$1. For all members affiliated with other organizations in sympathy with the labor movement, the rate has been fixed at \$17 per week, plus \$1 registration fee.

Children under 12 years of age, half price.

Rate for one day, including lodging and three meals, \$3.

We hope that all those wishing to spend their vacations at the House will register early, so that we may

be in a position to register you for the time desired.

Further particulars may be obtained by calling at the office, 8 West 21st Street, where all registrations must be made, and also where tickets may be obtained for the Fourth of July celebration.

The management will also be in a position to accommodate parties of workers wishing to use the House for picnics and outings. We hope that the Shop Chairmen and Chairladies will take particular note of this.

Fellow-workers, in patronizing the House you realize that, first, you will be in your own home without having to go deep down in your pockets; and, secondly, in co-operating you increase the prestige and name of your Union.

Above all, do not forget, "First come, first served."

REGISTER AT ONCE.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Summer Colony.

Are You Ready For Our Holiday?

On Sunday, June 18, the opening of our Unity House at Orville, Pa., will take place. On this day hundreds of waitmakers, dressmakers and their friends will come to celebrate and to demonstrate a unity of spirit in our organization.

It is expected that this year, more than ever before, our members will avail themselves of the opportunity to spend their vacations in the pleasant surroundings of Orville, which are so conducive to a happy holiday.

We have invited a number of prominent leaders of the labor movement as well as the general officers of our International. A concert of extraordinary character has been arranged for the opening celebration.

Obtain tickets at once, since the capacity is limited. The prices of the tickets are only \$2. Reservations can be made at the office of the Union, 38 North 11th Street. The last day for reservations is Wednesday, June 14.

On the day of the opening, June 18, the Unity House will be in complete readiness to receive its guests. It will have an additional attraction this year—namely, a beautiful bathing pavilion.

A special train will leave the Reading Terminal on Sunday, June 18, at 9 o'clock sharp to take the guests to Orville.

The vacation price for this season has been reduced from \$15 to \$13.50 per week.

UNITY HOUSE COMMITTEE.

STUDENTS OF UNITY CENTERS AND WORKERS' UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE CHANGED RESIDENCE ARE REQUESTED TO SEND NEW ADDRESSES TO OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

THE DEMANDS OF THE CLOAK MANUFACTURERS AND THE REPLY OF THE UNION

The representatives of the Protective Association have come to the second conference with the Union with definitely prepared demands. They asked, first, for a reduction of the present wage scales; secondly, the right to "reorganize" their shops at certain periods of the year and to be able to discharge on such occasions as many workers of their staffs as they might desire to discharge without having to give any explanations regarding it to any one; thirdly, they wanted the abolition of the old custom in the industry of paying the workers for six legal holidays; and, finally, that the employers shall not be hindered by the Union in any shape or manner in the installation of new labor-saving machinery.

The spokesman for the manufacturers was the noted attorney, Max D. Steuer. President Schlesinger and Morris Hillquit spoke for the Union. We believe that our readers will find the arguments on both sides very interesting and of great importance. At the outset, however, we wish to call attention to the fact that the demands of last November, such as the change of the week-work system to piece-work, the lengthening of the work day, standards of production—the demands for which the employers were ready to break an agreement and involve the industry in a ten-weeks' fight—all these demands were not even mentioned.

For this there has only one, solitary explanation: The cloak manufacturers have finally come to understand that these demands are unrealistic. It is also worth while noting that the representatives of the Protective Association dropped the demand they had made at the first conference, for a mixed conference between the Union and all other associations and factors in the cloak industry. It is obvious that the justice of the argument of the Union has prevailed, and it serves as a fine augury for the final results of the conference. If the manufacturers can be made to see the justice of the demands of the other side, it is almost a certainty that they will follow the same course with regard to the other demands they have put forth.

The workers should permit a reduction of their wages, argue the manufacturers, as the reasons for the increases made in their wages have disappeared and are non-existent now. The wages were raised not because there was great prosperity in the land; not because there was a shortage of labor, but on account of the highly-inflated cost of living. It was due to that that the workers justly demanded and received higher wages. Now, however, with the material decrease in the cost of living, they argue, the manufacturers have the full right to demand a reduction in wages. However, Mr. Steuer added that the manufacturers would not insist that they are absolutely sure of the justice of their demands; perhaps they are wrong. They ask, therefore, that this question concerning wages be referred to arbitration. Let outsiders, persons not directly interested in the subject, decide and let us abide by their decision. In order to avoid repetition, let us state here that each demand of the manufacturers was accompanied by a similar refrain: "We know, we believe, that we are fully entitled to the concessions which we demand. Nevertheless, as each question has two sides, we propose arbitration. Let a committee of impartial persons, elected by both sides, decide on all our demands, and let their decision be accepted by both sides as final."

The second demand, for the right to reorganize their shops and to be able to discharge as many workers as they might see fit, at least once a year, and to refer all disputed discharge cases to the decision of an impartial chairman, they justified by the argument that it happens frequently that an employer and a worker become tired of each other after a certain period; they cannot tolerate each other, and this they can hardly explain by any concrete reasoning. Well, then our employers would like to have at least one day in the year when they can discharge a worker without giving anybody an accounting.

The third demand, for the abolition of pay for legal holidays, the manufacturers put upon moral grounds. Why should the workers demand pay for nothing? They get paid for every cent they earn in accordance with what they agree with the employers. Why should they get paid for days on which they are absolved from work? And why should the employers be forced to give up money without a return?

The fourth and last demand, for the right to install new labor-saving machinery, was based on the ground of efficiency and progress. Where, indeed, would we be if not for the new machines, the new technical devices that are primarily responsible for all modern advancement?

Such were the demands and their motivations by the employers. And this is what the representatives of our Union replied to them, making clear at the same time that the Union does not intend at all to bargain with the manufacturers, but that it is firmly determined not to concede the least of its demands:

With such a decision firmly in mind, the question of arbitration, of course, falls by the wayside. Had the Union had the slightest doubt concerning the justice of its attitude, as was the case with the manufacturers, it might agree to arbitration. But what sense is there to leave a decision upon a vital question to others if one is quite certain of the justice of one's position and cannot concede an inch of ground.

In addition, President Schlesinger made clear the following point: Had these demands from the part of the employers been granted now, there may have been some reason for demanding that the Union leave the matter to outside persons. The fact is, however, that all these questions were thrashed out a dozen times, and not infrequently before arbitration committees composed of the most prominent men in the country, such as Justice Brandeis, Dr. Felix Adler, Professor George W. Kirchwey, Henry Bruere and many others. These gentlemen, on more than one occasion, decided these demands in favor of the Union. Why, then, waste more time on such outworn proposals, and lay them again before arbitration committees?

Needless to say, this argument weakened considerably the basis of the manufacturers' demands, and when they came up for discussion, one by one, it became clear to every honest and impartial person present that the Union could not in justice grant one single request. Any concession along this line of demands would materially affect the workers, and the Union is here not for the purpose of creating any circumstances that would affect the workers adversely, but to improve the condition of the workers at all times.

It is true our spokesmen admitted that the cost of living has become somewhat lower; it is true that in other industries the wages of the workers have been reduced somewhat. But when one considers the character of the cloak industry which employs its workers but a few months in the year, on the earnings of which they must subsist the entire year according to American living standards, it is impossible to keep in mind that consider such a concession. It must also be kept in mind that the principal living necessities, such as homes, lighting, heating and articles of food like meat, bread, butter and milk, are almost as high today as they were two or three years ago.

Naturally, had the manufacturers come with a proposal to give the workers more work during the year, to employ them at least fully forty weeks in the year, the Union might have looked quite differently upon a proposition for reducing the present wage scales. However, the manufacturers did not come forth with such a proposal, as they could not, in truth, promise the workers anything in that respect. And if they know themselves that they cannot employ their workers for more than a few months in the year, how can they, in justice, put forth such a demand that would materially affect the living conditions of the workers?

The Union maintains that the industry in which our workers are employed, and who are absolutely necessary to it, owes the workers a living not only during the few months when they are employed, but throughout the year. It cannot, therefore, discuss the wage question with the manufacturers except on the basis of an annual wage for the workers. If the manufacturers are ready to discuss this question on this basis they will find the Union ready for it.

The argument of the Union with regard to the demand of the right of annual discharges stood out particularly clear. Why, argued the spokesmen, should the Union, should an act which is regarded as unjust all throughout the year, become justifiable of a sudden on one certain day in the year? If the Union is here to defend its members from unjust attacks 364 days of the year, it cannot, of course, leave them defenseless on the remaining last day of the year. The manufacturers want this right of discharge in order to have a weapon over the workers, in order to keep them in fear that some day the employer might throw them out without any accounting. This fear would drive many workers to work beyond their strength, to forget frequently their self-respect. This is the true meaning of this demand, and because of this, the Union will never concede it. If the manufacturers, however, insist on the right to discharge workers without an impartial review, they should also agree that the workers have the right to strike in cases of wrongful discharge.

What concerns the demand for the abolition of the six legal holidays, the Union did not deem it even necessary to defend it at length. The argument of the manufacturers in support of this demand was indeed very weak. It may have had some substance had the workers really been getting the full fruit of their labor. As it is, the wages of our workers are so meager that they can hardly make ends meet. Why, then, should they not be paid for a day when they are absent from work, not because they do not want to work, but because it is forbidden to work on that day? If they are not to enter the factory on a legal holiday, are they not entitled to live on that day and to have enough to carry them through as they would on an ordinary work day? According to the logic of the manufacturers, the workers would have to pay for a legal holiday by an actual loss, and instead of a holiday it would mean to them a day of deprivation and suffering.

In addition to that, pay for legal holidays has been a custom from times immemorial, even before the days when we had a strike organization. It would be silly, therefore, to expect the workers to give up pay for the six legal holidays and to suffer in honor of Washington's or Lincoln's birthday.

Some More Convention Criticism

By S. Y.

More than two hundred resolutions were introduced to the Cleveland convention and if each of them received only ten minutes they would have consumed a full week of the convention. If allotted a more liberal portion of time for debate, we would probably be still grappling with them and the convention would not yet be at an end.

Nevertheless, the convention, with the aid of a few extra sessions came to a close on time—which might incline some people to think that most of the resolutions did not receive the attention they merited. It was not so, however. First, a goodly number of these resolutions were such that required no discussion whatever as there was no divergence of opinion about them. Secondly, there were a number of resolutions similar in nature and wording, and the committees to which they were referred picked out the simplest of them for action. Thirdly, our delegates have learned to talk in a practical and brief manner, to say the important thing they want to say and to discard the rest. And the aforementioned made it possible for the convention to spend all the time necessary on questions that required the widest discussion and consideration. As a matter of fact, when it came to discuss such questions, the committee frequently would forget the timepiece in front of him and allow the debaters to exceed the ten minutes' time limit agreed upon by the convention.

I dwell in former articles on the most important problems of the convention and how the convention acted upon them. A number of important subjects were referred to the decision of the General Executive Board. The convention recognized that the majority of the delegates being somewhat distant from the actual practical work of the International, could not pass upon themselves the great responsibility of a decision that might be impossible to carry out. These questions will be handled by the General

Executive Board at their quarterly meetings during the next two years. In this last installment I wish to draw the attention of the readers to a few resolutions, which while they were heatedly debated on the floor, were not, in my opinion, carefully thought over. The decision upon these resolutions, it appears to me, is very much in contradiction to the spirit and policy of the convention.

The first is a recommendation of the Committee on Officers' Report concerning the enemy from without which we quote here verbatim:

"A careful reading of the pages of the Officers' Report, devoted to the doings in some of our New York locals, has impressed your committee, as well as it must have impressed the delegates to this convention in general, with the fact that a considerable share of the dissent and disruption which has prevailed and is still agitating some of our locals in New York is due directly to the work of outside intermeddlers who, disguised under the cloak of would-be radicalism are seeking power and are trying to ride into power upon the wave of destruction and chaos which they expect to be able to create within our labor movement.

"Your committee heartily concurs in the manner the officers' report lays bare and exposes the sham, pretense and the destructive aims of this enemy from without. Your committee recommends that this convention express its whole-hearted indignation and resentment against these malicious intermeddlers and disrupters and warns our men and women in our organizations against these sinister influences which are aimed not at their benefit, which have not got their true interest at heart but who are seeking to destroy and demolish what has been 'built up at much cost and sacrifice.'"

After a lengthy debate this recommendation was accepted by a vote of 138 against 50. I do not approve of this resolution. Not because I am

not in accord with its contents but because it, according to my opinion, is too panicky. It is a shot in the air. It does not state in clear terms against whom it directs its arrows.

In my opinion, the culprits, those who really meant to break up our unions had to be definitely and unmistakably branded by the convention that everyone might know what this clique of union-smashers is.

According to the recommendation it would appear as if the convention itself was not certain as to who they are and what they were doing and therefore resorted to general phrases which really mean nothing. Take for instance the word "outside intermeddlers." I don't know what that means. One may not be a member of the Union, he may be an outsider and yet have an honest opinion concerning certain union matters which would differ from the opinion of the Union leaders. Such an "intermeddler" however unpleasant "butting" into internal union affairs may be, cannot be regarded as its enemy. A modern union with its influence upon public life cannot be regarded as, and is not, a private organization. A union is a public institution and is subject to public criticism. And of course not all people can think alike and judge every public evil openly. As we are ready to receive praise and favorable comment from outside, we must be also ready to listen to honest and outspoken criticism from the same source.

It is therefore impossible to believe that the report of the General Executive Board as well as the report of the Committee on Officers' Report has meant to condemn every outside criticism. What the report and its commentators really meant was a certain definite clique which means not criticism, which does not intend to improve and strengthen the Union, but aims at its destruction; a clique which persists in vilifying and spreading calumny about the Union and its leaders. Then why not point them out? Why not call them by name and brand them as the Cain?

Why could not the convention have come out with an open recommendation against our so-called Communists who have tried to undermine the International by every infamous trick and device they could command. If they did not achieve their purpose it was not because they lacked desire but because it was beyond their tiny and insignificant strength.

We believe therefore that the convention has made a tactical error in this respect. It should have either, for tactical reasons, in order not to "tease the greens" ignore the entire question; or else it should have come out with a clear statement and sharp condemnation of these "red liars" and "villifiers" those who stoop to anything no matter how mean and contemptible in order to injure our organization.

Again we say all respect for the critic, for the honest critic whose aim is the welfare of the organization no matter how puril his criticism may at times be. But the evil-minded slanderer who seeks to discredit the Union, to weaken its influence and to aid our employers, directly or indirectly, such a creature deserves no consideration. And we repeat very much indeed that our convention has adopted such a resolution that lacks so much definiteness and clarity.

The second resolution which in my judgment was not carefully thought out, though it was debated with heat and passion at the convention, is the one which binds our International to the feet of the Socialist Party.

This is the resolution as it was prepared by the Committee on Resolutions as a substitute of a resolution brought in by delegates Jacob Halpern, Israel Feinberg, A. Langer, Saul Metz, Hyman Schulman, Sol Seidman and David Dubinsky:

"Whereas, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has always actively supported the Socialist directly of the United States as the political arm of the labor movement; and

"Whereas, The Socialist Party has issued a call for the unity of the entire labor movement upon the political field, and is actively working toward the realization of a unified party of the working class, we therefore

"Resolve, That the I. L. G. W. U.,

Continued on Page 8.

As regards the question of new labor-saving machinery, the Union has made it clear that it never was, and is not now, against the introduction of such machinery, and that it supports them in the name of progress, which is as dear to the workers as it is to the employers.

However, the Union feels it its duty to see to it that the use of new machinery shall not be converted and applied as an agency for benefit of the manufacturers only. The Union believes that the workers are also entitled to a part of these benefits, and it has introduced certain rules that safeguard the workers to a certain extent from the injurious effects of the introduction of certain devices in the trade. If these rules are to be changed somewhat, the Union is ready to negotiate with the manufacturers on this subject.

The debate lasted until late at night, until the attitude of the Union and its decision to cling to this attitude, became clear to all. After that, it was decided to refer the subjects in dispute to a sub-committee and this committee has held a number of conferences during the last few days.

On Monday, June 8, the last conference of the sub-committee took place. The Union did not recede a step from its position, except that on the question of wages it proposed that a committee be elected which, during the next six months, shall investigate in an all-embracing manner, this subject and report upon it next January. The crux of the situation reverts again to the manufacturers, who have the final word in this matter. We reiterate our hope, on this occasion, that common sense, the irrevocable logic and the absolutely just attitude of the Union will win again; that the employers will come to see that their demands are not only unjustifiable, but quite small in comparison with the great and important proposal made to them by President Schlesinger for the extermination of the so-called "social" shop, that true cancer upon the cloak industry of New York.

For the carrying out of this plan the responsible, legitimate manufacturers in the trade should unite their force with the Union's. Only then, when the cloak industry is placed on a healthy foundation, will there be time to talk about other demands and changes in the industry.

THE CONVENTION OF THE A. F. OF L.

Next Monday, June 12, will begin in Cincinnati the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

About five million organized workers, represented by 600 delegates, will participate in that convention.

Whatever questions may be discussed there, and whatever decisions are arrived at, certainly they will be the will and expression of organized labor in this country; the voice not of an insignificant minority, not of a group, but of the great laboring masses of America.

Such a voice, expressed in clear and unmistakable terms—whether in agreement or disagreement—deserves our fullest attention and our respect. Whether we want it or not, we must reckon with it. Without it all our undertakings, all our lofty plans are powerless and all our strivings and best intentions are in vain.

A light-minded attitude towards the convention of the A. F. of L. is, therefore, both silly and unpardonable. It is still worse to misrepresent or give any wrong meanings to the events of such a convention because they might not coincide with our pet theories. In this respect our press—and by that we mean the press that regards itself as progressive—has sinned greatly. It has passed in silence, or made little of many important and truly great achievements, and has given its readers distorted conceptions concerning the true character of the A. F. of L.

As a result, the minds of many honest and sincere workers have been poisoned concerning the A. F. of L. and regarding the entire American labor movement. There should be an end to this practice. The A. F. of L. must be valued according to its true merits and its real faults. But it is necessary that the facts be given without prejudice, without distortion and without misrepresentation. JUSTICE has followed the latter course conscientiously heretofore and will not deviate from it in the future.

We have not yet before us the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and cannot, therefore, review the work of the Federation for the past year. We shall leave that for our next issue.

We shall not, therefore, attempt to summarize now the experiences derived by the labor movement during the past year. These problems and experiences, however, will find their reflections at the convention and a very interesting and important meeting can be expected. The fact is that conventions of the A. F. of L. are always interesting, as interesting as all that lives and fights for a better and newer co-ordination of life.

Convention Criticism

Continued from Page 7.

in convention assembled, appropriate the sum of \$500 for the work of the national organization of the Socialist Party; and be it further

"Resolved, That the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union call upon its membership an all affiliated locals to support the local, state and national campaigns of the party whose aims are abolition of the capitalist system and whose policies and whose candidates stand by our organization and the bona fide labor movement of this country."

It is my opinion that this resolution should not have been adopted by the convention of our International, and for the following reasons:

Even though the sentiment in our International has always been more or less Socialist, it has, until now, not identified itself with the Socialist Party, simply because, after many years of experience with political fights in our unions, we came to the inevitable conclusion that it is for the best of the Union not to ally itself with any political party, at least not officially.

A moment's consideration can easily reveal the practicability of this policy. Our membership, as regards its political tendencies and sentiments, is diverse and varied. Not only is it divided, like in other American unions, into Democrats and Republicans, but in various other political and social followings and shades. Once the Union becomes a political arena it is bound to become a battlefield as well where various political ideas and tendencies will be fought out. As a result there is bound to be a breaking up and a weakening of the Union.

Now the International calls upon its membership in its goals to support the campaigns of the Socialist Party. In my opinion it is neither right nor prudent. If our membership is Socialist, and if the locals are ruled by this political faith, they will surely help the Socialist Party without this call. If our membership feels contrarywise, this demand of the International won't have the slightest effect. And I believe that the International should be careful in calling upon its membership to do things which will not be obeyed. Heretofore the policy of our International was in telling its membership that its political and social views do not concern the Union. One may be a Socialist, a Communist, a Single-Taxer, a Democrat, a Republican as a matter of personal regard and conscience. The Union has its daily important economic work and it cannot afford to become the battleground for various

political faiths and convictions. This is bound to provoke war and friction in our organization.

Now that the International has set an example of endorsing a definite political party, there is no reason why other parties who believe in other parties with other aims should not begin fighting for their own parties in the Union. Such a state of affairs would open the floodgates for all sorts of disputes that have no bearing whatever on the direct and true interests of its organization. We understand very well how this resolution was adopted at this time. It is really more or less a sentiment. The Socialist Party has become weak through the desertion of the extreme "right" and extreme "left" elements. All those who today are fighting the Socialist Party fight also our International. It is natural, therefore, that between the two that are being attacked at the same time and by the same element, there should arise a strong bond of sympathy. I understand and appreciate this natural feeling, but I believe that it should have taken another form, such as a sympathy resolution, a substantial money contribution, as the International has done in many of other cases and other organizations which were deemed worthy of our assistance.

This would have been in accord with our former policy. By adopting this resolution the International, however, made a new departure. And for such a step the question was not thoroughly considered and I am far from certain that the International really means to open a new page in its history through this resolution. I cannot conceive that the International will now fine or discipline all those locals which will not follow out this resolution and will support and work for other political parties in the coming campaign. It is clear that through such an action it would force many good and loyal locals to become rebels against the International—a result which the International must, for the sake of its successful work on the economic field, try to avoid as much as possible.

I am firmly convinced, therefore,

that this resolution is only an expression of sympathy to the Socialist Party in its present critical condition, and also a sanction for its call for a united labor party in America—namely, a bond in which all the tendencies in our movement are united. This resolution must and should be understood in the light of the entire past of our International, even though it may be interpreted by some in the sense of a close alliance with the Socialist Party.

As stated before, the purpose of these articles was not to explain each resolution, but rather to give general impressions of the convention. We believe that we have succeeded in making our great circle of readers, who have not been at the convention, feel as if they had been with us during the entire two weeks. Let us say that it was a get-together of men and women with ideas, with strong convictions, most of them inspired by the soul of democracy and of a desire to listen to what the other side has to say.

I can say conscientiously that of all the conventions that I have attended, and particularly conventions of our International, which have always been distinguished for a particular spirited freshness and a wide-awake attitude, the sixteenth convention in Cleveland was the liveliest, the most inspiring, and, as it seems to me, the most fruitful. Its discussions have considerably weakened the influence of certain painful elements upon those of our members who have for one or another reason, allowed themselves to be led into blind alleys. One thing the convention has surely achieved. It has

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CIGARMAKERS

(Continued from Page 4)

the depression, or because of it, the cost dropped to \$25.62.

Retrenchment as far as possible on the fiduciary features of the organization, and more militancy is the order of the day. How carefully the C. M. I. U. is managed is evident when the expenses of the organizers are examined. They receive the small salary of \$10 a week and but \$3.50 a day for hotel, restaurant and other expenses and railroad fare.

The Cigarmakers' International Union is an industrial organization, taking in all grades of tobacco workers. The introduction of cigarmaking machinery and of the suction table is bringing in a larger percentage of semi-skilled workers, including many women, among them a large number of Negro, Spanish and Slavic workers. All enter the union for the small initiation fee of \$1.00, payable in installments of 25c a week. The weekly dues are 30 cents for the first three months, 40 cents for the second three months, 50 cents for the third quarter, and the regular dues of 60 cents a week thereafter.

Strike benefits of \$8 a week are paid for the first sixteen weeks and \$4 a week thereafter when authorized by the International Executive Board. Class B members, who have an especially low rate of dues, get one-half of the strike benefits of the other cigarmakers.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

WITNESSES FOR STATE PAID BY COAL OWNERS

Witnesses for the state in the alleged "treason" trial of miners have their witness vouchers, issued by the clerk of the court, cashed by coal owners. The miners' attorneys forced this admission from Walter Thurmond, President of the Logan Coal Operators' Association, after the coal owners' attorneys made a hard fight to have Judge Woods rule against admitting this evidence.

Thurmond acknowledged that his association has already spent \$14,000 for witnesses and \$1,000 for attorneys' fees. The reason for the latter low cost is that the attorneys have an annual retainer and are continually engaged in fighting organized labor.

Thurmond's testimony shows that the coal owners' attorneys are not only directing the court fight, but they are paying witnesses fees.

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS FAIL TO FUNCTION

Minimum wage legislation in this country has failed to adjust rates to the changing cost of living. Rev. Dr. Ryan, of Catholic University, Washington, told the convention of labor commissioners of the United States and Canada. "During the war," he said, "most of the wage rates became too low long before they were raised by the commission."

Miss Mary Anderson, director of the women's bureau, United States Department of Labor, told the convention that investigations in five states have disclosed a large portion of women employees are paid less than the minimum standards set by wage commissions in these states.

FIGHT REACTIONARY JUDGES

The Washington State Federation of Labor is preparing to fight four reactionary members of the State Supreme Court, who are candidates for re-election.

JUICY RAIL PROFITS

The New York Central Railroad reports a net profit last year of \$22,295,685, after allowing for all expenses and deductions. This is equivalent to \$8.93 a share on the \$249,000,000 capital stock. The previous year the company reported a profit of \$5.50 a share on the same amount of stock.

The Northern Pacific reports clear profits of \$22,065,399 for last year. This is an increase of \$2,971,215 over 1920.

COURT PROTECTS RATES

The Federal District Court has enjoined the Public Service Commission from reducing rates of the New York Telephone Company. The court said the proposed cut would "have a most unfair return even on costs."

The court declared that "we do not undertake to make a rate, but we are of the opinion that such a rate as indicated cannot possibly be a fair return for any business like the telephone business in or near New York City or state at present."

SOFT COAL PRICES GO UP

All bituminous coal prices at mines throughout the country have jumped since the national mine strike began on April 1, despite warnings of Secretary of Commerce Hoover that there is no justification for increases. These increases are frankly admitted in "Coal Review," the coal owners' publication.

514,500 MINERS ON STRIKE

A survey of the nation-wide coal strike made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America shows that 514,500 miners have quit work, including 117,000 who are non-union. The report also warns that there is no sign to indicate an early break in the strike. It also declares there are about 121,000 non-union miners still at work.

LESS UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in the United States has virtually reached the vanishing point. Within ten months more than 2,000,000 men have been put to work. Reports of the Department of Labor within the week tell of labor shortages in four major branches of industry—the building trades, lumber and automobile industry and farm labor.

ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR

A permanent organization to work for "abolition of child labor in the United States," was formed in Washington by representatives of a number of national associations called into conference on the subject by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

FOR UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION

The "open door" policy of immigration was sponsored by Samuel M. Vauclain, President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, at a dinner given in Philadelphia. "The present immigration laws," he declared, "are stifling the country's progress."

N.-Y. RAILWAY MEN TO ENTER POLITICS

The sixteen standard railroad labor organizations, including the Big Four brotherhoods and their various auxiliaries, representing more than 59,000 members in lodges in New York City, it was announced, have completed plans for the formal launching and financing of a non-partisan political organization to take part in the coming campaign next fall. The organization committee announced that the new political party would follow the policy laid down by the American Federation of Labor.

FOREIGN ITEMS

RUSSIA

SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY TRIALS IN MOSCOW

The much-heralded trial of the 47 Russian Social Revolutionaries for conspiracy against the Soviet government began in Moscow on May 23. In a letter to Friedrich Adler, the Communist International announced that, among others, six attorneys and three Social Revolutionaries will appear for the defense. It will be recalled that, under the Berlin pact of the three Internationals, the trial is to be public; representatives of all three Internationals are allowed to attend and take shorthand notes of the proceedings; and no death sentences will be passed.

AUSTRIA

GENERAL STRIKE UNAVOIDABLE

Owners of Austrian metal industries have abruptly terminated the collective contracts with the workers, and are already demanding far-reaching wage reductions and prolongation of hours of labor. Organized workers have responded with a resolute acceptance of the employers' challenge, and it has been decided to make all preparations for the impending struggle. More than 100,000 workers are affected by the abrogated contracts, and indications are that a general strike of metal workers is unavoidable.

ENGLAND

NO MORE WAR!

Considerable enthusiasm is being shown over the organization of "No More War" demonstrations on the anniversary of the outbreak of the late war. These will be held not only all over England, but also in France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Switzerland, Portugal and the United States of America. The bodies co-operating include trade unions, labor organizations, Socialist parties, the churches, ex-service men, League of Nations unions and women's organizations. The resolution to be put simultaneously in different countries will declare hatred of war and pledge co-operation with other countries in preventing future wars by perfecting international organization for the removal of causes of war and by developing international solidarity.

EMPIRE AND NATIONALIZATION

The British Empire Union, which wished the Edmonstone Education Committee, in common with others, to give special "Empire" teaching on Empire Day this year, received the reply that the schools were not dependent on external initiative for the teaching of patriotism. Instead, the committee resolved to invite lecturers from the League of Nations' Union to address the scholars on Empire Day.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON RUSSIA

Interviewed by the press on his return from Genoa, Mr. Lloyd George declared emphatically that "there is not the slightest doubt about the desire of the Russian representatives for peace. They have their difficulties with public opinion exactly as every other nation has. They have a very wild, undisciplined and fanatical public concentrated in some of their towns, with a power that is far beyond their numbers. They represent an infinitesimal proportion of the whole population, but their concentration gives them a special influence over the government." The Prime Minister added that Titcherster declared for the peace pact "on behalf of the whole of the Allied States Republics." He also said: "There is a passionate desire for peace wherever I have been," and further that, "I have not the faintest doubt that the overwhelming majority of the people of France want peace."

FREE UNIVERSITIES

Free education at the Universities of Wales is the bold proposition of the Swansea Education Committee.

Moving a resolution to this effect, Dr. Stephens pointed out that no one who went to Oxford or Cambridge paid a full share of his expenses, and teachers would never reach the standard they ought to attain until young people were enabled to get university education free.

Warm support was given to the resolution by other members of the committee, and it was carried, after an amendment to defer the question had been defeated.

BRAINWORKERS' INTERNATIONAL

Several prominent professors have been appointed by the Council of the League of Nations as a committee to investigate the question of international intellectual co-operation, in conformity with the resolution of the second General Assembly of the League.

The committee includes Professor Gilbert Murray (Oxford), Mr. Banerjee (Professor of Political Economy, Calcutta), Professor Bergson (College de France), Mme. Benveniste (Professor of Zoology, Rio de Janeiro), Madame Curie (Professor of Physics, Paris), M. Destree (Belgium), Dr. Einstein (Berlin), M. de Reynold (Berne), Signor Ruffin (Professor of Ecclesiastical Law, Turin), Senor de Torres Quevedo (Madrid).

The committee will hold its first meeting in Geneva on August 1.

BACK TO UNIONISM

A great accession of membership in the South Wales Miners' Federation has recently resulted from the educational campaign conducted by the miners' leaders throughout the coalfield, and according to a statement of Mr. A. J. Cook, the Rhondda miners' agent, 90 per cent of the colliers are now in the Federation.

BELGIUM

ALLIED SOCIALISTS MEET

At a meeting in Brussels of Socialist delegates from England, France and Belgium, a resolution was passed recording the almost total failure of Genoa, the incapacity of the present governments to consolidate peace, and the danger of new wars. The resolution also opposed the occupation of the Ruhr, and suggested the arbitration in this matter of an impartial authority emanating from a completed League of Nations.

Educational Comment and Notes

Labor Text Books

For quite some time we felt that one of the problems to be solved by the Labor Movement in this country is that of text books. At present, when our members wish to become acquainted with the facts of history and economics, they have to turn to books written in a one-sided way, which seldom deal with the life and interests of the workers and the story of their struggles. Such books are obviously not for the working class. Workers must have all the facts. They must not be fed on selected material.

In addition, such books must be presented so as to be understood easily by workers. The language must be simple and clear.

In accordance with this idea, we advocated for some time the publication of text books in social sciences written for workers from the workers' point of view. These books should be written by specialists who are thoroughly acquainted with their subject and who have also become acquainted with the workers' point of

view by personal contact with them. We also felt that these books should be the outgrowth of actual teaching in workers' classes, and that they should contain the results of the teachers' experience with such classes.

We are happy to state that as a result of our efforts, books on important social and labor subjects are being prepared by specialists, including teachers in our classes, who will reflect in these text books the experience they acquired in teaching our members as well as workers in other trade union classes. Arrangements have been made by the Workers' Education Bureau to publish a number of such books on social and labor problems. The first of these books already appeared, "JOINING IN PUBLIC DISCUSSION" by Alfred Dwight Sheffield, Professor of English Literature at Wellesley College, Instructor in Public Discussion at Boston Trade Union College.

Our members can order this book through our Educational Department at 50c a copy.

The Hairy Ape

Those of our readers who have not been to see O'Neill's drama, "The Hairy Ape," are urged to do so as soon as possible. Many opinions have been expressed. A few think it's a wonderful play—the best of the season. Others find fault with it because the action is not sustained, and because scenes grow weaker as the play progresses. Others do not like the manner in which the author treats the Socialist propagandist in the play. There are many opinions both favorable and unfavorable.

Be that as it may, each spectator will judge for himself, and will in all probability be just as correct as anybody else.

There is one impression, however, from which one cannot escape. "Yank" is the typical brute. He understands only the crude realities of life. His mind can grasp the value of only such elemental things as food, force, effort. There is nothing spiritual in him, and when his soul is bruised by the contempt of the immaculately dressed girl from the upper deck, his reaction is brutal. He wants to use force and nothing but force, to express his anger.

The Socialist's appeal to his understanding is fruitless. He does not understand. He cannot understand. He can only feel and act.

The tragedy of it all is that there are hundreds and thousands, nay, millions, of men and women like poor

Yank in the play. Some lack native intelligence, while others lack the training to understand the situation, to find ultimate causes, and finally to reach such causes.

It is said that also the labor movement has not completely passed out of this stage. Many splendid men and women wish to better their own condition and that of their fellow workers. But a clear comprehension of the labor situation and of the present economic order is just as foreign to them as it is to the stoker in O'Neill's tragedy.

Labor education can improve this sad state. Yank and his likes must be made to realize that their immense brute strength can be of use to them only if it is directed by a clear mind—and what is more important, by a mind which has been trained to see causes and effects of things. Then they will not feel that hopeless despair which exists so much in the life of most workers.

A good drama need not have a moral. As a matter of fact, a moral generally spoils a work of art. But after seeing "The Hairy Ape," one cannot help knowing that the tragedy of Yank and of the entire working class is the tragedy of ignorance.

There is only one cure. Goethe said, "Light, more light!" and Labor Education is the torch that will bring the light of freedom into the labor movement.

Ferry, where they were met by a committee. Although they did not know each other personally, it was enough to mention the word INTERNATIONAL to be received as a fellow-worker. On leaving the ferry they divided into two groups. A number of them, headed by the Secretary of the Council, Brother Dachs, walked to the lake. The rest, who wished to preserve their energy for games, decided to take the trolley, and very soon filled a car bound for Silver Lake. A meeting place for the two groups was selected, and an hour later the entire party started off for the final destination, singing and

Social and Industrial History of the U. S.

By DR. H. J. CARMAN

LESSON IV—THE SOUTH AND THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

- To the student of social and industrial history of the United States the South is of great importance because:
 - (a) This region produces commodities very valuable to society, such as cotton, rice, sugar and fruit. This section also produces large quantities of tobacco.
 - (b) Until 1863 the system of slave labor prevailed. It not only shaped the social, economic and political life of the South, but had a marked influence upon the rest of the country—
 1. Free labor in the South could not compete with slave labor.
 2. Caused a great humanitarian movement in the North and Northwest.
 3. Led to a struggle between those who believed in and favored slavery and those opposed to it for control of western lands.
 4. Slavery system the basic cause of the Great Civil War, 1861-1865, between free-soil North and the slaveholding South.
 - (c) After slaves were freed, very grave social, economic and political problems arose between the blacks and the whites.
 1. Existence of two different races of peoples in South today one of the great problems of the United States.
 2. Recent attempts of Northern capitalists to use Southern negroes as strike-breakers.
- Why the South, until recently, remained an agricultural region while the North became a great manufacturing region.
 - (a) First, because of the invention of the cotton gin and other textile inventions.
 - (b) World demand for cotton made agriculture too profitable to be abandoned by the South. In the North this raw material could not be produced, but could be manufactured at great profit by factory owners.
- Expansion of the slave system into the New West.
 - (a) Between 1803 and 1821 the Indians, who owned the land, were ruthlessly driven out of the Southwest (Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, West Tennessee, and Missouri) by white men who wanted the territory for cotton lands.
 - (b) Cotton growers demanded annexation of Texas. Basically responsible for war with Mexico.
 - (c) These lands settled by slave holders.
 - (d) Negro slave supply came from Africa (smuggled) or from Virginia and Kentucky.
 1. Slaves frequently sold at auction.
- Market for Southern products.
 - (a) Roughly, two-thirds of cotton and other products exported to foreign countries, principally England; rest used in United States.
 - (b) The South has always, and especially before 1840, opposed high protective tariffs.
- The small farmer and the poor white in the South before 1860.
 - (a) Lived in back-country regions of Southern States.
 - (b) Poor because they could not compete with slave labor.
 - (c) Had little or no education and enjoyed no opportunity for improvement; regarded by the plantation owners as socially inferior.
- Life on Southern plantations.
 - (a) Size of plantation varied—usually from 400 to 500 acres to 5,000 acres; something like estates of English noblemen.
 - (b) Owners lived in big, roomy houses, usually surrounded by trees and flower gardens; many barns and out-buildings.
 - (c) In rear of owner's house stood the rows of negro cabins.
 - (d) Number of negroes on each plantation varied from 20 to 25 to 1,000.
 - (e) Hours of labor of slaves and their social and economic conditions were regulated by the master, his superintendents and overseers.
- Southern sports and amusements were principally out-door type; horse-racing, rooster-fighting and gambling prevailed.
- Southern religion.
 - (a) Plantation owners, with all the comforts of life and plenty of leisure, were very religious.
 - (b) Slaves and poor whites, suffering hardships and privations, were very religious. Most of them were Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists; camp-meetings frequent. Catholics and Jews regarded with disfavor.
- Southern education.
 - (a) Few schools until after the Civil War.
 - (b) Slaves and poor whites not educated before 1860; even today large numbers are illiterate.
 - (c) The well-to-do sent their children North or to Europe for schooling.
- Factory system as compared with the Slave system.
- From the standpoint of manufacturing and mining, Northern capitalists have turned in recent years to the exploitation of the South.
 - (a) Birmingham, Alabama, is today known as the "Pittsburgh of the South."

keeping in time as they walked along. Then the fun began. Under the leadership of the "Exploring" Committee, they reached the top of a hill which overlooks the beautiful lake, the spot so well chosen by the committee. Here under the bright, blue sky, the party soon made itself comfortable on the beautiful, green grass, fresh after the few days' rain.

The different committees began to work at once. One brought clear, cool water from a nearby spring, another gathered wood and started the fire for the baking of potatoes brought along by the merry-makers, and the third committee cleared a place for the spread. The food was handled on a co-operative basis and the person

who lost her package containing a delicious lunch did not suffer thereby. A spirit of communal life was established at once, and the "citizens" of this isolated island submitted to the rules and regulations of the committee in charge. The spirit of harmony and co-operation among so many people who had met for the first time attracted and called forth the admiration of outsiders.

On Sunday, June 18, probably many will join the hike and outing. The committee is working on the arrangements. The place as well as all details, will be announced, as stated above, in next week's issue of the JUSTICE and "Gerechtigkeit," in the "Call" and the "Forward."

Second Hike and Outing of Students' Council, Sunday, June 18

The great success of the hike and outing arranged by the Students' Council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers, held on Sunday, June 4, at Silver Lake, Staten Island, encouraged them to arrange for another such hike and outing to be held on Sunday, June 18. The place will be announced in next week's issue of the JUSTICE and "the Gerechtigkeit," in the "Call" and the "Forward."

That the idea of combining hikes and outings is a good one was demonstrated by the fact that so many of our members, belonging to numerous locals of our Union, assembled early in the morning at the Staten Island

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The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

These columns in last week's issue of JUSTICE contained the report of our delegation to the last I. L. G. W. U. Convention, which was held in Cleveland. The results of the introduction of the four resolutions previously mentioned were also given. No doubt our members will be interested to note the levying of a \$4 assessment upon every member of the International.

The recommendation of the General Office "was to the effect that a \$3 assessment be levied to cover a deficit of the International office, and one additional dollar to cover organization work to be conducted by the International."

The membership is well aware of the strike conducted by the International in the city of Philadelphia, where waist- and dressmakers went out on strike against the manufacturers to uphold the standards they had won in previous struggles. In order to properly conduct the strike, which lasted for a period of fifteen weeks, the International spent nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

Aside from the strike in Philadelphia, the International has conducted strikes in various other cities, which required the spending of considerable sums of money, thereby depleting the treasury of the International. In order to cover these tremendous expenditures the International has recommended the levying of a \$3 assessment upon each and every member, of the I. L. G. W. U.

The last convention also decided that an organization campaign be instituted in the various cities where ladies' garments are manufactured, and in order that a vigorous and successful campaign may be carried on the convention decided to levy an additional dollar assessment per member. The assessment in all amounts to \$4, which is to be collected within the period of one year, so as to enable the International to proceed with the work as mapped out by the convention.

The first quarterly session of the newly-elected General Executive Board of the International has been slated to take place in the city of Cincinnati, beginning Thursday of this week. The session, which will undoubtedly be an interesting one, will last for a week or more, according to the number of problems which will confront the board.

General Manager Dubinsky, who was elected Vice-President of the International at the last convention, will therefore be compelled to be away from the office for that length of time, and Brother Shenker, our General Business Agent, will be in charge of the office during Brother Dubinsky's stay in Cincinnati.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The last meeting of the Cloak and Suit Branch, after hearing the report of the Manager, decided to dispense with all further business and discuss the propositions that have been recommended by the Executive Board to the body. The following recommendations of the Executive Board were discussed and acted upon:

A communication sent to the Joint Board to the effect that Shop Chairmen be disciplined where bosses are found to be doing their own cutting; that money collected as fines from bosses who were doing their own

cutting be given to the cutters of those shops; that our committee which is at present conferring with the American Association, insist that a fine of two weeks' wages be imposed upon bosses doing their own cutting, and that no manufacturer be granted membership in the American Association unless he employs at least one cutter.

The report of the manager covered the activities of the office for the past two months, in view of the fact that he was unable to present his report last month, owing to his presence at the International Convention in Cleveland as a representative of our local. In this report Brother Dubinsky very strongly emphasizes the fact that the majority of the cases before the office at present deal with the equal distribution of work among the cutters. With the exception of about four shops, the complaints have been settled to the satisfaction of the office. The reason for being unable to settle the controversy in these four shops is due mainly to the unsettled conditions on account of the conferences which are being held with the various associations. It is the Manager's conviction that even in these four shops a satisfactory settlement will be reached in the very near future, although it is a matter of not merely having to fight the manufacturers, but also some of the cutters employed in these shops, who are still unaccustomed to the idea of dividing work equally among themselves.

The report also covered the conferences that have been held with the Protective Association during the past few weeks. As far as the cutters are concerned, there are no demands to be presented to the Protective Association, in view of the fact that the great evil which confronts the industry as a whole, i. e., bosses doing their own cutting does not necessitate any change in the agreement so far as we are concerned. There are perhaps one or two exceptions, but even these are adjusted to the satisfaction of the organization.

Regarding other problems which have been taken up by the conference, Brother Schlesinger, spokesman for the Union, has placed squarely before the Association's committee the fact that under no circumstances will the organization accede to a return to piece-work, a reduction in wages, an increase in working hours, or a deterioration of any of the other standards prevailing today. He further said that if the Association will insist that the question of a reduction of wages be taken up, that only under one condition will this question be discussed, and that is that the manufacturers accede to a time agreement.

The matter of hiring and firing was cleverly camouflaged by the legal advisor of the Association, who, instead of bringing up the question as a clear issue of hire and fire, brought up the proposition in the following manner: That the manufacturers be given the privilege of reorganizing their personnel once or twice a year, the time to be specified by the Union. He further stated that the Association does not insist upon a 100 per cent reorganization plan, but that a 10 or 25 per cent reorganization will be satisfactory to the Association, e. g., a firm employing 100 people should have the privilege at least once or twice a year of dispensing with the services of fifteen or twenty-five people, and if the Union cannot accede to this arrangement this matter be referred to an Arbitration Board. Brother Schlesinger, in reply, pointed out that this is merely camouflage, and that various boards of arbitration

have decided in favor of the Union on this question as submitted by the manufacturers.

No final agreement has been reached as yet, but it is understood that there will be additional conferences held, where matters will be thrashed out and definite conclusions arrived at.

A communication which has been sent by the Executive Board to the Joint Board in reference to disciplining Shop Chairmen in shops where bosses are found to be doing their own cutting, gave rise to considerable discussion at Monday's meeting, as did also the question of fines, collected by the Joint Board for bosses doing their own cutting, being given to the cutters employed or engaged in those shops. In addition to

concurring in the two former recommendations, the body also concurred in the recommendation of the Executive Board that our Conference Committee insist that a fine of two weeks' wages be imposed upon any member of the American Association who is found to be doing his own cutting, and, furthermore, that no manufacturer shall be admitted to membership in that Association unless he employs at least one cutter.

Not only did the rank and file participate in this discussion, but General Manager Finberg, of the Joint Board, who was present at the meeting, also voiced his sentiments on the topics discussed, adding that the Joint Board will do all in its power to see that the evils which confront the cutters will be eradicated within as short a time as possible.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Waist and Dress Miscellaneous.....Monday, June 12th
General.....Monday, June 26th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

For the summer months, and until further notice, meetings of the Miscellaneous Division will be held jointly with those of the Waist and Dress Division.

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