

"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. 30

New York, Friday, July 21, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

CLOAK AGREEMENT RATIFIED AND SIGNED

92% OF 23,684 VOTERS RATIFY PACT—UNPARALLELED DEMONSTRATION OF UNITY AND LOYALTY—TWO YEARS OF PEACE ASSURED

GENERAL STOPPAGE OF WORK IN ENTIRE CLOAK INDUSTRY TRADE NEXT WEEK

If ever anyone was under the impression, sincerely misguided or purely malicious, that the leadership of the International and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union does not represent the rank and file, he must have had his eyes opened this week when the returns from the cloakmakers' referendum on the question of the new agreement began to come. And whoever they might be, and under whatever masks they have tried to parade, the cloak vote last Friday has stamped forever the demagogues and charlatans who have been heaping abuse upon our Union as common slanderers and intermeddlers. In one fell swoop this vote made clear to everybody that the leadership of the Union and the Union itself is one in body and soul.

The vote of last Friday and Saturday on the new agreement—which means two years of peace in the cloak industry, two years of week-work, two years of the 44-hour work-week, two years of wages that would not be reduced until it is absolutely made clear and unmistakable that the cost of living had actually become considerably less—this vote has made it clear that the efforts of the demagogues and parasites who have tried to befog the minds of our workers, has not had the slightest influence

upon them. It is highly probable that even the 8 per cent of those who voted against the agreement did so not because they were influenced by this sinister gentry, but on account of their own petty and personal interests, and not because the agreement was either not radical enough for them or affects adversely the freedom of the worker in the shop.

However it be, the vote against the agreement is too insignificant to waste time upon it. The fact remains that an overwhelming majority of 92 per cent voted for the agreement, for loyalty to the leadership of the Union, and that outweighs every other consideration and factor. With such a vote of confidence in the officers of the organization, with such a display of ability to think and truly realize that an overwhelming majority of 92 more than ever its power, and it has decided to complete the task which it has on its hands and make a 100 per cent job of it.

For, important and big as the signing of the agreement between the Protective Association and the International for the next two years is, the Union knows well enough that it is only half of the task. In order that the cloak industry be put on a firm foundation, another very difficult part of the work must be done. The "cor-

poration" shop must disappear from the cloak industry of New York! The Joint Board accordingly is making all necessary arrangements for the work. The machinery for the carrying out of this operation is ready, and all now await the signal of the Union for a general stoppage in the entire cloak industry of New York—for a few days, or for as long as it might be necessary to wipe out this blot and disease from the cloak industry.

These will be the finishing touches, the last act of the drama that was carried on by the Cloakmakers' Union in the last few months, and which has drawn to itself the attention of the entire industrial world—from November, 1921, when the cloak employers abrogated the agreement in order to wreck the work standards in the industry, to the victory of the workers, after a ten-week's strike, and to the final stages of negotiating a new agreement and its sanction by the overwhelming majority of the cloakmakers of New York.

The elimination of the "corporation" shop will be the last scene of this great human drama, and when the curtain falls upon this scene we can safely predict that the Cloakmakers' Union will emerge from it all in its strength, glory and invincibility.

It is to be hoped, however, that there will be no strike. It is true there was a long slack period in the waterproof garment trade in New York, but signs are not lacking that a good season is at hand. Surely, the employers cannot very well afford to jeopardize this season after months of idleness and inactivity.

According to the officers of the Union, Brother Arthur S. Samuels, Manager, and Samuel Friedman, Secretary, many employers will sign the agreement before August 1; those who will fail to come to terms before that date will be confronted with the dilemma of a strike in their shops.

The Executive Board of Local 20 elected last Monday a Committee on Immediate Action to be on guard, together with the other officers of the Union and to watch the situation in the trade.

agreement in New York City and thank you kindly for both.

Enclosed herewith you will find check for Fifty Thousand Dollars (\$50,000) for the use of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, a check for the striking miners by our organizations in Greater New York, two w. n. a. g. s. I hardly need emphasize that we are watching every phase of your great struggle with keen anxiety and a fervent hope that you will win regardless of all odds and obstacles.

With kind personal regards and best wishes for success, I am

Fraternally yours,

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER, President.

etary Baroff Visits Boston

General Secretary and Treasurer Philip Baroff spent almost the whole of last week in Boston on organization business. It was a week of meetings and conferences with the various locals, joint boards and individual committees where all the grievances and disputes and troubles that have become accumulated in Boston during the last half year or so were gone over, discussed in detail.

To be sure, it was President Schlesinger who was to visit Boston some time ago, in conformity with the decision of the General Executive Board. The busy and turbulent situation in New York, since the close of the convention, has made it impossible for President Schlesinger to leave, and Secretary Baroff took his place.

They are about to sign a new agreement in Boston, and the Union must be in fighting trim and proper shape. There are in Boston, like in all other cloak centers, "corporation" and "social" shops, which are even a greater menace there than in any other city. It is really a question of life and death for the Union, and it must use every ounce of strength and energy to eliminate this plague from its midst.

There are, in addition, a great many local disagreements, squabbles and troubles in Boston which had to be heard, decided upon and put out of the way. And all this was the work which Secretary Baroff had to tackle during his stay in Boston.

The Boston Locals are quite active and are doing the best work under the circumstances, reports Secretary Baroff. Local 49 is beginning to show more activity and Local 7, the raincoat makers' local, is doing better work under the joint management of Vice-President Monahan, in spite of the disturbing and pernicious work of some local "lefts" who, according to Brother Baroff, are, nearly all shady characters.

Two Cloak Shops on Strike at Los Angeles

The General Office received the following telegram from Local 52, the cloakmakers' organization at Los Angeles, California:

The firms of Hackel and Mackert, Cloak Company, both owned by Hackel, have given an ultimatum to the workers to accept the piece-work system under inside contractors or to leave the shops. The "hackel firm is the biggest shop in Los Angeles and it is determined to introduce the long-forgotten sweat-shop system in its factories. T. Union declared these shops on strike and we are all - strikers to keep away from these factories until the strike is won. Every man and woman employed in these shops is out.

THIS SUNDAY THE ALL-DAY OUTING OF THE STUDENTS' COUNCIL

The all-day excursion of the Students' Council will take place this Sunday, July 23rd.

The only thing that is left to those who made their reservations is to bring enough delicious food for the day and "good spirit."

Raincoat Makers Ready to Renew Agreements

Local 29 is on the eve of the renewal of agreements with the employers in the industry.

A few days ago the local has forwarded letters to the manufacturers, contractors and jobbers in the waterproof garment industry of New York concerning the renewal of the agreement for the next year. The old agreement expires on July 30, and the Union asks for its renewal on the same terms. The Union, however, insists upon a stricter control over such firms that seek to send out work to the petty non-union shops that have been multiplying in the trade of late,

and which the organization is determined to eliminate.

At the last general member meeting of the New York raincoat makers in Manhattan Lyceum, the new agreement was discussed at length. The meeting adopted a resolution pledging the members of the local to stand firm and steadfast by their Union and the work standards they had gained during the last few years through incessant fighting and organizing activity. Should the employers refuse to renew the agreement, in a peaceful manner, a general strike will be called in the raincoat trade to defend and retain the work conditions in the shops.

International Forwards \$50,000 to Striking Miners

Carrying out the decision adopted on July 6th at the joint meeting of all the Executive Boards of the International locals in Greater New York to give the striking miners a donation of \$100,000, President Schlesinger forwarded on Thursday, July 20th, a check of \$50,000, the first installment of the amount voted for, to Secretary Green of the United Mine

Workers of America at Indianapolis. The following letter accompanied the check:

New York, July 20, 1922.

Mr. Wm. Green, Sec'y-Treas., United Mine Workers of America, Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Brother Green:

Received your letter of July 19, and also telegram of congratulations upon the ratification of the Cloakmakers'

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

"SETTLING" THE RAILROAD STRIKE

BEN W. HOOVER, Chairman of the Railroad Labor Board, has already gained for himself the reputation of an irrepresible negotiator and peacemaker. The whole-hearted approval of his efforts by the government and the companies is not undeserved. For during the last few weeks he has almost daily announced his intention and "hope" to settle the strike. And only once when the companies turned down his "peace" proposals did he declare that he gives up. But he only despaired for a moment. The next day the newspapers carried the encouraging news that Hoover hopes again.

While the Labor Board is going through the gestures of trying to bring about peace in the railroad industry, President Harding is doing his bit to assure the public of an effective transportation, strike or no strike. One of his first acts was to "make proclamation directing all persons to refrain from all interference with the lawful efforts to maintain interstate transportation and the carrying of the United States mails." The President goes on further to "invite the co-operation of all public authorities, state and municipal, and the aid of all good citizens to uphold the laws and preserve the public peace, and to facilitate those operations in safety which are essential to life and liberty and the security of property and our common public welfare."

This proclamation, ardently defending life, liberty and property, was followed up on the next day with a more tangible announcement, namely, that the President is holding the regular army and the marine corps in readiness for strike duty. He is only waiting for the opportune moment and the order will be given for the U. S. troops to "settle" the strike. There is also talk that the government will urge Congress to make the Labor Board a real effective instrument, "with teeth in it." One of the chief points in the proposed scheme is to prohibit strikes on the railroads. It is interesting to note in this connection that when the companies defied and repudiated the decisions of the Labor Board no protests came from the White House. It is only when the workers defied the right of the Board to condemn them to starvation that our government began to rattle its sword.

The railroad companies show no disposition to deal with the strikers. Since they were "outlawed" by the Labor Board, they feel free to employ whom. A few days ago the shop craft unions, together with Ben Hoover and W. L. McMenamin, one of the labor members of the Board, worked out a set of moderate proposals for settlement. They are, in short, as follows: First, an agreement to abolish the system of contracting out shop and other work ordinarily done by the roads directly. Second, revision of wage schedules so as to restore overtime pay for work done on Sundays and holidays and in excess of eight hours. Third, rehearing of the entire wages question by the Labor Board. Fourth, agreement by roads to set up boards of adjustment provided for in the Transportation Act.

The companies turned these proposals down. The government does not show the slightest interest in them. What are the railroad unions outside the workshop doing for the strike? The Four Brotherhoods are, of course, the working. Those who are immediately involved, like the maintenance of way men, are working while President Grable is constantly conferring. Last week he met President Harding, who complimented him for his "no-strike" policy. On Thursday, July 20, a conference of the general chairmen of the Maintenance of Way Men's Union will be held, when the strike question will again come up.

Eugene V. Debs, who led the great American Railway Union strike in 1894, issued a statement to the striking railroad men and other unions that the time has come for the rank and file to unite and "strike together, vote together and fight together." His statement is, in part, as follows: "You do not realize the crying need for unity, for solidarity on every front, regardless of creed or color; you are indeed in a pathetic plight, and your case is all but hopeless. Your weak craft unions have got to be converted into a powerful industrial union, and you have got to cut loose once and for all from the rotten political parties of your masters."

PRESIDENT "ADVISES" OPERATORS TO REOPEN MINES

IT is nearly four months that the miners are on strike. Many factories and mills have been shut down for lack of coal. Famine was threatening this country. The resumption of the operation of the mines became imperative. But no one seemed to be able to devise a plan for bringing peace in the coal industry. Finally the President intervened. First, he called a conference of operators and miners at the White House. It did not budge. He then offered a plan for settlement of the controversy. It was rejected. His last and simplest plan is that the operators reopen the mines.

The last scheme of the President was received by the operators with ill-concealed enthusiasm. The President could not, if he tried, suggest a plan contrary to the interests of the operators. But the resume-operation-plan could not be improved even by the West Virginia operators. It logically leads to having Federal troops to "protect" strikebreakers. And that is exactly what the operators expect.

The very wording of the President's scheme is well fitted to become the preamble of the open-shop movement. Take this pregnant paragraph: "The freedom of action on the part of the workers and on the part of employers does not measure in importance with that of the public welfare and national security. I therefore invite you to return to your mine properties and resume operation."

This plan followed the rejection by the miners of the President's Commission plan. The plan is briefly as follows:

Miners are to return to work on the scale of wages which expired last March 31, and be effective until August 19, when the proposed Commission will determine, if possible, a new scale to be effective until March 1, 1923. The proposed Coal Commission was to consist of three members selected by the miners, three members selected by the operators and five members to be named by the President. All decisions by this committee to be accepted as final. The Commission was also to investigate "exhaustively every phase of

the coal industry" and "reveal every cost of production and transportation" with a view to making "recommendations looking to the establishment and maintenance of industrial peace in the coal industry, the elimination of waste due to intermittency and instability, and suggest plans for dependable fuel supply."

The operators could not reach a unanimous report. The majority, accepting the plan unconditionally, and the minority accepting it with modifications. Their replies followed that of the miners. They could lose nothing one way or another. In the face of the new reopen-mines policy all these replies are irrelevant.

THE RAND SCHOOL AND THE LUSKERS

THE Luskers scored a victory last Friday when the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York State upheld the constitutionality of the state law prohibiting the operation of schools without a license. When the Lusk School Licensing Law first passed the legislature the Rand School of Social Science was first singled out as the strategic beginning for a thorough cleansing of the premier state of all radical teaching. The court now upheld this law on the ground that the Rand School is engaged in the "teaching of doctrines inimical to our form of government and tending to the destruction of organized government by force and violence."

This formula, born out of the war-time hysterics and dinned into the ears of all good citizens, is now resorted to again in the hope that it would cloak the sinister attempts to suppress all radical activities and stifle free thought. This law, as Morris Hillquit, counsel for the Rand School, declared, may even be used to prohibit the publication of newspapers and magazines without a license if in their opinion they were deemed dangerous. Hillquit further stated:

"The decision is of extraordinary and far-reaching public importance. It is, so far as I know, the first adjudication by an authoritative American tribunal which sanctions the institution of preliminary censorship. The decision sweeps away all constitutional safeguards which have been thrown around the freedom of press and speech, and opens the door to oppressive class despotism and to the most dangerous forms of political chicanery. The fight which the Rand School is making against the Lusk License Law is not its own private fight, nor even a Socialist fight. It is a fight to preserve the most fundamental civil rights of American citizenship."

THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

A FEW weeks ago a preliminary conference of Socialists, trade unionists and Farmer-Laborites held in New York was the first move to unite the various labor and radical groups into one mighty labor party. Last week the full convention was held, when not only a platform was adopted and a full slate of candidates for the State Legislature, for Congress and various judicial offices was drawn up, but a new party, the American Labor Party, was launched. It was decided, however, that it is too late properly to put this new party before the voters until next year. Meanwhile, its candidates will be listed opposite the emblems of the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties.

Among the candidates named at the convention are: Salvatore Ninno, Vice President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Morris Hillquit and Meyer London, for Congress; Louis Waldman and Samuel Orr for the State Senate; August Claessens, Abraham I. Shipiloff and William Feigenbaum, for the Assembly; Harry W. Laidler, for Justice of the Supreme Court.

Use of Troops in Strikes on July 12th

A summary of the use of military forces in strike districts throughout the United States made on July 12th by the Civil Liberties Union shows the following condition, which the Union claims is unparalleled in the history of recent industrial conflict in the United States.

1. **Textile Strike.** Troops in the Pawtuxet Valley, Rhode Island, where they have been on duty most of the time since February 21st. Virtual martial law, though no actual declaration of it has been made.

2. **Coal Strike.** (Started April 1, 1922.)

New Mexico. Troops sent to Gallup fields April 7th and still there. Martial law declared April 7th, but since revoked.

West Virginia. Mingo County under martial law. Troops to Royal on April 3rd. Within the past week to Paint and Cabin Creek districts. Machine guns mounted on jail at Clarkburg by sheriff.

Colorado. State troopers under Col. Pat Hamrock in lignite districts in north and in Huerfano County. Virtual state of martial law, though it is not actually declared. The troops are accompanied by machine gun units and tanks. In local disturbances in the coal fields in Huerfano County, troops were used from November, 1921, till January 29, 1922, and in the last week in January they were sent into Routt County.

Utah. Martial law declared in Carbon County and troops sent on June 14th.

Kentucky. Troops policing the coal mines at Madisonville.

Pennsylvania. Mounted state police and special deputy sheriffs, armed, and in many cases equipped with machine guns, on duty everywhere in mining districts.

3. **Railroad Strike.** State troops mobilized in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky. Actually on duty in Kansas (Parsons, where there is virtual martial law), in Illinois (at Clinton and Bloomington, equipped with machine guns), in Missouri (New Franklin), and New York (Sloan and Hornell). U. S. marshals are in control in Aurora, Ill., and Slater, Mo. Demands for troops have been made by the railroads to the governors of Alabama, California and Iowa, in addition to the above-named states.

4. **Packing House Strike.** Troops were on duty in South St. Paul, Minn., for about three months, starting early in December. Troops were sent to Nebraska City, Neb., and martial law declared on January 28th.

5. **Local.** With one intermission of two days (January 28-February 1) troops with machine guns and tanks have been in control in Newport, Ky., during strike at steel rolling mills, since December 25th, usurping civil government despite official protests.

Miscellanies From Chicago

By H. SCHOOLMAN

Early in the month, we had our first summer legal holiday, in accordance with our agreement—the Fourth of July.

Well, on this day our workers are not supposed to work and are to be paid "pro rata." Of course, as you would guess, the employers kept the shops closed all week so that our men would not get a cent that they did not "earn." It is true that there is hardly any work and our cloakmakers have become expert idlers, but not to work on the week of July 4th was a particularly noxious matter as it was only too clear that our employers kept the shops closed in order to dodge paying for the legal holiday and thus defeat the clause in the agreement.

Somehow it feels unusually mean to recall how happy we were to come and tell our members from the platform the glad news, some time ago, that we have obtained for them six and a half legal holidays with pay. Just imagine, we told them, a full week's vacation every year with pay! Like other workers in decent industries run by decent manufacturers. Our bosses, however, decided to make this clause in the agreement a jest and a mockery and to do everything in their power to squirm out from paying for legal holidays.

When you speak to our people

they tell you openly now, that they hope that this point about legal holidays be no longer inserted in our agreements. What's the use of adding insult to injury?

The clause in our agreement which states that "no work be sent out of any non-union shops" fares almost as badly, if not worse. There are many little shops in Chicago where they make the few ladies' garments that we have here on a "half-co-operative" basis and it is made by girls who never belonged to the Union or some "has-beens," men who used to belong to the organization, and these garments are made for next to nothing.

This clause in the agreement is being violated in a most brazen and cunning manner. The game is played in broad daylight and yet we must keep quiet. This is how it is done: Scene 1. Sam, Max, Peter, Harry, Joe, Sol, all these operators, pressers, finishers are daily knocking at the doors of the cloak shops seeking work. And everywhere they get the same pious, hypocritical reply: Sorry, there is no work.

Scene 2. (The employer to one of his loyal helpers.) Say, now, Phillip, how long will you remain a ne'er-do-well? Why not open a shop and become a boss? What, you have no money? Well, how much money do

you think I had when I started and how much money do you think is required, if I am ready to take care of you and give you all the work you need?

Scene 3. The enthused Phillip accepts the proposition and opens a little shop somewhere in a far-away corner and starts for the cloak market to look for workers, of whom, heaven knows, there are plenty. At the time of the hiring he notifies the workers that they cannot expect "too much money."

Scene 4. He hires a few "hands" at ridiculously low prices. His "hands" figure that it is a question of a few weeks and that meanwhile they would have some work to keep them busy during the slack period. Of course, it means work long hours, but they might earn enough to pay the butcher and grocer. So the unfortunate "hands" work Saturday afternoons and Sundays, not even suspecting that they kill their own jobs, and the jobs of their fellow workers. They do not even suspect that during these few weeks in the dingy shops in the far-away corners of Chicago, they are making up most of the work of the season for which they had hoped so much. From the dingy shops these garments will be shipped to the beautiful show rooms in the center of the city and sold in place of the garments that would have to be made in the regular inside shops.

And yet in our agreements it is written black on white that "work must not be sent out to non-union shops." Indeed, they are not sending any work. They only sell and

re-sell. They sell goods to the seamstresses and buy from him ready-made garments. The agreement, of course, does not provide against "buying," don't you see?

There are in Chicago a great many dressmakers and other makers of women's garments who are not organized. Money is needed to organize these men and women, and the locals have appropriated a sum of \$10,000 for that purpose. The hardship comes in now when an organizer is to be placed in the field. It is difficult to find one who would accept it. So far those who have been asked to do this work have categorically refused. The reason which they give is very characteristic and is as follows: To take up this "job" would mean to be persecuted by certain elements in the organization whether the work is carried on successfully or not.

There is a great deal of truth in that, we regret to say. To be an active worker these days is not a very pleasant job. Criticism in the form of slander and vituperation we have always had, but it was never sanctioned or was a matter of good taste. Now it has become a virtue, "a revolutionary act," a necessity. If a revolutionary sheet can permit itself to slander and calumniate a person who, through years of incessant, loyal and indefatigable work has risen to the leadership in our International, what could an ordinary provincial business agent expect from his dear and sweetly loving fellow trade union men and women?

How the Railroad Crafts Work

By J. CHARLES LAUE

There are nearly 2,000,000 railroad workers in the United States and Canada. Reasoning purely theoretically, it is quite simple to imagine the railroad managers and every other capitalist institution bowing the knee before this mass of workers if they were industrially organized.

Beginning with this premise, persons who survey the labor movement from without find a comparatively easy thing to advise the railroad workers how they should unite to win their industrial battles. Just now, when one large section of the organized railroad workers is on strike, these workers are being pestered with circulars slipped under doorsteps and coming in the mail advising them to take "revolutionary" action and all will be well. They are being assailed from above and below.

To intelligently appreciate the situation as it confronts the railroad worker, it is necessary first to understand how the big unions of railroad workers are organized at present. After that it will appear to all those who have common sense, how big and how important a task it is to add these unions in every possible way to consolidate their strength through regular trade union channels.

The 2,000,000 workers in this industry can be divided roughly into three groups—train service brotherhoods, with a membership of over 500,000 (engineers, firemen, trainmen, switchmen and conductors). Four of these unions are outside of the American Federation of Labor. Only a small number of switchmen numbering about 10,000 still remain in the Federation. These are the men that actually take the trains out. They have to do the moving of steam and electric transport.

The next group is the shopmen, known as the Federated Shop Crafts, but more correctly as the unions composing the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation

of Labor. Six international unions of the American Federation of Labor compose these unions of mechanics. They construct and repair the engines, passenger and freight cars, man the round houses and shops and couple up and inspect trains of cars before they are sent out of the terminals.

This is the group now waging an effective and courageous fight against the railroads in the United States following the second drastic wage cut announced by the United States Railroad Labor Board that has obtained a supervision of labor conditions on the railroads of the country under the provisions of the Transportation act passed by Congress in 1920.

These six international unions are working as an industrial unit through their department, which maintains its headquarters in Chicago near the Labor Board. From this center the uniform strike ballot was sent out and there it was canvassed. Conventions of the executives of the various railroad system federations, organized under the department, met there to authorize the strike action which was ordered, and went into effect on July 1.

While it would be incorrect to say that the six international unions of the shopmen are superfluous, still, to all intents and purposes, the fight that the shopmen are making now is managed industrially, the six international Presidents acting through Bert M. Jewell, head of the department, as spokesman for all. The unions involved in the order of their importance are the Brotherhood of Railway Carman, International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of Boiler-makers, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, and Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

A still further development of the industrial idea is the organizing of all crafts on any one railroad, for

example, the Pennsylvania railroad, into a system federation, in which is represented from New York to Chicago each local of the six international unions. The Pennsylvania workers are supervised directly by System Federation 90. These are the fighting units that are in a position to deal directly with the Pennsylvania Railroad executives after a general form of national settlement has been sanctioned by the Railway Employees' Department.

In addition, the machinists or car builders on this road have a system federation of their own in which they can work to stabilize the working conditions all over the widely scattered territory and handle their own particular craft problems. These groups are represented by executives known as general chairmen, who are constantly on the road.

The third group of the railroad employees is the largest and the least compact. Its numerical strength is estimated variously from 750,000 to 1,000,000. It is composed of the two largest groups of semi-skilled and unskilled workers—the truckers, trestle builders and shop laborers in the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, which claims over 300,000 workers, and the still larger union known as the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Freight Handlers and Station Employees. These compose the bulk of the miscellaneous groups.

In addition, there is the order of Railroad Telegraphers, the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, two small but skilled crafts, the Brother-

hood of Stationary Firemen, and Oilers, composed of men working in the shops and round houses (already involved in the present strike, although unofficially), and two very small groups, the Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen and the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

Fourteen of the eighteen railroad labor unions are in the American Federation of Labor. Six of these have, by their own initiative, solidified and simplified their organizations by pooling their strength through the shop craft organization. The remaining eight are in the closest of communication with the mechanical crafts through the railway employees' department, in which they are also represented.

While the effort to compel these voluntary labor organizations to amalgamate has and always will be a futile procedure attempted only by those unacquainted with the movement, it is entirely probable that still closer combinations will gradually be brought about by force of circumstance and by means of amalgamation when the sentiment is sufficiently aroused among the membership.

Entirely apart from any "forcing" in process, and but little appreciated by professional critics of the labor movement, is the recent progress made by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to take in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. This will put the engine drivers in one really big union. It was accomplished by so-called conservative unions. Similar progress is being made elsewhere.

JUSTICE

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A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

Militarists will probably point to the present situation in Ireland as another proof of the efficacy of armed force; for at the moment of writing it is undeniable that the vigorous action taken during the past week against the irregular forces of the Republican army has resulted in a triumph for the Free State. A certain amount of resistance will undoubtedly continue, partly because Lreland, with its mountains and its racial carelessness for the value of life, is a country made for guerrilla warfare, and partly because so much reluctance is still felt to destroy men who have done so much to win Ireland's freedom for her. But the main resistance to the provisional government is broken, and on the surface it looks as though this had been accomplished by force of arms. In reality, however, no force of arms could have defeated the Republicans if there had not been behind the Free State army the desire of the vast mass of the population to accept the new constitution and the peace treaty as the best solution of an Irish situation which seemed hopeless a year ago. The Free State beat the Republicans at the ballot box; the battle of the Four Courts was only the aftermath of victory—and there are many, including, I believe, prominent Irish labor representatives, who think that it was unnecessary, and regret the final resort to force against the rebel minority.

The Industrial Position

The recent Labor Congress at Edinburgh was pronounced by Arthur Henderson, M. P., to be "a fine omen for the election when it comes." It certainly demonstrated the solidarity of the present Labor Party, especially in two of its almost unanimous decisions—the refusal to admit the affiliation of the Communist Party, and the determination to make no entangling alliances with any other political party, this latter being aimed, of course, at the suggestion repeatedly made that Labor and the Free Liberals should unite against the coalition. Whether the Congress went further than the machinery of the movement is a matter of conjecture. The criticism that it did no more than pass resolutions about unemployment and the present industrial depression, and brought forward no constructive proposals, is a case in point. Here is a bill which, if passed, will cripple the hardly won power of the trades unions for a generation by its provision making it illegal for any trade union to levy for a political fund except on those members who state in writing that they are willing to contribute. The second reading was passed in spite of protests from the Parliamentary Labor party; the House of Commons Standing Committee is so composed that every amendment of the labor members on it can be quibbled by members who take no part in the debates except to obstruct the reasoned opposition to the bill, and the result will be the

passage of the bill although the opposition to it throughout the country represents a majority of the people—that is, unless labor outside Parliament organizes a revolt against this misuse of an accidental Parliamentary majority.

From France comes news of a similar attack upon Labor in the new Military Service bill, one clause of which gives the government right in time of peace to call up certain categories of workers—a direct weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous government against the right to strike. An evidence of the international character of Labor comes also from France, where the ship owners and mine owners are now refusing to apply the eight-hour day law, because the British government by its refusal to ratify the Washington Convention, has not imposed this law upon British ship owners (the miners have already won it for themselves), who are thus able to place their French rivals at a disadvantage.

Another instance, though slightly different in character, of the international interests of Labor, comes from South Africa, where as an outcome of the recent miners' strike (forced upon them by the high-handed action of the mine owners) and the riots consequent upon it, 850 out of the 11,000 thrown into prison are to be tried under an almost obsolete law for high treason and murder, for which the legal penalty is death—and this, although during the riots both soldiers and police behaved with great brutality and disregard for life—in a Black-and-Tan way, in fact. Advanced Labor leaders here, such as Bob Williams and George Lansbury, have at once protested against this action, and are urging labor bodies in this country to protest likewise. But, if the Second International felt itself impelled to take such strong action with regard to the Moscow trials of the Russian Social Democrats (where the Russian government had, it seems, given a guarantee that the death penalty should not be imposed) can they not be looked to for a similar intervention in favor of the much larger number of labor men whose lives are now endangered, not by a Socialist, but by a capitalist, government, in South Africa? Such intervention would greatly strengthen the hands of the English Socialists who are trying to influence the South African government on the matter.

The danger point in the British industrial situation at the moment is undoubtedly the mines, where unemployment, coupled with low wages, has created a discontent that might at any moment have serious consequences that would retard rather than hasten a settlement. This week the Miners' Executive meets in London to consider the position—a very grave one, for it is obvious that a strike at this moment would be unavailing, and only add to the distress, while a campaign for nationalisation—the only final solution of the problem—would take too long. It is clear that only government action can meet the immediate need; but there is at present no indication that the government will abandon its favorite policy of non-interference when the employers seem to be winning. The one bright spot in the week's labor news is the final abolition on July 1 of the pernicious half-time system, by which in the cotton trade employers could use the cheap labor of children between the ages of twelve and fourteen, who worked in the mills half the day and went to school for the other half. It has passed almost unnoticed

German Impressions of Russia

(Special Correspondence to "Justice")
By DR. GEORGE M. PRICE

There is a popular story in Berlin of a German soldier who committed suicide after slaying at his post on the Kurfürstendamm Strasse, the main street of Charlottenburg, a Russian colony. He never heard a word of German and was so overcome with "Schmach" that he did away with his life.

Another popular story that is related is of a Russian child who, while walking in Charlottenburg, heard German spoken and remarked to his mother,—"why, there are Germans here too."

These anecdotes indicate the conquest of Berlin and especially of Charlottenburg by the Army of Russian refugees whose number is estimated from one hundred to three hundred thousand, the real number being unknown because most of them live without legitimate passports, are moved from place to place, and are frequently caught in the police raids.

The influx of Russians to Berlin has become a serious municipal problem, largely due to the lack of living quarters. There has been a complete standstill of building operations for the last seven years and the overcrowding is naturally very great, without the addition of several hundred thousand impoverished, hungry refugees from Russia. The lack of houses and rooms is a serious problem to the native German, but the refugee somehow manages to get some miserable quarters, paying what to the Berliner is an unheard-of rent.

There are many Russian refugees in Paris and also a large number in Prague where there is a large and ever growing colony, several thousand University students, Russian papers, restaurants, etc. But while in Paris they are tolerated, and in Prague even welcomed, at any rate greatly assisted, in Berlin they are considered a burden and a problem.

There are in Berlin of course, quite a host of Bolsheviks, either on business of propaganda, or on leave of absence for recuperation. Here I met Boris Reinstein, the former Communist of Buffalo and Moscow. He looks well, speaks optimistically of the conditions in Russia and is very much interested in what is going on in the States. Here also I met the Commissar of the Higher Educational establishments in Petrograd, a New York physician, and a number of others more or less renowned. They speak enthusiastically of the future of Russia and seem to be convinced that the present government is as impregnable as the rock of Gibraltar.

On the other hand, the refugees of the bourgeoisie tell another story. Not only do the poor ex-millionaires, who have been robbed of everything, speak of the Bolsheviks with foam at their mouths, hurling curses against those who robbed them and cast them down the precipice of poverty and penury, but also representatives of the intelligentsia, former teachers and professors, publicists, professional men of high standing and former owners of large and small factories.

In the first place there is almost uncontrovertible evidence of utter ruthlessness, injustice, persecution and unjustifiable robbery of property and deprivation of life by the mad terror of the Soviet regime with its Cheka. An official report on the Cheka published from official sources by the Social Revolutionary Party Central Committee, recites almost unbelievable wholesale murders, shootings and torture of helpless active and inactive opponents of the Soviets. These tales pale into insignificance with the stories told by eyewitnesses, respectable and respect-

ful of men and women, who relate the inefficiency, the bribery, the willful neglect and trampling of human rights, the atrocities of degenerate youngsters, the shootings and hangings of absolutely innocent, and the thousand and one terrible nightmares of a terrorized population under the yoke of a mob government.

It was present at a report given of Russian conditions by a Dr. Bikkeman, a former member of the Cadets Party and journalist of note, who seemed to know the conditions in Russia well, who lived there until a few months ago and whose inferences were supported by the majority of hearers. He said among others, "In Russia, Bolshevism and death are equally unavoidable. In Russia no one is sure that he will not be killed before the day is over. There are no innocent men. Every man is guilty of some capital crime. Therefore everyone who finds himself alive in the evening thinks that he is happy, as he considers himself every day as condemned and shot. The proletariat, the peasant and the intelligentsia are all satisfied with what the day brings, for the morrow is uncertain. There is no social life, no centers of communal activities, no standards of justice, no society. The most important thought of each and everyone is to live through the day, to have enough until to starve. For their "palak," daily ration, artists, professors, physicians and engineers humble themselves before the meanest sixteen year old terrorist and lose all semblance of former manhood. A social life is impossible because there is no spiritual life, since man lives only physically. The intelligentsia is dying out. Petrograd lost three-quarters of its population, the peasants are starving, domestic cattle is disappearing, the connection between city and village, between city and town, between men and men is broken, social instincts are dying out,—dead."

"Russia is a desert. The government is primitive and as such, may last quite a while because the country is getting back into a primitive state. There is no central government. Every town, every commune, every village has its own government. It takes orders from Moscow, for who may prevent excesses with lack of communications and absence of central control?"

The gloomy picture drawn by Dr. Bikkeman of conditions in Russia was somewhat contradicted by Mme. Gusekoff who with the well-known publicist, Prokopovitch, just arrived in Berlin. They in their report tried to lessen the terrible impression of the decline and fall of Russia pictured by the former speaker and thought that not all hope should as yet be abandoned for the regeneration of Russia, provided the present government wakes up and is able to introduce some order in the prevailing chaos. "A great responsibility, likewise," they said, "rests upon the Russians outside of Russia who should not adhere to their methods of utter condemnation but endeavor to bring about changed conditions for the better."

It is difficult of course for one unacquainted with actual conditions in Russia to judge by the utterances of the Russian immigrants of the real state of affairs there. At any rate, the Soviet government by their ruthless treatment of their victims, as is shown in the present process of S.R.S. and by their unwillingness to admit fair-minded investigators into the country, is much responsible for the inimical opinions prevailing throughout the world of the present regime in Russia.

More Activity in Montreal

By J. SCHUBERT

The resignation of Brother Sol Goldberg as manager of the Joint Board will be regretted not only by the Montreal workers but by many friends of our Union in other cities who are familiar with his tireless activity as member of our Union and as an officer.

It is not my object here to praise Brother Goldberg. This has been done already at the banquet arranged in his honor by the Joint Board last Wednesday, at which seventy-five guests were present. We hope that he will remain in close contact with the Union and will continue his loyal friendship for it.

It may be said in this connection that Brother Goldberg has worked tirelessly in our last general strike and as a result thereof, he expected to be deported from Canada. We appealed in vain from this decision and he may be deported next winter. We hope, nevertheless, that until that time we shall be able to convince the Department of the Interior that the charges against him are the result of a "frame up" and that he will not be deported.

Brother Keiser, the President of Local No. 19, also resigned after having worked for five years for his local and for our organization in Montreal. Brother Keiser was Joint Board member, financial secretary, chairman and served on every important committee the Union has had in the last five years. His work in the last general strike has doubtless helped a great deal in winning that fight. The Joint Board and Local 19 regret very much that he leaves the Union and in recognition of his good work he was given a gift and his fellow workers were very generous in praising him and his work at the last meeting of the Union.

As business manager in the place of Brother Goldberg, Brother T. Jacobs, an old and active member of the Union, was elected. He was chairman of Local No. 13 for several terms, acted as Joint Board mem-

ber and also as business agent years ago. He received a large majority of votes which is a sign that he will receive the support and help from the members of the organization, which every officer of the Union must have in order to succeed. We hope that our new manager will succeed not only in making our Union stronger but also in creating general interest among the membership towards their organization by his own example of loyal and devoted work.

The new season has begun already. It is difficult to foretell whether it is going to be a good or a bad season. We know, nevertheless, that some firms are beginning to make use of the spathy of some of the members of our Union, so natural after the slack season, to introduce piece-work. The firm of H. Rother, which is well known in Montreal on account of its opposition to the Union, where piece-work and low prices exist, has brought conditions in their shop to such a level that only a worker who has two helpers can make a living and one who has but one helper "he has none at all, finds it next to the impossible to make a decent living."

The union is undertaking a campaign to organize some of the unorganized shops in Montreal. Most of them are tiny places where a few men work day and night, Saturday and Sundays. These small contract shops, even though they are not a substantial factor in the trade, must, nevertheless, be eliminated, if the welfare of the workers in our industry is to be safeguarded.

We have finally obtained a decision from the Appellate Court with regard to the appeal we had taken against the decision of Superior Court Justice McLellan who had made the temporary injunction obtained by the Rother firm permanent.

As expected, the Appellate Court rejected unanimously our appeal. The basis of their decision is, first, that there cannot be any such thing as "peaceful picketing." They quote

as revealing their hopes of "capturing" the trade union movement.

They are frankly not interested in what they term "palliatives"—the workers' demands for a greater, better share of the things that make life worthwhile. Such things are relegated to the "reactionaries," the "bourgeois" trade unionists. Their own game is much "larger" in scope. They desire to capture "the bulwarks of the capitalist state," and they say that they are ready to use any means to that end. They frankly profess that they do not care how many workers will be sacrificed on the altar of their dogmas. It's all so simple: The world is ripe for revolution; capitalism is decaying; the workers are ready for the dictatorship. And he who puts an immediate demand in the path of the "enmarching proletariat" is a traitor and an enemy to working class emancipation.

Of such stuff are their dreams made. And dreams have ever been the best of bait when fishing for support of emotionalists, who abound among our progressive workers. A mouthful of catch-phrases kindled with the passion of dogmatism, and the usual ability of our workers to think clearly and to act intelligently is reduced to a minimum. They lose sight of the immediate things which are so essential to their welfare and

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as authority the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court as rendered by Justice Taft. Secondly, they declare that the manner and way in which we conducted our picketing is illegal. Both trials were very interesting. The first lasted two and a half days and the second only one day.

Our attorneys have tried to obtain from the five judges an opinion with regard to the legality of picketing and when and under what circumstances picketing transcends the bounds of legality. We also wanted to know whether picketing in general is possible after Justice McLellan's decision. The President of the Court replied that he "is not opposed to workers being organized if it is permitted by the law. The claim that the workers make that their demands are right," he said, "is nothing more than talk of labor leaders and strike agitators. The workers are under a false impression that because they belong to a trade union they have the divine right to do things which an ordinary citizen is not permitted to do and the Court will do its share to root these thoughts out of their minds."

"You may picket," one of the judges said, "as long as you do not come near the factory or do not talk to the strike-breakers."

"Yes, you may picket in the halls," another judge added, "but if you agitate in the halls not to work for me, I have the right to sue the Union in damages."

"I would not want it interpreted," said the presiding judge, "that this injunction case involves a question of capital and labor and, what is more, I want you to know that this Court is impartial."

think in the hazy terms of a distant future.

It is a real, real menace and no effort, no sacrifice, should be too great to bring the workers back to earth and to clear thinking. They must learn to regard with suspicion the fanatic who, from motives sincere or treacherous, tells them that the "revolution is near at hand." They must learn that the workers of America are as yet in the first stages of intelligent organization—while their antagonists are immeasurably better organized and are ably supported by every element of public strength and opinion. They must be made to see that when it comes to "any means to an end" the masters have both the means and the end attached, not infrequently, to the policeman's club or the guardsman's bayonet.

They must learn to eliminate those who would destroy their organizations through dogmatic fanaticism. They must learn that the emancipation of the American worker will come only when the American worker will desire it, and learn the meaning and the substance of it. They must realize that all the "theses," "treatises" and "proclamations" from Moscow or Belsaboo only begot the real issues and reduce the ability of the workers to withstand the onslaught of the owning classes.

Such is the task that confronts the intelligent and true and tried within our ranks. They owe it to

"It is the Union's fault that an injunction was taken out against it. Who has ever suggested to them that they go near the Rother shop?" asked another judge.

We could quote a number of wise and wonderful sayings by the impartial judges at the trial in the Appellate Court but we shall only say that after our attorney had finished his three-hour speech, which was interrupted practically every minute, the attorney for the firm, known as a bitter enemy of labor and a rough-and-tumble scrapper, began to address the Court. He spoke only for fifteen minutes when Judge Greenhills, who wrote the decision, interrupted him by saying that he was surprised that the learned counsel was quoting only such authorities who had written before 1906; that he himself knows a legal authority who had written a book in 1914 which "convincingly" why workers have no right to picket and why injunctions are necessary in labor disputes. The firm's attorney was wise enough to grasp this "impartial" hint from the learned judge and quickly finished his speech by offering thanks to the Court for this excellent information. Then the trial, which has cost the Union over \$6,000, came to an end.

There remains for us now only one thing to do—and that is to organize with added energy all the workers in Montreal and particularly the workers of the Rother shop. We are beginning to do this already and we hope for success. By organizing the workers and by raising the level of their intelligence only can we improve the general conditions of the men and women in our industry in Montreal.

themselves to take it in hand, and seek its accomplishment. They owe it to the great masses of the unorganized, the poorly organized. They must set the pace today as they have for many days before, a pace which should be well measured, so that the slow-footed may follow and in turn set the pace for others to come.

LOCAL 123, PATERSON, ELECTS OFFICERS

The following Officers and Executive Board members were elected for the coming term by our Local 123:

President, Victor Fiorillo; Vice President, R. Rudolph; Financial Secretary, Sam Kahn; Recording Secretary, Tom Santhord; Treasurer, Philip Cohen, and Sergeant-at-Arms, T. Fishman.

In addition to the officers, the following members were elected to the Executive Board: P. Lipshitz, J. Green and A. Lerrer.



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The Task Before Us

By ABRAHAM TUVIM

There are signs of a malignant influence among some of the labor unions in our city that threaten their very existence. This virus is fostering mental bitterness and dissension which, if permitted to develop, will eventually reduce to impotence some of the labor groups which have, in the past, served as models of effective working class organization and will wreck them on the shoals of issues which have little, if anything, to do with the functions of a trade union organization.

Nothing all this is the fanaticism of a group which has set itself the task of "revolutionizing" the unions. Not so much the backward groups; those which support the present order of things, vote the old party tickets and fear the influence of working class education. The difficulties of enlightening this portion of the working class are too numerous for the self-appointed saviors of the workers. No such pioneer, uphill work for them. They rather would seek to divide every progressive group of workers, to tear it asunder by internal strife and impair its efficacy in dealing with the masters. Advantage is taken of the eagerness of the progressive worker to grasp at solutions of present-day ills and his emotional reaction to revolutionary phrases, on which these bore-saviors

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EDITORIALS

THE WAGES OF CALUMNY AND SLANDER

The devil in Goethe's "Faust" is pictured as a fellow who is ready and willing to do all that is black and evil—and yet, even in spite of himself—he is often a factor for good. We thought of this characteristic of Goethe's devil when we learned, last Sunday, the results of the referendum vote in the cloak industry of New York.

Who would have thought, indeed, of referring an agreement like the one reached in the cloak industry of New York, to a referendum vote, had not the evil spirits within and without our ranks raised such a hullabaloo about it and interpreted into it every evil in the calendar? Yet, had no referendum been taken, these evil spirits would have still been able to go on with their campaign of calumny, yelling themselves hoarse that our leadership does not represent the great masses; that these "helpless" masses hate and despise their leaders who "misinterpret," "sell" and "betray" them behind closed doors.

The figures of last Friday's and Saturday's vote have made it clear to all that the great masses of cloakmakers are in complete agreement with their leaders; that they have full confidence and respect in their judgment; and that the sinister campaign of slander and libel has not shaken the faith of the overwhelming majority of the cloakmakers one hair's breadth in the honesty and common sense of their officers.

It stands to reason that the malefactors and disrupters in our Union did not desire this outcome, this monumental approval of the policy of our International, with President Schlesinger at its head, which stamps them as a slanderous, tiny and dishonest minority. The mass of our cloakmakers remain unaffected by the poisonous and filthy propaganda of this gang. We can imagine with what chagrin and bitterness—we would have said shame had we not known that it is a long time since they have lost the sense of shame—they were compelled to report in their sheet the figures of the referendum, figures that spell a death knell to them and their machinations. It is true, they printed the news in the smallest type which the type-case affords—which is even more indicative how greatly they are smarting under the blow.

Now, this clique is clutching at another straw; they are pointing to the fact that only 24,000 members participated in the referendum. They also insinuate that the figures were given out by a committee of "Union representatives," in an attempt to distort the fact that the committee in charge of the referendum consisted of members from each local, among these some who have openly stated that they voted against the agreement.

We feel in too good a mood to give vent to all the scorn we entertain for this gang that has made up its mind to wreck our Union. The referendum vote was the worst blow they have received in their unholty crusade against our organization, and we know how badly mused up and hurt they feel.

To be sure, we owe them, in a measure, a public expression of thanks. They have, indeed, saved us a great deal of work. In the campaign before the referendum and after, they have thrown off their masks and exposed themselves in all their ugliness. They wanted to hurt our Union, but in spite of their best will, it proved a boomerang. Thanks to them, the world knows now how beloved and respected the leaders of our Union are by the masses of our workers. And, thanks to this campaign of calumny, the whole world knows how puny and insignificant is their influence upon the members of our Union and how mean and unscrupulous their fighting methods are.

It was a good day's work for the labor movement, and a mighty fine blow struck for the welfare of our International. The mischief-makers are dead, dead beyond resurrection. Their last campaign against our International has sounded their dirge.

WHAT THE CLOAKMAKERS VOTED FOR

No one can honestly say now that the cloakmakers did not know what they voted for. The two additional points to the old agreement were published all through the daily and weekly press. JUSTICE made it clear editorially, last week, that the Union, even more than the employers, will not and cannot tolerate stoppages. President Schlesinger, in his final statement before the vote, stated the same in unmistakable terms: "When the Union stipulates that there shall be no shop strikes," he says

in that statement, "it means that the Union will honestly and earnestly endeavor to avoid such occurrences." The ballot, too, makes this point quite clear, and leaves no room for other interpretations: "The Union and the Protective Association will take care in the future to prevent shop strikes and shop lockouts."

The clear inference to be derived from this is that had the majority of our workers really been enthusiastic about stoppages, as the stoppage advocates would have us believe, they would certainly have voted against the agreement. The fact remains that 92 out of every 100 cloakmakers in New York voted for the agreement in full knowledge of what they were voting for, and in full agreement with the point of view of the leadership of the Union, that irresponsible stoppages, hurt as they may temporarily the manufacturer, are just as harmful, if not more so, for the Union.

This is the most important and the most inspiring result of the referendum. It is now clear as daylight to all who will not be blind that the great majority of our members feel and think in a sane and wholesome manner, and that no amount of sophistry and propaganda can influence their verdict in final and decisive cases. If ever anyone has doubted the strength and invincibility of our Union, this referendum vote must have made him see things in the right light.

We confess openly that at times we, too, have doubted in the intelligence of our great membership; that there were moments when we, too, thought that strains of poison and mistrust have crept deep into their minds and have twisted their logic. The referendum vote has set us at rest. It was a wonderful demonstration of the level-headedness and common sense of our masses.

What's next? Now that we are certain of our force and conscious of our unity of purpose, we can well afford to leave our slanderers to sink in their own mud. We have work to do, and we must turn our attention in that direction. Some time ago we pointed out the most important evil in our industry, the so-called "corporation" shop. We said that so long as this cancer remains on the body of our trade, the best of agreements—to be frank—will help but little. What is there for the worker in an agreement which promises so much pay per hour, when the work that is to be made is sent out into pest-holes, where inhuman work hours and miserable wages still prevail and flourish?

To be sure, one of the causes of the stoppages in certain shops has always been the fact that the workers could find no other means of making an end to the chronic practice of sending out work from the shops except by protesting, from time to time, against it by means of stoppages. Of course, stoppages are not the proper remedy. A stoppage is only a sign of despair, which might help for a moment, but has no permanent value. We can hardly reproach the workers who clutch at such a hazardous method of retaliation, but it must become clear to all that something radical has to be done to make an end to the so-called "corporation" shop.

What, then, is to be done? Of course, had there not been among our members of the Cloakmakers' Union a considerable element that is ready and willing to work in these "corporation" shops we would have had no "social" shop problem on our hands. Yet, on the other hand, we have our long slack seasons which drive some of our workers to such lengths. When men walk around idly for months and then are tempted by an offer of work, even though they may not expect any great fortune from such work, it requires unusual will power to resist such an offer. Indeed, these long seasons of unemployment create within our industry charmed circles for our workers, from which it is very difficult to escape.

The "corporation" shop, therefore, is the biggest and most earnest problem before the Union. Attempts have been made in former years to solve it, but with little success. Today, the Union is determined to make its greatest effort, and the prospects of success are greater because it would seem that the employers themselves have found out the evil and the disease of these mushroom shops, which in past years they have helped to encourage.

It is a problem common to all the needle trades. The tailors and the capmakers suffer from it as well as the cloakmakers and other women's wear makers. The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union will give the signal of the fight against this industrial pestilence shortly, by calling out the workers in the cloak industry into a general cessation of work. After this is carried out, the Joint Board will settle only with such shops which are legitimate establishments and cannot be classified as "social" or "corporation" shops.

We are confident that our membership will see the importance and the necessity of this stoppage, and will leave the shops as one man when the signal is given, in order to carry out this great and timely surgical operation in the cloak industry. We do not believe that it is necessary to discuss to any great extent the urgency of this move. Our entire Union suffers from this evil, and the faster and the more radical is the cure, the healthier for the organization.

We take it for granted, therefore, that not only the leadership of the Union is interested in this undertaking, but our entire rank and file. We must emphasize again that without the fullest and most loyal help of the membership, the sagacity and the resourcefulness of the leaders will not amount to much. The task is clear: we know now what we have to do to place our Union, once for all, and in the quickest possible manner, upon a firm and unshakable foundation.

Cooperative Producers' Factories in England

By J. P. W.

Producers' profit-sharing workshops, often called "co-operative productive societies," were started long before the consumers' movement was established. Robert Owen and the old school of co-operators of the early part of the last century were devoted to the theory that the workers as producers should completely get control of the shops. At the present time there are 105 of these productive societies in England. In 1913 there were 108. The important factor is the number of employees. In 1913 the workers numbered 10,560; in 1920 there were 11,500.

How nearly these shops are controlled by the workers may be seen from the fact that in 1913 the total number of shareholders of the societies was 35,000, and in 1920 it was 43,000. In other words, there are more than three times as many shareholders as workers. The workers have not been able to finance these undertakings, and consequently three-fourths of the membership is outside of the shops. This majority of shareholders who are not workers in the industry do not attend the meetings, the managers have told me. They do not participate in the government. They put in their money either for investment or philanthropy. I will

cite two of the best examples in England.

The Desborough shoe factory is one of the best of these shops. In this case about one-third of the stock is owned by the workers, one-third by consumers' societies, and one-third by philanthropists and other organizations. There is nothing about this shoe factory that impresses one as setting any special example. It is crowded, noisy, strenuous, dirty and possesses not a suggestion of beauty or attention to anything but intensive production. Many of the workers are young boys with the peculiar pallor that one constantly sees in other profit-making shoe factories. I was easily impressed by this effort of the workers to get control of their factory by way of the producers' approach. The wages earned by these workers are on the whole slightly better than in capitalistic shoe factories; but the struggle is a desperate one. I could not help recalling the spacious, airy, clean and beautiful shoe factory of the Swiss consumers' societies in Basel, or the big, airy factory of the Danish Wholesale at Copenhagen, or the great shoe works of the English Wholesale at Leicester. These three are consumers' factories. In comparison with them the efforts of producers seem like very precarious undertakings. As a plant the Desborough

shoe factory compares very unfavorably with the co-operators' factory of the C. W. S. in the same town.

Another of the best examples of a productive society is the Kittering Clothing Works. In this case also the workers own only about one-third of the stock. Most of the employees are girls. As is the case in all industries, there are there only until they can get married or find a better job; but this fact prevents them from developing a permanent interest in the shop. On the other hand, marriage or a better job does not interfere with the consumers' relation to his society, except to improve it. This Kittering clothing factory is an old society of producers. I asked the manager what he saw ahead for it, what was to be its ultimate destiny? He frankly replied that it would probably end by being taken over by the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

That last has been the fate of many of the producers' plants that have not gone down in failure. Relatively few have lasted long. For fifty years the English C. W. S. has been taking over factories that were started by the workers in the interest of the employees. It is interesting history to see these producers' shops, one by one, being taken over by the organized consumers' movement.

These producers seem to understand the difficulties under which they labor better than the theorists who still harbor the fallacy that workers' control can be won by beginning at the productive plant. They are coming to understand that these productive shops are not producing goods

for use, but for profit. If their enterprise succeeds it means profits for the workers, and if the profits become large the natural tendency is to restrict the number of people who can have them. By so doing the profits are made still larger. As a result, the "successful" producers' factory tends to convert itself into a business of capitalists and the social spirit disappears. Success means failure!

In England these producers' societies in the last eight years have increased their membership 23 per cent, but the total number of employees has been increased only 14 per cent. On the other hand, the consumers' societies in the same period increased their membership from 2,878,648 to 4,504,852, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. The total employees of the consumers' societies of Great Britain is 186,000.

One reason for this difference in size and growth between producers' and consumers' societies is that the increase of membership is of advantage to the consumers; but if the producers increase the number of workers the profits must be divided among more people, and if they increase the number of members who do not work democracy is carried just so much further away. The producers' profit-sharing work-shop may be useful as an adjunct to the trade union movement, but neither it nor the trade union movement alone can solve the workers' problem. The British working people are arriving at the understanding that the control of industry by the people can be attained only by organizing as consumers.

Labor Struggles in India

In Bombay the New China Mills (textile) declared a strike because the women workers alleged that they are made to work twelve hours a day in contravention of the law, which permits eleven hours; that they are given no rest day in the week, also in contravention of the law, and that they are paid less than the average rates prevailing in other mills.

The earnings of these women amount to no more than 25 shillings a month. They are piece workers, sometimes working twelve hours a day for a month of thirty days. The women formed a union—the first of its kind in India. As some men belonging to different departments were still in the mill at work, the women picketed the mill, with the result that the whole mill had to close down completely. Labor picketing by women was resorted to for the first time in the history of India.

The strike was successful, in spite

of the assaults by the police on the women and bribery of some foremen.

An increase was obtained through negotiations conducted by Mr. Chaman Lal with the employers, and other grievances were adjusted. In the meantime the factory inspector was communicated with, but, although overwhelming evidence was produced, and although the manager himself admitted that the women worked on Sunday without a weekly rest day, no action was taken. In India the law is on the side of the employers.

The most important of the Bombay strikes was that of the municipal scavengers. The men (4,000) were on strike for four days. As a result of negotiations carried on by Mr. Chaman Lal with the Municipal Commissioner, the men resumed work pending an inquiry into their economic condition. The inquiry will be conducted immediately.

It is interesting to note the action of the authorities in this case. One hundred and seventeen men were haled before the magistrate for going on strike without notice—a provision against which we have fought tooth and nail. As a term of settlement, the cases against 112 men were withdrawn. The others went to prison for a month.

A man gets 30 shillings a month and a woman 25 shillings a month. Living is as dear in Bombay as in any port in Europe, and Indian workers are expected to thrive on these starvation wages. The men demand £2 a month, and their demand is resisted by a commission, whose own salary has just been increased to £270 a month. Imagine the contrast. As a result, Mr. G. S. Knath, of the Bombay Central Labor Federation, has formed a strong union of the scavengers, both men and women.

The East Indian Railway strike arose out of the alleged assault upon an Indian fireman by a European. It

has now spread to the whole line and almost all important centers are affected. The Trade Union Executive Congress has sent Mr. J. B. Miller, its railway organizer, to the affected area, and is advising an amicable settlement, with a view to making the organization strong.

The general labor outlook in India is very depressing, because of the miserable economic plight of the workers. There is practically no unemployment (there never has been), but the efforts the Trade Union Congress has to make to organize the workers are herculean. Their plight is terrible and starvation is inevitable for many of them.

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

A Letter From Local 15, Phila.

By H. BERNSTEIN, Secretary

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Waist and Dressmakers Union, Local 15, was held on Tuesday, June 27, at the office of the Union, 38 North 11th Street, with Brother S. Winnick in the Chair.

Brother Barsky handed a communication to the chairman signed by A. Horowitz, C. Yampolsky, Reba Solkin, Anna Kress, B. Barsky, Esther Weiss and Beekie Labovitz of the Executive Board. The communication contained a "declaration" which stated that Brother Reiberg, the Manager of Local 15, and Brother Bernstein, the Secretary, are using "dictatorial" tactics in running the membership meetings of the local, and calling for a special meeting of the local to set upon these charges. The "declaration" also asked for the election of a new executive board upon the basis of a new modus of election.

It was decided to table this communication. Thereupon, Sister Esther Weiss threatened that if this communication is not acted upon, the signees would resign as members of the board. The chairman took the motion to a vote and with the exception of the above eight members of the board, the motion to table the communication was sustained, whereupon Sister Weiss handed in a type-written resignation signed by these members.

The chairman ruled the resignation out of order. The signers thereupon left the room. The action on the part of these eight members was so unwarranted and irresponsible that the remaining members of the board decided to take no action on this matter until the next meeting.

Secretary Bernstein read a communication from Sister Reba Myers asking for a leave of absence for the

summer months. It was decided to grant this request and to consider Sister Myers as a member of the Executive Board.

Brother Reiberg submitted a report upon the industry in general, citing the difficulties existing in some of the independent shops. The Executive Board accepted his report and decided to empower Brother Reiberg to act in these shops as he sees fit.

The committee which was appointed at the last meeting to study the question of arrears of our members, in conjunction with the Finance Committee, reports that in view of the fact that the Record Department of the International is taking a census of the standing of our membership, it is not ready with its recommendations.

Another meeting of the Executive Board was held on Tuesday, July 11th, with Sister Elizabeth Rudolph as chairman.

The resignation of the eight Ex-

ecutive Board members was taken up and after a long debate was unanimously accepted and Secretary Bernstein was instructed to notify the members in question, by registered letters, of the decision of the Board. It was also decided to call a general meeting of the whole membership in order to acquaint them with the facts and also to take up the question of general elections for the Executive Board and its officers.

The manager, Brother Reiberg, suggested that a committee of five members should be elected to arrange the meeting and also to take up other important organization questions. The recommendation was adopted and the following members were elected: Bessie Goran, Dora Waxman, Joe Roffeld, Samuel Winnick and David Schiffin.

Brother Reiberg reported that Minnie Shop, assistant finance secretary, resigned and that she is leaving the office on July 22. Her resignation was accepted with regret and a two weeks' vacation salary was given her.

The Girl Who Wanted to be Rich



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

News From Local 25

By CHAS. JACOBSON

After a long period of slackness, which lasted almost a full year, there has appeared, a few months ago, some work in the New York waist shops (in the unorganized country shops they have not known such long idleness), and having gained the impression that the waist industry is again coming to life, we began preparations for obtaining a firmer control over the trade, which was considerably weakened on account of the long unemployment in the shops. At last, we thought, there was a chance to do away with the chaotic state of affairs, which has spread to so many waist shops during this period.

The first step in this direction was the election of a new administration. As a matter of fact, the term of the old Executive Board has come to an end some time ago, and many of its members have withdrawn from activity—*for one reason or another*.

Unfortunately, the expected revival in the waist industry did not materialize. It lasted only five or six weeks, and the waist shops again became empty. Quite naturally, this sudden change has badly affected our plans for organization work. We were compelled to postpone the elections until the next fall season, which we hope will be more favorable. There is little doubt that the next season will see a change in the present demoralized situation in the waist industry. This revival, however, can come only when we have members not only on paper, but actual dues-paying members. We are just after looking over our records, and we find that a great many of our members have either reached or passed over the 30-week arrears limit. In view of this, and also knowing that the International Record Department is now taking a census of the membership and will suspend all members who are in arrears more than 39 weeks, we have decided to send a letter to all our delinquent members, notifying them that if they want to retain their old standing in the organization, that

they make immediate arrangements with the secretary to pay up their debts, and also informing them of the difficulties they will have to encounter should they become suspended and reinitiated as new members.

After this letter was sent out, a number of such members in arrears came to the office, and after stating the cause of their lapse in payment, made arrangements for keeping up their membership in the local. Needless to say that in each case the individual circumstances of the member were taken into account and given full attention. We, however, wish to emphasize the fact that a considerable number of our members have not yet taken advantage of our letter, and they will probably have to be suspended and will naturally create for themselves a great many difficulties in the future. We, therefore, call upon these members to report, as soon as possible, to the secretary before it is too late.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

MEAT AT 7 CENTS A POUND

In all the Argentine cities tenderloin steaks are selling at 7 cents a pound. There is no reason why the best cuts of beef should not be put upon the market of the United States at a retail price of 15 cents a pound and show a good profit for the middle man, the shipper and the retailer, according to the opinion of Joseph B. Davis, President of the banking house of Davis & Co., who has just returned from Buenos Ayres.

A. F. OF L. WITH THE STRIKERS

The American Federation of Labor has now definitely entered the railroad shompen's strike with the avowed purpose of tying up the transportation system of the country. This will be effective, according to A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, by a refusal of union employes of outside railroad repair shops to make repairs on locomotives from roads involved in the strike.

EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS

A program of national forest highway construction involving an outlay of approximately \$10,000,000 for 1,179 miles of road in twenty-three states, has been approved by Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture. The program will be financed largely from the forest highway fund provided by the Federal Highway Act.

WARRANTS AGAINST BUILDERS

Seventy-seven warrants for the arrest of as many building contracting firms, individuals and associations on a charge of violating state anti-trust laws were issued Wednesday in San Francisco. The warrants were sworn to by a contractor, who charged the defendants conspired against him because of his employment of union workers.

MORE THAN A MILLION ON STRIKE

At the present time there are 1,225,000 men on strike in this country. The loss in wages, in production and dislocation of industry exceeds \$10,000,000 a day. This is at the rate of more than \$5,000,000,000 a year.

A. F. OF L. REPRESENTED BY WOMAN

Mrs. A. B. Spreckles, of San Francisco, has been appointed a special representative of the Department of Labor and will investigate conditions among women in industry in Europe.

PETROLEUM FIGURES

Statistics concerning the wages, hours and earnings in 1920 in the petroleum industry are covered in a bulletin of the Department of Labor just published. At the wells the figures show that 26 per cent of the employes worked six days a week and 74 per cent seven days a week.

APPEAL AGAINST DECISION

An appeal to the Supreme Court of Rhode Island to reverse and set aside decrees entered in Superior Court enjoining officers and members of the united textile manufacturing companies has been taken through counsel for the United Textile Workers.

EVICTIONS GROW

During the present week 209 families have been evicted from their homes in the Fayette coke region in Pennsylvania. This brings the total evictions since April 1 up to 1,500. County authorities who handle the cases estimate that there are 7,500 evicted persons living in tents in Fayette County.

WILL STUDY JEWISH RELIEF

David A. Brown, chairman of the National Appeal for the Relief of Jewish Sufferers, under whose direction more than \$17,000,000 was raised in this country last winter, sailed yesterday on the Cunarder Berengaria to join the commission. This body was recently appointed by the American Jewish Relief Committee to review the uses to which the funds raised in this country since 1914 for European Jewish relief, approximating \$50,000,000, has been put, how far the beneficiaries already have progressed toward self-support and what, if anything, further needs to be done by the Jews of America to help their stricken European co-religionists.

"ECONOMY" CAUSES EPIDEMIC

An epidemic of malaria and fever that has developed in the Panama Canal Zone among canal employes is charged to the "Government's reduction of the appropriation for sanitation work" by labor officials who issued a statement with a view of fixing the responsibility yesterday.

MARINE LEADERS TO CONFER

That a national conference of marine labor leaders will be held to discuss ways and means of furthering the proposed ship subsidy legislation was announced by Thomas B. Healy, Chairman of the Consolidated Marine Workers' Union of the Port of New York. "About 200,000 marine workers," said Healy, "have gone on record in favor of the bill and it is now proposed to start a campaign to make this advocacy effective."

RAIL INCOMES INCREASE

Railroad returns for May show a marked increase, as compared with the same month last year. The complete reports filed with the interstate commerce commission reveal net profits of 4.36 per cent on the tentative valuation of the roads.

This return has been made with the railroads giving a free hand in the expenditure of money, the letting of contracts to interlocked directors and the setting of salaries for "insiders" that in many cases exceed the salary paid the president of the United States.

WOULD BREAK STRIKE

The Philadelphia street car company's "union" is aiding the local street car company to break the street car strike. Both companies are under the same management.

The Philadelphia "union" has been given wide publicity, and its usefulness in the present instance indicates the reason for its "popularity."

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

THEATER LOCKOUT

The London West End Theater Managers' Association has issued orders for a lockout of members of the Musicians' Union as from July 8, unless they acquiesce in certain wage cuts to be enforced on that date. The employers are divided on the subject, and all have not posted the notices. The Musicians' Union is preparing for the lockout.

FOOD FOR RUSSIA

The last instalment has reached Petrograd of the foodstuffs for the American relief administration bought with the Congress grant for famine relief. Curiously enough, it was brought by the same ship, the "Winnebago," that carried the first cargo of gift corn which arrived in Russia on February 2. The importation of American foodstuffs to Russia will still continue, for several million dollars' worth of food from charitable sources is still to come.

TRANSVAAL STRIKE VICTIMS

Robert Williams, George Lansbury, Tom Mann, W. Webb and others, are making a strong appeal to trade unionists to protest against the action now being taken against the South African miners involved in the recent strike riots, 11,000 of whom have been thrown into prison, and 850 of whom are to be tried on a charge of high treason and murder, under an antiquated Roman Dutch law by which any one seen with a gun can be charged with high treason, and any one seen firing a gun can be charged with murder. Resolutions are being passed by labor bodies here declaring that men defending their natural rights cannot be properly charged with murder.

IRELAND

LABOR IN IRISH ELECTIONS

It is claimed that the seventeen seats out of eighteen won by Irish labor in the recent elections prove that Labor is more fairly represented through proportional representation than would have been the case under any other voting system. In County Dublin, for instance, Tom Johnson polled one-sixth of the votes and was elected, one of the six members of that division, Labor thus securing its exact proportion of representation. Similarly, in Galway, the one elected Labor candidate, O'Connell, out of seven seats, received roughly one-seventh of the votes polled.

ITALY

STRIKE 100 PER CENT

The strike of metal workers is complete in Italy, with the exception of Genoa, where the response has been small, owing to the acute unemployment in that district.

FRANCE

VOTE TO AFFILIATE WITH MOSCOW

The congress of the revolutionary C. G. T. at St. Etienne came to an end after having decided by a majority of nearly two-thirds to affiliate with the Moscow Trade Union International. The Executive, which now found itself in a minority, resigned thereupon, and a new Executive was elected, with Monmousseaux as secretary. Among the three assistant secretaries of the Confederation is Marie Guillot, the first woman to be elected to the secretaryship of the C. G. T. in the history of French trade unionism.

OPPOSE EIGHT HOUR LAW

The British government's refusal to ratify the Washington Convention has had disastrous consequences for the eight-hour day of the French sailor. Basing their arguments on the unfair advantages enjoyed at present by their British rivals, the French ship owners are insisting that the eight-hour day law for seamen should be "provisionally suspended," at least until the British government revives its first decision. "So long as the eight-hour day law remains unapplied to British ships, we cannot force our own ship owners to apply it," said an official of the French Federation to me today.

AUSTRALIA

FORCED ARBITRATION ATTACKED BY BOSSES

The theory of compulsory arbitration is no longer favored by many employers, who now declare: "We are the stronger party."

This viewpoint is expressed in a recent issue of this Industrial Arbitration and Mining Standard, which made this statement under the heading, "Industrial Arbitration Farce."

"Many industries which compulsory arbitration binds as with hoops of steel, and which today are being strangled by compulsion to pay high wages for reduced hours of work, would like also to be finished with the arbitral court. The arbitration court is a dead, drooping limb on the industrial tree. As such it should be cut away."

CANADA

CANADIAN UNIONS TO MEET

Wage reductions, in some instances in violation of the industrial disputes act, will be considered at the annual meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, to be held in this city starting August 21. Another grievance is the government's immigration policy, which has removed restrictions in the face of unprecedented unemployment.

POLAND

AMERICAN RELIEF WORK IN POLAND ENDS

The American Relief Administration officially withdrew from Poland on June 15, after three years of efficient work, during which it has been instrumental in saving the lives of thousands of Polish children and in laying a firm foundation of health and strength for thousands of others.

Educational Comment and Notes

Workers' Education in Belgium

During the past few years, the work of education has played an important part in the Belgian Labor Movement. The characteristic features of this work of education is the clear and definite aim laid down in the labor program, and especially the centralized form of organization which permits of action of working class education. Working class education is promoted by the Belgian Labor Party acting in collaboration with the trade union and co-operative movements.

As early as 1911 a Workers' Education Center (Centrale d'éducation ouvrière) was established by the Belgian Labor Party jointly with the Trade Union Commission and the Co-operative Federation. The object of this center was "To organize and coordinate the activity of all the workers' educational bodies affiliated to the Labor Party or to the Trade Union Commission, to supply the workers with the knowledge and qualification which will put them in a better position to carry on the class struggle in every respect."

Whereas, the new organization at first had to depend on certain generous individuals for financial support, the greater part of its income is now made up of contributions from the workers' organizations. The new rules of the Belgium Labor Party facilitate this educational work as the affiliated organizations are instructed to establish local and provisional committees for the education of workers in conjunction with the Education Center.

Articles 49 and 50 of the rules stipulate: "The object of the local committee for workers' education is to co-ordinate local work of education of every kind instituted by the Labor Party, and to carry on locally the object prescribed by the rules of the National Education Workers' Center; to furnish the workers with knowledge and qualifications which will put them in a better position to carry on the class struggle in every respect. These committees are comprised of delegates from the political, trade union, and co-operative organizations in the locality. The organization of young workers and the various groups are represented on these committees."

At present one is fairly safe in stating that nearly all work of education, no matter of what kind, is di-

rectly or indirectly organized or controlled by the Center. The local committees work in conjunction with the Center, which is endeavoring to extend its organization and its activities. The Center has its own journal. From the Central Library Service (Office Centrale de Bibliothèque) the Center supplies the numerous workers' libraries with books and also institutes new libraries in places where they formerly did not exist. Moreover, the Center issues its own publication, *The School for Financial Information* (L'école de documentation financière) gives trade union leaders a necessary financial insight into capitalist undertakings.

Special courses are organized for municipal officers and co-operative employees. The courses for branch officials and workshop delegates have gained in importance in view of the workers' rights to take part in the control of industry. In 1921 the already long-entertained idea of establishing a National Labor College (Ecole Supérieure ouvrière) was realized.

This school accommodates about fifty or sixty young workers—male and female—who are sent by their respective trade union and co-operative organizations. The syllabus comprises the study of economic and social subjects in every detail, and is considerably devoted to the part which the pupil is destined to take in the labor movement.

The Center endeavors to get in touch with the large masses of workers by extension courses run under socialist auspices, and especially in the work of local schools. The former are lectures of a more general, popular character organized by the local committees in co-operation with the National Center more particularly in arranging the attendance of lecturers.

The work of the schools, however, is to arrange a whole series of lessons on a definite subject and a regular enrollment of the pupils is required.

Everything possible is done to make the lessons correspond to the abilities of the pupils and the subjects are so chosen as to enable the worker to form an exact idea of his position in the economic and social process of evolution and to prepare him for the great task which awaits him in the future organization of production.

WE MEAN YOU

Members of our International who wish to be kept informed on our educational activities are advised to send in their names, addresses and local numbers to our Educational Department.

We circulate among such persons literature in which our educational activities are described, and shortly we shall send out the announcements of the courses and of the other activities of our department for the coming season.

Whenever we circulate this information, a great many of the letters are returned. This means either that the address is incorrect or that the person had moved since. It would be a great help for us if our members would drop a postal card at once to our Educational Department, giving your name, address, local number, and which centers, if any, you attended last season.

Extension Division Courses to be Given Next Season

One of the most difficult and important tasks of our Educational Department is to reach the rank and file of our membership. It is true that a large number attends our classes in the Unity Centers and the Workers' University, but a much larger number is unable to visit these classes, and must, therefore, be reached in some other way.

During the last season we organized courses for groups which met in different places and listened to splendid instructors assigned by the Educational Department, and who discussed with them such subjects as Problems of Modern Industry, the Policy and Methods of Trade Unions, etc.

During the coming season we expect to organize more groups in order that a great many more of our members should receive the information which every worker ought to have. These courses will be given in English, Yiddish and Italian, according to the character of the group.

In each of these courses special attention will be devoted to a discussion of the organization of the I. L. G. W. U., the problems which confront our members, the function of each department and branch, such as the Joint Board, the District Councils and the Locals. In these discussions the instructor will be assisted by the officers of the Union, who will present

the subjects from a practical point of view. In addition, each course will devote considerable attention to the problems of the garment and the textile industries, and the organization and methods in the steel, coal, mining and textile industries.

In our judgment, there are few things more important than this method of instructing the rank and file of our membership in such important matters as the Problems, Methods and Principles of the History of Unions, and acquainting them with economic and social questions. It is only such knowledge that will create an intelligent organized Labor Movement able to accomplish its aims.

The work of the Extension Division is of particular importance for those members of the International who wish to occupy positions of responsibility in the organization, such as that of Shop Chairmen, members of the Executive Boards and Price Committees. The complex nature of modern industry and modern society demands from such persons more than the usual information about matters of interest to workers.

The courses described above will give the information and training which will increase the usefulness of our members to the International and to the Labor Movement.

For more details our members may apply to the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

Activities of Our Department for the Coming Season

The season of our educational activities is nearing. Our work inspired the trade unions of this country and now our plan of adult workers' education is accepted by them as the plan for workers. And as it is so truthfully said by John P. Frey, editor of the *International Molders' Journal*, in his communication which appears on the same page: "That some details of the work you have accomplished may not be wholly satisfactory and that changes may be necessary, is an immaterial matter compared with the great big thing which has been done in such a practical manner that it now receives the unstinted endorsement of the American trade union movement."

The following is a communication received by the Educational Department from John P. Frey, editor of the *International Molders' Journal*. "Mr. Frey is one of the leaders of the American Labor Movement, and is a student of labor problems. His opinion is highly valued by many in the movement:

"*International Molders' Journal*,
"John P. Frey, Editor
"Cincinnati, July 16, 1922.
"I have read with interest the ar-

ticles in the June 30 and July 7 issues of JUSTICE.

"You have good reasons for feeling proud of the results which have followed your educational efforts, for it required no small degree of courage to undertake the task you shouldered several years ago. That some details of the work you have accomplished may not be wholly satisfactory, and that changes may be necessary, is an immaterial matter compared with the great big thing which has been done in such a practical manner that it now receives the unstinted endorsement of the American trade union movement."

"I know you well enough to realize that mistakes and disappointments will not swerve you from your self-appointed task, and particularly now that the results you have already secured have acquired recognition. I wish I had a number of New York City tickets so that I could keep in personal touch with you and those who are working with you, because this question of the workers' education, the knowledge which he stands most in need of, is one of the most important which our movement has to deal with.

"With kindest personal regards,
"Sincerely and fraternally yours,
(Signed) "J. P. FREY, Editor."

STADIUM CONCERTS

The concerts that have been given for the last few years at the Stadium, College of the City of New York, 138th and Amsterdam Avenue, for a period of six weeks, beginning with July 6, proved a great success.

They offer one an opportunity to listen to a good symphony concert in the free air under the open sky, for a very nominal price. Our members who have always displayed a great interest in these concerts will, we are certain, take advantage of them this season as well.

The Stadium concert committee offers us a number of tickets free for distribution among our members for every night except Saturdays and Sundays. But they expect us to use every ticket we receive for distribution, and since they are specially marked, it is very easy for the management to check them.

We would advise those of our members who wish to have tickets to let us know at once and we will arrange for them. They can do so by calling at the office of our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

Minutes of Meeting, July 12, 1922

Brother Berlin in Chair

A committee representing the Socio-Vocational Defense Committee appeared before the Board, informing it that they have undertaken to give a series of entertainments at the National Winter Garden for the purpose of raising funds for these imprisoned labor leaders, and they requested that the Joint Board instruct its officers to sell tickets to our members. Upon motion, it was decided to refer this request to the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors advised the Joint Board of the following:

William Strauss and Pauline Silverharris, members of Local 22, appeared before the Board, stating that they were on strike against the B. & G. Dress Co. for several weeks. This week the firm settled with the Union, and when they reported for work they were told that there may be some work for them next week. In view of the fact that the strike lasted for a number of weeks, and as they will not receive pay for another week, they therefore requested the Union to help them financially.

Upon motion, the Board of Directors decided to grant these two members another week's strike benefit.

It having been decided that the installation of the new Joint Board shall be held on July 12, the Board decided to extend invitations to the President, the General Secretary-Treasurer and the First Vice President of the International to install the newly constituted Joint Board. Upon motion, the Board also decided to have a picture taken of the outgoing Board.

Brother Halperin reported that the committee which was appointed by the Joint Board to meet in conference with the Embroidery Manufacturers' Association held the first session on Wednesday, July 5, at the Hotel Martingue, and a sub-committee was appointed, which will meet on Monday, July 10.

Brother Halperin also reported that Sister Camen of the Complaint Department, is forced to undergo a minor operation, and will therefore be obliged to be absent for a period of about four weeks.

In conclusion, Brother Halperin stated that as his term as Manager expired he had decided to leave on Saturday, July 15, but that this did not mean that he was leaving the labor movement, but simply going from one post to another, as he has made arrangements to render his services to the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union.

The Finance Committee reported as follows:

The committee reports for the period from June 25, 1921, to July 11, 1922.

The committee began functioning June 25, and decided to have periodical meetings; if there were urgent cases special meetings of the committee were called.

During this period the committee passed upon all expenditures incurred by the Joint Board, and found them chronologically entered. The Finance Committee found all the records kept in the proper way. The committee also acted upon a number of requests made by various organizations and individuals, and some cases referred to them by the Joint Board.

The Finance Committee always guided itself according to the financial conditions of the Joint Board in making donations to other organizations.

In conclusion, the Finance Committee states that Brother Mackoff's efficient way of keeping the records has enabled them to do their work in a systematic manner whenever they came to the office, and they therefore wish to express their appreciation to Brother Mackoff, and recommend that the Joint Board appoint a committee to express their appreciation in a suitable manner.

Upon motion, it was decided to accept the report of the Finance Committee with thanks, and present the members of the committee with souvenirs not to exceed \$15.

A communication was received from the Joint Committee for independent labor political action, inviting our Joint Board to choose delegates to attend a conference, which will be held on Saturday, July 15. They further state that the object of the conference is to unite the forces of organized labor for joint political action.

Upon motion, a committee consisting of Brothers Berlin, Hochman, J. Shapiro and Riesel, was appointed to represent our Joint Board at that conference.

Upon motion, each and every delegation from the respective locals composing our Joint Board was seated.

Brother Schlesinger then installed the newly-elected delegates, at the same time giving his advice as to the problems confronting the workers engaged in our industry. He brought out a point in reference to the increase of shops, which makes it so much more difficult for our organization to control these small shops, and also the out-of-town shops, which are undermining the standards of wages.

In conclusion, Brother Schlesinger advised our delegates that before they attempt to solve any other problems they should first attend to the welfare of our own members.

After Brother Schlesinger congratulated the newly-elected and installed delegates, nominations for President were open.

As Brother Berlin was the only candidate nominated for the office of President, upon motion, Brother Berlin was elected President for the ensuing term by acclamation.

Upon being elected, Brother Berlin assured the Joint Board that he would do all he could in order to co-operate with the delegates in every way possible for him, in order to secure better conditions for our members. He also stated that in his judgment the time is ripe to set out to check the stage which we reached, and in order to do this, we should urge upon the delegates to be active for the good and welfare of our Joint Board.

Next, Brother Berlin opened the nominations for First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively, to which posts Brother Riesel and Sister Kronhardt were elected.

Nominations were then open for the two additional members of the Finance Committee, with the result that Brothers Auerbach and Buchman were elected.

The following were nominated for General Secretary-Treasurer: Brothers Farber, Jacobson, Mackoff, Shenger and Schoenholz.

Upon motion, it was decided to have elections for General Secretary-Treasurer at the next meeting of the Joint Board, and all the candidates who were nominated for that office be notified accordingly.

Nominations were then open for the Manager of the Joint Board, and upon motion, Brothers Antonini, Hochman and Horowitz were nominated.

Upon motion, it was decided to postpone the elections until the next meeting of the Joint Board.

For Sergeant-at-Arms, upon motion, Brother Jasper was unanimously elected.

Brother Berlin informed the Joint Board that as there are standing committees of the Joint Board on which one member from each local is to be represented, therefore he advised the delegations from the respective locals to choose amongst themselves as to who should serve on the respective committees.

The following members were appointed on the Board of Directors:

Local 10—Morris Feller.

Local 22—Ross Wellkowitz.

Local 26—Lena Goodman.

Local 68—Max Schechter.

Local 66—Nathan Riesel.

On the Grievance Committee:

Local 10—Sam Sokol.

Local 25—Dora Leit.

On the Appeal Committee:

Local 10—David Fruhling.

On the Organization Committee:

Local 10—Meyer Kach.

Local 25—Pannie Lutschovsky.

In view of the fact that not all the locals named the members on the various committees, the President, therefore, urged upon the delegations to submit the names to the next meeting of the Joint Board.

The question of the outgoing staff was taken up, and upon motion, it was decided that the present staff should remain in office until July 22, it being understood that the Board of Directors will in the meantime make all the necessary arrangements.

Brother Berlin expressed his appreciation for the confidence placed in him during the time he was connected with our Joint Board, and assured the Joint Board that should they at any time desire his services he would always be more than glad to render same.

In reply, Brother Berlin, in the name of the Joint Board, thanked the work of all the outgoing officers, expressing regret that certain of our officers did not accept office for the ensuing term. Brother Berlin concluded with the hope that the incoming officers of the Joint Board will take up their duties with energy and vigor for the welfare of our members.

Rand School to Carry On

The plans for reopening the school on September 25, after the regular summer vacation, would not be affected by the decision upholding the constitutional... of the Lusk Law, which was handed down by the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court a few days ago.

This law makes it a misdemeanor for any person or group of persons to conduct any school, class, or course of instruction, in any school whatever, without having first obtained a license from the State Department of Education. The law further vests the department with large discretionary powers, and it can even revoke the license after it has been granted.

The case of the state against the Rand School, in which the recent decision was made has been pending since last October, and was argued in court early in May. Morris Hillgart representing the school. Attorney General Newton had agreed that the state should be taken to enforce the law until its constitutionality had been determined, and the school carried on its work as usual throughout the season.

Mr. Lee, the director of the school, stated that the case would be carried

up to the Court of Appeals, and that he did not anticipate any hostile move by the Attorney General pending this appeal. "We are going ahead with our preparations for the fall season," he said, "just as we did last year, in full confidence that in the long run freedom of education will be maintained, and with the conviction that by fighting this repressive law to the bitter end we shall be rendering a service that the labor movement and all friends of liberty will appreciate."

"One member of the Appellate Division, Mr. Justice Greenbaum, dissented from the court's ruling. Perhaps in the higher court the other side will be in the minority."

The Lusk bill was first passed by the legislature in 1920, but Governor Smith vetoed it. In 1921 it was passed again, by a smaller majority, and received Governor Miller's approval. From the very beginning Organized Labor throughout the state has opposed the measure, and not only all Socialists and Radicals, but many lawyers, clergymen, editors, settlement workers, and other public men who could hardly be classed as radicals have lined up against it.

"NO MORE WAR" Parade

A "NO MORE WAR" parade and mass meeting is being organized by the Woman's Peace Society, the Woman's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and is scheduled to take place on Saturday evening, July 29th. The parade will form at Union Square at 7:45 P. M. and will proceed to a central point for a mass meeting, at which prominent speakers are expected to address those gathered and voice a demand against future wars. Thousands of leaflets are being distributed by volunteer workers, calling upon the people of this city to join in the parade and make it an imposing protest against war. The leaflet, in part, reads as follows:

"Statesmen and diplomats, financiers and conferences will not end war. It will never be abolished until you men and women, workers, fathers and mothers, who pay the price of war in sorrow and suffering, disease and death, unemployment and poverty, raise your voices to say that there shall be NO MORE WAR."

The organizers of the demonstration call upon all interested to write or call at the office of the Woman's Peace Society, Room 1101, 505 Fifth Avenue, or telephone Miss H. Herzstein, Parade Secretary, Vanderbilt 3522.

CO-OPERATIVE COAL MINERS GET VACATION WITH PAY

In the midst of the coal strike in this country, with a half-million miners risking starvation in order to maintain a living wage, comes word from the British Co-operative Wholesale Society that the miners in its co-operative colliery at Shillbottle are being given a week's vacation with pay. As previously reported in our columns, these miners are paid the highest union scale, are housed in handsome stone cottages co-operatively owned, and are treated with human consideration as brother co-operators. The miners also have their own co-operative retail store, through which they supply themselves with the necessities of life at cost.

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

CLOAK AND SUIT

The special meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division, which was held on Monday, July 17, at Arlington Hall, for the purpose of acquainting the cutters with the results of the conferences and to take up the matter of a cessation of work for the elimination of the corporation shops, was very successful. The membership present discussed the report of General Manager Dubinsky, who explained the two modifications of the agreement with the Protective Association, which were accepted by a referendum vote of the entire membership of the Joint Board. Another topic of discussion was the agreement reached between the Union and the American Association, which is practically the same as the old one, with a number of modifications, among which are:

1. Individual bargaining of prices between the employer and the employees is to be permitted, but with the sanction of the Union.

2. No settlement will be made with any manufacturer unless there are at least fourteen machines running in his shop.

As is known to the membership, the agreement with the Protective Association, which has been submitted to the entire membership of the Joint Board for a referendum vote, has actually been carried by a vote of 10 to 1. The cutters, as well as the workers of the other crafts, had the opportunity of expressing their sentiments either for or against the ratification of the agreement, and the special meeting, therefore, did not spend much time on this matter, with the exception of listening to an explanation of the two modifications of the agreement, as set forth by the General Manager.

As far as the American Association is concerned, General Manager Dubinsky reported that an agreement has been actually reached with that body. The first modification, as stated above, and which is in favor of the Union, can be explained as follows:

According to the agreement, the organization permits individual bargaining between employer and employee. However, this is to be done with the sanction of the Union, which, for example, means that if a concern which employs a certain number of cutters and pays them, say \$50 per week, wishes to hire new cutters, they are permitted to bargain for a price, yet the organization will not permit this firm to hire a cutter for any wage lower than \$50, which is already being paid by the manufacturer to his other cutters. This amendment further means that if a cutter has been working for a concern, getting \$60 per week, and he wishes to hire himself out for \$50 per week, this reduction in price will not be permitted unless it is O. K'd by the organization.

As for new manufacturers who are just opening up their plants, the organization will see to it that they will not hire cheap labor, thereby competing with other manufacturers in the trade who are paying a higher rate of wages. This new modification will help to stabilize the trade to a certain extent, and will not give the manufacturers who are in a position to get cheap labor an opportunity to compete with the legitimate manufacturers who are paying the prevailing rate of wages.

Although the agreement reached provides that no settlement should be made with any manufacturer unless he runs at least fourteen machines, which is not a new modification to the agreement, yet the Organization

Committee will see to it that this clause will be very strictly enforced. The phrase, "fourteen machines," means that the firm, besides running this number of machines, must employ a designer, cutter, examiner, and at least one member of each craft in the trade. This provision, it is hoped, will be a means of driving out the "social" or corporation shops. At the same time, it is understood that if a legitimate manufacturer, who is employing a designer, cutter, examiner, and others, although not running fourteen machines, but running, let us say, ten or twelve, wishes to settle with the Union, and who will be in a position to prove that he runs an A-1 union house, living up to union conditions 100 per cent, the workers of his shop will not be made to suffer, but a settlement will be reached upon presentation of adequate security by the firm.

Incidentally, this has also been agreed upon by the Protective Association, and all their members who do not run fourteen machines are to increase the number of machines so as to conform with the specified amount.

Manager Dubinsky further reported that the proposition that was submitted by the membership to the Conference Committee that a fine of two weeks' wages be imposed upon a firm fourteen machines in size, could not be placed in the agreement as a modification. However, an understanding has been reached with the American Association to the effect that a fine of one week's wages be placed against any manufacturer doing his own cutting.

After a thorough discussion in these questions, a motion was made that before the signing of the agreement with the American Association, a special meeting should be called for its ratification by the membership. This motion, after considerable debating, was voted down by the membership, for the reason that it has placed confidence in the Joint Board, which has already ratified the agreement, and in the Executive Board, before which this agreement is to be submitted shortly for approval.

Brother Dubinsky further reported that the Jobbers' Merchant Association has agreed to submit to the Union a list of all sub-manufacturers working for them. They furthermore agreed that they will not give out work to any sub-manufacturer unless the latter will prove that they have signed the agreement, which means that they are living up to union standards.

On the other hand, each sub-manufacturer, before his people are returned to work, will have to submit a list of jobbers for whom he is doing work. Naturally, this will be verified. If he is found to be doing work for union jobbers who employ union contractors, he will be permitted to resume work. This will give the organization the opportunity not only to control the contractor who is working for a union jobber, but also to control the non-union jobber who is having his work performed by union contractors.

The body, on motion, concurred in the recommendation of the Joint Board that the general strike in the cloak and suit industry take place on Tuesday, July 25, at 10 A. M.—All the cloak and suit cutters are, therefore, instructed to quit work at the specified time and report at Arlington Hall, which will be their headquarters. General Manager Dubinsky will be in charge of the hall, and will take care of the cutters as they come down to register from their respective shops.

Every cutter is urged that should he be sent back to a shop and not be placed to work, he is to immediately return to the hall and report his case to the hall chairman, who will keep a record of such cases and follow them up.

We have the assurance from the Chairman of the Organization Committee, Brother Saul Metz, that he will take every precaution to see to it that whenever a shop which did not employ a cutter previously comes down to settle, a very high security should be demanded, so that experiences that have occurred in such cases in the past will not recur.

The entire trade will be subdivided into three divisions, A, B and C.

Division A will constitute those shops that employed designers, cutters, examiners, etc., and which are running 100 per cent union shops. The workers of these shops will return to work as soon as proper record of their shops has been made. This division includes shops belonging to members of both the Protective and American Associations, as well as the more legitimate independent shops.

Division B will be comprised of all Union shops, which at one time or another had trouble with the organi-

zation for various reasons. The workers of these shops will not be sent back to work unless all discrepancies between them and the Union are entirely cleared up and adequate security advanced by the firms, in case of future violations.

Class C will consist of all shops which are in very bad standing so far as the Union is concerned, including the "social" or corporation shops, and non-union shops. Settlement with these shops will naturally take considerable time, and for that reason an understanding has been reached with the more legitimate independent shops and with those of both associations that they are to increase their plantings so as to give the workers from the other shops a chance to find employment in case their shops are forced out of business, having been found unable to comply with union requirements. The union requirements in this case, as far as the Class C shops are concerned, as well as the others, are that a manufacturer must employ at least one designer, one cutter, one examiner, as well as members of the other crafts, and must run not less than fourteen machines.

Entertainments to Aid the Sacco-Vanzetti Fund

Rarely have duty and pleasure been so happily joined as in the big benefit performance for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, commencing at the National Winter Garden, Second Avenue and Houston Street, on Friday evening, August 4.

A richly varied international program, comprising fifteen all-star acts by leading actors and concertists of the English, Jewish, Russian and Italian stage, will be presented every evening through August 15, with special matinee performances on Saturdays and Sundays.

The need for funds in the fight to save the two Italian workmen from the electric chair is especially pressing at this moment, and the se-

ries of high-grade entertainments at the National Winter Garden is being counted upon to relieve the situation. But the committee in charge is making its appeal not on the merits of the cause alone, but on the merits of the actual performance.

They may be had at the Workers' Defense Union, 81 East 10th Street; Henry Fruchter, care New York Call, 112 Fourth Avenue; Rand School, 7 East 15th Street; Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 48 Canal Street; Freiheit, 47 Chrystie Street; Forward, 176 East Broadway; Italian Chamber of Labor, 241 East 14th Street; Italian Defense Committee, 208 East 12th Street. Balcony seats cost 50 cents; orchestra, \$1.00.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

General.....Monday, July 24th
Cloak and Suit.....Monday, August 7th
Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous.....Monday, August 14th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

Beginning July 1st, 1922, new working cards will be issued. Cutters working on the cards secured prior to July 1st should change these for new ones. Cutters going in to work should not fail to secure cards and should not fail to turn them in when they are laid off.

Members failing to carry out these instructions will be disciplined by the Executive Board.