

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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Price, 2 Cents

END OF CLOAK STOPPAGE NEAR

UNFORTUNATE OCCURRENCE NEAR BEETHOVEN HALL—IMPORTANT STRIKE MEETING OF JOINT BOARD

The end of the cloak stoppage in New York is in sight. The greatest majority of the cloakmakers have returned to work already.

According to Brother Feinberg, the Chairman of the Settlement Committee, a few thousand workers are still left without jobs. Many of them were without regular places of employment before the strike broke out, while some of them worked in such shops where the Union could not come to an agreement with the owners who would not abide by the organization's terms. It will take some time before these men will be placed in the enlarged inside shops, and meanwhile the Union is doing all in its power to send as many back to work as possible.

THE TRAGEDY NEAR BEETHOVEN HALL

On Tuesday afternoon last, there occurred a tragedy near Beethoven Hall on East 5th Street, which resulted in a number of our men being wounded and several dying.

This unfortunate occurrence had nothing to do with the cloak strike, but was the result of a gangster feud between some Italian criminals who were looking in an automobile, for a

(Continued on page 5)

Pres. Schlesinger Leaves for Europe August 15

BON VOYAGE DINNER NEXT SATURDAY, AUGUST 12

As our readers know, President Benjamin Schlesinger of our International Union was elected, at the

last Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, fraternal delegate of the Federation to the British Trades Union Congress which opens its sessions on September 4, at Southport.

The choice of President Schlesinger as representative of American organized labor to the English labor meeting was hailed as a signal honor and a badge of distinction for our International organization, our great membership and its leader. It was (Continued on page 5)

New York Raincoat Makers Mobilize Forces

MANHATTAN LYCEUM MASS MEETING ADDRESSED BY BAROFF AND HALPERN

There is a great deal of activity going on these days among the waterproof garment workers of New York. Local 20 is on the eve of renewing agreements with the employers in the trade and the Union is constantly conferring with them, though it has not succeeded yet in reaching a general agreement. So far, the Union has settled with 26 individual employers, the biggest in the trade.

The fighting ground in the industry is centered in the contracting shops. The contractors are obstinate and hope that somehow or other they will succeed in dodging union control. Local 20, however, is on the alert and is mobilizing all its forces to offer the contractors determined resistance.

Last Tuesday afternoon, the raincoat makers of New York gathered at a big mass meeting at Manhattan Lyceum to take stock of the situation and to listen to their Executive Committee. Brother Arthur Samuels, Manager of the Union, was Chairman, and Secretary Baroff and Vice-President Halpern delivered the main addresses, which were received with enthusiasm. A resolution was adopted pledging the organization to fight to the last until the "corporation" shops are eliminated from the trade, and vesting in the Executive Board and the Committee on Immediate Action full power to decide upon a general stoppage in the entire industry.

Big Strike of Dress and Waist Makers

CONFERENCES WITH EMBROIDERY MANUFACTURERS THIS WEEK

The Joint Board of the Waist and Dress Industry has launched again an energetic drive to organize the shops in the trade, this time under the management of its new General Manager, Brother Julius Hochman.

The beginning was made with the firm of Dorfman & Weisen, of 1115 Broadway, one of the principal jobbers in the dress industry of New York, supplying work to more than 80 contractors in this city. These contractors' shops, employing over 3,000 workers, have been on strike since last week.

The above mentioned firm has had an agreement with the Union, binding it to make its work in union shops

only. Recently, however, this firm violated its agreement and the Union, after several attempts to settle the controversy peaceably, was compelled to call out the workers. The strikers met at 7 East 15th Street.

According to General Manager Hochman, after the strike against this firm is successfully terminated, the Union will proceed to take similar drastic measures against other jobbing firms in the dress industry who violate their agreements with the Union by sending work to non-union shops. In this way this union-breaking practice of the jobbers will be speedily and decisively brought to an end.

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

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More Cloakmakers' Union again Active

NEGOTIATE NEW AGREEMENT—TO FIGHT "SOCIAL" SHOP

There is renewed activity in the ranks of the cloakmakers in Baltimore. The "social" shop evil has affected the cloak trade in Baltimore as badly as other cloak centers, and Local No. 4 has now begun an earnest campaign to eradicate it.

Vice-President Sol Seidman spent last week in Baltimore conferring with local active workers and preparing plans for the immediate future. A big Organization Committee, consisting of a number of wide-awake members, was organized in the event it might become necessary to order a general stoppage in the industry in order to clean out the "corporation" shops, as was done in New York.

Brother Seidman also conferred with the employers with regard to the renewal of the agreement and has made considerable progress with them. During his presence in Baltimore, the local union also held a general member meeting which was unusually well attended.

International Organization Department Starts Work

VICE-PRES. JACOB HALPERN MANAGER OF DEPARTMENT

The last convention of our International has had under discussion the out-of-town and general organization work of our Union, and after lengthy debates decided to instruct the General Executive Board to establish an Organization Department with branches all over the country, for the purpose of organizing all the ladies' garment workers who are not yet within the fold of our Union, and also to strengthen those of our locals which have become weakened during the last two years and have lost full control of the local trades.

In conformity with this decision, the General Executive Board established the first branch of this Organization Department, which will be known as the Eastern Branch and will have jurisdiction of the territory between New York and Chicago.

This branch is under the management of Vice-President Halpern, who has had varied experience in this field and was at one time the manager of the Out-of-Town Department of the International. The main office of this branch is at the home building of the International, 3 West 16th Street, with branch offices in Jersey City, Newark, Hackensack, and Long Branch, N. J., Spring Valley, N. Y. and South Norwalk, Conn.

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union in New York has placed ten organizers under the supervision of Brother Halpern in conjunction with the present strike and stoppage in the cloak industry of New York. The Eastern Branch expects to open branch offices in the near future in Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore.

Third Quarterly Meeting of G. E. B. This Thursday

On Thursday morning, August 10, the Third Quarterly Meeting of the General Executive Board of our International will commence its sessions at the Edgemere Club, Edgemere, L. I.

The meeting is being held somewhat sooner than it should have been, owing to the fact that President

Schlesinger is leaving next week for England as delegate of the A. F. of L. to the British Trade Union Congress. President Schlesinger and Secretary Baroff will render comprehensive reports on the state of affairs in our International and its activity during the last two months. The (Continued on Page 2)

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

PRESIDENT'S NEW RAIL PEACE PLAN

AFTER the railroad executives had rejected his proposal for the settlement of the railroad strike, President Harding has elaborated a new plan. His first plan, it will be recalled, was unacceptable to the companies because it contained a provision for the unequalled restoration of seniority rights to strikers. This ran counter to their union-smashing activities. It interfered with their energetic scab recruiting and the formation of "loyal, company unions."

The President now suggests that the question of seniority be referred to the Railroad Labor Board and that meantime the strikers return to work and that the roads shall put them at work in one way or another. According to this scheme, the Labor Board, which has "outlawed" the strikers and given a certificate of 100 per cent Americanism to the scabs, has again been resurrected to act as impartial arbiter. What the answer of the companies and the workers will be has not been formally announced at this writing. But the attitude of the strikers is made clear by the statement of Bert M. Jewell, head of the Shop Crafts Federation, that the President's scheme constituted "a most uncalculated attempt to help the railroads break the strike," and that "nobody ought to get the idea that the shop men will accept."

A significant development of the strike is that other railroad unions, including the "Four Brotherhoods," are gradually being drawn in. A week ago Warren S. Stone, President of the Locomotive Engineers; W. G. Lee, President of the Railroad Trainmen, and D. B. Robertson, President of the Firemen and Enginemen, telegraphed to their legislative representatives at Washington to arrange a conference between the President and the brotherhood chiefs. In the telegram they said that, "Complaints in increasing numbers are pouring into our respective offices against demands that our men take out locomotives and equipment which are in dangerous and unsafe condition, in violation of safety statutes and rules, and of assaults on and insults to our members by armed guards that are placed on the various railroad properties." The Brotherhood chiefs finally realized that it is "the plain intention of the railroad executives to smash the shop craft unions," and they were forced to abandon the attitude of neutrality and watchful waiting. Their intention, however, that the President try again "to convince" the companies to accept his first plan ended in failure. The President changed points and has hatched a plan acceptable to the companies.

A conference of all the railroad unions has been called for Friday, August 11, where the next move will be decided upon. This is doubtless an encouraging sign of the solidarity of labor.

COAL STRIKE NEARING END

ONLY the public perhaps believes that the President's order to dig coal, strike or no strike, would prove effective. The operators know better. Except for purposes of publicity the plan of the Shipping Board to import coal from England was equally futile. And if the government had ever entertained the hope that the newly created Fuel Distribution Committee was a genuine article, the United States Geological Survey soon dispelled this fond hope through figures showing an actual decline in coal production since the promulgation of the President's order.

The operators finally realized that the only way to resume production is through a settlement of the strike. They consequently accepted the invitation of John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, for a conference which began in Cleveland last Monday. Although the outcome of this conference is not known at this writing, the very fact that the operators of the Central Competitive Field, which is made up of the chief four coal producing states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, agreed to a joint national conference is in itself a victory for the miners.

Representatives from both camps, the operators and miners, predicted the settlement of the strike within a week as a result of the conference. The terms, not yet made public, are reported to be as follows: The soft coal men will return to work at the wages prevailing prior to April 1, and a joint committee, to be approved by the President, will be named to conduct an inquiry and provide the basis for a new contract, to be effective as of that date. A meeting of anthracite miners and operators is also planned for this week, where, it is believed, a like effort to conclude an agreement will be made.

LITERARY CENSORSHIP

IT IS not generally known that New York has a privately financed institution whose business it is to guard the morals and impulses of the people. For the past several years John S. Sumner, secretary of this institution—the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice—has been functioning as censor, pre-censor and moral guardian rolled into one. If he comes across a book he thinks is "bad," "immoral," or in any way arouses the "sexual passion" he goes after it hammer and tongs. His only object then is to withdraw the book from circulation, to annihilate it, and to keep the morals of the people pure and undefiled.

A few days ago the world witnessed the birth of a new plan from the brain of Sumner. This plan was revealed in a letter Sumner sent to twenty publishing houses and to the Authors' League. In short, he proposes the censorship of books prior to their publication. In that way publishers would know beforehand that the books they are turning out on the market are in concurrence with the tastes of Sumner and therefore "moral."

Sumner has a great respect for his job. He regards it as vital to the preservation of the race. "In our present social life," he declares, "the hunger instinct has been pretty well taken care of." That is, economic want and suffering are non-existent. He therefore directs his attention to the other instinct—the "sex impulse." Any literature, particularly that of the younger school, which "tends to arouse the sex impulse" excites his determination to persecute and demolish. Even scientific and medical books dealing with sex are subject to his scrutiny.

That John S. Sumner is not a patient in a psychopathic ward of some hospital is one of the sad examples of misplaced individuals. Instead there is even talk of appointing him of censor, pre-censor or dictator similar to the positions occupied by Judge Landis in baseball, Will Hays in the movies,

and Augustus Thomas on the stage. Many publishers are said to have endorsed this plan. Will the authors follow suit and submit their manuscript to Sumner for approval?

THE REIGN OF WHITE TERROR IN ITALY

THE Fascisti, the ultra-chauvinist terrorist bands of Italy, are again burning, looting, destroying and killing. Infuriated bands of Fascisti have assumed full control of different parts of Italy and are demolishing the buildings, clubs, libraries, and newspapers owned by Communists. For instance, in Genoa a band of 200 Fascisti, armed with axes and picks, forced an entrance into the office of the Socialist publication "Lavoro" and burned the building, which is now a wreck. Destruction of railroad workers' clubs and Socialist buildings has taken place in Bologna, and so on.

The Italian government is helpless. And so is the Pope. The only thing they could do is to make mild pleas for peace, order, and brotherly love. The government has turned preacher who points to the glories of peace while the looting and bloodshed goes on undisturbed. The last few days the government has tried to assert itself by declaring martial law in a few of the provinces but the Fascisti ignore this and continue their massacres.

The Fascisti inaugurated this reign of terror to break up the general strike which was called a few weeks ago in protest against Fascisti reprisals on Communists. The Italian Socialists and Communists are doubtless on the defensive now. They are losing heavily as a result of this furious onslaught. The government, however, is even a heavier loser. It is being demonstrated that it is futile and cowardly, and its declarations and policies were sermons.

EUROPEAN "CRISIS" STILL PENDING

LAST Monday there began in London what is so often advertised as "the most important conference" between Premier Lloyd George and Poincaré and representatives from Italy, Belgium and Japan. The subjects to be discussed are as usual, German reparations and inter-allied indebtedness.

A few days before the opening of its conference the British government addressed an identical note to the French and other allied governments, requesting them to come across with the payments of their debts to Great Britain. The French request for cancellation of her debts was refused on the ground that the United States insists upon the payment of Great Britain of her debts. The British government, the note states, would like to wipe off all debts and start things even. England is in favor of a clean slate, but America wants her cash and therefore England asks France and the other allies to pay at least that portion of the debt which she owes the United States.

The relations between France and Germany have again reached a deadlock. On August 15 Germany was to pay to France \$10,000,000. As usual it did not have the cash and asked for postponement. France refused and threatened with her mailed fist. Premier Poincaré hurriedly devised methods of collecting the money anyway. German deposits in French banks were confiscated, and other progressive measures are to follow. Germany got panicky and the mark swooped downward.

France again acted alone, without the advice and co-operation of the other Allies. This doubtless irritated England. The present conference will have to straighten out these things. There are some who declare there is the possibility of France and Great Britain drifting apart. At any rate there is little hope that the ever-pending "crisis" will be averted.

Meeting of G. E. B.

(Continued from Page 1)

fight against the "social" shop in New York City, the campaign, and negotiations for renewal of agreements in Chicago, Boston and New York, will be the subjects of exhaustive and thoroughgoing discussion.

The work of the newly started Out-

of-Town Department, under the management of Brother Halpern, will also be discussed by the General Executive Board and further plans will be evolved for the extension of the work of this department.

Local 22 Thanks Sec'y Schoenholtz in Warm Resolution

The committee which was elected by the Executive Board of Local No. 22 on July 11 to express appreciation to their Secretary, Bro. Schoenholtz, for his faithful and good services he had rendered to that local, had submitted its report at the last meeting of the Executive Board held on August 1. They explained that after consideration they had come to the conclusion that the most suitable way to thank Brother Schoenholtz for his good work and devotion to the interests of the members of Local No. 22 is to express in words what the Executive Board feels towards the man who gave all his time and who has always faithfully guarded the interests of the union and performed the work of his office in a manner which drew praise and commendation from those who were associated with him. They, therefore, presented him with a handsomely engraved resolution set in a beautiful frame.

Following is the resolution which

the Executive Board unanimously approved of, and which it was decided to publish in the workers' press.

Resolution

To the man who, unselfishly and conscientiously has given all his energy to our local:

The man who continually, for the last seven years, devoted all his time and labored for the welfare of our organization;

To

Brother Isidore Schoenholtz as a mark of appreciation and esteem for his work in the past and encouragement to his future work in the capacity of Secretary-Treasurer for the good and welfare of our membership.

Presented by

Executive Board Drovers' Union Local No. 22, I. L. G. W. U.

Committee:

SAM WEINBERG
PETER ROTHENBERG
JOS. RABINOW

A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service)

The twenty-second International Peace Congress has assembled in London. Over 500 delegates from 20 different nations are here and have formed themselves into four Commissions, dealing respectively with the Economic Restoration of Europe, the League of Nations, Control of Foreign Affairs through Parliament, and Actualities (Disarmament, etc.). At the opening ceremony in the Mansion House yesterday, a Cabinet Minister (Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Minister of Education) and the representatives of several Churches tumbled over one another in their eagerness to talk of the evils of war and the blessings of peace. One tried charitably to forget how more than one of these latter-day pacifists had breathed blood and thunder during the First Year's War; it was impossible to help noticing that all the principal speeches were made by these new converts to the doctrines of Christianity, while the real peacemakers, who had remained true to their principles during the war itself and suffered for it, were fobbed off with minor speeches of technical importance only. The reputation of this Peace Congress, if it separates without merely passing the usual propagandist resolutions which I know it honestly means to do, will stand or fall upon the contribution it makes to the international effort now being made to prepare the peoples everywhere, not for another

war, but to resist another war which it again becomes imminent and the war fever is at its height.

"No More War"

The "No More War" demonstrations all over the country next Saturday, and in Hyde Park, London, will culminate this week of peace effort. Although nearly every section of the community will be represented in these demonstrations, the great mass of those taking part will be workers and their families; for, as the Reverend Thomas Nightingale, representing the Free Churches, said yesterday in the Mansion House, "The democracies are all right; it is not they who engineer and carry out wars." This was amply shown at the first joint meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Second International and the International Union of Socialist Parties, held last week at Amsterdam, who have just issued a striking manifesto in the cause of world peace and economic restoration. They couple their urgent plea to workers everywhere, to struggle against reaction and for universal disarmament, with the practical demand for a moratorium for Germany and an impartial inquiry into the state of her finances, recognizing that without helping the German Republic to live they cannot restore Europe or abolish the fear and likelihood of war.

This workers' manifesto gives the lead to all pacifists and is a kind of acid test of their principles. It is no use to talk of the charms of a Europe at peace so long as Russia and Germany are still treated as Europe's naughty children. The latest decision to ask Germany to enter the League of Nations is some step towards her reinstatement, even if she refuses to accept it. But the only thing that can enable her to play her part as a nation in the restoration of Europe is the conversion of France from her insane fear of Germany to a sane determination to live side by side with her in friendship; and at the moment that prospect seems little nearer than ever it was. The only step France has taken in this direction has been to demand the cancellation of her debt to Great Britain (and incidentally of her debt to America backed by Great Britain during the war), but apparently without any satisfactory guarantee that she will in return fulfill the necessary conditions of such a huge sacrifice of revenue on our part. Yet, whatever her mood, it is clear that only on the basis of some inter-Allied debt cancellation can the present chaotic state of the world's finances be grappled with.

Our Own Affairs

Peace in our own dominions is not a characteristic note at the moment. In Ireland, it is true, the Free State Government is on its way to the establishment of order, but whether it can be peace for many long years cannot be yet determined, and it is useless to deny that the troubles now besetting Ireland's first free Government were made for her in the past

by any arrogant oppression. That is why thoughtful people see in the British military support of the Egyptian Government, which has not the consent of the people, the probable future creation of another Irish problem. The Labor Party is doing its best to secure the release of Zaghal Pasha, who has the real confidence and love of the Egyptian people, and to induce the British Government to prosecute a new policy in Egypt, but so far without success. While the unrest in Egypt and in India continues, even the complete restoration of Europe were this accomplished, would not secure a world peace.

The agitation of the Labor minority in the House of Commons, backed by Labor opinion through the country, has at least secured the postponement of the Trade Union Bill whereby the political levy on members of Trade Unions would become so permissive in character as to strike a real blow at the power of the Labor Party to raise funds for political purposes. It is now announced that the Government cannot give time for the further stages of the Bill until the autumn, and that is interpreted by many to mean the ultimate withdrawal of the Bill. At a moment when the scandal of the sale of Honors as a means of filling the party coffers of the older political parties is being exposed and condemned universally, the passage of this mean little Bill to cripple the perfectly open and honest means by which Labor fills its party coffers would indeed be a greater scandal still. It is one, apparently, that even this Government is not prepared to face!

Glenn Plumb and His Work

By J. CHARLES LAUE

The death in Washington last week after a long illness of Glenn E. Plumb, noted attorney for the railroad brotherhoods, removes one of the ablest critics of the present system of railroad ownership and is a distinct loss to the labor movement of a man whose critical as well as constructive ability has left its impress upon railroad affairs.

For it was Plumb who brought down out of the clouds of theory the visions of radical theorists who saw in the exploitation for private profit of a public enterprise one of the gravest sources of injustice to society. He spent the last six years of his life, after a successful career as a corporation attorney, in popularizing a plan for acquiring and managing the railroads on the basis of eventual public ownership and democratic management which became known as the Plumb plan.

He first attracted the attention of the "Big Four" railroad brotherhoods by his spectacular and successful career in Chicago, where he attacked the fictitious valuation placed upon the property of many corporations engaged in litigation with the municipality.

Plumb was retained as special counsel for the City of Chicago by State's Attorney Hoyne in connection with the proposal of the Chicago elevated lines to have a valuation placed on their property. He made an unusual move in a proceeding of this kind by bringing the matter before the courts on a quo warranto proceeding. The higher court reversed him on a technicality but his theory of valuation was upheld.

The Chicago railroads then agreed on a valuation of their property far below what had been claimed for them at the beginning of the proceeding. In these duties Plumb found himself called on to draw up franchises and it was then that he discovered

In addition to his ability to press the water out of the capitalization of the road, Plumb also held a theory that a railroad was a "public highway" granted to a corporation by the state and that the constitution of the United States provided ample justification for the acquiring of the roads by the nation in the interests of the public when private management of this industry failed or became too costly as the result of inflated valuation and capitalization upon which dividends had to be earned before wages could be increased or rates lowered.

He held that in many instances the state had contributed by grants of public land and subsidies almost the entire cost of building the roads and that the familiar tricks of financiers who milked the roads of all profits were responsible for the declaring of sufficient profits distributed as stock dividends, or otherwise, to keep the roads poor but the magnates rich.

His theory on the valuation of public service corporations brought him in touch with Warren G. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and he was retained in 1915 to represent the brotherhood in wage negotiations in which the valuation of certain railroad properties was in question. After that he acted as counsel for the brotherhoods.

He had much practical experience on which to base his theory of the primary interest of the public in the existing railroad system, for soon after graduating from the law school at Oberlin College and subsequent further reading of law at Harvard University and North Western University he acquired a large practice among corporations in Chicago representing at one time Charles T. Yerkes, as counsel in public utilities litigation. In these duties Plumb found himself called on to draw up franchises and it was then that he discovered

that there appeared to be no legal definition of where public rights began or left off. He gained a practical knowledge of the problem as manager and then president of three Chicago street car lines.

The war came on and the rush of war industries for supplies and the pressure upon the private roads resulting from the national emergency brought about the control of the roads by the government. For the first time the railroads were managed as a national unit. With the ending of the war some new plan had to be devised to replace the federal management of privately owned railroads. Plumb, with the backing of the sixteen railroad labor organizations, presented to Congress in 1919 a plan for the government acquiring the roads and management to be left to a board to consist of five (3) representatives of the workers, five (5) of the management and five (5) of the public. As the result of efficient management the workers would share by getting increased wages, and the public by lower freight and passenger rates. Plumb also claimed that the actual valuation of the roads was nearer \$15,000,000,000 than \$20,000,000,000 as claimed, and that the private owners should be reimbursed only to that amount if the government were to acquire the railroads. This resulted in the most bitter criticism, Plumb's plan being denounced as "confiscatory" by the road executives.

A great period of agitation set in. It was soon discovered that although

the leaders knew what the problem was to acquire the roads and how the workers could benefit, it was found necessary to begin a great campaign of education among the 1,000,000 railroad workers to prepare them for a new form of collective bargaining while it was also necessary to convince the basic farming section of the public of its value to them.

The Plumb Plan League was formed in Washington under Plumb's direction which fused the railroad organizations into one movement for educational work of a fundamental character, and branches of the league were launched in all large cities. Labor, now the largest body in the United States with a circulation of over 500,000 copies was launched.

The idea was too advanced for the state of the public mind at the time however, the one fruit of the agitation being the urging and the signing by President Wilson of the Esch-Cummings bill that became the Transportation Act of 1920. This the railroads urged as a means of satisfying the workers' demand for representation on a tribunal that would give them the living wage and fair conditions. This board was formed on a 3-3-3 basis with but three labor representatives and was objected to by the unions and in particular by Samuel Gompers, as a "juggled" tribunal. The justification for that criticism is the present report of the railroad shippers to a national strike after the board failed to adjust disputes equitably.

JUSTICE

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The Conquering Jobber

By BERNARD ACKERMAN.

PART 2.

Quite absorbed in the eating of my noon-day meal at Spitzer's Hungarian Restaurant, I was for a while unaware of the nature of the discussion going on at a table directly behind me. But after I had successfully disposed of a generous portion of "Schintzel," I ordered coffee and let my attention wander towards the argument, which was becoming quite heated.

"I tell you, Schwartzman," shrieked one of the voices, "the way things are now, a legitimate contractor is by the jobber nothing more than a slave. Believe me, if I would have sold my machines to a junk man and be a push cart peddler I would be better off by now."

"It isn't so bad yet, Neiman," said an answering voice, apparently Schwartzman's, "you always make it worse than it is, but you can't bluff; the whole world knows you had a busy season and worked overtime regular for months."

"Who says I didn't?" angrily answered Neiman. "I worked like a horse the whole season, and if I drew out of the business forty dollars a week I drew a lot; but not a cent did I make and now the slack season is here and my expenses are the same and I got a terrible rate to pay, only God knows where I will get the money."

"To get work and lose money is no trick," advised Schwartzman. "The trouble with you contractors is that you don't know how to figure your costs. You should add on to the garment the expense for the slack season, if you don't, no one will suffer but yourself."

"I don't have to go to no insurance man like you are, Mr. Schwartzman, to learn how to figure a garment," scoffed Neiman. "To figure a garment is by me as easy like for you to collect a premium on a policy. The right figuring I know, but the jobber won't pay and that settles it. If he would only let me figure it would be alright but my jobber doesn't ASK me what I want for the dress. He TELLS me how much I will get, and that's all. You see, Mr. Insurance Agent," concluded Neiman with burning sarcasm, "I don't have to know how to figure, my jobber does me a favor and does the figuring. — me."

"Then all I answer you," retorted the confused Schwartzman, "is that you are not a business man."

"And who said I am a business man?" sneered Neiman. "A contractor doesn't have to know business; as soon as he understands business and talks like a business man the jobber can't use him any more."

"If it's like you say, Mr. Neiman," asked Schwartzman, "what do you do if the jobber makes up his mind to give you less for the dress than it costs you to make it?"

"Sometimes it pays me to take the order," answered Neiman. "Right now I am working on a dress and I'm losing twenty-five cents on each dress that I make and I am glad to have the chance."

"Do you mean to tell me, without joking, that you are glad to lose money on every dress? Honest, Neiman, I think you must be crazy."

"Not so very crazy," explained Neiman in the sing-song voice of a Talmudist. "My shop for instance makes one hundred and fifty dresses a week for my jobber, and now is the slack season, and I can't get any work, so I'm better off to lose a quarter on each dress before letting the shop stand idle, because if I refuse the work, and do nothing, I would lose expenses which is about \$140 a week, but the way it is, I work and

lose about \$40 a week, so I make \$100 a week profit."

"Our enemies should only make such profits," fervently prayed Schwartzman.

"Of course," Neiman hastened to add, "I don't make anything, I lose but you understand, it pays me better to work and lose, than not to work and lose yet more."

"Then all I can say," said the insurance man, quite baffled, "is that thank God I am not in a business where you make money by losing it."

"At last you are talking sense," answered Neiman.

"You with your complaining," I heard another voice, "will never get anywhere. We contractors will never be able to exist unless we organize to fight the jobber. We are the producers, without us the jobbers can't do business, if we only got together we could fix a fair price for our work; they would have to treat us like human beings, not like dogs."

"Nonsense, utter, entire nonsense," impatiently interrupted a voice which somehow sounded strangely familiar, "you contractors lack the ability to organize. You will not stick together, you haven't the morale. You will not tolerate discipline. You will not strike against the jobber and if you did, the proportion of strike breakers in your own ranks would make failure certain. The average contractor will, for an order of 500 dresses, abandon his principles, his class, his agreement. The contractor will sell out."

Surely I had heard the voice of the speaker somewhere. I got up and turned about to get a good view of the man. It was Feigenbaum of the Sylphine Costume Co.

"Hello, Mr. Feigenbaum," I shouted. "I am surely glad to meet you in town; I thought you were out in the country vacationing."

Feigenbaum greeted me cordially, waving over my table. "I was, Mr. A.," he said, "till this morning, but had to come over to see Saks, my bankrupt lawyer."

For a while we chatted lightly of things of little importance, then the talk gradually shifted to trade matters, a warm argument developing.

"By all means let this discussion be orderly and systematic," directed Feigenbaum. "Do you recall where we were at when we broke off a couple of weeks ago?"

"I do," said I. "You were defining the factors involved in the industry. You brought forward the evidence that the jobber was the true manufacturer, that the contractor's role in the industry was of only secondary importance, and that the battle to be fought by organized labor was against the new type manufacturer or jobber primarily. You pictured a new type shop with its thousand workers operating in sixty or more independently producing divisions, as in the economic sense, the true shop of the industry. You were about to trace the consequences of the workers' non-recognition of the jobber, as the true employer."

"Right you are, and now to proceed," said Feigenbaum. "The sixty divisions of the manufacturers are scattered as you know; the Ell & Zee Dress may be at West 18th Street, The Beauty Costume on East 26th Street, the S. & G. on 15th Street, etc. That we may better assume the new-type shop let us take it for granted that the sixty producing units of 15 to 25 workers per unit are located in one great building, for in the economic sense the location of these units is unimportant, and let us drop meaningless names, and number the contractors' shops, Shop division 1, 2, 3, etc., up to 60. Observe—

tion will teach you that the manufacturer dominates his thousand workers with a rod of iron, with an authority that is unquestioned and unchallenged. He hires and he fires, imposes conditions, dictates prices, forces worker to compete against worker. You must realize that the new-type manufacturer operates a gigantic open shop."

"Hold your horses, What do you mean? What are you driving at?"

"Exactly what I say," answered Feigenbaum, "but to be more explicit, we will suppose that A, the manufacturer, decides that Shop Divisions Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are no longer desirable fractions of his shop. His refusal to give work to these five units causes automatically the discharge of 75 to 100 workers."

"But the contractor can offer the use of his division to another jobber, can't he?"

"Of course he can, and so can the individual worker discharged by a contractor, offer the use of his hands to another contractor, but this amounts to discharge. It is strange that you should not grasp this fact; it is strange that you will in no way permit the discharge of workers singly, but you will allow their discharge by the scores and hundreds."

I could find nothing to say for the moment, but must have looked a bit confused. "Now follow me," he spoke up sharply. "In our last talk I spared no effort to isolate and define the true employer in the industry, viz., the jobber. You admitted his identity and responsibility."

"Very well, then," I interrupted following Feigenbaum's train of thought, "even admitting that the new type manufacturer has the right to hire and fire whole groups of workers, does it really make a difference. It's always been the custom and I fall to see how the workers suffer thereby."

"You shall see, and shortly," he promised. "A, the manufacturer, is producing a certain garment, style No. 101, a 'runner' that is, a dress that sells exceptionally well. Imagine all of his shop divisions engaged in the production of this one style. The

net labor item on this dress varies from \$2.00 to \$3.25, according to the standard of the shop division employed. A does the logical thing. He encourages the division that produces the garment at a labor cost of \$2.00 or \$2.25 by giving it work, and discourages the division that demands \$3.00 or \$3.25 by discontinuing to give it work. Do you realize the fact that when A, the manufacturer, dispenses with the producing groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, by depriving these units of work, he destroys five high-standard union shops, \$2.25 shops if you please, and the work that the units would have performed is diverted to lower standard shop divisions, the \$2.00 or \$2.25 shop, comprising in the majority the co-operation and open shops. Thus it is evident that the labor and money spent in the organization and development of the destroyed five union units is lost and new expenditure must be made upon the low standard shops that have taken their places. The manufacturer, having a free hand, is constantly alert to discover lower labor cost levels and does discover them. What is more natural, then, than the ceaseless deterioration of higher standard shops and the consequent birth and development of the low standard open and co-operation shop division. All this must be, if you permit the manufacturer to discriminate in favor of one group of workers as against another group, headed by their respective group managers, the contractors, for it is evident that the discrimination that you will fight bitterly against in a room where twenty workers are employed will entirely escape your attention if the process and consequences are wholesale."

(To be continued)

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Can Russia be Rebuilt with American Money?

By D. N. SHUB

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have recently published a booklet entitled "Reconstruction of Russia and the Task of Labor." The booklet contains, in addition to President Hillman's speech at the last convention of the Amalgamated, material on the economic situation of Russia and some press comments on the broadly-advertised Hillman plan to organize a million-dollar corporation for the purpose of establishing clothing factories in Soviet Russia.

In introducing Hillman at that convention, the Secretary of the Amalgamated, Joseph Schlossberg, said among other things the following: "Brother Hillman spent several weeks in Russia. He did not apply himself to a microscopic analysis of social theories and philosophies. Brother Hillman, as a responsible representative and leader of organized workers, who know their rights, know how to fight for them, and how to get them, was interested in understanding the situation as it is, good or bad. Brother Hillman went to Russia for the purpose of seeing conditions with his own eyes, so that through him we might see the actual struggles of our fellow workers there, and find out in what way we can best be of service to the Russian people in their efforts to reconstruct their lives.

We have read carefully Brother Hillman's speech and we must say that it has made a very depressing effect upon us. Throughout this speech not a word is mentioned about the situation of "our Russian fellow workers" and their struggles. He speaks little of Soviet-Russia proper as such; we only learn from him that he had never seen such "practical, realistic, courageous and able persons" like those who rule Russia today. We also learn from his speech that nowhere in the world are men and women working with such diligence and industry like in the factories of Soviet Russia; that the workers submit, with delight to the iron discipline which prevails in these factories; that the Russian government is not interested or partisan to any "isms," and that the tailors of Petrograd and Moscow and the workers in the Russian textile factories work with greater efficiency than in America. That's practically all Hillman has to say about Russia.

The remaining three-fourths of the speech consists of an economic-judicial-political treatise on the World War, the Peace of Versailles, the international economic situation and the "criminal policy of the American State Department which condemns the Russian population to death from starvation." It is true, this economic-judicial-political treatise is not quite original: in the last 3-4 years we have come across similar discourses, more than once, in the "New York American," "The Nation," and "The New Republic." We shall not, however, find fault with Hillman for this. A president of a labor union is not presumed to be an original statesman. What impresses one painfully in Hillman's speech is—let us state it frankly—the fact that in his experience to glorify over the Bolshevik miscreant, he not only conceals things but is narrating improbable and impossible tales.

One can easily imagine that Zinoviev, Radok, Goldfarb-Petrovsky and other Bolshevik luminaries may have impressed Hillman as "practical, brave, and courageous statesmen" second to none on this terrestrial globe. But when he comes to us, in the year of 1922, and tells us that nowhere in the world are people

working as diligently as in the factories of Soviet Russia; that there is more efficiency in the workshops of Moscow and Petrograd than in America; that the Russian workers embrace with delight the iron discipline in the factories, and that the Russian government does not concern itself with "isms"—well, then he certainly is relying too much on our credulity.

The English Labor delegation which visited Russia to investigate conditions, the delegation of the German (left) Independent Socialists and the delegation of the Italian Syndicates (labor unions)—all tell a different story from that told by Hillman. Let the reader who desires to convince himself of that, peruse the booklet written by Mrs. Philip Snowden, a well-known English Socialist and active worker in the English labor movement, or the brochure by Wilhelm Dittman, the leader of the German Independents, on Russian conditions as they found them. Both these booklets are to be had in the English language.

But why search for what foreign Socialists have to say about Russia? "The Sunday American" of about two months ago printed a series of articles by that well-known "counter-revolutionist," Maxim Gorky, on the "diligence" with which they work in Russian factories; and in case the reader is inclined to distrust Gorky's impartiality, we would refer him to Lenin's recent speeches, and he will surely become thrilled with the marvelous "efficiency" which exists in Russia today and the miraculous achievements of the Communist administrators of Russia. In one of these speeches Lenin says quite openly that the industrial life of the country is going to pieces, that the communist officials have proved to be the worst kind of incompetents, and that if things continue to go at the same tempo, all Russia will soon be destroyed.

Is it possible that Sidney Hillman who is common knowledge the world over and which even Lenin himself admits? We can hardly believe this. After having read the booklet issued by the Amalgamated, which is being distributed by it broadcast over the entire country, one cannot escape the conclusion that Hillman has been deliberately embellished his amazing historic report about Russia so that he might carry out with greater facility his astounding plan to found a million-dollar corporation for the purpose of re-establishing the tailor industry in Soviet Russia. The reader probably is familiar with what Lenin has said more than once: The aim sanctifies all means.

So in order to advertise the "Russian-American Industrial Corporation" one may permit himself not only to tell half-truths and quarter-truths about Russia but even to make such statements, for instance, that it is "safer to invest money in Russia than in many other countries." Indeed, what does the opinion of the economic and financial experts of the twenty-two countries, who have only recently assembled at The Hague to consider the problem of investment of foreign capital in Soviet Russia and who have come to a unanimous decision that until the Bolsheviks change their economic and other policies will not offer more substantial guarantees than the promises of Radok, Litvinov and Rakovsky, foreign capital cannot go into Russia,—what does their opinion amount to? And if there is still a person left who might doubt the correctness of Hillman's analysis of the Russian eco-

nomic situation, there is in that booklet, to appease such a doubting Thomas, an article by such an eminent authority on Russian affairs as Senator Borah, and an editorial from "The New Republic" where Hillman's plan is lauded as epoch-making.

We almost forgot to mention that the booklet also contains a chapter on the "electrification" of Russia. Many will probably recall how last year Lenin suddenly declared in a speech that the salvation of Russia lies in "electrification." As soon as electricity is introduced all through Russia, that country would become a paradise—just like that, in miracle, paper-like fashion. A plan for the immediate electrification of all Russia was immediately drawn up and the Bolshevik press all over the world began at once to extoll the glory of this great accomplishment of the Bolshevik "government." A year passed however, and the Bolsheviks have by this time completely cast away and forgotten electrification. Even the Communists in Russia scoff

at it these days as "electrofiction," a term that would be easily understood here in America too. And this marvelous plan of "electrofiction" is being earnestly described and enlarged upon today in the booklet which the Amalgamated is spreading broadcast as reliable information about Russia!

But as we said already the booklet is an advertisement for the newly-organized "Russian-American Industrial Corporation" founded by the Amalgamated. The last page of the booklet contains a blank sheet for the reader to subscribe \$10 as the price of a share in this corporation. Which raises the question: Can the clothing industry of Russia—or for that matter any other industry in Russia—be rebuilt with the money of American Jewish and non-Jewish workers? Is such a plan feasible? Can the Russian workers be put on their feet by such a plan and do the American workers stand to gain anything from it?

We shall return to this question in our next article.

Cloak Stoppage Near End

(Continued from Page 1)

certain Zaseraai and who is under \$15,000 bail in a homicide charge. Speeding away from the police in a high-powered automobile, the would-be murderer encountered a crowd of cloakmaker-strikers emerging from Beethoven Hall, and obviously under the impression that the strikers were there to block their way, they began shooting indiscriminately into the crowd, leaving behind them before they disappeared from sight, eight severely wounded persons.

At the time of this writing, one of the wounded, Morris Goldstein, had died, while two others are in a critical condition.

STRIKE MEETING OF JOINT BOARD

A very important meeting of the

Cloakmakers' Joint Board was held last Tuesday night at Stuyvesant Casino.

Brother Heller delivered a report for the Hall Committee; Brother Sel Meis rendered an account of the work of the Organization Committee; Brother Feinberg spoke for the Settlement Committee; Brother Breslaw reported for the Picket Committee; and Brother Lefkowitz gave an account of the doings of the Law Committee.

President Schlesinger and Secretary Hoff were present at this meeting. President Schlesinger delivered a short speech, pointing to the best methods of bringing the stoppage to an end with most desirable results to the Union.

Pres. Schlesinger Leaves For Europe Next Week

(Continued from Page 1)

the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. that an honor of this kind went to an organization composed of immigrant workers.

President Schlesinger leaves for London next Tuesday, August 15, on the Mauretania, from Pier 54, North River, at the foot of West 14th Street. It is expected that a large crowd of friends and followers will crowd the pier to bid him good-bye.

Farewell Dinner

The New York members of the G. E. B. have arranged a bon-voyage dinner for President Schlesinger which will take place next Saturday at 8 o'clock in the evening, at Offert's Restaurant, 102-104 West 38th Street.

In this farewell banquet there will take part not only the closest friends of President Schlesinger—as was originally planned—but a number of the leading labor organizations in

Greater New York. Among these will be: the American Federation of Labor, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, the United Hebrew Trades, the International Molders' Union, the Capmakers' International Union, the Furriers' International Union, the Workmen's Circle, and the Forward Association. Of men prominent in the American labor movement who will attend we may mention such names like President Saml' Gompers, Vice-President Matthew Wall, of the A. F. of L.; President Timothy Healy, of Stationary Firemen, and many others.

Last Saturday, our Philadelphia organizations too had tendered a banquet to President Schlesinger in honor of his leaving for England in which all of the important labor organizations of that city took part.

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EDITORIALS

THE WAGE COMMISSION AND ITS TASK

Now, that the Union has elected President Schlesinger as its representative on the Wage Commission and the Protective Association has designated Mr. William Basset, an industrial engineer, to represent it in a similar capacity—it can be reasonably expected that the Commission will soon get to work. That this work might not be fruitless in the light of satisfactory results, it is highly important that it be started in the proper spirit and frame of mind. It is only too well known that, as a rule, one obtains from an investigation what one usually starts out to get from the very outset. If, for instance, our employers have made up their minds that this investigation must yield them unmistakable proof that cloakmakers are amassing fortunes at the machines, they might find convenient figures to prove even such an extravagant assertion. Figures are flexible and pliant, and can be handled with equal ease by either side.

It is true, a third party, an impartial member, has been assigned to this Commission for the purpose of counterbalancing the judgment of the two partisan members. But the difficulty, of course, consists in finding such an impartial third party, a rare specimen in these days of side-taking and partiality. That's why it is so highly important that this Commission rid itself, at the very beginning, of every possible prejudice and preconceived notion and proceed to investigate conditions in the cloak industry as they are and forget, as far as possible, that they represent divergent interests. It may be difficult but it is not impossible—if the will and the spirit are there.

From what we have been informed about Mr. Basset, his selection by the Manufacturers' Association was made in good judgment. If it is really true that Mr. Basset believes in the principle that an industry in which a worker is employed must pay him enough to make a living all year round, he will find, in this respect, in President Schlesinger not an opponent but a warm supporter. This is the viewpoint of our Union—and if on this point the representative of the Union and of the Association can agree, it will eliminate the necessity of calling upon the impartial member to compose differences in this matter altogether. Agreement on the fundamental problem would lend color and strength to the conviction that the work of the Commission will be conducted in a wholesome and salutary manner and that its report will be unanimous.

What concerns our own representative on the Commission, President Schlesinger, we could not, of course, aver that he is, in this respect, impartial. Quite to the contrary: on the point of wages he is decidedly partial. He has fought until now, and with great success, against wage reductions, and we are confident that he will not recede a single inch from his position. We know that he hopes to be able to increase, through the findings of this Commission, the wages of a certain class of workers in the cloak industry who, he is honestly convinced, are paid much less for their work than what they deserve to be paid.

Yet, strong as President Schlesinger's convictions are in this matter of wages, we are certain that should the true facts tend to prove that our cloakmakers are being overpaid in comparison with other workers in trades as skillful as the cloak trade, President Schlesinger, while not agreeing to a reduction, might help in evolving a plan, on the basis of the disclosed facts, which would prove satisfactory to all sides concerned.

Let us assume that the Commission should find that cloakmakers earn, during the work periods of the year, say the average sum of \$60 per week. Let us say further that the Commission will learn that a cloakmaker averages twenty-five such weeks during the year and that the remaining twenty-seven weeks he must subsist on the savings from the work-seasons. It would be clear, in such case, that the average earnings of a cloakmaker would amount to less than \$30 per week. What Commission would, under such circumstances, decree a cut in wage scales, if it is to remain true to the principle that the industry in which a person is permanently employed owes him a decent living all year round?

The Commission would have the following alternative: It would either have to decide in plain and simple terms that the wages of the cloakmakers cannot be reduced as they represent the minimum required to enable a family to make a reasonable living. All would therefore have to remain as before and the manufacturers would have no ground to complain any longer that the workers' wages are too high. Or, perhaps, they would agree upon a plan to increase the present work-seasons, so that

instead, for instance, of twenty-five weeks in the year, the work seasons be extended to 40 weeks, for which the workers are to be paid. Only then can there be any talk of a reduction in wages.

Personally, we believe but little in the second plan. We have more than one reason for it—the principal one being that such a plan would compel many cloakmakers to leave the trade entirely, an idea the Union could never become reconciled to. Things will therefore have to be left as they are. We are inclined to believe that this wage question—which appears to be so burning a problem today—will lose a great deal of its acuteness by next December, when the report of the Commission is ready.

Here is the reason for our optimism: Our cloak manufacturers, particularly the more thinking element among them, do not at all maintain that the wages of the cloakmakers are too high. They know that it is not so. They, however, maintain that since there are shops in the trade where work is being produced much cheaper than in their own factories, they cannot compete with such shops and they ask for a wage reduction in the hope that this wage cut might enable them to compete with those small shops and retain their place in the industry.

Well, there is some ground to this complaint, and it was on the strength of this grievance and in order to protect its own interests that the Union has inaugurated last month the great fight against the "social" shop in the cloak industry of New York. This campaign has already produced substantial results, and the Union is determined not to give up the fight against the petty "corporation" shop until it is out, root and branch, of the industry.

By December next, it can be reasonably expected, the cloak industry of New York and vicinity will be completely rid of this pest, and the question of wages will lose thereby a great deal of its pertinence. We believe that our optimism is well founded and that after the investigation will have brought out the facts that will remove some prejudices and do away with some notions existing with regard to cloak wages in New York, that the wage question will not be disturbed again, at least for the next two years, the life-term of the recently concluded agreement.

CONFERRING WITH THE CLOAK MANUFACTURERS OF CHICAGO

It has become the rule and custom in the industry that after the Cloakmakers' Union of New York reaches an agreement with the New York employers, that the terms of this agreement are accepted in their entirety by employers in other cloak centers. It has become an established fact that our Union cannot have different agreements in the various cities where cloaks are manufactured. There might be slight variations in minor matters, but in their principal features the terms of employment in the cloak industry must be the same everywhere. It is a subject of vital importance to the union.

We were truly amazed, therefore, when we learned that at the conference, last week, between the cloak manufacturers of Chicago and President Schlesinger, Vice-President Schoolman and the committee of the Chicago Joint Board, that the employers have put forth a brand-new demand for piece work, a system which, as far as the Union is concerned, has long been dead and buried without the slightest chance of becoming resurrected.

We really cannot conceive what prompted the Chicago cloak manufacturers to come out with such an obviously hopeless proposal. Did they, for a moment, think that the Chicago Cloakmakers' Union and the International are ready to give up the most important point they had gained for the workers during the last dozen years? Do they not conceive that the Union cannot even consent to accept this proposition as a subject for negotiation or debate?

Granting, for a moment, that the conditions in the cloak industry of Chicago are slightly different from the conditions in the New York market, can this be regarded as sufficient ground or justification for discussing the revival of the piece-work system? They might as well ask the Union to dissolve on the ground that the "cloak industry in Chicago cannot exist under union conditions." The reader can readily imagine what a reply the Union would give to the Chicago cloak manufacturers in the event of a suggestion of this sort, and the reply given to them last week, when they proposed that the piece-work system be re-introduced in their shops was approximately the same. If the Chicago cloak employers cannot manufacture and sell cloaks under the week-work system, they might as well give up the cloak business and seek a living at different vocations. If the cloak industry in any city must work under the semi-slavery, of piece work in order to flourish, we would rather see it perish.

We are, nevertheless, inclined to believe that the Chicago cloak manufacturers did not, and could not, be earnest about their piece-work proposal. They surely are aware that the New York cloak manufacturers, in their recent negotiations with the Union, have not even made the slightest hint or gesture of a wish to return to the piece-work system, knowing well in advance that it is unattainable and therefore impracticable.

We believe that the Chicago manufacturers have simply put forth this demand for piece work as a maneuver in the faint and distant hope that it might possibly succeed. Now, after the conference is over, they are, probably, fully convinced that their own best interests demand that they cease nursing dreams idle

Conquering the Press

By MAX D. DANISH
(in "Labor Age," August, 1922)

Bruised and bleeding from the propaganda shells of its foes, American Labor is stumblingly trying to win a press for itself that will aid it in its fight. Up to the moment it has not made a great deal of headway, except in a few places. The huge majority of the guns of "public opinion" belong to the enemy. Often, it is true, Labor has failed to get a better deal from the privately owned press because it did not understand publicity methods. But, on the whole, in a showdown, the capitalist papers realize their class interests and poison the "public mind" against the labor cause.

The more Labor reaches out to become more self-sufficient, and enters the province of its foes, the more necessary does it become for Labor to bring up the big howltowers of the press for offensive as well as defensive purposes. Without such aid, its co-operative stores and its labor banks will be victims of the rankest sort of discrimination on the part of governmental authorities; met by the silence or open approval of the general daily press.

Happily, the need of a labor press is becoming more and more acutely felt, and has come to the front recently in a number of important labor gatherings. Such hitherto conservative organizations as the Locomotive Firemen and Engine-men have adopted resolutions looking toward the establishment of a chain of influential labor dailies throughout the country. It is not merely trade organs that they want, to meet the needs of this or that particular industry, but newspapers that can rival the big metropolitan dailies, written and edited from the labor viewpoint.

In Europe, even in countries where the labor movement is poorly developed, there has always existed a strong socialist or labor press. In Germany there were dozens of Socialist and labor dailies even before its labor movement amounted to much. The same is true, in a degree, of France, Austria, Italy and the Scandinavian countries. England was perhaps the only exception in this respect—in the British Isles there existed a powerful labor movement long before the British workers thought of launching labor dailies.

There are today in the United States about 150 labor weeklies, about 100 monthlies and less than a dozen daily papers in the English language. There are also about 100 labor, socialist and radical publications printed in foreign languages, which, as a rule, are materially better off than their English contemporaries. The history of the foreign-language labor and radical press, its background, its reading public and working methods, are so distinctly

different from the English language labor press that a comparison between them would be quite impractical. Of these weeklies and monthlies published in the English language, the majority are the official organs of various trade unions and central bodies, headed by the American Federationist, monthly organ of the A. F. of L. The Federation also conducts a printed weekly news service — The International Labor News Service — for the labor press as a whole. Every new movement or split in the labor ranks produces a new organ, though they seldom gain much strength. The Workers' Party, as an example, has set up weeklies in New York and Chicago — The Worker and Voice of Labor. The combined reading public of the labor press in the country is estimated roughly between three million and four million, but it is a rather scattered and incohesive mass of public opinion.

Such, approximately, is the situation of the labor press in the United States. And in view of these facts the recent moves by labor organizations, to take up in earnest the question of founding an influential labor daily press in America, bring forth the pertinent question: Is there a field for such a daily press? If launched, can such dailies be successful in a highly competitive field? It is understood that with proper equipment, technical and financial, the difficulties that have heretofore harassed the labor press could be eliminated. The question, however, arises plainly, should the engineers and firemen and garment workers and others decide upon investing a large sum of money in a chain of dailies — could they count upon the local membership in Chicago, Denver, Boston, New York, to support such a press? Will the fact that these dailies are owned and represent the savings and funds of these organizations arouse the members from their lethargy and make them read a labor or a socialist daily in preference to the newspapers that they have read for generations?

Of the existing socialist and labor dailies in the English language there are only three that can claim a substantial following and a degree of success. These are the Seattle Union Record, the Minnesota Daily Star and the Milwaukee Leader. The Butte Bulletin (Montana), only a couple of years ago a promising newspaper, was forced to give up publication. The Oklahoma Leader, supported with the aid of the Co-operatives and of the organized farmers of that state, when the socialist movement was at its height, there and claimed over 80,000 votes, is fighting a desperate, if not a losing, battle for existence. The New York Call, the oldest labor and socialist English daily in the United States, has been battling for its life for fourteen years, and is maintained largely by an indefatigable group of loyal workers.

The thorns in the way of a labor publication are seen in this communication from the Seattle Union Record:

The Union Record's average circulation daily is 139,157. Our present financial situation is precarious because of reduced ad-

vertising income, due to a boycott by the Retail Trade Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce. The circulation is somewhat reduced also as a result of a fight in the ranks of organized labor — started by the Communist element, and now kept up by pure-and-simple trade unionists. The Union Record, being between the two forces, gets the full effect of attacks from each side. The Central Labor Council still owns a majority of voting stock in the paper, and is about equally divided between radicals and conservatives, with the latter in a slight majority. Both sides express devotion to maintenance of a daily labor newspaper, but neither side appears willing to advance necessary funds until assurances have been made that it will receive preference. There is a slight betterment in this respect at present. Our problem is to secure sufficient finances to pay off our plant and building and provide working capital.

What is, then, the principal reason for the failure of the labor press, particularly the daily press, to draw support from the working masses? Some are wont to explain it on technical grounds. They say that labor publications are not an attractive and marketable product. If there is any substance in this at all, it is true to a very minor degree. A comparison, for instance, of the Oklahoma Leader with the average Middle Western daily would show that they differ little, if any, in news and features both in quality and quantity. A Journal like the New York Call or the Milwaukee Leader is certainly far superior technically to such powerful and successful publications as the Berlin Vorwarts, the Leipzig Volkszeitung, or, for that matter, the London Daily Herald. Of course, it can hardly be expected that a labor daily could successfully duplicate

at first such a monumental newspaper as the New York Times. But it is, nevertheless, quite obvious that the principal fault lies not with the technique of newspaper making, but somewhere else.

The reason for the hard struggle which the existing labor publications have to maintain is due, first and above all, to a lack of a sincere interest on the part of the workers to read news, or have news interpreted to them from the point of view and through the mirror of the labor movement. In Milwaukee, as well as in New York and in Chicago, in San Francisco as in Boston and Atlanta, the masses of workers belonging or not belonging to the trade unions, have plainly and simply never cared a tinker's dam whether their paper, which they have been reading for generations, has been lying to them about labor — about their own organization, their strikes — or not.

Of course, there are other reasons for the failures of labor dailies to thrive in a competitive market. There is, for example, their poor drawing value as advertising media. There is also a considerable amount of animosity, organized and unorganized, on the part of national advertisers in particular, that withholds advertising patronage from socialist and labor publications. These obstacles can easily be overcome by circulation, and that is what labor is, if it but realizes it; and the advertisers brought to their knees. A further handicap is the comparative expense of running a labor publication, due to the fact that it is, as a rule, a 100 per cent union enterprise. Needless oblige — and this rule works a considerable hardship upon labor publications, particularly in their early stages. From the office boy and from the last scrap of paper to the mailing end of the business, everything must be scrupulously union. And in a competitive field this is a drawback that is made up only in part by the zeal and personal devotion of the members of both the editorial and working staffs of these publications.

Consider how easily the workers could conquer the press if they really determined upon doing it. There are hundreds of thousands of union men in each of the large cities of the country — New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit. Yet, in only one of these cities is there an English language labor daily, with a plentiful percentage of all union men on its subscription lists. These union readers of enemy papers must be made to feel a religious obligation to patronize a labor daily; that it is as much a duty to do this as to carry a union card. The working man or woman who is found taking a capitalist paper instead of a labor publication must be branded by the movement and his comrades with the same infamy as if he were scabbing on them. The workers must realize that this is a fight for life that they are in, and that he who supports the enemy's press is a traitor to his fellows. Such tactics would overpower the anti-labor press; their circulation would melt away like snow under a summer sun.

And such tactics can be put over, despite the difficulties in the way. The masses of our workers, it is true, have been brought up in a school that malitates against the success of such an undertaking for some time to come. Independent thinking, matters beyond the mere struggle for hours and wages, have been shouted down and tabooed by the "tacticians" of the American labor movement. But there is a perceptible change here and there, and new ideas are slowly sifting their way through. The workers in the great industrial centers, as a matter of necessity, cannot remain as stark blank to the purposes and aims of the labor movement as they are today, which is almost as they were a generation ago. Array an army of them, under the discipline here prescribed, to buy the labor paper in preference to the capitalist paper! It will mean the conquest of "public opinion."

Wisdom of the Poor Fish

By ART YOUNG

The Poor Fish Says:
Of course Labor creates all wealth, so we will be richer if we work harder.



and unrealizable. We hope, therefore, that even before the departure of President Schlesinger for Europe, our Chicago Cloakmakers' Union and the manufacturers of that city will reach an agreement, similar to the one reached in New York, for the next two years. Instead of chasing phantoms, the Chicago cloak employers should rather, in co-operation with the Union, embark upon the big task which is being prosecuted in New York City today and which is just as badly needed in Chicago, namely, the fight against the "social" shop disease.

Compulsory Arbitration in Norway

In the early part of 1915, while the World War was in progress, the Norwegian Government presented a bill to Parliament for the purpose of facilitating the settlement of labor disputes. The law as passed prescribed the registration of all trade union organizations and employers' associations, and compelled these to notify the State Arbitrator of the position of affairs in the event of an impending conflict. The law also empowers these public arbitrators to prohibit a withdrawal of labor until attempts at conciliation have been made. Either of the parties on their part, may demand that such arbitration shall be concluded within four days in order that strike action may be taken promptly if such a course is deemed necessary. The law also contains a clause empowering the government to apply the award of a Court of Arbitration, compulsorily, if the magnitude or nature of the dispute is such that it can be regarded as a danger to the general interests of the community.

The Norwegian Trade Union Movement did not raise any objection to the principle of compulsory arbitration.

On the other hand, the unions were firmly opposed to the compulsory imposition of an arbitration award. Shortly before the discussion of the bill in Parliament, the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions proclaimed a great strike in protest against the law. This strike was not of long duration but was extremely effective. It induced the government to withdraw the clause (to which the employers also were opposed) concerning the compulsory nature of

the award. Owing to the fact, however, that in the following year a great dispute was imminent, in which practically all organized workers throughout the country would have been involved, a temporary law was introduced concerning the compulsory nature of an arbitration award, and wages were actually fixed on the basis of the award of the Court of Arbitration. The law was in operation until 1921. The government in power at the time of the expiry of the law did not propose its extension and a proposal to that effect on the part of the Liberals to prolong the act was rejected. In consequence a great number of labor disputes was decided by strike action and the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions, in view of the attitude of the employers on the question of wages, decided to proclaim a general strike.

Ever since the question of compulsion became a burning issue in 1915-1916 the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions has been firmly opposed to compulsory arbitration.

This year the question has again arisen on account of the expiration of the wage agreements affecting 80,000 workers, i. e., practically the whole affiliated membership of the Norwegian Federation. The present Liberal government, for this reason, presented a new bill prescribing the compulsory application of arbitration awards. The matter was again discussed by representatives of unions affiliated with the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions, when another attitude was taken up, that is to say, compulsory arbitration was now

(Continued on Page 12)

How the President Pardoned Peddler Jake's Dog "Dick"



**And Now Jake's Kiddies Are
Going to Get Back the
Beloved Pup a Cruel Law
Condemned to Death Because
His Master Wasn't
Naturalized**

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The Unity Centers will be reopened on September 11th. Those of our members who wish to join them, register at once, at the Educational Department—3 West 16th Street, or at the offices of their Local Unions.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

STREET CAR MEN OUT IN CHICAGO

Slashing wage cuts and the loss of the eight-hour day has caused street car employees to walk out on the surface and elevated lines of this city. Efforts are being made to reduce car fares and the workers are asked to bear the burden.

The street car men show that the reduction of car fares means 2 cents a day saving to users of the surface lines, while 14,000 street car men have had their wages cut \$1.60 to \$2.32 a day.

"This means a minimum of \$9.60 to \$13.91 a week less for the car men's wives and children," the trade unionists say.

"It means less food, less clothing, poor living quarters, unsanitary surroundings and less good health."

"It means less children in the school after the working age and more children battling with the struggle of life when they should be in the school-room. It means many children growing into a stunted man and womanhood, deprived of the right of proper nourishment and training, and it means more careworn mothers, for the mothers and children, after all, bear the greater burden of wage cuts."

"This is the sum total of achievement of the political propaganda movement of the city administration and the Illinois commerce commission on the fare issue."

ALLEN'S DYING WAIL

Governor Allen will not be a candidate for re-election but still sings the praises of his handiwork while being slowly pushed into oblivion. In a speech in this city he resorted to his usual trick of questioning the loyalty of every one who opposed his slave law.

"What we need in this country now more than anything else is a feeling of obligation to our government, to our laws and obedience to authority," he said.

Trade unionists offer this amendment to Allen's statement:

"What we need in this country now more than anything else is a feeling of obligation to the constitution by executives and law makers. Many of these officials are too prone to ignore fundamental rights in their quest for power and self."

LONG TEXTILE STRIKE CARRIED ON BY LABOR

While the rail strike and mine strikers have been in the public eye because of their direct effect on society, textile workers remind trade unionists and sympathizers that tens of thousands of men, women, boys and girls are in the twenty-seventh week of their fight against a 20 per cent wage reduction. In Massachusetts the question of hours does not enter the fight because of a 48-hour law for women and minors. In New Hampshire and Rhode Island the mill barons are attempting to lengthen the hours of labor from 48 to 54 per week. The strike is being directed by the United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

In urging financial support of this resistance to serfdom, the United Textile Workers show that in this city there are 17,500 workers on strike. There are 8,000 out in Lawrence, Mass.; 6,000 out in Pawtucket, R. I.; 3,600 out in Providence, R. I.; 3,000 out in Lowell, Mass.; 4,800 out in Nashua, N. H., and thousands out in other mill towns in three states.

Where strikers have been evicted the United Textile Workers have supplied tents.

The courts have responded to the appeal of the mill barons and numerous injunctions have been issued against the workers. The prize writ was issued by Judge Sawyer of Nashua, N. H., the latter part of last May, and it is not to be returnable until October.

LABOR BACKS WOMAN

The state conference for progressive political action has unanimously voted to support Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, candidate in the republican primaries for United States senator against Miles Poindexter, present incumbent. Mrs. Axtell was until recently chairman of the United States employees' compensation commission.

Candidates for the state supreme court were also endorsed. Headquarters will be opened, and a vigorous campaign will be conducted by the conference.

The conference consists of representatives of the state federation of labor, railway brotherhoods, the state grange and the non-partisan league. An executive committee consists of one representative of each affiliate.

TEACHERS' LOW WAGE

One-third of the teachers in cities of 2,500 to 10,000 population are teaching for less than \$1,000 a year, and one-half of the elementary teachers in this group of cities receive less than \$1,097 a year, says the United States bureau of education.

In the group of cities of 10,000 to 25,000 population conditions are somewhat better, but even in this group 15 per cent of the teachers receive less than \$1,000 a year. In cities of 25,000 to 100,000 population, 7 per cent of the teachers have not advanced to the \$1,000 class. In cities of 100,000 or more population comparatively few teachers receive less than \$1,200 a year.

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 stores, through which they supply themselves with the necessities of life at cost.

FOREIGN ITEMS

MEXICO

WORKERS DEFEND SHOP MEN

Mexican trade unionists are urging workers to stay away from the United States during the railroad shop men's strike, according to letters to Canute A. Vargas, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Mass meetings in sympathy with the shop men have been held throughout Mexico. In conveying this information to President Gompers, Secretary Vargas said:

"I have also received copies of two lengthy manifestos issued by the working people of the republic of Mexico, one issued by the *Machinists' National Union of Mexico* and the other by the *Railway Trades Federation of the Mexican republic*, in which the Mexican workers are urged to aid the cause of the striking miners and railroad workers of the United States by staying away from the United States at this particular time, thus thwarting the efforts of recruiting agents who are attempting to secure Mexican workers and ship them to the north as strikebreakers."

GERMANY

LIVING COSTS DRIVE GERMANS TO CO-OPERATION

Although Germany has long been the second country in the world in point of co-operative societies, the economic distress following the war and the continually rising cost of living have driven the people by thousands to co-operation as their only salvation.

During 1921, 4,887 new local societies were formed, in addition to 149 central co-operatives, making a grand total of 47,767 co-operative societies in the Republic. The annual increase in co-operative societies before the war was but from one to two thousand. The greatest increase is noted in the agricultural co-operative societies, while the largest total is attained by the Peoples Co-operative Banks, of which there were 20,566 on January 1st, 1922.

The German Co-operative Wholesale Society of Hamburg reports an enormous increase of business in 1921, almost doubling its previous year's record, with a business of nearly two and one-half billion marks. This represents an increase both in the value and the quantity of goods sold. The German Wholesale Society, like the English, owns many of the factories which supply its products, including cured meats, clothing, shoes, tobacco, soap, chocolate, pastry and sugar factories.

The German Co-operative Wholesale Bank shows a similar progress during the past year. Its turnover increased from 3,361,000,000 to 6,841,300,000 marks, its deposits likewise doubling to 211,000,000 marks and its assets to 3,440,000,000. Even with the present low value of the mark, this tremendous business indicates the great power of co-operation in restoring the economic life of Germany on a democratic co-operative basis.

SCOTLAND

SCOTCH CO-OPERATION DIVIDENDS

Over one-half million dollars in dividends has just been distributed by the co-operative society of Aberdeen, Scotland among the consumers of the district. This represents savings made on their purchases returned to them by the store which they themselves own. What a welcome boon to the thrifty housewives who have been struggling to make ends meet during the present period of depression!

RUSSIA

RUSSIAN CO-OPERATORS INVITE AMERICANS TO FAMOUS NIJNI-NOVGOROD FAIR

The All-Russian Union of Consumers' Societies, "Centrosoyuz," which a recent delegation of European co-operative leaders found to be the most powerful co-operative force in the Slav Republic, has just extended to the co-operative organization of America through the All-American Co-operative Commission of Cleveland, an invitation to send delegates to the famous NiJNI-Novgorod Fair, which opens on August 1st after being closed since the beginning of the war.

The great Central Union of Russian Co-operative Societies links together thousands of present co-operative craft manufacturers and possess in its own name some of the largest factories in Russia. It is collaborating with the government in holding the fair, and has its own warehouses and even a hotel for accommodating its foreign guests. It is arranging special exhibits of raw textiles and metals and is transporting huge quantities of raw materials from the Siberian co-operatives. The Ural co-operatives alone are exhibiting over three and one-half million tons of metal goods. By arrangement with the government, no export duties will be charged upon purchases made at the Fair.

JAPAN

JAPANESE CO-OPERATORS HOLD CONGRESS

The amazing growth of co-operation in Japan is indicated by the Eighteenth National Congress of Co-operative Societies recently concluded in Tokyo, which brought together 12,000 delegates representing 2,850,000 co-operators throughout the country. The detailed report of the Congress, which has just reached this country through the All-American Co-operative Commission of Cleveland, shows that there are now 13,770 co-operative societies in Japan, grouped in 178 district federations. A majority of these co-operatives are peasants' and workers' banks or credit unions. These people's banks not only handle money and furnish credit for workers and farmers, but also engage in the institutions in Japan, mobilizing the funds of the people under their own control for their use in co-operative productive enterprises as well as consumers' stores.

The Japanese Co-operative Congress passed a resolution declaring for a central co-operative bank, and has petitioned the government to bring a bill authorizing such an institution before the next session of parliament. The Congress was addressed by the Japanese Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Baron Yamamoto, who stated that "the co-operative societies are the most progressive and promising factor in the national economic development."

Educational Comment and Notes

Announcement of Courses

given in
WORKERS' UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL
Irving Place and 16th Street
and
UNITY CENTERS

SIXTH SESSION
1922-1923

(Continued from Last Week)

VII. ENGLISH

1. **Public Speaking**.....
This course has the following aims: 1. To teach the student how to organize his speech-material; 2. To develop in him the physical and mental habits of effective delivery; 3. To familiarize him with the routine of parliamentary procedure.
(To be arranged)

VIII. SPECIAL COURSES

1. **Special Courses for Union Officials**
2. **Office Management and Office Accounting**
3. **Financial System in the I. L. C. W. U.**.....F. Nathan Wolf
Financial system in the International office, in the local offices and in the Joint Boards. Explanation of origin and use of all records employed.

IX. ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

A study of the surface, climate, resources, occupations and transportation of the important countries of the world, emphasizing the U. S. In dealing with these topics, the relation between each one of them and the personal and social life of the workers will be analyzed.
(To be arranged)

ADDITIONAL COURSES TO BE ANNOUNCED

COURSES TO BE GIVEN IN THE UNITY CENTERS 1922-1923

I. LABOR AND UNIONISM

1. **Current Problems and Tendencies of the Labor Movement**. Max Levin
In this course special attention will be given to the aims, problems and form of organization of the I. L. C. W. U.
2. **History of the Labor Movement in the United States**. Theresa Wolfson
A comparative study of the development of industries in this country and the rise of the Labor Movement.
3. **Current Economic and Labor Problems**.....Theresa Wolfson
A study of current economic problems arising each week in the industrial world and the Labor Movement.
4. **Some Problems of the Working Woman**.....Theresa Wolfson
A survey of the working woman's position in our political, social and economic world.
5. **Trade Unionism in the United States**.....Margaret Daniels
Survey of the beginnings of trade unionism in the United States and the industrial conditions responsible for its growth.
6. **Trade Unionism in Present-Day Germany**.....Margaret Daniels
What the organized workers in Germany are aiming at and accomplishing.

II. APPLIED ECONOMICS

1. **Economic Problems and the Workers**.....Solon DeLeon
Examination of the modern industrial and financial system to show its direct bearings on the lives and conditions of the working people.
2. **How Men Make a Living**.....A. L. Wilbert
This course will attempt to indicate:
a. The origin of the sources of income.
b. The present status of each class of income.
c. The relation of the Labor Movement to each income class; and,
d. The probable future of each income class.
3. **Modern Economic Institutions**.....A. L. Wilbert
A study of the modern bank, insurance company, market, railroad, etc.

III. APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY

1. **Social Applications of Psychology**.....Margaret Daniels
Practical application of the main facts of social psychology to daily problems of workers.

IV. ENGLISH

1. **Classes in Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced English**
Three evenings weekly, all centers.
2. **High School English**
Four evenings weekly, all centers. Teachers assigned by the Board of Education.

V. COURSES IN CIVICS—ALL CENTERS

VI. HEALTH—ALL CENTERS

Lectures and Discussions on Care of Health, etc.

Lectures assigned by Bureau of Industrial Hygiene, Board of Health.

VII. PHYSICAL TRAINING

Weekly Gymnasium Work.

Teachers assigned by the Board of Education. All Centers.

ADDITIONAL COURSES TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER.

Extracts from a Report Submitted to the Conference of Sixteen of the National Trade Unions of Great Britain

At a conference convened by the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"This conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when the trade union movement should carefully consider the best and most economical means of meeting the educational needs of its members. It therefore approves the appointment of a committee from the members of the conference to consider and report to the bodies represented at the conference, and to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress."

Sixteen of the national trade unions represented at the conference approved the resolution and elected representatives to serve on the committee.

Note.—The Committee responsible for the report is a representative trade union committee. Its report and recommendations, therefore, represent the conclusion of the committee and in no way the educational bodies referred to in the report. The committee ventures to hope, however, that these educational bodies to which, in addition to the trade union movement as a whole, the report will be submitted will consider their policy in relation to the report and find it possible to co-operate in the way suggested.

Since the inauguration of Ruskin College in 1899, trade union interest in the education of the workers has surely though slowly developed. The National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation have made themselves jointly responsible for the Labor College, an increasing number of unions are providing scholarships to the Labor College and Ruskin College, and affiliation to the W. E. T. U. C., the Fabian League, or the Scottish Labor College has become a fairly common practice.

The importance of doing so has been expressed by Mr. Arthur Pugh, chairman of the W. E. T. U. C., at its conference held on October 16, and we venture to submit the following extract from his address:

"It may be thought that the many difficulties facing the trade union movement make it inopportune to ask it to consider educational problems. Yet those who hold positions of responsibility know that the very circumstances that make it appear inopportune only throw into bold relief the pressing need for courageously facing them.

"A century ago trade unions were still regarded as pariahs of society. Twenty-eight years ago, after more than two centuries development, they numbered in the United Kingdom little more than one and a half millions. Today they number about eight millions, constitut-

ing a movement that is rapidly making history, feared and respected by employers, the confident and advisors, as also the effective critics, of Cabinets and Governments, the makers and administrators of laws. Yet although trade unionism is now accepted by the State, and is having imposed on it continuously additional functions and responsibilities, no real attempt has been made by the State to provide suitable educational facilities to equip its members for their new tasks and responsibilities. It is in the nature of things that this should be so. The trade unions, in co-operation with other working class organizations, must devise their own educational organization on lines that will enable them to control it, yet at the same time on such sound educational principles as will justify them in claiming grant aid towards the cost of tuition. Millions per year are granted from the Treasury to equip the experts who run capitalist industries. While granting the necessity for this, we claim that the trade union movement also requires its trained expert advocates, its instructors, and leaders, and what is equally important, an educational membership and public funds should be available in our efforts to attain it. We can conceive of no reason why this claim, submitted so far as we know for the first time, should not be conceded. To ask trade unions to undertake the total cost of providing educational facilities of their members is to propose imposing on their funds an intolerable financial burden. To ask them to avail themselves of the ordinary educational facilities is equally impracticable. * * * Their desire, to build up their own educational movement, work out their own salvation in the world of thought, as they are endeavoring to do in the world of action, while at the same time willing and desirous of enlisting the co-operation of the best minds and best educational institutions in the task."

Nothing illustrates the new power of trade unionism more strikingly than the way in which the series of attacks made on the movement during the last three decades not only failed in their objectives but gave to it a new stimulus, won for it a new social status, and enormously increased its membership.

(Continued Next Week)

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

Thanking the Board of Education

Our last convention, at Cleveland, Ohio, passed the following resolution in recognition of the splendid aid being offered by the New York Board of Education to the educational work conducted by the International Union:

Whereas the Board of Education of the City of New York has co-operated with our Educational Depart-

ment in its attempt to teach English to our foreign-born members, and

Whereas, To achieve this purpose the Board of Education has made it possible for us to organize Unity Centers in the Public Evening Schools and has provided teachers of English for these classes, and

Whereas, The Board of Education

has also made it possible for us to provide for the health of our members by organizing classes in physical training and providing teachers for these, and

Whereas, The Board of Education has facilitated our work by giving our classes the use of rooms in public school buildings, be it

Resolved, That the Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in the City

of Cleveland in May, 1922, express its gratitude and appreciation to the Board of Education of the City of New York for its support and co-operation, and be it further

Resolved, That this Convention express its thanks to the Superintendent of Schools of the City of New York, the Director of Evening Schools and the Director of Community and Recreation Centers, for their wholehearted support and co-operation.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

Meeting August 2, 1922—

Brother Berlin is Chair

Upon opening the meeting, a committee representing the Society for Technical Aid for Soviet Russia, appeared before the Board, stating that the above said Society consists of members who organized themselves for the purpose of going to Russia, and operate a clothing factory, with an interest for Soviet Russia. As they must take machinery from here to Russia, they therefore appealed to the Joint Board for a donation, in order to purchase machinery.

Upon motion, a committee consisting of Brother Berlin, Sisters Wellowitz and Goodman was appointed to investigate the Society for Technical Aid for Soviet Russia.

Brother Hochman, manager of the Joint Board, reported as follows:

IN THE MATTER OF DORFMAN & WISSEN

The Board of Directors has already made a decision in reference to this shop, namely, to call the shop down on strike as soon as the office finds it necessary. Brother Hochman believes that such a strike must be called immediately, in view of the fact that the firm is making preparations to do away, if possible, with the Union shops entirely. Since now is the beginning of the season, Brother Hochman believes it would be the most opportune time to take action against this firm.

Brother Hochman further reported that he made arrangements to declare a strike against this firm on Wednesday morning, August 2, and to order all shops of this firm, numbering about 60 or 60, on strike Wednesday at 10 A. M. In order to accompany the strikers, we have arranged to have the main hall of the Rand School, and have assigned Brother Friedman to attend to this work exclusively.

IN RE CONFERENCE WITH EMBROIDERY MANUFACTURERS

Brother Hochman reported that a conference was held with the Embroiderers' Association. At said conference, Brother Hochman submitted an agreement of the manufacturers' association, and it was agreed and understood that the employers are to give a reply not later than the beginning of next week. A representative of Local 66 was present at the conference. A letter has also been sent to the independent embroidery manufacturers asking for renewal of agreements.

IN RE DRESS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

Brother Hochman further reported that he had several conferences with the President, Vice-President and Chief Clerk of the Dress Manufacturers' Association.

COMPLAINT OF LOCAL NO. 89 VS. LOCAL NO. 60

As per decision rendered at the last meeting of the Board of Directors, Brother Hochman held a conference with Brothers Schechter and Antolini, and it was agreed upon that hereafter Local 89 will register the members of Local 89 who are out of work, and that Local 60 for its part, will call upon Local 89 for pressers, in proportion to their membership, and the number of unemployed.

Upon motion the foregoing report of Brother Hochman was approved.

As per decision of the Joint Board, Brother Hochman presented a summary of plans for our Union. At the

very outset, Brother Hochman very clearly emphasized the situation our Union is facing, which is a serious one, for about six or eight months to come.

The present relations between the jobber, who does not operate an inside factory, the manufacturer, who gradually disappears from playing a part in the industry, and the number of contractors, which is increasing daily; and in order to have control of the industry, and not only to observe the growth and change which keep on developing, it requires a great deal of vision, foresight and finances to keep up pace.

Brother Hochman advised that we make preparations for 1923. Our preparations should be first to establish in our industry, once and for all the time, the system of week work. We may expect to have not only the manufacturers against us, but some of our own members as well. However, it is our duty as leaders of the Organization to have the evils of piece work abolished, as they are undermining not only the earnings of the workers, but their health as well. As a matter of fact, a certain number of cloakmakers who stubbornly opposed the change in their industry from piece to week work, are now cherishing this system of work, and as far as is known, they would not go back to work as piece workers. The history of our Union proves that our moral is good. We came out the victors of many a battle. Once we make up our minds that the week work system would benefit our workers and strengthen the organization, we must then bring this gospel and spirit to our members in order that they may be with us.

Brother Hochman stated further that we must enlighten our members on the proposition, that it is very likely that we will have great obstacles in our mission, as far as the manufacturers are concerned. He pointed out that the strike of 1921 lasted fourteen weeks, although a great number of strikers returned to work on the third and fourth week, nevertheless the Union, at that time, was obliged to spend about three-quarters of a million dollars for this strike.

Here Brother Hochman informed the Board that a meeting was held of all the Local Secretaries, the Secretary of the Joint Board, including himself, where the financial condition of our Joint Board was discussed. It was agreed upon to recommend to the Joint Board that we levy an assessment upon our membership. The committee in session considered that there are assessments amounting to \$6.50, which are to be paid to the International, therefore it was agreed upon to recommend to the Joint Board, that in order not to overburden our members with various assessments, one assessment should be levied; this assessment should be known as the One Half Million Dollar Assessment. Each one of our members should be assessed with \$20.00, of which one-third should go to the respective Locals affiliated with our Joint Board, in order to cover the International assessment, and the remaining two-thirds should go to the treasury of the Joint Board. As our agreement expires in February, it is therefore urgent that this proposed assessment be collected

from our members in the near future.

Brother Hochman went on, saying that our membership does not know the workings of our Joint Board. It is our duty to find a mere direct way in order to get the members interested in the affairs of our Union. It is true that the Joint Board is to direct the business of our membership. He believes that at the present time the members have segregated, which is very injurious to the Organization. If we are to prosper, we must have the co-operation of the great mass of our members, and in order to do this, we must bring about a spirit, that the courage for the Organization should be accompanied with enthusiasm. He therefore suggested that the Joint Board decide upon monthly shop meetings. These shop meetings should be called for the purpose of considering different questions concerning our Organization. He believes that our members should understand that these meetings called by the Union are for the purpose of taking up important questions in reference to our industry, and that no foreign issues be injected.

Brother Hochman concluded that he is convinced that if the Joint Board will adopt the propositions, the members will realize who their common enemy is and will adopt proper measures to combat.

A lively discussion arose, in which many officers and delegates participated.

Proposition No. 1, the recommendation of which is that our Joint Board bring about the change of the system of work from piece to week work.

Upon motion made and seconded, it was decided to adopt the recommendation, and the office was instructed to make preparations for propaganda, for our members to understand the good it will do when this change will take place.

Proposition No. 2, which calls for Joint Board to levy the assessment.

Upon motion made and seconded, it was decided that the Joint Board levies a \$20 assessment for all the

members of the Locals affiliated with our Joint Board, which should be paid in the following manner: \$10 should be paid in until January 1, 1923, and the balance of \$10 should be paid within six months, it being understood that the Board of Directors make the necessary arrangements as to the details.

Proposition No. 3, which calls for a shop chairmen's body.

Upon motion made to concur in the recommendation, same was carried. The Board of Directors were instructed to work out a plan how to have the shop chairmen meetings regular and well-attended; also rules to govern these meetings.

IN RE CUTTERS

Brother Hochman called the attention of the Joint Board to the neglect of our members in overlooking the interests of the cutters. He pointed out that those members who are responsible for the carrying out of the Union rules, do not pay the due attention to the employment of Union cutters in the shops. He therefore urged upon the Joint Board, that hereafter it should be made known to the shop chairmen that they will be held strictly accountable for any and all violations in the respective shops, regardless of what department the shop belongs to.

APPEAL TO THE JOINT BOARD

In order that we may obtain the best possible results for our Organization, Brother Hochman urged that we all work harmoniously, and that we do away with Union politics. Furthermore, he pleaded that we do away with the present group delegations, but instead become more assimilated. In that way, we will understand that above all, the Organization is first.

In conclusion, Brother Hochman invited all those who have plans for constructive work and suggestions of benefit to the Organization to submit same openly, as he is ready for honest criticism, and if an error be committed, he will be ready to admit the fault and try to do better in the future.

Longer Work Hours in Holland

The Dutch Parliament adopted in its entirety the bill submitted by the Minister of Labor amending labor law of 1919.

Already before the General Labor Conference at Washington in 1917, the Dutch Government in view of the danger of revolution at that time, passed what is called the "Labor Law," providing for a legal 45-hour week and an 8-hour working day. This has now been altered to a 48-hour week and an 8 1/2-hour day. Furthermore the Minister has the power to grant exemptions from the provisions of the law in those cases where the employers and workers agree to such a course. It is stipulated, however, that the number of working hours may not exceed 2,500 per year. The actual effect of this stipulation, therefore, is that the limits of the normal working day may be exceeded, provided the regulation concerning the maximum number of working hours per year is observed.

The law in its amended form is a retrograde step and a concession to the reactionary tendencies which have been very much in evidence in Holland recently.

Outside Parliament the employers are openly demanding a 10-hour day while their spokesmen in Parliament are endeavoring to obtain their ends by trying to give what they call a more elastic application to that part of the Labor Law which regulates the hours of labor. This they hope to do by eliminating as far as possible government control in connection with the granting of licenses for

over-time and by inserting in the Labor Law special stipulations for certain branches of industry. They have even gone so far as to propose to increase the maximum number of working hours per year to 2,800, including over-time.



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The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

At the last General Meeting Brother Max Stoller, President of the organization, made the appointment of Vice-President. The vice-presidency has been vacant for quite some time and it was only after a few efforts on the part of the chairman that he was finally able to make the appointment.

The very first effort that he made, in appointing Brother Max Silverstein, was unsuccessful, the brother in question declining the honor on the ground that the appointment was concurred in by only one vote for which reason he felt he could not serve. The second attempt on the part of the chairman was unsuccessful at the very start, as Brother Michael Ondusko, the appointee, declined the honor before it was taken to a vote. Finally, Brother Stoller was able to make his appointment. This was concurred in with no dissenting vote as the man appointed was Brother Julius Samuels who has been active in this organization for quite a number of years and served as business agent and secretary-treasurer of Local No. 10 at various times. We hope that Brother Samuels will serve as ably in the capacity of vice-chairman as he has in other offices in the past.

The General Executive Board will hold its second quarterly meeting beginning Thursday of this week and ending Saturday. As our membership grows, Brother Dubinsky, who is a Vice-President of the International, will be absent from the office during the above named days, to attend this important meeting.

One of the topics that will come up for discussion at this session will be the results achieved by the Cloak Makers of New York in this last stoppage. Undoubtedly, the General Executive Board will have a lively discussion on the matter, as it is quite a subject for studying results accomplished by this strike.

Among other subjects that will be taken up are the Out-of-Town organization work, and the situation in the Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous trades. Especially to the last two mentioned will the General Executive Board have to give careful attention, as the situation in these trades is deplorable and it will require very close consideration to see what can be done to place these trades on a better basis.

The office is at present very busy on account of the Cloak Strike, and in the absence of Brother Dubinsky at the meeting of the General Executive Board, Brother Sherkov will be at the office to attend to business. However, Brother Dubinsky will be found in the office on Saturday to take care of business awaiting him.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The percentage of normalcy in the Cloak and Suit Industry, due to the strike, has attained about seventy-five per cent. Out of the 2,300 or more shops originally called out on strike, about 1,500 have settled and the workers of these shops gone back to work. Among the latter are included 1,900 cutters who have returned with the rest of the workers of the various shops. Consequently, there are about 700 shops still out on strike, and since there were about 2,300 cutters registered, it can be deducted that the remaining 400 or 500 cutters will be placed to work as soon as these shops are settled, which is expected, will be in a week or so. These figures plainly show that in a week or two the real season will begin and there

will again be a shortage of cloak and suit cutters, as has been the case in the past.

There have been a few houses settled which have started in to work and are trying to play their original game of not employing any cutter, although they have obligated themselves to employ cutters by signing the agreement. This state of affairs will not be tolerated by our organization and already three men have been put on the job to work directly from Local 10's office to see that these do not continue unapprehended.

For the first time a man has been assigned in Brownsville to take care of matters there and it is expected that Brother Jacob Lukin, the man in question, will succeed in his efforts in this direction. Also, the Organization Committee includes one of our men who is watching to see that no shop returns to work unless at least one cutter goes with the rest of the workers.

Brother Sfias, who is a member of the Executive Board from the Cloak and Suit Division of our organization is taking care of this end, with a number of others to assist him. There is no doubt but that Brother Sfias is attending to his duties capably and is achieving the results that are expected from him.

The activities of the strike, as far as the cutters are concerned, have been removed from Arlington Hall and are at present centered at our own headquarters, 231 East 14th St. Calls for cutters are continually coming in and all those who are unemployed should present themselves at the office so that they may be sent up to work as soon as possible.

Aside from the calls that are coming in directly from the manufacturers, a number of positions are being filled through the efforts of the men who have been sent out from our own office to control such shops as we may suspect do not employ any cutter. Drastic action will be taken in such cases where this violation of the agreement is found to exist. The Joint Board also is trying to co-operate with our local as well as with the others composing the Joint Board and expects to increase its staff so that the maximum results may be obtained.

The Regular Meeting of the Cloak and Suit Branch for the month of August took place last Monday. Although the meeting had a very good attendance at the start, it gradually dwindled down to a mere handful of men who remained to transact business. It can be seen from this that the majority of the members are attending the meetings simply to avoid being fined for non-attendance and not actually to transact business. This state of affairs will not be permitted and the Executive Board will surely take steps to put a stop to it.

The reason why the books have heretofore been stamped before the close of meetings was that the weather has been very warm these last few meetings and the members were given an opportunity to leave a bit earlier. However, as soon as the cool weather sets in this will not be practiced any longer and the members will be expected to remain for the duration of meetings.

Although many sets of minutes had accumulated from May, June and July, which were supposed to have been read at this meeting, the reading of the minutes from May and June was dispensed with and only those of July were gone through. These were accepted with the exception of the case of Brother Max Fishkin, who

was fined \$10.00 by the Executive Board for working overtime in May and June, when the entire industry is slow, even though he had room to place another cutter to work. This fine would not have been lifted by the body were it not for the fact that the bulk of the membership, as has been previously noted, left before business was transacted. As it was, only a few remained, among whom were a number of personal friends of the brother in question, who naturally were instrumental in defeating the recommendation of the Executive Board.

WAIST AND DRESS

At the last meeting of the Executive Board it was decided that the next

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION IN NORWAY

(Continued from Page 8)

agreed to on condition, however, that the act would only remain in force temporarily. In conformity with this decision the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions called upon the Social Democratic as well as the Communist factions in Parliament to vote for the act. The Employers' Association also on this occasion was absolutely opposed to the act. During the parliamentary proceedings the validity of the law, which the government had originally proposed for five years, was fixed for one year. Moreover the government proposed a new composition of the Court of Arbitration, that is to say, the number of members of the court was to be seven instead of five. This proposal was also rejected and the Court of Arbitration was composed in the same manner as hitherto. Of the five members of the court the government appointed three members, the Employers' Association and the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions one member each.

It appears that opinion among the workers is very much divided with regard to the usefulness of compulsory arbitration.

A conference of all sections of

meeting of the Waist and Dress Branch is to be a Special Meeting, to discuss the levying of a \$20.00 assessment upon all Waist and Dress cutters, as suggested by the Joint Board.

All cutters of this division are therefore urged to be present at the meeting which will be held on Monday, August 14th, at Arlington Hall. The Executive Board has extended an invitation to General Manager Julius Hochman of the Joint Board to be present at this meeting and address the cutters. It is expected that Brother Hochman will explain to the cutters his intended activities for the industry as a whole and for the cutters in particular. There is no doubt but that this will be a very interesting meeting.

one national organization, for example, expressed its dissatisfaction with the result of negotiations conducted by the representatives of the Norwegian Federation.

The Communists justified their attitude towards the act in view of the prevailing economic depression and great unemployment. In their opinion it would be the best course under present conditions if a truce were concluded, and if the workers were to use the law on compulsory arbitration as a "weapon of defense" against the attempts of the Employers' Association to reduce wages.

The Social Democratic representatives in Parliament declared that they had voted for the law with considerable misgiving. They had done so chiefly because the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions had urgently called upon them to do so in writing.

Organized labor would adopt another attitude towards the law if by so doing they would not come into conflict with the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions. Like the Communists they are opposed on principle to the law concerning the compulsory application of awards, and reserve the right to take any action they think fit when the question of extending the act again arises at the end of one year.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Special Waist and Dress Meeting.....Monday, August 14th
Purpose: To take up the levying of a \$20 assessment
on all Waist and Dress Cutters.
Miscellaneous Meeting.....Monday, August 14th
General.....Monday, August 28th

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.