

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."
—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORK

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BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS IN GENERAL STRIKE

LIVELY ACTIVITY AMONG NEW YORK DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS — UNION
WILL CONDUCT CAMPAIGN FOR WEEK WORK — TO RAISE
HALF-MILLION DOLLAR STRIKE FUND.

Now it is the turn of the Joint Board in the Waist and Dress Industry of New York. It is high time, indeed, that the dressmakers of New York put their organization on a 100 per cent basis. To accomplish this purpose, the Joint Board has set in motion an all-embracing plan of campaign.

The beginning of this activity was made by the Joint Board a few weeks ago, when it was decided to take down a strike all the shops, 80 in number, working for the big jobbing firm, Dorfman & Wiesen. This strike, which involves over a hundred workers, was decided upon to force the firm to live up to its agreement with the Union, which called for strictly union shops. After this strike will have come to an end, the Union will tackle other firms which have been violating their agreements with the organization, until it will bring home to these jobbers and manufacturers the conviction that an agreement must be observed, and that an agreement with the Union is not any less enforceable than any other agreement.

GENERAL STRIKE OF BONNAZ EMBROIDERY WORKERS

As reported in JUSTICE last week, the Waist and Dress Joint Board has had conferences with the embroidery

manufacturers for the purpose of renewing the collective agreement in the trade. One of these conferences, at which President Schlesinger was also present, was held Tuesday a week ago, and another conference was held last Monday. It would seem, nevertheless, that the obstinacy

of the employers could not be overcome at the conference table. The embroidery bosses were determined to reduce the work standards in the trade and the workers were equally determined not to permit this to happen.

(Continued on Page 2)

Schlesinger Leaves for British Trade Union Congress

INSPIRING BON VOYAGE DINNER LAST SATURDAY NIGHT

On Tuesday morning, August 15, President Schlesinger left for England to attend the British Trade Union Congress as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor, to which he was unanimously elected by the Cincinnati Convention last June. He left on the Mauretania of the Cunard Line and expects to arrive in Southampton within six days. The British Congress will meet at Southport, England, on September 4.

President Schlesinger received a warm and cordial send-off from his many friends and admirers in the labor movement, and a large crowd

of leading men in our organization came to see him off on Tuesday, before the steamer left, filling his cabin with floral pieces and fruit baskets.

THE BON VOYAGE DINNER

The farewell banquet for President Schlesinger on Saturday evening, August 12, under the auspices of the New York members of the General Executive Board, was a very interesting and impressive affair. It took place at Officers' Restaurant, 102 West 38th Street, and was attended by 250 persons.

It was the most representative gathering of men and women in the labor movement seen in New York for

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in Chicago

Board of the Cloak- makers of Chicago was com- menced a strike against the duckerman & Gabeiner, a few ago. The reason for the strike was the violation by the firm of union rules and the employment of non-union workers.

The decision to call a strike in the shop of this firm is being regarded as the beginning of a campaign commenced by the Organization Committee of the Chicago Joint Board against the non-union nests which have been multiplying in the industry in the last two or three years. One by one, the shops will be tackled until their evil influence is permanently eliminated from the local industry.

The attention of the Chicago cloak-makers is called to this strike and they are requested to aid the Organization Committee in its task to put the trade in Chicago on a 100 per cent union basis.

There were delegations present from practically every central labor body and international union in New York City, in addition to a number of guests especially invited, who came to pay their respects and homage to President Schlesinger.

The speakers of the evening, of whom there were no less than fifteen, stressed in particular the importance of the mission entrusted by the American Federation of Labor to President Schlesinger in having selected him as its delegate to the greatest labor gathering on the European continent. It was an inexhaustible theme and practically every speaker returned to it, dwelling upon the history of our Union, its rise to a place of distinction and honor in the Federation, and the culminating point of President Schlesinger's choice at Cincinnati.

The toastmaster of the evening was Vice President Israel Feinberg and the speakers in succession were the following: Max Pine, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Hugh Frayne, organizer of the American Federation of Labor in New York; Morris Kaufman, President of the Furriers International Union; Ruben Guskin, President of the Workmen's Circle; Miss Sara Conboy, General Secretary of the United Textile Workers; Harry Lang, Labor Editor of the Forward; Max Ambur, General Manager of the Cloakmakers' Union of Philadelphia; Joseph Goldstein, representing the Bakers' Union of New York; Salvatore Ninio, First Vice President of the International; S. Yanofsky, editor of "Gerechtigkeit"; Morris Hillquit, attorney of the International Union, and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

The last speaker of the evening was President Schlesinger, who began by saying that he will never, as long as he lives, forget the honor accorded to him at this evening. "After I have returned," I shall leave it to you, my friends and comrades in the labor movement, whether I have honestly and faithfully carried out the mission entrusted to me by the American labor movement," were his final remarks.

New York Cloak Stop- page Almost Ended

CLOAK WAGE COMMISSION READY FOR WORK—NORMAN HAPGOOD, IMPARTIAL CHAIRMAN—VICE PRESIDENT FEINBERG IN SCHLESINGER'S PLACE ON COMMISSION UNTIL LATTER'S RETURN FROM EUROPE.

The cloak stoppage in New York City is rapidly coming to an end. All told, there are about a thousand workers, formerly employed in the small shops, left without jobs and the Union is doing its utmost to place these men at machines. It is a question of a few days before the entire affair is wound up.

The Union is making an appeal to all the cloakmakers in the settled shops to make room for those less fortunate brothers of theirs who have not been able to secure employment as yet. The plea is made particularly to those men in shops where they are already beginning to work overtime and where the engagement of a few more operators and finishers would not in the least jeopardize the well-being of the workers.

CLOAK WAGE COMMISSION FILLED

The Cloak Wage Commission, charged by the terms of the last settlement in the New York cloak industry, to make a thorough investigation of the earnings of the cloak-makers, has been completed now.

As our readers know, President Schlesinger was unanimously elected by the Joint Board of the Cloak-makers' Union to be its representative on the Commission. A week ago, the Protective Association informed the Union that it has designated Mr. R. Bassett, a well-known industrial engineer, as its member on the Commission. Early this week these two members united on Mr. Norman Hapgood as the third impartial member of the Commission, who is to act as Chairman of the Investigation Commission.

Norman Hapgood is a prominent figure in American journalism and a man well known for his liberal and broad-minded principles. In the absence of President Schlesinger in Europe, his place will be filled by Vice President Israel Feinberg, the General Manager of the Cloak Joint Board. Co-operating with the Commission on the part of the Union, will be Mr. Morris Hillquit, and from the Association, Mr. William Klein, the attorney of the Protective Association. The Wage Commission will proceed to work at once.

International Starts Organi- zation Drive in New York

Last week, we reported in these columns that an Eastern Organization Department was started by the International under the management of Vice-President Halpern. This department, however, is devoting its efforts exclusively to shops located out of town.

The question of the unorganized shops in the women's wear industry in New York City proper came up last week at the quarterly meeting of the G. E. B. at Edgemere, Long Island, and it was brought out that there are hundreds of shops in New York City, where dresses, waists, underwear, corsets, petticoats and similar apparel are being produced that are totally unorganized. The workers in these shops are employed under miserable conditions.

The General Executive Board thereupon decided to appoint a committee of three members to work out plans for an organization campaign in New York City. The following vice-presidents are on this committee: Israel Feinberg, Sol Seidman and Meyer Perlestein. The committee has already held a meeting this week at the office of the International, and has prepared tentative plans for this organization drive.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

THE NEW OUTLOOK OF THE RAIL STRIKE

AS the rail strike continues the companies are undergoing a marked change of heart and mind. They are not so confident that they can run trains minus the strikers. A plaintive note is clearly heard in their boastful and over-confident assertions that they are reorganizing the labor force in the railroad factories. They even show a willingness to abandon their holy war against the strikers, and to modify their pledges of loyalty and gratitude to the strikebreakers.

The reason for this change of mind is clearly found in the fact that the strike has ceased to be the concern merely of the shompen, but that it involves all the railroad unions, particularly the Four Big Brotherhoods. To the companies solidarity among the railroad workers was purely an oratorical threat. Early in the strike when the shompen were deserted by the maintenance of way men, the telegraphers, the clerks, when the Brotherhood chiefs maintained a discreet silence, the companies, on the advice of the Labor Board, jubilantly threw themselves into a relentless war against the "outlaw" unions and determined to teach labor a lesson. They rejected the President's proposal for compromise and pledged undying loyalty to the newly recruited strikebreakers. The government supplied them with soldiers to "guard" and "protect" their property and scabs. The non-striking workers became restive under these conditions. Accidents occurred. Some union workers were shot. Many were abused. Protests began to pour into their union headquarters. The situation became so critical that the union chiefs authorized them to quit work when they found conditions intolerable. As a result walkouts occurred in different parts of the country which completely tied up transportation. The companies and the press raised a howl of anger, disappointment and fear. They realized that the strike is not what they had expected it to be.

Except for W. G. Lee, president of the trainmen, who ordered the men on the Santa Fe to return to work, the other Brotherhood chiefs are supporting the walkouts. They have also been conferring with President Harding in an effort to induce him to bring about a settlement favorable to the workers.

President Harding has thus far failed to bring about a settlement. His plan No. 1, recommending the restoration of seniority rights to the strikers, was rejected by the companies. His plan No. 2, recommending that this issue be decided by the Labor Board, which had demonstrated its loyalty to the companies, was rejected by the workers. He is said to be working now on a plan No. 3. The intimations are that the President will come to the aid of the companies and will call for "volunteers" to take the place of the strikers. Whether he will first seek the authority of Congress or act on his own behalf is not certain at this writing. But it is certain that in case he adopts such a plan it will prove as futile as his other plans to settle the rail and mine strikes.

NEARING A SETTLEMENT OF THE COAL STRIKE

WHEN these lines are read the miners' strike will probably be over. The confidence with which representatives of both sides predict an early settlement of the strike shows that the most vital points of the agreement have already been accepted. Similarly the conference which began in Philadelphia, on August 16, between the anthracite operators and miners is also looked forward to as leading toward a settlement.

It is unofficially stated that the new agreement would provide for the re-establishment of the wage scales that were effective last April 1, and the new contract would run until next March 31. It was also decided to establish a fact-finding commission of advisory powers for dealing with future negotiations in the soft coal industry. The commission would be chosen by miners and operators, with the personnel to be approved by the President.

What can be readily seen at this writing is that the miners have won a great and lasting victory, and have furnished to American labor a glorious example of solidarity and fighting resourcefulness. After four and a half months of bitter struggle against a sinister band of coal barons who have at their disposal the press, the courts, the state militia and the federal troops, the miners are as determined and unwavering in their aim as they had been in the first days of the strike. The government, with the aid of its "best" minds, failed to break the strike. In fact the American miners have shown that they are better fighters than their British brothers. While the miners in England were compelled to "give up" after an 11 weeks' strike, the miners in this country have compelled the operators to "give up" and accede to their demands.

THE SUGAR SENATOR

THE tariff debates in the Senate have revealed various types of Senators. A few weeks ago the wool Senators who devised legislation for enriching the wool magnates, among whom are many of the Senators, by robbing the public had the light of publicity directed upon them. Thanks to the New York World light is now directed on the sugar Senators, headed by Senator Reed Smoot, of Utah, whose schemes are among the most sinister in recent political history.

Senator Smoot, with the co-operation of the Harding Administration, is involved, according to The World, in a scheme to jack up the tariff on sugar so as to insure a "profitable return" to American sugar barons. Secretary Herbert Hoover and General Crowder, the President's personal representative in Cuba, have directly aided the Senator in his nefarious work. Several months ago General Crowder transmitted the Senator's ultimatum to the Cuban government. It said: "Limit sugar, your most important and practically your sole crop, to 2,500,000 tons. If you do not do this you will get a terrifically high tariff." The annual sugar crop of Cuba is 5,000,000 tons. Thus, Senator Smoot tried to coerce that country to limit its most important crops to half its normal size. President Zaxas of Cuba rejected the Senator's ultimatum, and as a result a high tariff on Cuban sugar is certain to be passed by the Senate within a week.

The interconnection between economics and politics, or more specifically, the underlying reason of Senator Smoot's sugar tariff policy is seen from the following facts: Although a good Christian the Senator nevertheless

is a trusted counsellor and adviser of the Mormon Church which believes in polygamy and high profits. This church is heavily interested in the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company of which his brother is general labor manager.

THE BREAK-UP OF STILL ANOTHER CONFERENCE

ON Monday, August 8, the conference of allied premiers opened in London to work out a program of meeting some of the greatest European problems. A week later it broke down as did the preceding conferences.

The rock upon which the conference has thus come to grief was Poincaré's refusal to accept any solution of the German moratorium question short of new guarantees of what the French call a protective and what the British and most of the other delegates call a punitive character. The French Premier was in a minority of one.

The disagreement between the British and French views dates back to the Peace Conference. It re-occurred at every conference. It was responsible for the collapse of many of them. But it wasn't acrimonious enough to break the entente between the two countries. Despite the disagreements, deadlocks, crisis, disorganization and chaos the various governments still succeed in maintaining their powers and connections. So far they have successfully dodged every crisis and permit in doing so.

The only government in Europe that has a single purpose and frantically drives toward its attainment is the French. That purpose is the enslavement of Germany. All other purposes are subordinate. Thus far it has succeeded to force England and the other allies to serve its aim. It has threatened to act alone in case the other governments contemplate any change. The British government has at the recent London conference proposed that the German indemnity be cut. But the French would not hear to it. The conference broke up, but does that mean that the other allies will part company with the French?

Bonnaz Embroiderers in General Strike

(Continued from Page 1.)

On Tuesday afternoon, this question was brought up squarely to the workers at a mass meeting in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 16th Street. The embroidery workers decided unanimously to go on strike in defense of their work conditions and the following morning, Wednesday, August 16th, a general strike in the bonnaz embroidery trade of New York took place.

The Waist and Dress Joint Board has had in mind to organize this general stoppage in the embroidery trade for quite some time past. The response to it in the shops was quite unanimous and within several hours after the call was issued, the trade in New York came to a standstill.

MONTHLY SHOP-CHAIRMAN MEETINGS

One of the recommendations presented by Brother Julius Hochman, the manager of the Waist and Dress Joint Board, was the introduction of the feature of monthly shop-chairman meetings, at which only union questions and trade problems are to be discussed. This recommendation was adopted and the first shop-chairman meeting is scheduled to take place next Thursday, August 24th, at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street.

Brother Harry Berlin, the chairman of the Joint Board, will preside at the meeting and among the speakers there will be Julius Hochman and Luigi Antonini, Secretary of Local No. 89.

WEEK-WORK FOR THE WAIST AND DRESS INDUSTRY

Another important and fundamental decision adopted by the Joint Board is for the beginning of an active agitation for week-work in the trade. Of course, that doesn't mean that the Joint Board intends to introduce week-work at once in the shops. It is to be expected that the employers will offer powerful and stubborn opposition to this plan and that the fight for week-work in the waist and dress industry will be no less bitter and protracted than the fight for the same reform in the cloak industry. It will also be necessary to conduct a widespread educational campaign among the waist and dressmakers to acquaint them with the advantages and benefits arising to the workers from week-work instead of piece-work. The week-work idea must become, first

of all, generally acceptable and popular among the workers themselves.

A \$200 TAX FOR A STRIKE FUND

The Joint Board in the Waist and Dress Trade finally came to the decision that without a substantial campaign fund no extensive activity is possible, and that if the Union is to introduce week-work in the waist and dress shops of New York, it must be well prepared for such a move, and must have a big treasury to enable it to go on with the work.

The Union, therefore, has decided to raise a Half a Million Dollar Fund. For this purpose, each member of the Union will be taxed \$20.00—\$10.00 to be paid in until January 1st, 1923, and the other \$10.00 to be paid during the six months ending June 30th, 1923. The members of the Union will surely not fail to realize the importance of the raising of such a fund. It will place the Union in the position of power and influence and will guard the work conditions of the workers in the shops.



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A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

This has been a week of theoretic peace-making. For five days the International Peace Congress met in London and debated the possibility of restoring order to the chaos of the world by reverting to the simple methods of kindness and brotherhood. Almost unanimously resolutions were passed on the abolition of armaments, on the control of war and peace policies by Parliament, on a sane policy for the reconstruction of Europe, on the formation of a real and more effective League of Nations. French and German and Italian and American and Czechoslovakian delegates met together with delegates from most of the other countries of the world, and by their mere meeting on terms of equality and friendship probably accomplished more than all the resolutions that were passed or the speeches that were made.

The "No More War" Demonstration. Then came the great "No More War" demonstration of Saturday, July 29, recalling ironically the war fever of the same week-end, eight years ago. Thousands walked through the streets of London to Hyde Park, where from eleven platforms the peace resolution, basing its hopes on internationalism, was again passed with practical unanimity. This was only one of many similar demonstrations held all over England and Wales and in parts of Scotland. Judging by the numbers who took part, the want of opposition, and the good press notices, one might have supposed that there had become indistinguishable from lambs and would never roar again.

Well, that is what one hopes. And yet—one wonders! For in Parliament the scaremongers who make wars have again won a victory in

securing an increased air force. A nation that economizes if its children's health and education, and allows thousands of its workers, especially when they are miners, to exist at the bare subsistence level while suicide and deaths from starvation increase everywhere, and then votes large sums for the creation of an armament that is absolutely useless except as a threat to our European neighbors, can scarcely be said to be luxuriating in sentiments of love and brotherhood, or actively sustaining the doctrines of peace.

One Hopeful Sign

But one hopeful thing stands out amid all this contradictory welter of pacifism and militarism. To-day's note from the British Government to the Allied Powers, virtually suggests that cancellation of inter-Allied debts—that is, the cancellation by Great Britain of the Allied debts to her—if the whole subject of war debts is reviewed as a whole, and the European aspect is not considered apart from the American aspect of the same question. In plain words, Great Britain offers to cancel the debts owed to her, if the United States will make a similar bold gesture and cancel, not only the debts that Great Britain owes her but also the other foreign debts that were guaranteed by Great Britain. This is a really constructive suggestion, and by far the most important step yet taken towards world peace. It is a political venture that fully completes a week of peace meetings and professions. For, although it may be demanded by Great Britain's sense of the cry of her unemployed and of the need for a restored European trade, at the same time it is a fact that it involves an actual financial sacrifice

by this country, and deserves generous consideration by America on that account.

Matters Abroad

Meanwhile, in France, M. Poincaré continues to breathe fire and thunder against the German note asking for a reduction of the monthly payment of two million marks. It is clear that unless this arch-war-monger, encouraged no doubt by Mr. Lloyd George's weakness in the past, alters his tone while he is in England next week, or is convinced that he will have the latter's support no longer, discussion of the European situation will be futile. He will upset the apple cart to find there are no apples left to pick up.

In Italy, the workers have taken a serious step in calling a general strike in order to defend their liberties against the increasingly savage attacks of the reactionaries, demonstrated by the unbridled terrorism of the Fascists. These are now said to be 200,000 strong; with the connivance of successive governments they have, during the past year, forcibly dissolved 900 Socialist municipal bodies, and have burned down 500 labour halls and co-operative stores. They are the Black-and-Tans of Italy, and it is said to be in fear of a reactionary government being formed as the outcome of the present political crisis in Italy that the workers have taken their dramatic step. As the Fascists openly threaten armed insurrection should the government attempt to interfere with them, the situation is a grave one.

The Greek situation is for the moment not quite clear. The Greek note, declaring that only the occupation of Constantinople by the Greek would bring about peace was answered by a British note warning them of the serious consequences of such a step. In reply to this the Greek Minister gave positive assurance that the Greek forces would not enter the neutral zone without Allied consent. Mr. Lloyd George has af-

firmed this in the House of Commons, while the French Press demands the blockade of Greek ports by British ships. There is a good deal of opposition in Labour circles here to the movement of British ships towards Constantinople.

In Egypt, the puppet Government set up by General Allenby and only kept in power by British armed support, continues to act against the Nationalists whose leader, Zaglul Pasha, it has deported, and whose house it has invaded and searched, submitting his wife to much indignity in the process. The publication in the English "Daily Herald" of the recent manifesto, for which the Egyptian National Delegations have been arrested, shows the kind of despotism we have installed in Egypt under the pretense of granting her independence. It states a series of facts that cannot be denied with regard to the present situation in Egypt; it is presumably the concluding sentences that have caused the Egyptian Government to suppress it as 'incitement to crime'; "Put on the British Government and the present Ministry," it says, "all responsibility for whatever may accrue of this tyrannical policy." It is not pleasant reading for those British people who are entirely opposed to the repeated refusal of their government to withdraw British forces altogether from Egypt and leave the country to the people to whom it belongs.

The present condition of Ireland, where, although the great majority of the people, including the great majority of Irish labor, are willing to try and make the Treaty work, however much they may have wished for a Republic, a state of civil strife obtains, would not appear to be an encouragement to a sane government to repeat its errors in Egypt and by its policy there to provoke it to become another Ireland.

Backing Up The Railroad Shopmen

By J. CHARLES LAUE

Public opinion, that intangible thing so often discussed by workers in times of strikes, would be even more strongly won by the striking railroad shopmen if the much discussed question of seniority were better understood. It is on these grounds that the railroad executives have twice blocked a settlement of the strike by the efforts of President Harding.

The railroad presidents, taking their cue from the tirade of Ben W. Hooper, chairman of the United States Railroad Labor Board in "outlawing" the shopmen soon after they declared their strike against an unjust decision on July 1, have placed the welfare of their strikebreakers to the front and will not consider any settlement that does not give the strikebreakers seniority rights above that of their striking veteran mechanics whom they would re-employ only as they could find place for them in the shops and round power houses.

In setting this forward as a basis for settlement, the railroad executives are following their usual practices of robbery, for the seniority is a possession of the worker and should not be destroyed at the whim of the road owners. Never in the history of organized labor on the American railroads has such a law been raised. It has increased the bitterness of the 400,000 boilermakers, machinists, blacksmiths, carmen, sheet metal workers, electricians and laborers more than any single development in the long struggle between

the carriers and the unions since the railroads were restored to private control.

For the seniority right belongs to the worker. It means practically his length of service—and is obtained by the railroad employe only by continuous service for the company. This practice also obtains in the printing and other well organized industries where skill is required in a marked degree.

Seniority, while it means an increased wage for certain exceptional difficult work in repairing locomotives or electrical apparatus amounting to as much as 5 cents an hour, is cherished mainly by the workmen because of the preference that it gives the oldest employe, in getting a sub-foremanship, in getting on the day shift from night work, in more employment, vacations and the like.

The railroad worker earned this reward for long service and the stand of the railroads, that all these able workers as a condition of the settlement of the strike, give up to the strikebreakers and those who remained at work the right of seniority, was like a red flag waved in front of a bull. It made the continuation of the strike inevitable.

The much discussed question of the obeying the decision of the Railroad Labor Board, brings forth a situation which concerns all unions that have experience in collective bargaining with their employes, particularly

those that may in the future have to deal with government tribunals.

The Board was created by an act of Congress and therefore is a direct representative of the government. For nearly two years the strikers defied the board led by the Erie railroad which initiated the practice of "farming" out work to dummy contractors, thereby cutting the union rate about 25 cents an hour, and the Pennsylvania railroad which refused to put into effect important rules of the Board on the manner in which the road should deal collectively with its employes.

The roads did not declare a strike; they would not. The employes have a more effective weapon. They asserted their constitutional rights, went into court and blocked the Labor Board from enforcing its decisions. The result was that in nearly one hundred instances the Board was ignored by the roads, many sending all their work to contractors whose "social shop" made merry with the union standards. Since these were private concerns they could not be interfered with, especially since the Board had no enforcing power anyway.

It was this situation which so weak-

ened the prestige of the Labor Board that the Federated Shop Crafts were forced to strike when a second wage cut removed the last of the increases obtained by the railroad workers. They decided to use their own weapon and it drew upon them the wrath of Chairman Hooper, who announced that the unions that had gone on 1919. It was the only time the unions strike had lost all standing before the Board and advised the railroads to organize the strikebreakers. When the roads ignored the Board by cutting wages and refused to negotiate with the Board they were exercising their "constitutional" privileges. When the shop crafts, after patiently complying with the Board's regulation, finally took the course not forbidden to them by the law after making their protest, they were outlawed.

The strike issue concerns three questions as voted on by the men in the strike ballot—wages, rules and the farming out of contracts. The first two issues, vital as they are, were nevertheless less pressing than the contracting issue, by means of which the roads have destroyed all wage scales except for the men engaged in train service whom they

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The Conquering Jobber

By BERNARD ACKERMAN.

III.

"The real trouble, Mr. Feigenbaum," I explained lamely, "is the open shop divisions. Once you organize the open shop, everything will be plain sailing."

"Wrong, wrong twice," shouted the ex-manufacturer, developing a high pitch of excitement. "How can you expect the permanent elimination of the open-shop divisions without the unyielding, iron control of the jobbers that nourish them? For there is a natural affinity between the new-type manufacturer and the open shop division. The manufacturer encourages it for the open shop manager or contractor offers him a division consisting of an unorganized and therefore tractable group of workers, and the contractor, probably recently a worker himself, is a veritable Niagara of energy, a cheap and dependable source of power. It is not strange that the manufacturer should seek to accept such a group as one of the fractions of his producing machinery. The ease with which the small shop is created and the ready welcome such an open shop unit receives, guaranteed an uninterrupted and unflinching supply of open shops despite all action, unless means are devised to make the employment of such divisions unprofitable to the jobber."

"Well," I suggested "but even if complete control is not probable, yet we expect in time to eliminate the open and co-operation shops in their great majority, as they will no longer be a factor."

"It cannot be done," announced Feigenbaum, "and for the reasons already stated. But were it possible to eliminate the last of the open shops, you would not escape the penalty for the non-control of the new type manufacturer. To permit this new monster of the industry its independence of action is to abandon the hope of permanently establishing union conditions. . . . Now let us suppose that all the sixty divisions of A, the jobber, are union, no open or co-operation shops existing, A, uncontrolled in action, would play union shop division against union shop division, giving his work to the lower standard UNION shops, and placing the higher shop at disadvantage. This, as a manager of fact, is exactly what is happening. Not only does Jobber A enjoy the benefits of competition between open and union shop divisions, but he depends upon the competition between union shop and union shop to lower the labor cost. To illustrate, A, develops a lively competition among shop divisions No. 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, all of which are union shops, placing his orders, or refusing to place his orders respectively, with the inevitable consequence that the higher standard shops of the group must submit to the lowering of their standards or find themselves workless. The work reaches the shop divisions with the lower price levels with the naturalness of water seeking the sea level. Unless you visualize the scattered divisions of the jobber as the fragments of one big workshop, unless you recognize the new type shop with its independently and competitively producing divisions as a unity, I tell you the situation is hopelessly beyond control. You must not miss the fact," continued the speaker, "that the price paid for labor is the result of sixty independent bargaining or price committees in agreement with sixty independently bargaining contractors. It must follow that prices in each shop division vary, the higher standard shop demanding and getting more, the lower standard shop division workers ac-

cepting less. So, accepting the supposition that all of A's shops are union, the deterioration of the higher standard shops and the straightening of the lower standard shops must inevitably continue. This process is even now going on under your nose. Each shop division of A, in utter ignorance of conditions in all other divisions, pursues its own individual, selfish, but ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{only} in position to view the entire situation and benefit by the unrestrained competition."

"But I don't see how we can get out of it," said I doubtfully, "of course prices and conditions in A's various shops must be different."

"They must not," said Feigenbaum definitely. "Once you realize that the jobber is the real manufacturer, and that the contractor is merely the supervisor working upon a contingent basis of payment, you are compelled logically to take your labor demands upon A, himself, and not upon the meaningless contractor."

"Do you mean," I questioned, "that prices for all shops should be settled with the Jobber, A?"

"They should be, and all demands for betterment must ultimately be made upon the Jobber. The price for the runner's Style 161, already referred to, should have been settled in the Jobber's office between A and the Union, and the labor price would then have been uniform in each of A's sixty shop divisions, each of the 600 operators really working for A, being on a basis of equality with his fellow workers, regardless of whether his individual machine was situated on A's premises or elsewhere."

"But your suggestion is absurd," I remonstrated "they will not permit you to dictate prices and conditions to them."

"They will not if they can help it, but they will if they must," promised Feigenbaum. "They will submit unconditionally, if their economic lives are threatened. The jobber can satisfy the demands of the worker, and if needs be, pass added cost on to the trade; the contractor has nothing really substantial to give; more cannot be taken from him than the jobber is pleased to give him. To strike the contractor for more must result either in the elimination of the particular contractor's division, meaningless compromise on the basis of petty concessions, or in a lost strike."

"Following your line of reasoning then," I said sarcastically, "we do not have to strike at all."

"By no means, not at all," he explained. "Your strike are far from being over. They are all before you. But the struggle of the future must be between the unions and the new manufacturers. They must be struck to obtain supremacy. The subjugation of the jobber will entirely eliminate the contractor as an opponent. Your control of the jobbers would make it simple to eliminate undesirable contractors' shops without strife by definitely removing any possibility for such shops to obtain work. If such situation should develop the contractor could not and would not combat the will of the labor organization, and the conditions under which the work would be thus unalterably arranged for him by agreement between the Union and his employing Jobber. The contractor would require merely a general supervision, while his jobber would need a control of the most unyielding sort; whereas today the reverse is the rule, for you attempt the absolute control

of the contractor and only a weak supervision of the jobber."

"Well," said I, "what you say sounds alright, but it has always been my belief that if it were possible to organize the industry from the bottom up, by organizing the contractors first and then the jobbers—"

"There you go again," broke in Feigenbaum unceremoniously, "you know the theory is untenable, impractical. You cannot believe in it yourself. The root cause of the workers' inability to control the situation lies in the fact that you have failed to acknowledge the following—first, that the jobber controls the industry, second, that the jobber is purely and simply a manufacturer, and third, that the complex structure of the jobbers' factory is nothing more or less than a gigantic New-Type Open Shop, permitted to exist and thrive unhampered by your organization. The fact is that it is to be controlled. These facts are not to be contested. They are to be waged therefore is against these monster jobber shops and only indirectly against the wormy contractor, the Neimann—you heard the free-for-all argument at the other table, didn't you?"

"I did," I answered.

"You must either battle with the jobber for the domination of the industry, or your struggle for betterment is defeated and the workers' scale of wages will be decided by the merciless law of supply and demand. Exclusive attack upon the Neimann, the contractors, can yield but little. Neimann's back is to the wall, the solid wall of limitation fixed by his employer. If you strike Neimann, what happens to his employing manufacturer, A. Nothing. The jobber is unconcerned, a spectator merely of a tussle between one of his shop divisions and a union. If the contractor Neimann beats you, A will continue giving him work, if Neimann loses and must pay his workers a substantial increase, and looks to A for reimbursement, A will cast Neimann's shop division adrift, detaching it from his manufacturing organization like a locomotive dropping an empty box-car on a siding. A has no responsibility towards Neimann, and wishes him good-bye, indifferent to whether Neimann breaks his neck or not. A proceeds then to replace him by another, a cheaper shop division, more suitable to his requirements; and so it goes on indefinitely."

"But in time of general strike," I hazarded, "we tie up almost all of the Jobber A's shop divisions and can then dictate terms."

"That's so," answered Feigenbaum, "you do tie them up and disturb the entire process of production, producing terror in the ranks of the contractors, and grave inconveniences among jobbers, but when the turmoil is over the jobber has escaped with a whole skin. A finds that he yet possesses freedom to discriminate, the right of the selection and discharge of working groups. The levelling process commences once again, and bitter experience teaches the workers in the higher standard shops that they must submit to lower standards or remain workless. Don't you realize that you attack from the wrong angle?"

"I am not prepared to admit that," I protested stubbornly. "But even if I accepted your view of the matter, it is my opinion that the contest of the jobbers for the control of the industry presents difficulties that cannot be surmounted. It can't be done."

"You are wrong again, a hundred per cent wrong. We have proven that complete control by way of controlling the contractor is not possible. On the other hand, I intend to convince you that control of the indus-

try through attack and victory over the jobbing fraternity offers no difficulty that cannot be surmounted. It can be done."

Feigenbaum drew his handkerchief, leaned back and carefully mopped the perspiration from his brow and was about to launch patiently into this new phase of the subject when a snappily dressed young man entered the restaurant and made his way to Feigenbaum's side.

"Saks, my lawyer," introduced Mr. Feigenbaum, this is Mr. A of the Union."

"Very pleased to meet you, indeed," said Saks, giving my hand a lawyer-like, vigorous, but meaningless handshake.

"Saks," said Feigenbaum, Mr. A and myself are engaged in a very interesting discussion, sit down, have a smoke."

"Sorry gentlemen, but time does not permit. I have an appointment with a client at 3:45," saying which both he and Feigenbaum, myself as well, left the restaurant.

"I certainly hope," said I to Feigenbaum as I took my leave, that the next time we meet we will be able to follow our discussion to a finish."

"Alright my boy," he said amiably, "meet me at Gildew's Cafe next Saturday night."

HEALTH EDUCATION AT THE UNION HEALTH CENTER

Plans are being made for a more extensive health education program at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, for the fall. The program for the Union Health School includes a series of five courses in biology, physiology, and public health, to which only a limited number of workers will be admitted.

In addition the popular Friday night health lectures will be continued. A series of debates on controversial subjects in health matters are being arranged as special features on these nights.

Those members of the International who attended the classes of the Union Health Center last year, are cordially invited to send in suggestions as to what health questions they would like to have discussed on the new programme.

Remember the Baby Health Station at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street; if your baby is sick or is not gaining in weight, do not fail to see the doctor.

STUDENTS' COUNCIL PLANNING ANOTHER PRIVATE EXCURSION

The Students' Council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers is planning an excursion similar to the one held on July 23, when our members enjoyed a full-day sail on the beautiful Hudson River in a privately chartered boat. It was decided though to vary the route by going up the Long Island Sound. The committee is working out the details which will be published in next week's issue of the "Justice" and "Gerechtigkeit."

Letters from Poland

(Special Correspondence to Justice)

By DAVID MAYER

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

On May 21 last, in the old Polish city of Cracow, in the beautiful assembly room of the City Hall, the second congress of the trade unions of Poland commenced its sittings.

The order of the day of the congress was as follows: 1. Report of the Central Commission. 2. The political situation and the tactics of the trade unions. 3. Organization problems. 4. Labor Legislation. 5. The trade unions and the co-operative movement. 6. Changes in the by-laws of the Federation of Trade Unions. 7. Election for National Commission. 8. Unfinished business.

About 230 delegates attended the Congress. Of these 160 belonged to the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.); the "red" faction (communists) numbered 39 delegates; 25 Bundists; 3 left Poland Zion—and the remainder were unaffiliated. There were 34 Jewish delegates.

From the report rendered by the chairman of the Central Commission, Seim Deputy Zohulovsky, it appears that despite the fact that since the 1st Congress two years ago the Central Commission had to endure immense difficulties in conducting its work, it succeeded in placing the trade unions upon substantial level. The unions have become more consolidated and stronger, various craft bodies were united into industrial organizations, and while the process of the work is not yet at an end it is on the proper road. The trade unions of the three different Polish territories (former Russian, German, and Austrian Poland) have finally been merged into one body, and the Jewish and German unions of the same trades have also been united.

At the time of the writing of the report there have belonged to the Central Commission 48 unions with 1,115 branches numbering together 492,062 members. The biggest unions are: the agricultural workers, 110,638 members; railroad workers, 77,141 members; miners, 29,046 members; textile workers, 68,245 members; metal workers, 26,890, etc. It is estimated that there are in all Poland today about a million and a half wage workers, and the trade unions, therefore, embrace about 33 per cent of all the workers of the country, which gives irrefutable proof that there is plenty of material in Poland to draw from to build and enlarge the local trade union movement.

The trade unions of Poland publish 16 trade papers, 15 in Polish and one in German; the Jewish publication was recently suppressed by the police authorities. Owing to the steady fall of the Polish currency and the corresponding increase in the cost of living, the unions were compelled to devote their entire energy to wage fights and strikes which followed one another in quick succession and permitted no diversion to any other activity.

The printed report of the Central Commission is a book of 182 pages and is full of very interesting material, facts and figures bearing on the trade union movement in Poland for the last two years. The members of the Central Commission all belonged to the Polish Socialist Party; the "reds" would not enter the Central Commission right from the very first congress, and the non-partisan trade union active workers who had entered it at that time left it shortly afterward owing to the tactics of the P. P. S. majority. The political stand and orientation of the P. P. S. is

similar to the German Scheidemann faction; it left the Second International because, according to its judgment, it had not properly appraised and supported the national interests of the Polish nation, but it did not join any other International; it had conducted all the time a relentless campaign against the Communists.

It stands therefore to reason that the tactics of the Central Commission and all its activity reflected fully the policy of the party to which its members belonged. The Central Commission has acted in all political questions in accordance with the spirit and directions of the P. P. S. It waged a fierce fight against the Polish Communists and against all such labor unions that were under communist influence. Some unions had been split, due to this, in two parts, and in others amalgamation of kindred locals in the same industry was made impossible owing to friction. At the Congress too, the Communist Seim Deputy Lanturky, who came to greet the Congress in the name of the Polish Communist Party, was not allowed into the assembly hall. The P. P. S. who were in charge of the Congress had declared that the Central Commission had broken off all relations with the Polish Communist Party and the official representatives of the latter cannot, therefore, take part in the Congress called together by this Central Commission. Needless to say that the action of the Commission was sanctioned by a majority of all the delegates.

The most important question on the agenda of the Congress, however, was the point on the political situation and the task of the trade unions. The representative of the Bundist group at the Congress, M. Ehrlich, delivered a special report on the "United proletarian front." Already some time ago the Central Committee of the Bund in Poland appealed to the Central Commission of the Trades Unions to take the initiative in forming in Poland a united front of all proletarian parties to oppose the growing strength of the reaction. The Central Commission sounded all the parties on this question and it appeared that the principal workers' party, the P. P. S. would have nothing in common with the Communists and is opposed to have a "united front" with them. The Central Commission thereupon decided to put this question on the agenda of the trade union congress, and the Bundist group took up the fight for the idea of a "united labor front" on the floor of the assembly.

The speech delivered by the Bundist spokesman, both by its form and substance, made a tremendous impression on all the delegates. M. Ehrlich pointed out the terrible economic conditions that prevail all over the world, the offensive campaign of the reactionary forces against the working class waged for the purpose of robbing the workers from the gains they had made during the war years and appealed for unity in the ranks of the workers themselves. The debate on this question lasted a whole day. Speakers from the P. P. S. one after another proved that the realization of such a "united front" in conjunction with the Communist Party is an impossibility as the latter is not in the least earnest about and intends not to unite the proletarian forces but to split them for purely party advantages. The Communists, they argued, are splitting the trade union movement, are form-

ing "nuclei" within the individual branches in order to sow dissension and factionalism. They are therefore for a united front of all proletarian organizations except the Communists.

The debate was a very heated one, and at times led to passionate outbursts and collisions between the adherents of the P. P. S. and the Communists, but, as expected, after order was restored and a vote was taken it was shown that the resolution offered by the Bundist and supported by the Communists was overwhelmingly defeated and the P. P. S. resolution adopted. The same majority adopted a resolution against militarism which states "that a new war menace exists owing to the policies of capitalist governments, of Soviet Russia, and of Polish Nationalist circles." The Communists brought in a resolution of their own on this subject; the Bundists have put up an energetic protest against the allusion to Soviet Russia, pointing to France as the chief menace source.

The other subjects on the agenda were quickly disposed of. On the question of labor legislation, the discussion of which was led off by former Minister of Labor, Seim Deputy Ziemietzky, the present Minister of Labor, Darovsky, also took part, having come specially for that purpose to the Congress.

A Central Commission of 21 persons was elected, consisting of 16

Polish Socialist Party men, 2 Bundists, 2 "reds," and 1 non-partisan.

This Congress was an event of unusual importance in our uneventful labor world and will have a marked influence on the life of the trade unions in Poland. This Congress formally sanctioned the amalgamation between the Jewish trade unions of Poland and the Central Commission of which I wrote in my last letter. The Jewish workers have for the first time in the history of the Polish labor movement taken part in a general conference of trade unions and we can record with pride that their influence at that Congress was very great. The speeches of the representatives of the Jewish workers were listened to with great attention.

There were present at the Congress fraternal delegates not only of all the proletarian organizations in Poland proper but many from abroad: from German, Checho-Slovakia, Belgian, Silesian and trade unions from other countries. M. Joux represented the French unions and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The writer of these lines represented the Jewish workers on the presidium of the Congress and led the sessions during the discussion on the united labor front and the discussion of the question of militarism.

All told, notwithstanding the many heated, strained and nervous moments the entire Congress and its debates were of a very earnest and very practical and realistic nature.

Railroad Shopmen

(Continued from Page 3)

could not very well "farm" out. Now that the roads are under pressure from a much more potent agency than the Board, namely the strike emergency, they raised the new issue of seniority on behalf of those who stayed at work to benefit by the robbery of the strikers' seniority or the floaters and thugs that had been recruited from the underworld as strike-breakers.

It is these developments that have convinced the shop craft that certain "hard boiled" elements among the railroad executives are out to crush the unions and has stimulated the movement among the train service brotherhoods, members of entirely

separate organizations from the shopmen, to aid actively in the fight by going on sympathy strikes on such key roads as the Santa Fe, the outer belt line of Chicago and the important coal-carrying road of the South, the Louisville and Nashville.

The railroad strikers are receiving aid from many sources and are preparing for a long-drawn-out fight in which economic pressure will be in their favor. The settlement of the coal strike will be such an aid, for it will increase by 100 per cent the pressure on the coal-carrying roads whose surplus cars and motive power are already being depleted. Furthermore, as the real issues at stake become better known they can expect to receive help from sources outside of the labor movement.

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EDITORIALS

PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER'S MISSION IN EUROPE

When it first began to appear probable that President Schlesinger might be sent by the American Federation of Labor as fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, we stated in these columns that his selection would be of great importance to the labor movement in general and our Union in particular. We can only say now that our conviction that he will carry out his mission in the most successful manner.

The mission of a fraternal delegate of American labor to the British Labor Congress, or of the British Labor Congress to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, is not merely a polite gesture or the delivery of an address of greetings couched in beautiful phrases. Had this been the case, the expense and effort would have hardly been worthwhile. A polite greeting of such sort could just as well be conveyed by a letter or cablegram. The sending of fraternal delegates has a deeper significance. It is highly important that the labor movements of England and America understand each other more and more thoroughly. There can be no true bond of unity between worker and worker as long as one looks upward while the other keeps his gaze continually to the ground; while one everlastingly treats the other as either too radical or too conservative.

At the conventions of the American Federation of Labor we have had, from time to time, fraternal delegates sent over by the British labor movement, who have contributed a great deal towards familiarizing us with the aims and the spirit of that movement. Such delegates have had enough insight and perspicacity to comprehend our movement and to give a true and unvarnished report concerning it to the organized workers of England. There were also delegates from England at our conventions whose visits and speeches left no impression upon us and contributed but little to the labor movements of both countries.

President Schlesinger, we are confident, is not of the latter type of delegate. He is bound to make an impression, and his mission will certainly not be in vain. There are few who know so well the aims and tendencies of our labor movement as Schlesinger knows them. He was for many years one of its pioneers and builders, and has been connected with the American Federation of Labor for almost 30 years. Schlesinger was a Socialist all these years, and his attitude towards all that transpired in the labor movement has been that of a friendly critic. There are admittedly few, if any, better qualified to represent our labor movement abroad than he.

Of course, Schlesinger will not fail to state to the English Labor Congress the importance and greatness of the American Federation of Labor. Coming from him, however, this praise will sound much more convincing than from the blind partisan who believes that the A. F. of L. is as infallible as the Pope. As a Socialist, Schlesinger knows what there is to criticize in the American labor movement; he knows that the fact that the American labor movement is what it is, and not anything else, is due to a great many causes spring from unfavorable conditions of American life and have nothing to do with the influence of this or that particular person, as some are wont to delude themselves into believing.

It is important that the English workers know all these conditions and causes, and understand and appraise our movement from a true angle—just as it is important that we understand the circumstances under which the workers of England are living and properly appraise their own situation. Only after a mutual understanding has been reached, can a warm, friendly attitude be created between these two great labor armies. It is of great importance that the workers of England know that the labor movement in America, though solid and united in its daily fight for a better living, is far from being united in its ultimate purposes and ideals. It is also important that they know that signs are not failing that these ultimate aims are becoming more and more clarified and that very soon progress will be noticeable in this direction too.

In a word, we believe that President Schlesinger will accomplish a great deal if he succeeds in demolishing some prejudices which exist in Europe with regard to the American labor movement, namely, that the American Federation of Labor is a "stonewall of reaction" with which no union of forces is possible. If, on the other hand, there are many among us who believe that all is well in England and that the best we can do is to accept the English labor movement as a model and follow it blindly, after President Schlesinger has told us all he learned concerning the true situation in England, they will probably come to the conclusion that nothing is perfect under the sun and that the practical and correct method is for the labor move-

ment of both countries to learn and adopt the best features of each.

This is the true mission of a delegate of the American labor movement to England, and we say again, we are certain that President Schlesinger will fulfill his mission with success. In saying that, we wish him—speaking in the name of our international and the entire labor movement of America—a pleasant and a joyful voyage. We would have said a restful voyage, but we know that it is next to the impossible; Schlesinger cannot and will not rest no matter where he is. He carries along with him the worries and the problems of each local in our organization and, if by chance, he should be relieved of the grind of his daily work, he is bound to find sufficient other work to keep him forever engaged.

From the British Labor Congress, Schlesinger intends to go to the Conference of the Vienna International at Karlsbad. He will probably visit a few other countries and meet every man in the labor movement of Europe worthwhile seeing and talking to—so that by the time he comes back he will bring with him a stock of information and impressions that cannot fail to be of ultimate benefit to our labor movement here in America.

NORMAN HAGOOD—THE THIRD, IMPARTIAL MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION

Before President Schlesinger left for Europe, he did his best to bring to a head a great deal of organization business. He held numerous conferences with employers' associations, straightened out several disputes and grievances, but his best accomplishment was the choice, together with Mr. William R. Bassett, the representative of the Waist Protective Association on the Wage Commission, of the well-known publicist, Mr. Norman Hagood, as the impartial chairman of this wage commission. Mr. Hagood is known as a liberal-minded person, one of those rare individuals of whom it can be said that he has never sold his pen or convictions for money or influence.

Mr. Norman Hagood was for years the editor of Collier's Weekly. However, he quickly resigned this post as soon as the owner of that journal began to "put" into editorial hands, in his public life, Mr. Hagood always displays a liberal leaning and a strong sympathy for the oppressed and persecuted. He is at present the editor of Hearst's Magazine.

In our opinion, the selection of Mr. Hagood as the impartial chairman of the Wage Commission is a very fortunate one. Under the circumstances we cannot imagine that the investigating work of the Commission can in any way disappoint us now. We are certain that the Commission will do all that is right and proper for the well-being of the workers and of the industry as a whole. As constituted at present, the Wage Commission is an ideal investigating body from every point of view.

A REVIVAL IN THE WAIST AND DRESS INDUSTRY

The coming of Brother Hochman to the post of General Manager of the Joint Board of the Waist and Dress Industry of New York, marks a new period in the life of that organization—a period of revival and activity, of fighting not over issues that have nothing or little to do with the interests of the workers in the industry, but of a determined stand to retain the gains made by the workers in the waist and dress shops in past years, to organize the thousands who have been, for one reason or another, kept out of the fold of the organization, and to strive to raise the conditions of the industry to a uniform, humane level.

Already the new spirit is manifest in the shops; it is becoming noticeable in the wage envelopes of the workers and in the treatment accorded to them by the employers. This change is even noticed in the non-union shops, we are told, the owners of which must have sensed the rise of the union spirit among their own workers.

That this change of spirit among the workers in the waist and dress industry has come in the nick of time, there can be no doubt. Matters could not have continued along in the waist and dress shops as they have gone until recently if the Union was to be saved from total eclipse. The Joint Board has now decided that early in 1923 a general strike will be called throughout the trade for the abolition of piece-work and the introduction of the week-work system.

The Waist and Dress Joint Board is unmistakably determined to carry out this program. It is fully aware of the magnitude of the task confronting it and has taken adequate preparatory measures. It declined, first, to inaugurate a system of calling for a general strike, meetings of shop chairmen in order to acquaint them with all the phases of the situation as they develop from day to day, so that these meetings might form a true vanguard in the coming great struggle. This decision was adopted not merely as a preparatory measure for the coming strike, but because the entire Joint Board, and particularly its present manager, Brother Hochman, are convinced that in order to function more effectively, our unions must bring their membership into closer contact with all that concerns the union than what has been the practice heretofore.

The second important decision adopted by the Joint Board, is the levying of an assessment of \$20.00 upon each member of every local affiliated with the Joint Board. It is, perhaps, superfluous to state here how important it is that this decision be carried out speedily and fully. We are aware that for many of the workers in these trades, who earn miserable wages at present, a \$20.00 assessment is a very big sum. But difficult or easy, this strike fund must be created, for without it a successful fight cannot be waged. Of course, the International will do its best and will contribute all its material and spiritual strength to aid in this fight, but the International will help only those

THE G.E.B. AT WORK

By S. Y.

The last, third in number, quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board was summoned much too soon after the second quarterly meeting, to expect any startling news from it. The meeting was called together somewhat hastily, as stated in the last issue of JUSTICE, owing to President Schlesinger's leaving for a six-week trip to Europe. The meeting was in fact a piggyback opportunity to meet all the vice-presidents before his departure and to talk matters over with them.

Nevertheless, though the meeting was called specifically for the purpose of enabling President Schlesinger to preside at its sessions, he could only be present at one of them. The rush of the final few days taxed his time to such an extent that he could not attend to the Board sessions. Naturally, in his absence, the chair was occupied by First Vice-President Salvatore Ninfo, who, though new for the part, displayed his maturity of judgment in more than one instance and made many members of the Board feel that in the absence of President Schlesinger they would still have to deal with the firm, directing hand of the first vice-president.

As stated, no new problems were brought before the meeting; but, as the old questions were far from having been solved, the four sessions of the meeting were crowded to the limit. The report of the General Secretary-Treasurer Baroff made a deep impression upon all the members. He gave a brief review of our entire field of activity, in clear and often harsh and unsparring terms. It appears from this report that regardless of the fact that we can boast of having maintained our position and retained our standing in most places, there are still a number of vulnerable and poorly defended sections along our line which must be fortified as soon as possible if our organization is to retain its full strength. The report of Secretary Baroff can by no means be termed as pessimistic or despondent. Baroff is a born optimist and the most pronounced feature in his makeup is lack of despair. He is, nevertheless, not blind to the true state of affairs, and it is because of that and owing to the fact that this report was written by such a natural optimist like Baroff, that it made a particularly deep impression.

Of course, every one of the vice-presidents knows well the worries and troubles of his own district, his own post and territory. The report of Brother Baroff, however, has thrown the light on the entire field, and the sum total of his impressions is far from cheerful. He pointed out that in almost all our industries there has prevailed a protracted period of unemployment which has made our membership restless, discontented and, here and there, easy prey to the vapors of demagogues, and that some of our local unions, which under other circumstances might have been a stone wall of strength to their membership, have become weakened and were shaken to their foundations.

This, however, is not the only trouble; the principal source of trouble is contained in the fact that

our organization resources are not strong enough to maintain these locals at a proper degree of strength and at the same time to organize the tens of thousands who are as yet unorganized.

To be successful all along the line, our International would have to have tremendous financial resources. And here is the principal rub: Where can such resources be obtained? At the Cleveland Convention an assessment was decided upon, to cover the old deficit and to obtain new means to launch a nation-wide organization campaign. Regrettably enough, only a limited amount of money has so far been collected from this amendment. Only the cloakmaker locals have met their obligations promptly, while the others have presented to the International Office a variety of apologies and alibis. But everybody knows that excuses and subterfuges will not pay debts or conduct an organization campaign.

The Board listened to Secretary Baroff's report with breathless attention, yet we can hardly say that the Board has hit upon a way out of this puzzling situation. It decided that the Secretary write again to the locals and threaten some of them even with suspension. The fault of this method, however, is quite apparent. Many locals are accustomed to treat such notices as an empty threat, and these locals have more than once failed to live up to their duties because of this idea, even though they might have squared up their obligations to the General Office if they only had the will to do so.

We are not inclined to give here the names of these locals, but they might as well receive the last decision of the General Executive Board as more than a mere threat. It is true the International has never as yet suspended any locals for non-payment of assessments, but the indifference of some of these locals will some day drive the International to lose its patience with them and act in a drastic manner. The fact is that a majority of the members of the Board were actually inclined to carry out this threat, against some locals. But for the time being, President Schlesinger has succeeded in holding back the Board from such a decisive step. It must be made clear that just as a local cannot exist with paper members only, the International cannot function if its locals continue to dodge the payments of their assessments. The International must and will help the locals which need its assistance, but it is precisely because of that that no local which is in a position to meet its obligation should maintain a parasitic existence in the International Union.

Such was the sentiment at the meeting of the Board after Secretary Baroff had read his report on the general situation. Let us hope that this unanimous sentiment of the G. E. B. will awaken all the indifferent and callous elements within our organization to their sense of duty to the International, which, in reality means their sense of duty to themselves and their own living interests. Things would not have been so bad if the outside world had

known that the International is limited in means and cannot give help to all who want help. Quite to the contrary, our International is being regarded as one of the powerful institutions in our labor world and all who are in need of assistance, continually hammering at our doors, and notwithstanding our assurances to the contrary, keep on asking us for all forms of relief and aid.

Thus did we have at our meeting in Edgemere numerous guests as committees, who came clamoring for money. Judge Hartman, the President of an orphan asylum in New York, came to the meeting and delivered a wonderfully impressive talk. Long Island. Of course, the International could not refuse the appeal of Judge Hartman, and decided to for his little ones, whose home was recently burnt down at Arverne, donate \$500.00. A committee came from the newly formed American Labor Party, stating its purpose, aims and its extensive plans for the future.

It is quite natural that the members of the Board should have felt that it would have been criminal to starve such a promising organization by refusing to give it assistance. And the Board gave it the small sum of \$500.00.

There were committees from the People's Relief, from the Socialist Verband, from the Society "Ort"—organizations with which we are connected by ties of deep sympathy. How could we let them go empty-handed; that would have been a disgrace and a shame to the International! The miners, the textile workers who are waging such a desperate fight against their exploiters—can we stand aside and content ourselves with mere sympathy resolutions? Of course not. We have to help them even if we have to borrow money to do that.

That much for financial matters. We shall discuss next week the other subjects which came up at the Edgemere meeting and the decisions adopted in connection with them.

The Boss Who Held Out

By RICHARD ROHMAN

The merry tale of an employer who held out against a living wage and what befell him, while taking the air, riding on Riverside Drive.

There was once upon a time, in the present machine age, a manufacturer of paper boxes. It was his boss, carefully written for him by a "Go-Getter" advertising agency, that the output of his factory was so tremendous that, were these paper boxes placed side by side, they would reach from the latest Pogrom Region in Rumania to the up-to-date Vegetarian Restaurant in Los Angeles.

But this was before the strike. When the strike came, the paper boxes were no longer placed side by side; in fact, somehow there were none to estimate and business came to a standstill.

One day followed another and the strikers were firm in their walk-out. And it came to pass, that, one after the other, the paper box manufacturers collapsed and yielded up to their employees a living wage.

Not so with the hero of this tale. He roared and fumed and fussed, and sent statements to the newspapers which were printed as a "Courageous Stand on Principle" and a "Smashing Blow to the Insouciance of Union Labor." Whenever he pounded the desk, the reporters uncovered their heads and wrote feverishly in order to capture every pearl falling from his lips.

And so the days crowded one upon the other and the summer beat upon the heads of the pickets, keeping their measured watch in front of the struck plant. And then there grew an idea in the head of one, which has much to do with our story.

He gathered about him four or five of his most playful brothers-in-arms and whispered long into the ear of each. It was noted that each doubled with uncontrollable laughter at the idea became his property.

And the sun shone more fiercely than ever as a half dozen pickets, in their shirt sleeves quietly descended upon Riverside Drive.

They whistled nonchalantly as they walked singly or side by side, gazing at the palaces of gold or passing some idle gossip about the excursion boats steaming up the placid river. But a deep secret was hid in their hearts.

They looked on from the corner of their eye, bolder and gun, carefully inspecting the casual traffic in the street. Luxurious cars sped by; yellow, glaring taxis turned various corners and spit out their cargo; here and there, a handsome cab bounced gingerly up and down the drive, carrying an ancient passenger or two.

Discovery! There was their prey!

Briskly turning into the drive, at a merry canter, came a Victoria; the occupant, our manufacturer of paper boxes and his spouse, offered a picture of high disdain, Bon Ton, Gouty Riches and other things in the social calendar. (These grimaces, through association, they had borrowed from the cabby.)

The picket band broke into a run. Down the avenue they sped in full pursuit of the trotting Victoria. They clutched their straps in one hand and propelled themselves, as it were, with a violent motion of the other. How they ran! Breathlessly, they caught up with their game and dragged the bewildered horse to a halt.

The eyes of the manufacturer of paper boxes almost popped from his head. His spouse shrieked, the cabby flashed his whip and looked for help. The drive was nearly deserted.

Then, as a well-known wit has it, the fun began!

In a twinkling, the horse was unharnessed.

"Help, murder, police, ganuvim!" spluttered our hero.

"Is THAT so, Mr. Himmelspiegel?" a striker poked at the manufacturer, with feigned annoyance.

"You tramps, bantled in 'is throat," the exclamation hailed in his throat.

It is said, as the horse looked on from the side of the roadway, he winked at what followed.

Two strikers picked up the shafts of the carriage and the others shouting with glee, began pushing the vehicle down hill. As the Victoria gained momentum, it followed the outline of a huge snake and the protesting occupants caromed from one side to the other like a pair of well-shaken dice. Protest from the cabby had ceased altogether.

The merry game continued thus for two blocks, in and out, sometimes gracefully, sometimes violently, the Victoria swerved, barely missing an occasional auto or just escaping a menacing curb.

The scream of Mrs. Himmelspiegel had drawn some exclusive faces to the windows lining the drive and more than one polite giggle was watted on the breeze.

Finally, the careening Victoria, with its dazed occupants, struck a bump in the road. Despite their weight, it sailed the manufacturer and his spouse, blitting the top of the carriage with a resounding smack. Down came the Victoria, the shafts slid to the ground, another jolt for the hold-out manufacturer and his better half and the bad, glad sad, mad strike pickets mysteriously disappeared in the summer silence.

who will help themselves. The unanimous acceptance and payment of this \$20.00 assessment will be the test of how earnestly the workers in the waist and dress industry want week-work in the shops.

The raising of this great strike fund will make the outcome of the fight for week-work practically certain. The dress and waistmakers of New York have had long experience in fighting winning battles. With a burning, living issue at stake, with a substantial fund to conduct the fight, able and ambitious leadership from its own ranks, and the International ready to assist them with act and word, their task, immense as it might be, cannot but terminate in success.

How the French Miners Propose to Nationalize the Mines

At the recent National Congress of the Belgian Miners, held at Brussels, the French delegate, C. Bartuel, secretary of the French National Miners' Federation, explained what the French miners mean by the nationalization of mines.

"Ever since its inception, the French Miners' Federation has made nationalization a part of its program. For the French miners 'nationalization' and 'socialization' have the same signification. We should justify our demands by stating that the natural deposits should remain the property of the community, and above all, by pointing out that the exploitation of this national wealth has been bad.

"Ever since mining has been organized on industrial lines, no less than 500,000,000 francs have been invested in the industry. At the present time the mines are considered to be worth 30 milliards. The difference between these two figures is the result of labor, the result of the efforts of hundreds of thousands of miners who have always been in misery, and who have spent their whole lives at the mines.

"For a long time we have neglected to say what we mean by nationalization, but now we intend to make good this omission. We say that the accumulated riches which have been obtained by means of labor cannot be 'redeemed' from those who have cornered them. We only desire that a reasonable dividend be paid on the basis of their rate of issue, and to eventually buy up the shares. The stock exchange quotation—certain shares issued at 333 francs offered to-day at one million—does not interest us. When the mines are once again national property it will be possible

to exploit all of them, even those which are in a bad condition, as any deficit which might occur will be counterbalanced by the output of the richer mines.

"As for organizing output, we wish neither state ownership nor 'the mines for the miners.' Both systems have proved sufficiently defective to be cast on one side. We wish to entrust the management to a National Committee composed of representatives of workers' organizations, both manual and non-manual, and the representatives of organized consumers and the government. The district committees should be constituted on the same lines, and in such a manner that all legitimate interests are respected.

"As regards the distributions of the proceeds of the industry, we must first arrange for the establishment of a minimum living wage. But we know that there is a great difference in the power productive of each individual worker, and it is highly important to utilize the most efficient. In order to stimulate their efforts, we suggest that a scale of wages be instituted taking into account the ability and initiative of each worker.

"When these two items have been decided upon, the question of 'profit' will have to be dealt with. We propose that a part should be devoted to improvements in the industry, another to social institutions for the benefit of the community; another to be equally divided amongst all the workers; and lastly a part should be given to a common industrial fund for the purpose of assisting the less flourishing industries in the country, or even the mining industry in other countries.

(Continued on Page 12)

How They Fought Over Gloria Swanson's Rich Step-Papa's Will



Interesting Testimony Which Helped the Jury Decide Old Mr. Burns Really Was Crazy When He Made That Will Leaving All His Fortune to the Well Known Movie "Vamp's" Mother.

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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.

Patronize Our Advertisers

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

BALTIMORE LABOR FOR GENERAL STRIKE

The Baltimore Federation of Labor at its meeting went on record as favoring a nation-wide walkout in sympathy with striking railroad workers and miners.

NORTH CAROLINA PROTESTS

Asserting that the federal government was engaged in a steady encroachment of the rights of the state, Governor Morriess, of North Carolina, declared that President Harding's request to Governors to invite a resumption of coal production under assurances of adequate protection constituted an attempt to debase the states.

GERMAN LABOR AND RELIEF CORPS

Membership in the Technical Emergency Relief Corps is barred to the nearly 8,000,000 Germans belonging to the union banded together in the General German Federation of Trade Unions, through a resolution adopted at the Eleventh Convention of that organization held in June. The Relief Corps is made up largely of students in technical institutes.

ANOTHER ANTI-LABOR DECISION

The Supreme Court of Connecticut in the suit of the B. and W. Hat Shop against officials of the United Hatters of America, found that it was illegal for the union to encourage a manufacturer of hats to refrain from making deliveries after a definite contract had been made, although it was permissible for the union officials to encourage manufacturers to refuse to sell hats to finishers.

TO AVERT STRIKE ON GREAT LAKES

Secretary of Labor Davis will confer with officials of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union for the purpose of adjusting wage differences and thus avert a strike of the union vessels on the Great Lakes.

BANNING JITNEY BUSES

Operation of jitney buses in competition with the trolley car service of the International Railroad Company of Buffalo, N. Y., was declared illegal by Supreme Court Justice Cooley. The Justice issued a writ against Mayor Schwab calling on him to enforce the law. Automobiles and jitney buses have been handling the city's traffic since the strike on July 2.

TEXTILE STRIKE NEWS

The State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration in Massachusetts will confer with Lawrence mill owners in an effort to arrange a meeting between them and their striking employees, according to a statement made by Chairman Fisher, of the State Board.

TO STUDY THE HUMAN FACTOR

To study the human factor in American business and industrial life, leaders of organized engineering, representatives of large industries, insurance companies, railroads, and publishers, and members of university faculties have organized a National Personnel Association. The announced purpose of the movement is "to advance the understanding of the principles, policies and methods of creating and maintaining satisfactory human relations within commerce and industry."

PATTERSON SILK WEAVERS STRIKE

Reports to the headquarters of the Associated Silk Workers were that the weavers at twenty-five broad silk shops in Patterson were on strike.

MORE CENSORS A-COMIN'

The age of censorship has truly arrived. The latest suggestion for an official snooper comes from John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. This gent is ag'in wicked books, and wants a hawk-eyed, blue-nosed committee that will revise the manuscripts of authors before same are turned over to the publishers.

The retail cost of food increased in 15 to 24 cities, from June 15 to July 15 last, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Increases were in the following cities:

Manchester and Portland, Me., 4 per cent; Bridgeport and New Haven, 3 per cent; Chicago, Denver, Fall River and Milwaukee, 2 per cent; Atlanta, Baltimore, Columbus, Houston, Jacksonville and Salt Lake City, 1 per cent; Pittsburgh, less than five-tenths of 1 per cent.

The other nine cities decreased as follows: Philadelphia and Richmond, 2 per cent; Cincinnati, Detroit and Kansas City, 1 per cent; Little Rock, New York, Scranton and Washington, D. C., less than five-tenths of 1 per cent.

MELONS ROT IN FIELD WHILE CONSUMERS PAY HIGH PRICES

Reports from the California cantaloupe fields and the Georgia melon patches state that literally millions of melons are rotting in the fields because prices paid in the big city markets do not cover cost of picking, crating and shipping. A dispatch from Brawley, California, states that in one day alone 8,000,000 cantaloupes rotted on the ground because of low prices paid the growers do not cover cost of handling. The best Georgia water-melons for which the farmers are receiving from three to seventeen and one-half cents each are being sold on the New York State Bureau of Marketing. This increase of 2,000 per cent in the price of the melons is due, the State Marketing Bureau maintains, to profits taken by four middlemen as well as high freight and cartage rates.

A system of distribution which leaves food to rot in the fields while poor people are unable to buy it in the cities is so wasteful that no sane man would defend it. Through the efforts of the All-American Co-operative Commission, many farmers' co-operative organizations are establishing direct trading relations with the consumers' co-operative societies in the city so that there will be no middleman and no waste in the distribution of farm products direct from producer to consumer.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

POISON GAS IN WARFARE

In answer to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George stated on July 24 that the American War Department had discontinued the manufacture of poison gas for waging warfare, but Congress had authorized an expedition for research and experimental work. He added that Great Britain had discontinued the manufacture of poison gas since the armistice, except for research and experimental work in connection with protective measures against the effects of poison gas.

In a preface to a book by a British major on chemistry and warfare Marshal Foch declares that in the next war airplanes will be capable of attacking not only armed forces but also centres of population behind the lines by dropping bombs containing poisonous gases, and thus of rendering whole regions uninhabitable.

THE MOSCOW TRIALS

The Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions adopted a resolution at Amsterdam declaring that the pronouncement of the death sentence on the Revolutionary Socialists at Moscow "would render impossible for a long time all chance of reconstituting the unity of the proletariat of all countries for the purpose of common action." Branting, the Swedish Premier, has sent a telegram to the Soviet Government in the name of all Swedish Social Democrats, endorsing the protests already made by Socialists elsewhere.

LABOR ELECTION VICTORY

At the recent by-election in Gower (South Wales) the successful Labor candidate, D. R. Grenfell, doubled the Labor majority of the General Election, 1918.

DEAN'S PLEA FOR PEACE—

Among other well-known people who made public profession of pacifist opinions during the holding of the International Peace Congress in London was Dean Inge, of St. Paul's Cathedral, who, while saying that the moral aspect must come first, observed that perhaps the business community would never again make the mistake of thinking that war was good business. Speaking of the distribution of blame for the war among the Powers, he went on to say that now it seemed to most people looking back that "they were all mad together." He added—"The Christian method is to overcome evil with good. It does not always succeed; but the opposite method of driving out devils by Beelzebub invariably fails."

COST OF ILL-HEALTH

In an address at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association in Glasgow, Lieut.-Colonel Freemantle, M. P., said that about 2 1/2 per cent of the population of England and Wales (about 900,000 persons) were on an average incapacitated by ill-health. The estimated cost of their treatment and maintenance was £100,000,000 a year, and in addition the loss to the national income due to incapacity was £50,000,000. This was exclusive of the loss to productive work, for nearly 300,000 persons were employed attending to the sick. The elimination of tuberculosis would mean an annual saving of £94,000,000.

AUSTRALIA

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN AUSTRALIA

Australia is giving a lead to the mother country in the Bill to abolish capital punishment in Queensland, which has passed its second reading in the Queensland legislature by 33 votes to 36.

FRANCE

INDEMNITY ILLUSIONS

The French Press continues to discuss the British project for the cancellation of the inter-Allied debt to Great Britain in return for France's consent to a reduction of the German indemnity to 50 milliard gold marks. In this connection it might be well to disillusion these Liberals in England who imagine that by this gesture of apparent generosity, the Reparations problem may be solved. The French naturally anticipate that this sacrifice includes the abandonment of the right of sanction against Germany. To this demand M. Poincaré with all the weight of the capitalist coalition in the Chamber behind him will reply by an emphatic refusal.

TO ABANDON STATE TOBACCO MONOPOLY

For some years the capitalists have waged a campaign against the retention by the state of certain public services like telephones, telegraphs, state railways, certain monopolies and certain manufactures like those of tobacco and matches. This campaign has secured its first success in the recommendation of the Preliminary Commission appointed to discuss the 1923 budget, that the tobacco monopoly should be handed over to a private company. The General Federation of Labor has begun a counter campaign to prevent these recommendations from being carried out.

JAPAN

KOREAN COOLIES INVADE JAPAN

The influx of Korean laborers who work for more moderate wages than Japanese are now demanding has aroused feeling in labor circles here. Chinese coolie labor is barred, but as the Koreans are to all intents and purposes subjects of Japan a way of preventing them from competing with Japanese labor is hard to find.

SWEDEN

LABOR'S STRONGEST HOPE

Hjalmar Branting, Sweden's social democratic premier, declares that the strongest hope for the abolition of war is to be found in a universal League of Nations and the Labor Internationale of Amsterdam.

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)

THE EXTENSION DIVISION

- I. **COURSES** to be given to groups—members of executive committee and shop chairmen, etc.—in places to be arranged. These will be given in English, Yiddish and Italian.

In each of these courses special attention will be devoted to a discussion of the organization of the I. L. G. W. U., the problems which confront it, the functions of each Department and of the different branches, such as Joint Boards, District Councils and Locals. In these discussions the instructor will be assisted by President Schlesinger and other officers of the Union who will present the topics from a practical point of view.

In addition, each course will devote considerable attention to the problems of the garment and textile industries and the organization and methods of the workers in the steel, coal mining, railroad and other industries.

1. **History of the American Labor Movement**.....Max Levin
In Yiddish and English

Study of the history and tendencies of the Labor Movement in America from the earliest period to the present day. The more important labor organizations will be discussed and compared, culminating in a discussion of the aims, activities and form of organization of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Throughout the course special attention will be given to the explanation of the fundamental principles of the Labor Movement in general. To that end, an inquiry with illustrations from history will be made of the following:

- What is a labor movement?
- What calls forth a labor movement?
- What are its possible aims?
- What are its possible methods?
- What are the various forms of organization?

2. **The English and French Labor Movement**.....Max Levin
In Yiddish and English

Study of the important features and characteristics of the English and French labor movement.

The tendencies of the English and the French movement will be compared with those of the American movement.

The program of the British Labor Party will be discussed and Syndicalism will be explained in the light of similar tendencies in the American movement.

3. **Current Problems and Tendencies of the Labor Movement with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.**.....Max Levin
In Yiddish and English

This course will consist of six lessons and will include topics such as: Nationalization of Basic Industries; Workers Control in Industries; Shop Committees; Collective Bargaining; Open Shop; Injunctions, etc.

Throughout this course an attempt will be made to illustrate every point of discussion with actual facts and incidents which have recently developed in the World of Capital and Labor.

Special attention will be given to the problems and tendencies of the I. L. G. W. U.

This course will be given by Max Levin with the assistance of Harry Rogoff.

4. **The Methods of Trade Unionism in America**
In Yiddish

5. **The Evolution of the Industry**

How the home of the artisan in which he and his family worked developed into the modern shop.

Economic forces, scientific inventions and discoveries, and social and intellectual changes which caused the change.

The effect on consumers and leading to a struggle between the workers and the employers.

Functions of Trade Unionism.

- II. **TALKS TO BE GIVEN** at business meetings of Local Unions on current economic and labor problems and on hygiene by prominent speakers.

The work of the Extension Division is of particular importance for those members of the I. L. G. W. U. who wish to occupy positions of responsibility in the organization, such as shop chairmen, members of Executive Boards and price committees. The complex nature of modern industry and of modern society demands from such persons more than the usual information about matters of interest to workers. The courses described above will give the information and training which will increase the usefulness of the members to the International and to the Labor Movement.

UNITY CENTERS

- East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63, Fourth Street, near First Avenue, Manhattan.
Weinmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40, 329 East 20th Street, Manhattan.
Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171, 102d Street, between Madison and Fifth Avenues, Manhattan.

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

(Continued From Last Week)

NECESSITY FOR EDUCATION

The progress of working class organization and outlook foreshadows the approach of fundamental changes in our social and industrial relations and gives education a new meaning to trade unionists. It is therefore becoming more urgent that, as far as possible, trade unionists, but more especially those holding positions of responsibility in executive, district, and branch organizations, should be men and women having a wide range of knowledge germane to economic and political problems, and such trained capacity as will enable them not only to understand the immediate results of decisions and actions but also to foresee possible ultimate results.

Apart from these general considerations, the increasing activities of trade unions have called into existence a series of educational problems which can only be satisfactorily dealt with by trade unions accepting responsibility for the provision of suitable facilities.

A brief comparison between the activities of trade union branches and district organizations thirty years ago with those that obtain today will illustrate this striking change. Trade union government involves an ever-increasing responsibility. The administration of trade union rules and regulations has become more intricate and difficult, and each new amalgamation and federation increases these complexities.

The success of both trade negotiations and strikes is to-day a far truer measure of the intelligent loyalty of the members and the tact and trained judgment of branch and district officers than it was three decades ago. In addition, a greatly increased complexity in business organizations, necessitating a corresponding growth in the industrial and political activities of trade unions, both local and national, during the last twenty years, is one of the most significant developments of the century.

All this clearly points to the need for a corresponding development in educational activities. Many negotiations and strikes that have failed would have succeeded, and much other useful work might have been accomplished by the trade unions, if only a small portion of the money that has been spent in these struggles had been devoted to training the latent mental capacity of the men engaged in them.

(To be Continued.)

The composition of the Royal Commission of 1891, heavily weighted against the wage earners, typified the attitude of the government to trade unions. Yet after an inquiry extending over a period of two years, it not only failed to bring an indictment against trade unionism, but the reforms recommended by the Labor Minority Report have since been put into effect to a large extent.

The Taff Vale decision of 1901, which imposed on trade unions "complete corporate liability for any injury or damage caused by any person who could be deemed to be acting as the agent of the union" made the Labor Representative Committee a real political force; was primarily responsible in 1906 for the return of twenty-nine Labor and twelve Liberal-Labor representatives to the House, and won for trade unions "exceptional statutory privileges for the protection of trade union officials in the exercise of their lawful vocation, and of pickets in the performance of their lawful functions."

The Osborne Judgment of 1909, which jeopardized the political and educational activities of trade unions and their participation in municipal administration, compelled the House, as an alternative to restoring the freedom of trade unions, to agree to pay to members of the House a salary of £400 per year, and was finally reversed by the Trade Union Act of 1913, which gave to trade unions power to include in their constitution "any lawful object."

These attacks on the movement not only failed to weaken it but have given to trade unions and their officials an increased legal status and new statutory powers, which have been further enhanced by war conditions.

In addition to the phenomenal increase in membership, power and responsibility, a fundamental change has taken place in the social outlook of the members.

During the Royal Commission on Labor, 1891-94, there was no suggestion that trade unions should participate in the management of industry. Today, democratic control of industry, through the direct participation of trade unions in its management, is regarded by a number of the largest unions as "the next step." The numerous discussions on the ethics of "direct action" are equally indicative of the great change that is taking place in the psychology of the working class. This change, we are of opinion, is primarily due to the striking growth and development of trade unionism.

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61, Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Bronx.

Second Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 42, Washington Avenue and Claremont Parkway.

Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43, Brown Place and 135th Street, Bronx.

Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 84, Stone and Glenmore Avenues, Brooklyn.

Williamsburg Unity Center—P. S. 147, Bushwick Avenue and McKibben Street, Brooklyn.

Cards entitling members to tickets at reduced prices to concerts, Jewish Art Theater, and other attractions, can be obtained at the Unity Centers, the offices of Local Unions and the office of the Educational Department.

The opening exercises of the Workers' University will be held on Saturday evening, November 18.

The Unity Centers will open on September 11.

Register for the courses at once!

For information apply at the office of your local union or at the office of
EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT
3 West 16th Street, New York

Chelsea 2148

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

(Meeting, Wednesday, Aug. 9, 1922.)

Brother Berlin in Chair

Communications

In communication, the United Textile Workers of America expressed their gratefulness for our donation of \$500 to the striking textile workers.

Local No. 25, in communication, approved the minutes of the Joint Board of July 26th, with the exception of the part dealing with the assignment of Sister Miriam Levine to work in the Association Department. Local No. 25 contends that the number of waist shops has been reduced, and that the best way to control these shops is to have them under the supervision of one person. As Sister Levine is the only Womanaker Business Agent, they therefore urged the Joint Board to re-consider the previous decision in this matter.

Local No. 25 also approved the minutes of the Joint Board of August 2, and the Executive Board took particular notice of Brother Hochman's report, his proposals being adopted most enthusiastically. The Executive Board as a body pledges its fullest support and co-operation in carrying out each and every one of his proposals in the spirit in which they were presented.

Recommendations of the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors reported that they held a meeting on August 7th and recommended the following:

1st. In compliance with the Joint Board decision, the Board of Directors decided to call the first meeting of shop chairmen and active members, for the purpose of taking up the recommendations of the Joint Board, on Thursday, August 24th.

2nd. In reference to the communication from Local 89, which was referred from the Joint Board, upon being taken up it was brought out that the appointment of business agents and also the appointment of Brother Amico as Organizer were already acted upon. Therefore Local No. 89 should be informed accordingly.

3rd. Brother Hochman reported that during the absence of Brother Horowitz, who is on his vacation, Brother Shapiro is acting as Chief Clerk of the Association Department, and that he is attending to the work in a very efficient manner.

During this time two strikes were called against the International Dress Co., and also Goldberg & Glick, members of the Association. The latter settled, while the first is still on strike.

4th. Brother Hochman reported that a conference was arranged between the Union and the Embroidery Association for August 8; and that a mass meeting was arranged for the embroidery workers for August 9th at 3 p. m. Therefore he advised the Board to appoint a chairman for this meeting.

Thereupon Brother Berlin was requested to act as chairman.

5th. Brother Hochman reported that he and the committee which was appointed to take up the writ of the out-of-town shops with the officers of the International, took same up with Brother Bareff, who referred their request to the Organization Department, of which Brother Halpern is in charge.

6th. Brother Hochman advised that when the recommendations of the Joint Board will be approved by the Locals, a joint meeting should then be arranged of all the Executive Boards of the affiliated locals with

our Joint Board, for the purpose of convincing those members of the Executive Board who are not as yet convinced, as to the good the change in the system of work will do; and that units from each Executive Board be organized who should convey the practicability of the change to the members of our Union. Also, that he expects to launch a news campaign in the press, in order to enlighten our members about the decision of the Joint Board. Circulars will be printed about same and distributed as far as is possible.

7th. Brother Hochman reported that 72 contractors were called on strike, two-thirds of them either Association or Independent shops, and one-third upon shops. The Organization Department is doing its utmost in order to settle with the firm of Dorfman & Wiesen. Daily meetings are held with the strikers, addressed by Brother Hochman, Brother Antonini, and Comrade Jaeger. The strikers, with the exception of those from the Vienna Dress and Schildhouse, are behaving in a very praiseworthy manner.

In Re Dress Association.

8th. Brother Hochman made arrangements with the Association to have our complaints attended to on time; he also took up the strike against Dorfman & Wiesen. The Association shops will be visited within the next few days, and when the visits will be completed we will be in a position to know the exact doings in these shops, and then enable us to adopt measures to make them better Union shops.

The report of Brother Hochman was approved.

9th. Brother Mackoff submitted a financial statement of expenses incurred by the Joint Board for the locals for the month of July.

10th. An inquiry was made of Brother Mackoff as to who pays strike benefits to members of Local No. 58. He stated that we pay strike benefit to members of Local No. 58 and also all organization expenses in connection with same, but we have not succeeded in collecting any money from said Local.

The Board of Directors decided to recommend to the Joint Board to request the International to revoke the charter of Local No. 58 and transfer their membership to the respective locals in view of the fact that they do not function for the purpose of what a labor union should do.

11th. The Board of Directors decided to request Locals 25 and 60 to deposit a revolving fund with the Joint Board, according to a decision of the Joint Board, that each local must have a revolving fund with the Joint Board, which they fail to have.

In regard to the part dealing with the embroidery workers, Brother Hochman reported that the conference was held with the Association, resulting in practically reaching a tentative agreement, and that the arranged mass meeting of the embroidery workers, which was held in the auditorium of the Rand School, was very well attended to. The speakers who addressed the embroidery workers were enthusiastically received. It was further decided to have another mass meeting next Tuesday, for the purpose of making final arrangements as to the cessation of work in the embroidery industry.

Appointment of Committee on Referendum.

Upon motion, a committee consisting of Brothers Frohling, Schechter, Bernstein, Eggitt, Sisters Krunhardt and Luchwsky was appointed to take the referendum, it being understood that this committee will work out plans how and when to take the referendum, and submit same to the Joint Board.

Unity House Committee Report.

The Unity House Committee reported that since the last time they reported to the Joint Board, the number of vacationists at Unity House had increased. According to our records, we have classified the vacationists into three classes, which are:

1st. Members of locals affiliated with our Joint Board.

2nd. Members of all labor organizations, and

3rd. Unity sympathizers.

We find that our members predominate, the members of other labor organizations come second, while the outsiders come third.

We have learned from different people that everyone who comes to Unity House is very well pleased in every respect. The Unity House Committee is responsible for same, as they are anxious to make an institution of Unity House so that it will deserve its name.

The Manager of Unity House, Mr. Marvin, about whom we have already reported, has been doing quite satisfactory work. However, in view of the fact that we have done away with a kitchen steward this year, who has

always been employed in previous years, and also decreased the force in the dining room, the work therefore was too heavy for Mr. Marvin. About three weeks ago, Mr. Marvin was so run down that he could not possibly continue attending to all the duties he was charged with by the Unity Committee. The committee therefore considered a plan that we engage a competent worker to assist Mr. Marvin. At that time, some of the members of the committee were out of town, however the few who were here urged Brother Rothenberg, chairman of Unity House Committee, to go to Unity House and assist Mr. Marvin.

When all the members of the Unity Committee were back in town, a meeting was held, and unanimously decided to request Brother Rothenberg to remain at Unity House for the remainder of the season. It is to be understood that Brother Rothenberg will be reimbursed for approximately the salary he would have received had he been working in the shop. The committee wishes to assure the Joint Board, that in making this recommendation it does not reiterate its previous decision, that the chairman of the Unity House Committee shall not be a paid officer. We did not expect to have Unity House as filled as it is, and as we had no kitchen steward, therefore it was absolutely necessary for us to request Brother Rothenberg to stay at Unity House for four or five weeks.

Upon motion, the report of the Unity House Committee was approved.

Co-Operative Notes

WORKERS ORGANIZE CO-OPERATIVE BANK IN PENNSYLVANIA CAPITAL

The railway brotherhoods and trade unions of Harrisburg, the capital city of Pennsylvania, announce the organization of the Fraternity Trust Company, a co-operative bank controlled by the workers and operated on the same plan of sharing earnings with depositors which has brought such success to the Engineers' Co-operative National Bank of Cleveland. The Fraternity Trust Company has an authorized minimum capital of \$200,000.00 with a surplus of \$20,000.00. The shares are but \$10.00 each, plus \$2.00 for surplus, so that every worker in the neighborhood of Harrisburg can become a part owner of the bank.

The Fraternity Trust Company will have regular commercial, savings and trust departments, and will be managed by experienced bankers in sympathy with the co-operative ideal. The keynote of the new bank is service, which will be exemplified from the smallest to the largest depositor.

Instead of starting another bank under a new charter, the Harrisburg co-operators have secured an option on the greater part of the stock of the Federal Title and Trust Company, a going institution in the capital city, with resources of over \$275,000.00. This bank owns its own site, building, and contents; which the workers co-operative bank will take over. It is planned to complete the entire work of the organization by Labor Day, and open the Fraternity Trust Company not later than the first of the year.

SAN DIEGO CO-OPERATORS WIN STORES

The co-operators of San Diego, California, after seven months of litigation, have finally regained full possession of their three valuable stores, seized from them by the receiver for the defunct Pacific "Co-operative"

League, a mismanaged adulteration of real co-operation, which recently wrecked forty-three Pacific Coast co-operators owned by some 16,000 workers.

The three stores of the San Diego co-operators are among the very best on the Pacific coast, and were in a thriving condition when their resources were taken by the promoters of the Pacific Coast League to cover up their debts elsewhere. Without the knowledge or consent of the San Diego co-operators, the League sold their stores to a subsidiary corporation which in turn handed them over to the receiver.

The decision of the court turns this valuable property back to the co-operators, and holds that the League had no right or title to it. The stores have already been reopened and are again building up their former substantial trade.

Following the blow-up of the Pacific League, its promoters formed a "Co-operative Finance Company" controlled by a voting trust of three "insiders," co-operative in name only. This organization actually got \$50,000.00 more of the workers' good money when the California Corporation Commissioner found it was operated under false pretenses and ordered it to withdraw immediately and cancel all its various letters and proposals. The promoters have skipped over the border to the state of Nevada and are organizing a new scheme called "The Western Finance Company" to hook additional suckers.

In order to save the workers the loss of millions of dollars through All-American Co-operative Commission of Cleveland, national headquarters of farmer-labor co-operators, has published a booklet on "How to Detect Fake Co-operatives," which our readers may secure without charge.

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

WAIST AND DRESS

In spite of the dullness in the industry and the long unemployment to which the dress and waist cutters have been subjected, nevertheless, when the proposition of levying a \$13 assessment, which is to be used as an Organization Fund in January, 1923, came up, the men voted in favor of it. This was one of three propositions for the improvement of the trade submitted by the Joint Board of the Waist and Dress Makers' Union, at the special meeting of the cutters of the Waist and Dress Branch, which was held on Monday, August 14, 1922, in Arlington Hall.

The meeting was the regular monthly one of this branch, but when the Executive Board was informed that the Joint Board was effecting plans for re-organization of the trade, it decided to make this a special meeting. Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Joint Board, was present at this meeting, where he outlined in detail the plans.

When Manager Dubinsky rendered his regular report, he by no means attempted to gloss over the real conditions as they confront the dress and waist cutters. He pointed out in his report that the industry has degenerated and that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the union to enforce conditions. At the close of his report, as is the custom, a number of members wanted to discuss it. However, in view of the fact that Brother Hochman was present to take up just this matter with the men, it was decided that the discussion should embrace the reports and recommendations of both managers.

Brother Hochman, in his opening remarks, stated that it was the first time in his experience as an officer of the union that he appeared before the cutters. He said he considered it an honor to address them, as he always admired them and remembered them as the pioneers of the organizers of the ladies' garment industry. In dwelling upon the conditions as they exist at the present time, Hochman quoted International President Schlesinger, when he stated that the tendency of the shops in the dress and waist trade was towards barber shops—a boss and two assistants.

The manager of the Joint Board heard the criticism heaped upon the union and in his talk to the men he in no way attempted to refute some of the statements. He said that he does not question the ripeness of the industry for an intensive reorganization. In connection with this he pointed out that he regretted that his first appearance before the cutters should be for the purpose of discussing money matters. The head of the Joint Board stated that he would be much more pleased if this were a meeting where he would be called upon to discuss matters of a general nature. Nevertheless, money is one of the most important factors in the life of the union and he was therefore compelled to stress this point.

When plans for the improvement of the trade were taken up by the Joint Board, three propositions were adopted:

1. The immediate institution of a campaign which would make the workers receptive of the week-work system in place of the present chaotic piece-work system;
2. The levying of a \$20 assessment upon all members of the Waist and Dress Industry;
3. The calling of regular monthly meetings of shop chairmen and chair-ladies.

When the first proposition was taken up, only Brother Harry Berlin, delegate of Local 10 to, and president of, the Joint Board, discussed it, after which the motion to approve of this was carried by over three hundred votes.

On the second proposition, the levying of a \$20 assessment, an amendment was made that the cutters should go on record as assessing themselves with \$13. It should be borne in mind that the assessment, as proposed by the Joint Board, is one of \$20. This includes, however, assessments totaling \$6.50, of which \$5.50 were levied by the International Convention for its Out-of-Town Organization Fund, and \$1 of which is the assessment levied upon the members by an All-Executive Board Committee meeting of the various locals, which money is to go in support of the miners in their present struggle.

Hence, when the Joint Board decided upon a \$20 assessment, it was decided at the same time that one-third of this revert to the locals in payment of the assessments levied by the International.

When the amendment for \$13 was made it was pointed out that the bulk of the dress and waist cutters had already paid some of the International assessments. The purpose of the amendment was, therefore, to just levy the Joint Board organization assessments, as the cutters will pay directly to the local the various other taxes.

As was to be expected, the discussion on this matter was long and heated. Yet no speaker spoke against it. They all pointed out that the need for an organization tax was beyond question; that the conditions in the trade warrant an intensive re-organization campaign, which would check the present evil of the "social shops." This matter was voted upon in favor by the majority of the members.

In speaking of the need for an organization campaign fund immediately upon the expiration of the existing agreement, Manager Dubinsky pointed to the successful war waged by the Cloakmakers' Joint Board on the "social shops." He said that it was mainly the two \$20 assessments that were levied upon the members of this industry during the past two years to which their success was due. Dubinsky also pointed to the minor struggle which is being waged since April 1. He said that these workers were able to hold out mainly because of the presence of funds.

There is no question but that the outlining by the two managers of the chaotic conditions which exist in the trade today and the need for the abolition of the piece-work system, greatly enlightened the members. Dubinsky said that the members were prone to believe that the disorganization in an industry is attributable to a few individuals. He, the manager, pointed out that such a belief is without foundation, as incompetent organizers can be done away with very easily, while to effect fundamental changes is a far more difficult task.

In bringing out this point, Brother Dubinsky cited the constant struggles to which the union is subjected. As an instance of this, he mentioned the strike which the union is now conducting against Dorfman and Wolsen, jobber. There were some eighty shops of this jobber's contractors out on strike, involving over one thousand workers, because the firm was guilty of a breach of the agreement. Instead of sending the work to

union shops, the work was being sent to non-union shops.

In answering a charge that the problem of the cutter was neglected, Brother Hochman pointed out the fact that the organizers were instructed not to send back any shop without a cutter. He said that when a cutter is assigned to a shop, he is required to watch it and not neglect it in the event that he is not put to work at once. He also read part of a letter in which the chairmen and chair-ladies of the various shops were urged to see to it that all the work is cut by union cutters.

To Nationalize Mines in France

(Continued from page 5)

tries. In this way the causes of war, which are always economic for the greater part, will be eliminated."

The French miners' scheme regulates the election of supervisory workers; productive measures are to be identical for all grades.

An interesting experiment.

To those who assert that this plan is Utopian, we would reply by pointing out the results of an experiment already made.

As it was impossible to obtain a mining concession which in any case would have necessitated an initial expenditure of millions of francs, the Federation purchased a slate quarry 25 miles from Angers. The quarry has been working for the past 18 months with the best results. Forty workers are at present employed there and 150 to 200 will be employed within a

few months. We shall continue exploiting in subterranean galleries. When we are in a position to give indisputable proof, we shall demand mining concessions. It will be very difficult for a government to refuse these, because numerous claims have been given up by capitalists simply in order to stifle competition. Our experiment has already yielded good results, for the good workers who were boycotted by the employers have found remunerative employment, and the employers in the district are fully aware of this. This experiment will enable us to furnish tangible facts. After a full year we shall be able to fully verify our experience.

The Belgian miners decided as a proof of solidarity to authorize their Executive Committee to subscribe 5,000 francs for the debenture stock which the company which is working the quarry has just issued.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

General Monday, August 28th

Waist and Dress Monday, Sept. 11th

Miscellaneous " " "

NOTE—There will be no meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division in September, as the first Monday falls on Labor Day.

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

All unemployed Cloak and Suit Cutters are urged to present themselves at the office of the Union, 231 East 14th Street, as the Union is in a position to supply them with jobs.

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.