

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES'

JUSTICE

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

5 UNION
New York
43 St. Liberty
N. Y. City
10018

Vol. IV, No. 29

New York, Friday, July 14,

Price, 2 Cents

N. Y. CLOAK AGREE SUBMITTED TO REFERENDUM

The entire membership of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York City have now the say on the question of adopting or rejecting the new agreement prepared by the conference committees of the Union and the Protective Association. This Friday and Saturday the 55,000 cloakmakers of New York will vote upon this matter.

It is true that a majority of the executive boards of the locals have already voted for the adoption of the agreement, namely locals 3, 10, 17, 23, 35 and 48 and as such, the agreement is legally adopted. Nevertheless, the Joint Board decided that since this agreement has raised acrimonious

discussions and since two local executive boards have rejected it, notwithstanding the thorough and complete elucidation of such clause of the agreement by the Chairman and the members of the Settlement Committee—that the entire question be referred to a referendum vote of the membership of the Cloakmakers' Union.

On the eve of the balloting, President Schlesinger has issued this final statement to the cloakmakers which puts the entire question with regard to the agreement squarely before the workers and leaves no doubtful point or question unanswered:

Pres. Schlesinger to the Cloakmakers of New York

To the Members of the Cloakmakers' Union:

The rank and file of the Cloakmakers' Union are called upon to decide whether the proposed agreement with our employers shall be accepted or rejected.

I want every cloakmaker to vote, and to vote with his eyes wide open and with a clear understanding of the situation.

In a public statement which I made several days ago, I said: "Personally, I consider the proposed agreement a decided and unqualified victory for the Union." I meant every word of it. The agreement submitted for your approval preserves everything that we have fought for and won in all the years of our struggles, and whatever is new in it is practically all in favor of the workers.

The evil of the "social" or "corporation" shop, which justly excites so much talk in our ranks, cannot be eliminated by an agreement with the Protective Association. According to latest and most reliable figures, of the \$700,000,000 worth of cloaks and suits manufactured annually in New York, only 30 per cent are sold by so-called legitimate manufacturers; 70 per cent is sold by jobbers who have no shops and do not manufacture a single garment on their own premises, but have their work made up for them in outside shops. The evil of the petty shop cannot, therefore, be eradicated by an agreement with the Protective Association, who manufactures and sell only a small part of the annual output of cloaks and suits, but the Union must especially go after the thousands of small shops working for jobbers who sell the bulk of the output. This the Union intends

to do immediately after the agreement with the Protective Association is ratified.

The principle which has been at the bottom of all our past arrangements with the Protective Association was that the employers agreed to adjust every complaint and grievance of the workers by the method of arbitration, and the Union in return agreed that there would be no shop strikes pending the adjustment of grievances. This arrangement was made because the Union found it more profitable for the workers to adjust disputes through the medium of an impartial tribunal than to expose the workers to perpetual fights in the shape of strikes and lockouts.

The Union is a responsible body whose contracts can be relied on, and when it agrees that there shall be no shop strikes, it means that it will seriously and honestly endeavor to avoid such strikes. Both sides, however, realize that in the heat and passion of a dispute with an employer, workers will occasionally strike in spite of any agreement to the contrary. To meet that situation, our contract provides that workers who go on strike in any shop shall not immediately lose their contract, but that the Union shall be given notice by the Association of the stoppage, and it shall have twenty-four (24) hours within which to return the strikers to work, and that the grievance of the workers shall then be taken up and adjusted.

But suppose that the workers refuse to take the order of the Union and remain on strike. The Association claimed the right under such circumstances to rescind the whole contract with the

C. continued on Page Three.

New York Locals Vote \$100,000 for Striking Miners

The joint meeting of the executive boards of the International locals in Greater New York, summoned by President Schlesinger for July 6th to deal with the question of relief for the striking miners, was an immense success in every sense of the word. From the first to the last minute, the spirit of genuine interest in the struggle of the miners and of a warm fraternal bond did not abate. It was felt that the delegates from the locals came to aid the miners and aid them with a generous hand.

All the executive boards of all the locals of Greater New York were present and the beautiful auditorium of our new building was packed, in spite of the oppressive heat, with executive board members who came, not to listen to speeches, but to give a ready response to the appeal of the leaders of the miners on behalf of the valiant coal diggers.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, came specially for this meeting from Washington and so did John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and Wm. F. Green, Secretary of that organization.

President Schlesinger was the chairman of the meeting. A roll

call disclosed that of our twenty-six locals in Greater New York, twenty-three were present at the beginning of the meeting; the others came later. The first speaker was William Green, the Secretary of the miners. He delivered a long and inspiring speech drawing a striking parallel between the miners' organization and the organization of our workers and dwelled on points of similarity between two great labor organizations. Like the sweatshops in our industry, the miners have had "sweat-mines" to combat against; they had and still have the same seasonal work like the garment workers, and had to endure long hours, miserable pay, and unspeakable treatment. But the miners have had the same fine fighting spirit that the workers in the women's wear industry have displayed in the past decade and they have built up for themselves a magnificent organization. Now this organization is being threatened by Big Business and organized finance. The miners are putting up a wonderful fight but they need help. They look forward to the ladies' garment workers to aid them.

President Lewis delivered an impassioned appeal for the strikers and gave a detailed story of how the min-

ers fight for the preservation of their union; how they are being hounded by injunctions, state troops, and brutal mine police, and how all these provocations have not succeeded in inciting the embattled mine workers into acts of violence. The final speech was delivered by President Gompers who was greeted with applause and made a strong plea for the strikers.

The speeches over, President Schlesinger called upon the assembled to proceed to act upon the appeal of the miners' leaders. After a number of motions and amendments were proposed, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

WHEREAS, 600,000 miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America, are engaged for the last three months in a life and death struggle for the preservation of their union, their national agreements and the livelihood of the hundreds of thousands of their dependents, and

WHEREAS, this titanic struggle of the mine workers was deliberately forced upon them by the mine barons of the United States, backed by all the power and wealth of Wall Street, as the climax in the nation-

wide "open shop" drive against organized labor, and

WHEREAS, we, the ladies' garment workers of New York City, fully realize that the fight of the miners is our own fight and that they deserve the guaranteed moral and material support of every union man and woman in America, therefore be it

RESOLVED that we, the representatives of the ladies' garment workers' unions of Greater New York, in conference assembled, having listened to the eloquent appeals by President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and John L. Lewis and William Green, President and General Secretary, respectively, of the United Mine Workers of America, on behalf of the striking miners, pledge ourselves and the members of our organizations in Greater New York to contribute to the relief fund of the striking miners the sum of \$100,000, and be it further

RESOLVED that a representative committee of all the locals present be elected to organize the raising of this fund in all our shops through the offices of the joint boards and the locals represented, in as effective and speedy a manner as possible.

President Schlesinger thereupon informed the executive boards that he would appoint at once a committee which would work out a plan to raise the money, and the meeting closed in a heightened and inspiring atmosphere.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

TROOPS, INJUNCTIONS AND THE SHOPMEN STRIKE

SOON after the shopmen had gone out on strike the capitalist press raised a howl about impending riots in the railroad shop centers. Insinuations were persistently made of murderous assaults plotted against strikebreakers by the strikers. Public opinion was in this way prepared for the violent attack on the shopmen by the companies and the government. After the first week's strike six states have mobilized their troops to quell the awaited outbreaks of the "outlaw" shopmen. Other states and the federal government are also preparing for the great "emergency."

President Harding is not going to be neutral in this strike. First, because the Labor Board, a government agency, has already handed down its decisions; second, because "neutrality" in the coal strike has flamed out. The declaration, then, that the strike is an "outlaw," and "un-American subversion of law and order," "an outrage upon public decency, and would hasten the enthronement of anarchy in this country," is the official view of the government. The use of strikebreakers, protected by troops is, therefore, the logical policy of the companies and the government. Injunctions cannot surprise anybody. At this writing the Illinois Central and the Chicago and Northwestern have already applied for injunctions. There is no doubt that their request will be granted. Similar pleas are expected by every railroad company.

The shopmen knew what they were up against before they had gone out on strike. They expected injunctions, arrests, blood-curdling tales of their plans to riot and kill. They expected to be misrepresented and maligned by the kept press. But they also expected that the workers who were affected by the Board's verdict to starvation would present a united front. Didn't all the workers vote to take common action? Weren't they all to lay down their tools and go out on strike July 1? What happened on this and the following days are the most tragic and heartrending events in the history of labor. Four days after the shopmen strike had been declared, E. F. Cralle, President of the Maintenance of Way Men's Union, issued a statement calling off the strike. Daniel W. Helt, President of the Brotherhood of Signalmen, followed a few days later, with an announcement cancelling the strike order. The statement explaining the decision of the executives of the Maintenance of Way Men's Union is in part as follows:

"We have determined upon the following course:

"First, to instruct our chairman on each carrier to take up promptly with the management all the grievances and controversies between the members of our organization and the carriers for the purpose of negotiating a speedy adjustment.

"Second, in case of a failure, to secure from any carrier fair and reasonable concessions in regard to the various matters involved, to bring these matters before the United States Railroad Labor Board, with assurances that they shall be given the right of way for prompt consideration and division.

"Third, to continue work under the present wage decision of the Labor Board under protest, pending the efforts to obtain a satisfactory adjustment.

"Fourth, to insist that any revision of wages obtained be made retroactive to July 1."

What have the workers gained by revoking the strike order? Nothing except the "right to protest." But they have succeeded in delivering one of the heaviest blows not only to the shopmen, but to the entire labor movement. The shopmen are now seeking a conference with the railroad companies. "If any one has a proposition for settlement up his sleeve," said President Jewell, "let him shake it out. We are ready to consider any reasonable proposition submitted by any authoritative persons or group." The companies and the Labor Board, after successfully splitting the ranks of labor, are not inclined to reconsider the shopmen's case. They have set a time limit for the strikers to return to work or lose their seniority and rights of service. They are out to break the strike and the various railroad brotherhoods are helping them in this work.

PRESIDENT HARDING IS UP AGAINST IT

LAST Saturday President Harding returned from a week's automobile trip in Ohio, his home state. There he forgot his worries and responsibilities, and confided in his neighbors that he looked forward to the day when he will come back home a private citizen. He gave vent to those sentiments in anticipation perhaps of his return to Washington. For no sooner had he entered the White House than he summoned his advisers and began his deliberations on the staggering problems that confront him. Perhaps this is the first time since his accession to office that he is expected by his adherents and supporters to do things to lead, a thing which is so foreign to his nature. Up to the present he followed the easy policy of drift. Now he is expected to assume mastery. He always believed that things would somehow or somewhere right themselves. He is now forced to direct and right things. What are the problems that face him? And how is he going to solve them?

Of the problems to be met by the President the first that must be settled is the coal strike. Settlement of this cannot be delayed much longer. Unless the anthracite miners resume operation within a few weeks there will be shortage of coal in the winter. Some think there will be some suffering even if the strike should be lifted soon. The railroads, it is estimated, cannot transport coal to remote sections of the country in time for winter consumption. The conference between the miners and the operators the President called over a week ago has even failed to reach any basis for negotiation. After one session the conferees decided that the only thing they can do short of disrupting the conference is to take a vacation. So the conference was adjourned. It is up to the President to force a settlement. But what kind of a settlement? When these lines are read his program will perhaps be made known.

But, after all, the President does not feel obliged to please labor. He is not the workers' representative. He does not feel that he owes anything

to labor. And, unfortunately, he knows that labor wields no political power, and consequently he does not fear labor. It is the situation in his own party that gives him and his advisers all the trials and tribulations. The G. O. P. suffered during the last several months a series of defeats. In one state after another candidates for governor or for the United States Senate, dear to the President's heart, were overwhelmingly repudiated.

The three measures of the administration—the ship subsidy bill, the tariff and the bonus—are also having hard clodding. The ship subsidy bill, which seeks to enrich the ships' companies at the expense of the American people, has struck a large and ugly rock in the form of the liquor question. The "tariff of abominations," which seeks to "protect" the profits of the manufacturing interests, has aroused the vigorous opposition from the farmers, middle class and the workers. The Republican Senators passed the buck to the President, but it is doubtful whether he could whip Congress into acceptance of his measures and thereby bring about "normalcy." He is simply up against a difficult proposition.

THE GERMAN REPUBLIC IN DANGER

THE German Republic has been resting on a volcano since its birth. The cry "The Republic is in danger" has been repeated wherever it had to meet an installment of reparations payment to the Allies. Now the republic was to give way to a Communist dictatorship, and now again to a monarchy. This time it is the danger of monarchy that Germany is facing.

The unusual precautionary measures the German government is adopting against the monarchists indicates the weakness of the former and the strength of the latter. The monarchists are utilizing the chaotic economic conditions prevailing in Germany due to the burdensome reparations demand of the Allies, and the utter helplessness of the Wirth government to do anything. It is apparent to all that France aims primarily at the destruction of German economic power. The French have only to stand on the letter of their treaty rights and the German republic will fall and an era of disorder and chaos, apt for territorial seizures, will follow. The monarchists claim that there is no hope for Germany, except in resistance, and the republic is not a fit form for organized resistance. This appeals to a large portion of the German people. Hence their strength. Hence the fear of the government.

The Wirth government is aware that it cannot save the republic by merely issuing reparative measures against the monarchists. Chancellor Wirth, therefore, is trying to revamp and amplify the present coalition through the inclusion of Independent Socialists and perhaps also Communists. Meanwhile, the industrial situation is menacing. In the Ruhr sector the government is confronted with a walkout of the miners, while the strike of the Berlin printers is tying up twenty bourgeois newspapers in Berlin. Aggravating its worries, the government is helplessly looking on the dizzy fall of the mark. And on July 15 it must deliver fifty million gold marks to the Allies, the regular reparations installment for this month.

How will the government meet these conditions? By again appealing to the Allies for a revision of its terms of payment, and by an Allied moratorium of at least two years. Premier Lloyd George seemed very alarmed at the German situation. He called a special cabinet meeting. He appealed to the American government to help find a way out of this critical situation. He showed a readiness to reconsider and perhaps agree to revise the reparations terms. But America so far has her hands full with the tariff, the ship subsidy bill, the bonus, the strikes, and is not inclined to interfere in European troubles. Alleged aloofness is so much easier, and it at least has the appearance of astuteness and statesmanship. France, on the other hand, is too interested in the present situation to permit any changes. Chaos and disorder in Germany prevents, in fact, the ideal situation for French militarism. Lloyd George thus far has failed to assume leadership as far as European affairs are concerned. The policy of France dominates Western Europe. And as hitherto Lloyd George will in all likelihood follow the leadership of Poincare.

BARGAINING AT THE HAGUE

ENDURANCE seems to be the outstanding characteristic of The Hague Conference, as it had been of its predecessor in Geneva. Take so many of our own industrial conferences; they break up almost before they have actually started to work. In Europe, on the other hand, no matter how opposed the views may be, or how fundamentally incompatible the outlook is, the diplomats can keep on "conferring and ad nauseam." The Hague presents a amusing illustration of this. For weeks now the Allied experts keep on arguing with the Russian representation, and they have not moved an inch from where they were months ago in Geneva. The Allies have said to the Russians: Pay your debts; recognize our national property rights; give us concessions; we might be willing later to listen to your demands and request for credits. No, say the Russians; give us credits; extend to us a loan; then we listen to your demands for debts and property rights, etc. This tune is played over and over again.

But behind this tedious melody some actual business seems to be transacted. It is reported that the Russians have concluded an agreement with Leslie Urquhart, head of the Association of British Creditors in Russia, which disposes of mining and industrial claims at \$300,000,000; that a similar agreement has been made with the Shell interests, the British oil syndicate. These agreements, it is declared, will be followed by the official recognition of the Soviet government by Great Britain. The Russian delegates are continuing to drive for separate peace with the various states represented at The Hague.

The French delegation was, of course, greatly incensed at the British negotiations for a separate agreement with the Russians. The presence of British industrial representatives at The Hague was vehemently protested by the French. Premier Poincare, it was reported, ordered his delegation to pack up and return home. The British, of course, immediately published denials of their secret negotiations with the Russians. No, the British protest, they are not accustomed to double-faced dealings, they are "playing square." But the French know from their own experience that diplomats cannot tell the truth. So they are using all their powers, first, to break up the conference, and, second, to prevent separate agreements.

Pres. Schlesinger to the Cloakmakers of New York

Continued From Page One.

Union. In October of 1920 the Protective Association has taken it upon itself to abrogate the contract on account of shop strikes. In our present negotiations, we took the position that the Union will not give to the Association the power to abrogate the agreement for one or more shop strikes, and we secured a new clause which provides that the Association shall have no right to abrogate the agreement for shop strikes unless it is determined by an impartial arbitrator (not by the Association itself), that the Union has been guilty of a substantial violation of that clause.

In the old agreement, the Union absolutely agreed to return striking workers to work within twenty-four (24) hours. Under this clause the employers maintained that if the workers did not return within the stipulated times, the impartial chairman will have the right to order the Union to expel such workers or to furnish other workers to take the place of the strikers. To avoid such a possibility, the Union has now limited its liability to an announcement in the appropriate press that there is no strike in the shops in which the workers have failed to return after the Union had ordered them to do so.

These are the only changes in the provisions against shop strikes and stop layouts, and in both instances they are distinct improvements on the old agreement.

The new clause in the agreement is to the effect that a full study will be made of the earnings and periods of employment in the industry within the next five (5) months; that the employers will submit their books to the investigators, including a Union representative. After the investigation has been completed, the Union and the Association will take up all questions as to earnings and periods of employment for adjustment between themselves. That means all complaints of the employers, as well as of the workers. Under this provision the Union will have a right not only to insist upon the present wages, but possibly even upon an increase in certain branches, and particularly upon arrangements for leadier and longer periods of work. If the Union and the Association fail to reach an agreement, all such questions will be submitted to arbitrators selected by both sides, and only if they fail to appoint a third and impartial arbitrator, the Governor of the State is authorized to appoint such an arbitrator.

This also is a provision favorable to the workers. For years we have been crying for an opportunity to make a full and impartial study of the annual earnings of our workers and periods of unemployment in the cloak industry, and for an opportunity to examine the books of our employers on these subjects. This opportunity we now have, and the Union can be relied on to put up a good and effective fight for the rights of the workers.

Thus, at a time when almost every other Union is compelled to submit to reductions of wages, increase of hours and

abandonment of their standards, the Cloakmakers' Union comes out not only without giving up anything, but with new concessions, and that for a period of two years.

Why, then, should it be necessary at all to take a general vote of the membership on the agreement?

Every responsible agency of our Union that has carefully examined the agreement favors it. The General Settlement Committee, composed of twenty members, has approved it unanimously. The Joint Board has ratified it, with but one single vote in opposition; the entire labor movement acclaims it as a signal victory; Morris Hillquit, the attorney for the Union, who has gone over every word of the agreement dozens of times throughout the long negotiations with the employers, and who has had a vast experience in collective agreements of labor unions, asserts that the proposed agreement is the best the Cloakmakers' Union has ever had; of the twelve local Executive Boards, only one has rejected the agreement by a pretty evenly divided vote, and another one has taken a unanimous stand against it, but without giving any valid reasons for its opposition.

Why, then, should the agreement be submitted to a referendum vote of the members?

My answer is that the referendum vote was ordered by the Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Union, and that I fully and heartily agreed with that decision, for the following reasons:

There has unfortunately developed within our ranks a small, but noisy, group of so-called "leaders," who consider it their duty to oppose the administration of our Union in all things and on general principles. They are utterly devoid of the sense of responsibility to the thousands of workers who have committed their fate and welfare into their hands; they are always ready to throw the industry into chaos and to precipitate the fifty thousand cloakmakers into senseless, needless strife and suffering and privations for the sake of gratifying their own petty politics and intrigue.

This is a dangerous situation for an important organization like ours; it threatens to disrupt our Union and to throw our workers back into the condition of weakness and helplessness which made them a prey to unscrupulous employers in the dark years before the Union. If our Union is to survive as a disciplined and effective instrument for the betterment of our conditions, the irresponsible disturbers must be rebuked by the membership so decidedly and overwhelmingly that they will never again indulge in a reckless play with the life and welfare of our workers.

The vote of the membership will be a test of their sentiments; it will show whether they stand by their officers who are giving all their strength and thought to secure a decent living for our workers, or whether they endorse the dangerous activities of the disturbers in our ranks.

Cloakmakers, your fate is in your own hands. Your vote will seal it!

A Busted "Nucleus"

By ABRAHAM TUVIM

The revocation of the charter of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union by its parent body, the American Federation of Labor, involves a question of trade union ethics and functions,—even though the affected union is small in numbers and influence. The number of critics of the American Federation of Labor is large, at least in the volume of sound they produce. They have seized upon the suspension of the B., S. & A. U. as indicative of final proof that the A. F. of L. is reactionary to the core, and that it will not permit a group of workers to conduct its affairs in a way that is contrary to the opinions of Samuel Gompers and the "reactionary leaders of labor."

It is not my intention to take up cudgels for either Gompers or the Federation, but to define the limitations of the functions of a trade union, in light of the principles accepted by the union at the time of its organization.

The B., S. & A. U. is supposed to function in the field of office workers. Its work is limited to the organization of this group of workers; to obtaining for them and maintaining the best possible conditions of employment, wages and hours. The same is true of all other groups of workers organized industrially, and there is rarely an instance of interference by the parent body in the pursuance of these functions. It is, moreover, a matter of record, that there are countless instances of International Unions and local bodies making radical departures from pure-

ly economic activities, and entering political and social activities. And though the A. F. of L. has frowned on such activities, it has not assumed to dictate policies to its affiliated bodies, if those bodies continued to work primarily on the economic field. These are the definite limitations of a trade union. It must either confine its main activities to economic efforts, or cease to call itself a trade union and claim recognition as such.

The B., S. & A. U. had ceased to function as a trade union. It has become the open and avowed instrument of some agencies outside the trade union movement as such, and was devoting its time and energy to the problem of bringing on the revolution at top speed. Its meetings had become unbearable because of continuous wrangling; it had set itself up as judge and jury of the labor world; condemning and ridiculing those whom it chose to characterize as "conservative" or "reactionary." With one fell swoop it condemned the Rand School, and almost succeeded in passing a resolution condemning the "Café." Its leader and paid official said that the "Café" was more reactionary than the "Times," and the latter could be depended upon to give labor's views with a greater degree of truth. The "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," well-nigh abandoned by this time by its originators, became the acme of all that is good and worth-while to this group.

In a word, this group has abandoned the purpose for which it was formed and assumed a new function. This new work, however, cannot be

considered as the work of a trade union by even the most liberal yardstick of free expression. It may be the function of a political group, the half dozen Communist groups or of the variegated and self-appointed "friends of Russia." But the American Federation of Labor would be remiss in its duties toward the entire labor movement if it permitted its affiliated bodies to lose sight of the reason for their existence, and become, like the bookkeepers' organization, the tool of a political group.

Nothing but dissolution and dis-

integration can follow the acceptance of such a course. The immediate needs of labor are infinitely more important to it than the ultimate. The latter depends mainly on circumstances uncontrolled by individuals or groups. The former is of primary importance, for it establishes a better basis for constructive effort, and affords greater opportunities for industrial and educational activities than those created by the catch-as-catch-can means advanced by the B., S. & A. U. advocates of a hasty and stumbling philosophy.

Conference of the Local Educational Committee Monday, July 17

The first joint conference of the local Educational Committee this season will be held on Monday, July 17th, right after work, in our auditorium, 3 West 16th Street. [This meeting is being called with a view to make the work of our Educational Department more effective and more useful to our members and our organization.]

We expect that the members of the

Educational Committee will consider it their duty to attend the conference and to help make the work a success, because it is with the help of the Local Educational Committee, who come in direct touch with the members and who are acquainted with their needs and wishes, that the work of our Educational Department can be improved and extended.

JUSTICE

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A Letter from England This and That from Cleveland

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service)

The shadow of two political assassinations is over Europe, this week. Not unstarbly there are many who would have liked to see the same indignation and horror that has been poured out in connection with these two crimes expressed also over the political murders of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and others who fell victims to capitalist and militarist plots, to say nothing of the many assassinations of obscure men, women and children who have been killed. Utter as a result of politico-religious passion that is by no means confined to Ireland. But it is something that no one can be found to defend these two latest outrages, and for that one must be grateful.

It is too early yet to say what will be the political consequences of Sir Henry Wilson's death, a particularly terrible business, executed as it was on his own doorstep. It has undoubtedly produced a good deal of hasty oratory in Parliament and out of it, which will not count for much. But it has further forced the hand of the Government here and induced them to send a kind of manifesto to Michael Collins which may be interpreted as some having caused the Provisional Government to depart from its conciliatory policy towards the rebel forces of the I. R. A. and to decide to put them down by force. At the moment of writing the Provisional forces are said to be proceeding by force against Rory O'Connell and the other occupants of the Four Courts.

While it is perfectly true that the decision made by Southern Ireland at the ballot box in favor, not only of the Treaty, but also through Labor successes in favor of a constructive social policy, appears in English eyes to give the Provisional Government full powers to deal as it likes with the rebel subject, at the same time England's experience should have taught her that you cannot deal with Irish rebels—either by logical methods—entirely by logical methods. It cannot be denied that until now the pacific methods of Michael Collins and his colleagues have prevented bloodshed in Southern Ireland, and gradually discredited the rebels of the Four Courts in the eyes of their countrymen. One might be pardoned for thinking that even the Die-Hards should not have been allowed to hasten British Government into sending that manifesto, though it is quite probable that any measure now taken by the Irish Cabinet would have been taken in any case, and independently of pressure from this side of the Channel.

Effects in Germany

So far the effects in Germany of the murder of Dr. Rathenau seem to have been the opposite of those desired by his murderers. If, as is generally thought, the intention was to produce a repetition of the Kapp Putsch, this time to be attended with success, the attempt would appear to have failed; for a rush together of all political parties in the Reichstag gave the Government the necessary powers to take strong measures against such a possibility. There is no apparent evidence in Germany today that anybody wants the Junkers back again. But the moral effects of the assassination remain, and are infinitely greater than those likely to result here from that of the soldier-politician, whose name was identified with a sectional policy in a section of Ireland. Dr. Rathenau's striking speech at Geneva still remains in people's minds as one of the most eloquent and statesmanlike utterances made at the Conference, and it is clear that the Ger-

man Socialists, although he was not actually one of them, regard his loss as a very serious one from the point of view of reconstruction.

Vandervelde in Moscow

I was much interested in Vandervelde's description of Moscow, as he reported to the Gazette, as he is interviewed on his return to Brussels. He speaks of there being perfect order there, the appearance of morality, no drunkenness, open shops and apparent prosperity, except for the housing crisis caused by the falling of so many houses into dis-repair. All this I can endorse from my own experience of Moscow in January and February of this year, except that according to Vandervelde's account the houses must have become startlingly worse since I was there. But he also speaks of the number of beggars, who were practically non-existent when I was there, except for the few who begged, as in all continental cities, outside the church doors. The fact that they have now reappeared seems to prove that one result of the restoration of private trading has been the return of beggars.

The Labor Conference

Nothing contentious was reached in yesterday's opening of the Labor Party's twenty-second annual conference at Edinburgh, where 800 delegates are now assembled. There was a slight breeze over a new rule, passed however by a large majority, which will exact from delegates to local labor parties and to national conferences a declaration of adherence to the constitution of the Labor Party, and forbids the choice of such delegates from organizations running Parliamentary candidates not endorsed by the party. This seems on the face of it reasonable enough, though the Communists naturally saw in it an attack upon the Communist organizations in the country. At the same time, if it means what it says, it cannot exclude candidates like Havelock Wilson, and other members of the extreme Right, who have been run at elections in opposition to Labor candidates, and who are not, properly speaking, Labor candidates at all. Robert Williams made this point during the debate; it remains to be seen if it was necessary to emphasize it.

The opening address to the Conference by the Chairman of the party, F. W. Jowett, was full of excellent matter. He made an able review of the industrial situation, interspersed with little sardonic remarks, such as that it was "Roses, roses all the way" for the Prince of Wales when he returned home last week (an event I seem to have overlooked in my news summary), but it was "Tears, tears all the way" for the mine's wife when she trooped to the Guards for relief. Excellent too was his observation that the Treaty of Versailles was founded on a lie—that Germany was the only country that caused the war and the policy of punishment which had reduced millions to poverty, including the workers of this country, was the spawn of that lie. And his conclusion was that the evils of the capitalist system have been so intensified by the war and the peace that no reforms can amend it; "It is the new social order we want; nothing else will prevent the degradation of labor." All of which is perfectly true and worthy to be cheered as it was cheered at the Conference. How to translate these articles of faith into deeds remains, however, the leading problem of the toiling masses of this and every other country.

We Are Still Waiting for the Season

Cleveland was always known for a city of early seasons in the garment trade. In ordinary times they would get through with half of the season's work here by the first of July.

Times have changed, however, and the long expected season has not arrived this summer yet. There is some work in the factories where the number of work weeks is guaranteed, but our workers in the outside shops are idle. Owing to this guarantee of employment for a fixed number of weeks, the employers are trying as hard as possible to keep up their inside shops. As a result we are being "damned if we do and damned if we don't." Without a guarantee the inside workers are idle, and with the guarantee the outside workers have to play the victims.

Impartial Chairman Fines Firm \$250

The workers of the Keller-Kohn firm have made a stoppage, demanding that the standards of work be made uniform. Instead of making use of the machinery provided by the agreement, the firm chose to resist in the Police Department. In other words, it called in the police who appeared and ordered all the operators to leave the shop. Of course, the operators did, and on the following morning the firm began to advertise for new workers and the old operators received letters stating that the firm has nothing more to do with them.

The union immediately filed a complaint of a lockout. The manager of the Association was rather slow in taking up the complaint, claiming that it had no substance as the workers had made a stoppage, which is forbidden by the agreement, and have discharged themselves automatically.

The firm began taking up new workers and giving work to outside shops. The impartial chairman, who lives in Baltimore and who was to decide upon the case, was on his vacation in Canada and could not come to Cleveland to take a hand in the matter. The Union took the attitude that the workers have no right to make a stoppage, but that a stoppage is not a strike; that the firm, instead of calling in the police, should have called in the Union, who would have sent the workers back to the shop. As the firm failed to do so and the workers were told to leave the shop by the police, it could be interpreted as nothing short of a lockout and the Union therefore demanded from the firm that it cease sending out work and taking up new workers until the case is adjusted by the impartial chairman.

When the firm refused to comply with this request, the cutters, pressers and finishers were told to stop work. Last Saturday the question was brought before Professor Hollander, the impartial chairman. The exchange of arguments between the Union and the Association on this case was very heated and it was finally decided:

1. That a stoppage is not a strike and that the Union should have been called into the case as soon as the workers had ceased work.
2. By calling in the police, the firm has committed a violation of the agreement. The firm must therefore put all the workers back to work, but the Union must fine all workers who took part in the stoppage, particularly the shop chairman. For

calling in the police, the firm was fined \$250.

The firm was also ordered to call in all the work which it had sent out to contractors. The decision of the impartial chairman takes up five typewritten pages and is very interesting reading matter. On the day following the decision, everything in the shop was settled and the situation again became normal.

"Grocery" Union Men

We have a shop here called the Sonenshein Cloak Company, where a few operators are employed who have an honest-to-goodness "business point of view" with regard to the Union.

The members of the Union have been discussing an assessment for the raising of a fund in preparation for December 31st, when the agreement comes to an end. The Union has in mind to put forth certain demands to the employers at that time. Well, some Union men, with minds of petty grocery merchants who work in that shop, came to the meeting with the following claim: They insist that each dollar paid in assessments must bring them a certain return. The last assessment which they had paid to the Union, they complain, was spent for a strike that did not bring them any direct returns. Consequently, they are opposed to any assessments at present, unless they can be assured that for each dollar they pay into the Union, they would receive a raise in wages or some such other return.

The class struggle, the bad times, and the fact that the labor movement in general is passing through its greatest crisis right now—all this does not seem to bother these folks. We are fortunate only that the number of these "grocery men" in the Union is insignificantly small.

Members Decide Upon an Assessment

At a well-attended member meeting at the Engineers' Auditorium the question of an assessment was very hotly discussed, the other day, and our members decided by a great majority to adopt the recommendation of the chairman for a weekly assessment of \$1.00 for men and 50 cents and 75 cents for women, beginning July 1st and ending December 30th. The meeting was addressed, in addition to our own speakers, by Arturo Giovannitti from New York.

Good-Bye, Mollie Friedman

A number of friends have given, last week, a farewell evening to Mollie Friedman, who left Cleveland after nine months of fruitful activity in our Union.

Not only the women members of our organization, but all our workers regret very much that Miss Friedman had left us. We surely have not got many like her in our International Union. Good-bye, Mollie—untill we meet again!

Our New Joint Board

We have installed our new Joint Board on Saturday, July 1st. The new members of the Board have already, at its first meeting, proved that they understand the importance of the work that confronts them in organizing the unorganized workers of our trade in Cleveland and in preparing to meet the employers after the agreement expires with demands for work improvements in the shops. These are the most important problems before the Joint Board and the courage and energy of its members will be the principal factors to be counted upon in bringing desired results.

The Conquering Jobber

By BERNARD ACKERMAN

My complaint read that the Sylph-line Costume Company (Feigenbaum & Luchs, proprietors) were giving out work to contractors while the workers of their own shop were unemployed. To get at the facts of the case I called on the firm, located somewhere on West 29th Street. The bookkeeper took my card, and a moment later the genial Mr. Feigenbaum was slipping me on the back and giving me a handshake that felt perfectly genuine.

"Glad to see you; glad to see you, Mr. A. How have you been getting along? Haven't seen you for some time."

"Pretty well, thank you, Mr. Feigenbaum," I answered tersely. "I have a complaint against the firm in the 'Ath' of the 'Aber,' for instance."

"Ah, forget it," he interrupted breezily; "come into the office, come right in," saying which he hustled me into the inner office, fairly pushed me into an easy chair, supplied me with a good cigar, lit one himself and sat down alongside of me.

We smoked thoughtfully for a few moments.

"Now the complaint I have," I commenced, "states that—"

"Don't bother with it. Drop it. You see," he explained, "I'm through with the dress business. I'm out of it for good; twenty-two years of the game is enough, isn't it?" Mr. Feigenbaum spread out a copy of "Woman's Wear" and significantly pointed out the firm name under the caption of "Business Troubles."

"So you have failed?"

"Yes, sir; busted, cleaned out," he announced. "I'm through, I've got enough. I'm off to the mountains to play pinchole and watch the grass grow. I'm going to take a rest. I need it."

Mr. Feigenbaum then relaxed into silence, chewing his cigar meditatively. I ventured a remark which apparently he did not hear, rapt as he was in thought.

"No, sir," he broke out as though continuing a discussion already commenced. "The manufacturer must die; there is no room for him in the industry."

I nodded interested.

"Understand me, sir," he continued, "the garment business is a jobber's game exclusively. The manufacturer has no show. The jobber's grip on the industry is getting stronger every day that passes. We, the old-time manufacturers, cannot compete. We cannot survive, for the plain reason that the jobbing organization is the more efficient machine. Hundreds of us have gone to the wall, and the few that are still holding out are doing so by virtue of an endurance that cannot last. They will soon be extinct."

"You mean to say," I queried, "that the jobber is conquering the entire industry?"

"Yes, that's the word, the very word—conquerors, invaders; we, the manufacturers, are the defeated; our trade is swallowed, absorbed mercilessly by the jobbers as the spoils of war and we either disappear or become mere pawns of the jobber. I mean contractors, Conquerors! You see?"

"But, Mr. Feigenbaum," I interrupted, "you are running away from yourself. Why not get down to specific cases instead of broad generalities? You will not deny that your shop has a very low wage standard. We had enough trouble with you on that score." I could tell you in all honesty that the operator working for a contractor employed by D. & W., the big jobber, earns more money than your own operator employed in Mr.

own shop. Why, then, can't you compete with D. & W.?"

The manufacturer smiled tolerantly. "What of it? What difference does it make? My shop produces, let's say, five hundred dresses a week. I have a heavy rent to meet; Luchs and myself must draw a living; expenses, bookkeeper, shipping, commissions, etc., must be met; a profit must be made. Each of my five hundred dresses has a heavy burden to bear. I figure my expense and profit per dress in dollars, and D. & W. figures it in dimes. Last year I sold fifty-five hundred dresses; D. & W. sold over a million. My expense or overhead on the garment averages a dollar; D. & W.'s overhead is a nickel. I buy a few pieces of cotton crepe; D. & W. buys a carload; D. & W. can specialize on sales. I have got to watch a factory. I have labor difficulties; D. & W. is exempt; D. & W. classifies, systematizes, is in the market for the best brains that money can buy; D. & W. standardizes and sells at a margin of profit impossible to meet. Where do I come in? I might as well go out to the oil fields with a shovel and dig a well to compete with Rockefeller."

"But," I said, still unconvinced, "the contractor who works for D. & W. must live, too, and his expense and profit must be added on to the cost of the goods, whereas you, with your own shop, save—"

"Save rats!" abruptly interrupted Mr. Feigenbaum, preventing the development of what I considered a perfectly sound argument. "The contractor in the dress business today stands in the same relationship to the jobber as the dog to the hunter; the hunter sights a bird, aims and fires; to the dog is left the dirty work of rushing through field and swamp and bringing back the game to the master who throws the dog a bone—and, by the way, the bone the jobber throws the contractor nowadays has very little meat on it."

"Maybe so," I said, "but isn't this too general?"

"Perhaps," yielded the manufacturer, "so to be more specific—the contractor supplies the foremanship of the most efficient kind over a group of workers. He devises a hundred savings, a multitude of economies. He plans cunningly to disorganize his workers. He lies awake at night devising methods to lower production costs. He has become, by force of necessity, a veritable genius at saving, skimping, economizing. But it avails him nothing. He reduces the production cost of the garment a dime and the jobber is close at his heels compelling a similar reduction. Every saving that the contractor can create is promptly appropriated by the jobber. The wily jobber even anticipates the contractor's probable savings of the machine and deducts accordingly. Mr. Contractor is just like a squirrel in prison in his little revolving wheel, maddeningly about trying to make profits. And the wheel belongs to the jobber. You will easily see that the cost of sustaining the contractor is far surpassed by the savings that the contractor creates and passes over to the jobber."

Besides, the contractor working for the jobber is enabled to produce cheaper than my shop, because the individual contractor produces but one quality usually, and often but one or two styles."

"Well," I interposed, "I don't see that this should make much of a difference."

"Quite a difference, sir," the manufacturer explained. "Why, next door you will find the L. & Z. Dress, a contractor. For the last three weeks the

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shop has been working on a Jobber's dress, style No. 601, charged out at \$3.75—There you are: one shop, one quality, one price, one style—the work standardized, and the workers shooting out the garment like fivers from a Ford factory. Whereas, in my shop we have a varied line, dresses ranging in price up to \$16.75; the cutter, maybe, cutting a dozen different styles this week; samples, duplicates; fifteen of this number, twenty-five of that. You can readily see that our production cannot compare with the contractor's. Take this garment," continued Feigenbaum, pulling a razine dress off the rack and throwing it on the sample table. "We buy it from W. C. & S., Jobbers; it pays us to buy this garment from them and give them a profit rather than produce it here."

Mr. Feigenbaum probably mistook my silence for doubt, and hastened to fortify his argument by putting in evidence his ledger, which, indeed, showed that the firm had bought of W. C. & S. about ten thousand dollars' worth of dresses the month past.

"If your contentions are sound, how is it that jobbers as well as manufacturers are going to the wall?"

"Small potatoes, peanut jobbers, not jobbers in a real way, although now and then a jobber that has over-speculated does bankrupt. The business of these petty jobbers is absorbed by the larger jobbers; it's a case of dog eat dog. You can bet on it that the near future will see a handful of jobbers practically controlling the industry. Mark my word, centralization is the law of the industry, larger shops and fewer shops—the small shop is doomed."

"Mr. Feigenbaum," I protested, "you surely cannot be serious. We both know well that the contrary is true, and that the tendency in the industry is toward decentralization, toward the multiplication of small shops and the elimination of large shops. The small shops thrive like mushrooms; they are as uncontrollable as vermin. They appear and disappear; are born and die; form and reform with the celerity of bacilli. They are a problem, the solution of which is truly a puzzle."

"Your confusion, Mr. Investigator," Mr. Feigenbaum announced, "is due to a lack of grasp of the factors involved in the problem. Let us analyze that bacillus, as you put it, the small shop, the contractor. Let us suppose A. is a jobber, Z. a contractor. A. decided that a certain dress can be sold readily to the trade. He gives the work to Z. at a given price. A. proceeds to 'sell' goods to Z. Z., the contractor, is not consulted by A. as to the price he is to pay for piece goods. Mr. Jobber fixes the price, the contractor accepts and makes his calculations accordingly. Thus A. charges Z. with cotton crepe at \$2 a yard, which crepe Z. can buy in the open market at \$1.75. But Z. accepts, and, multiplying the number of yards per dress by the jobber's price per yard, adds on 'expense,' then labor plus profit per garment. The dress completed, the contractor 'sells' it back to the jobber."

Superficially, it would appear that a transaction has been completed between A. and Z., independent firms, but observe the following: A. select-

ed the style and dictated the specifications, class and quality of materials and workmanship. A. dictated the price of the goods charged to Z., which price was out of relation to its real value. This so-called 'sale' is a pure fiction, and so understood by both A. and Z. and adopted for convenience. The jobber bills merchandise to contractors on memorandum, the title to the goods remaining always with the jobber. From beginning to end, it has been a jobber's dress. And as there has been no sale of goods from A. to Z., the contractor, Z.'s 'sale' of the completed dress bill to the jobber is likewise a fiction. Thus if we cancel the merchandise item in both transactions, what have we left? Merely the fact that the contractor Z. has sold not dresses, but a certain quantity of labor, purely, to A. A., the jobber, has been master of every process of production, the owner of the merchandise comprising the dress, the true manufacturer at all times. Fix this clearly in your mind. The jobber is the only true producer; the jobber is the new type manufacturer."

"How," I inquired, blankly, "can a manufacturer manufacture without a factory?"

"The new type of manufacturer," Mr. Feigenbaum explained patiently, "is a manufacturer whose shop employs from two hundred to a thousand workers."

"Some shop?" I ejaculated.

"Yes," continued Feigenbaum, "take, for instance, the M. W. Co., a new type manufacturer whose factory is composed of over seventy shop divisions, employing over nine hundred workers."

"What in heaven," I gasped, completely muddled, "is a shop division?"

"A shop division," explained Mr. Feigenbaum, with a sign of impatience, "is a term that is self-explanatory, a section or division of the shop of the new type of manufacturer; in short, what you are accustomed to call the small shop, the contractor's shop."

"What is the role, then, of the sub-manufacturer, contractor, producer, or whatever you may call him?"

"There is none, the terms current being confusing. He whom you designate as contractor is, in fact, simply a foreman, a division foreman, for his activity is, in its essence, neither that of purchase nor of sale, but simply that of one who negotiates for the sale of a given quantity of labor."

"But the contractor or division foreman, as you define him, charges for labor, expense and profit."

"The word profit is a misnomer," Mr. Feigenbaum defined, "masking a charge for the labor of supervision. The system of permitting each shop division to bear its own expense is the device of the jobber to relieve himself of responsibility and place the burden upon the divisional foreman. The transaction between jobber and contractor involves, therefore, labor exclusively, plus foremanship, plus the expense for which outlay he is reimbursed by the jobber."

"But the contractor does not receive a stipulated wage or salary? As a result, does he not own his own machinery?"

(Continued on Page 2)

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

STONES INSTEAD OF FLOWERS

The unexpected, the unbelievable, has happened. Instead of an avalanche of flowers for the President and the leadership of the International for their remarkable achievement, for this "marvelous agreement," as Samuel Gompers has characterized it, they are being rewarded by calumny and slander of the meanest kind. It has reached the point that an Executive Board of one local has actually rejected the agreement and the fate of this remarkable instrument for the preservation of which the cloakmakers have fought, only a few months ago, ten long weeks, hangs now in the balance.

It is, of course, improbable that the majority of the local Executive Boards will reject the agreement. But the very fact that any doubt could have been raised about it, and that even a single Executive Board could have rejected it—instead of giving it unanimous and enthusiastic approval—is enough to make one doubt in the intelligence, integrity and ability of men to comprehend their own true interests.

Nevertheless, because some people are opposed to this agreement, it might occur to many that there must be something the matter with it. Of course, each folly has its explanation, but in this case the absurdity of the whole thing is so immense that it is difficult for us, very difficult, to even attempt to explain it, and willy-nilly we must come back to the very beginning, the very A, B, C of the situation.

Our leaders will recall a few of our remarks in this column in last week's issue, which we shall reiterate now: The manufacturers, we said, were compelled to give up one after another all of their original demands, and the few new items that were incorporated into the new agreement came entirely from our side, from our representatives. And it was these few items that our men have tried so hard to introduce into the new agreement because they regarded them as essential improvements upon the old—that have set the fires a-burning. Could anyone ever believe that our cloakmakers would permit themselves to become incited by the worst, bitterest and most unconscionable enemies that have ever attacked our Union?

Let us, however, consider these few additions which create so much turmoil among our members and have confounded their language. Let us endeavor to make clear the startlingly absurd misunderstandings raised by them. Perhaps, it might yet be possible to put the matter in its right light before those whose minds have not become totally eclipsed; perhaps it might yet influence those who are not entirely under the effect of our few "Communist" demagogues.

What is a stoppage? It is a short, temporary strike declared by workers in the shop without the consent or even the knowledge, of the Union. Are stoppages in general justifiable or not, and have they a purpose or not? In former times when there was no Union and no agreements between the workers and the employers, the stoppage was the only weapon in the hands of the workers. To have taken away from them that weapon would mean to enslave them. The right to strike, even when the cause of the strike was doubtful, or even unjust, was sacred and inviolate.

This concept of a stoppage has still retained its full meaning in certain situations. The enemies of labor and of the right of the worker to fight for a better living are eager to rob him of the right to abandon work. The labor movement is fighting this aspiration of the employers with might and main. All of this is clear enough and understandable. The situation, however, is different in a case when the workers impose upon themselves a limitation of the right to strike and to make stoppages. Workers may, for instance, find out in the course of years of fighting that frequent stoppages injure them and impair their own fighting ability. Under such circumstances the workers may adopt decisions not to strike and make stoppages without the knowledge and consent of their Union. The workers might also consent to give up the right to make stoppages in lieu of certain privileges they would deem more valuable to them. In all these cases the workers themselves are their own best judges. No one can certainly tell them that they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. They themselves have grown sufficiently intelligent to determine their own conduct.

We are aware that there are persons who regard the right to make stoppages as men's most sacred prerogative. They are logical and consistent enough if they believe that workers must not generally conclude agreements with employers. They deny in its entirety the necessity and the utility of what is called collective bargaining, which is the bone and marrow of our unionism. Once, however, we agree that agreements between a union

of workers and an association of employers are necessary and useful; once we declare ourselves on the side of collective bargaining, we must take our stand against individual shop stoppages. It stands to reason that we cannot make agreements with employers for two years and at the same time expect them to consent to sporadic stoppages, just as we cannot expect the Union to conclude an agreement with an employer and give him the right to make a lockout whenever he so chooses. The fact that both sides make an agreement for a definite term, definite conditions of work, hours, etc., implies nothing else but that both sides give up for the time of the agreement some of their rights. The workers give up the right to make stoppages and the employers give up the right to make lockouts.

Nevertheless, workers are only human and are subject to all the frailties of human nature. A situation might arise that workers would stop work against their own will. Would that imply the abrogation of the agreement? No more than an outbreak on the part of an employer who would lock out his workers in a moment of rage. Theoretically it might mean that the agreement has been broken, for it would seem to indicate that either the workers or the employer cannot or will not live up to its terms. Yet, as men act not always with premeditation and very frequently are driven by impulses stronger than their ability to resist, the agreement, if it is made in good faith, provides that workers or the employers are not to be given, in such cases, twenty-four hours for second thought and deliberation.

That is as far as the old agreement went. We quote from clause 14 of that agreement:

"There shall be no individual lockout, shop strike or stoppage pending the determination of any complaint or grievance. Should the employees in any shop or factory cause a stoppage of work or shop strike, or should there result in any shop or factory a stoppage of work or shop strike, notice thereof shall be given by the Association to the Union. The latter obligates itself to return the striking workers and those who have stopped work to their work in the shop within twenty-four hours after the receipt by the Union of such notice, and until the expiration of such time it shall not be deemed that the striking workers have abandoned their employment."

As the reader can see, this point in the old agreement is not very comprehensive. We, for instance, could not know what the Union was to do in case the workers in a shop should refuse to obey the Union's order to return to work, as the Union had obligated itself under the agreement. We could not determine, in case of a stoppage or a lockout, who was in the right and who was wrong. Of course, in the eyes of the employer, every stoppage in an act of treason. But the Union considers that circumstances sometimes might arise which would compel the workers to strike to retain their self-respect and dignity. In order to make this point concerning stoppages clear, the Union's side has proposed two new amendments. First, that the employer has no right to declare, in case of a stoppage, that the Union has broken the agreement; that it must be brought before an impartial chairman who should decide whether this stoppage was a breach of the agreement or not. The second point was that: "If the striking workers fail to return to work within the stipulated time it will forthwith state in writing and in the appropriate press or otherwise that there is not a strike in or against such shop in which the work has been stopped."

It is clear that no person with any measure of common sense could deny that the point which requires the decision of an impartial chairman in the case of a stoppage is highly favorable to the Union and the workers. The question revolves only around the clause which states that the Union agrees to "state in writing or in the appropriate press or otherwise that there is not a strike in or against such shop in which the work has been stopped." It is this point that has conjured up this specter of horror for some of our people. In truth, however, this point implies not so much protection for the shop and its owner, as for the Union. One moment of consideration and the matter will be clear for anyone who would not be blind.

Every stoppage in a union shop is a strike not only against the owner of the shop, but it is at the same time a strike and a blow in the face to the Union. Such a stoppage means the denial of the authority of the Union on the part of the workers who cease work. If the Union is to tolerate such stoppages it would destroy itself in short order. Therefore, it is as much in the interest of the organization that no stoppages occur in individual shops as it is in the interest of the employer and the industry. This is one! What association of employers would want to make agreements with a Union which cannot prevent stoppages, which, in other words, has no authority to control its members that they may live up to agreements? Therefore, every stoppage, right or wrong, is in its very nature, not only a violation against the agreement, but is also detrimental to the Union. The Union, therefore, cannot look mildly upon workers who, either in ignorance or malice, are undermining its existence. The Union has the following to say to such workers: If anything has happened that is wrong, you have business to notify your Union immediately of what has taken place. You have no right to take the law into your own hands and bring injury to the entire organization.

Clear enough, isn't it? Nevertheless, the Union does not treat its rebels with any too great severity in such instances. It doesn't line them up against a wall and shoot them down like traitors, as has been done not so very long ago in a country, which to many of our blindfolded friends is the very acme of freedom. No, the Union says to the workers: Go back to your places. If you were wronged the Union will see to it that the wrong is righted. Meanwhile, take care that the agreement is not broken, and that tens of thousands of your co-workers, who

Is the A. of F. L. Reactionary?

By D. N. SHUB

As stated already in a preceding article, every critic of the American labor movement who knows what he is talking about must admit that the American unions, notwithstanding their conservatism in politics, fulfill, nevertheless, their direct purpose—the betterment of the condition of their members—as well, if not better than the radical unions of Europe.

America is, of course, in general wealthier than Europe, and the American standard of living is admittedly much higher than the European. An ordinary unorganized laborer earns in America more than a full-fledged mechanic in Austria or even Germany. However, it is only when we compare the condition of the unorganized workers in America with the conditions of the organized, that we can fairly appraise the gains and achievements which the unions have scored for their members. The difference is astounding. Not only does the organized worker earn more, but he works shorter hours and under more advanced sanitary conditions. He lives better and is better able to take care of his health. For all this he has to thank not the wealth of America and not the higher American standard of living, but exclusively his union.

The unions of Europe are certainly more militant than the unions of America, but the labor organizations in this country are doubtless in better fighting trim than the unions in most countries of Europe,—which means that they are better prepared to carry out the primary aim for which they were organized. And when one comes to regard the American labor movement from this point of view, one cannot help condemn as mere insane ravings the opinion of those who would consider the American Federation of

Labor as a "nest of reactionists" and Gompers as a "reactionary." The A. F. of L., as a trade union organization, need certainly not be ashamed of its record as compared with the record of unions in other countries. Quite to the contrary: It has a right to be proud of its achievement, and Gompers, as the leading spirit of the Federation, has more than anyone else contributed to this progress of the American labor movement.

Socialists of every color and faction radically disagree with Gompers in politics. Nevertheless, it is unjust to say that Gompers is a reactionary. Of course, he is not a socialist, but he is not opposed in principle to the socialist ideal. He is an opportunist par excellence, a man who lives with the problems of today and would not be diverted from his activities by speculations about the order of things in the future. If America were in the eve of reconstructing its social system on the basis of collectivism, we are confident that an understanding could be reached with Gompers somehow or other. At present he is opposed to an independent labor party not because he does not believe the ultimate aims of a labor party but because he does not believe that the workers have a great deal to gain just at present through independent political action by themselves. One may not agree with such political tactics, yet it must be admitted that on this question Gompers so far has, represented the opinion of the great majority of organized and unorganized workers in America. If tomorrow Eugene V. Debs were elected as President of the A. F. of L. in place of Gompers, the situation would not be changed a hair's breadth. The millions of organized workers would continue to vote

for Republicans and Democrats as they are doing now.

Of course, socialists and all those who believe in independent labor politics need not cease criticizing social political action, but should continue pointing out to the working masses that their only salvation lies in trade union activity combined with independent political action. The socialists, however, who are at the same time trade unionists, those who believe in the purpose and mission of the trade unions must not and should not prejudice the Federation and Gompers by their attitude towards political action. The question is not whether Gompers is politically consistent or not, but primarily whether he represents truly the spirit and the will of the American trade union movement and whether he is able enough to stand at the helm of the American workers.

It appears to us that there can be no two opinions in this matter. As yet, the American labor movement has not produced from its ranks any leader who could replace Gompers—not in phrase-mongering—but in true ability as a leader and a practical worker in the union movement. If there are in the Federation some such who show promise, they surely do not belong to the radical camp. Some of the ablest men in the Federation are even more conservative than Gompers.

Our unions are generally regarded as radical and socialist. Yet when it comes to electing a manager, a secretary or a local union officer, it is very seldom that the membership in our locals take much into consideration the politics of the candidate. And this is quite natural too. There are ever so many honest, kind and intelligent socialists and anarchists who are children in practical life. On the other hand, we have had in our unions able managers, secretaries and other responsible officers who were never radicals of any denomination. And if a socialist or anarchist may vote in his own union for a manager or sec-

retary who is not a radical, why may not a socialist delegate at the convention of the A. F. of L. vote for a president, secretary or vice-president of the Federation who is not a socialist,—least of all when one comes to consider that all the candidates who have opposed Gompers for the presidency in the past were not a bit more radical than he? And we are inclined to believe that even socialist trade unionists would admit that they would rather have at the head of the Federation a man like Gompers than Jim Duncan from Seattle, or even William Z. Foster, at present Lenin's apostle in America.

It is ridiculous, therefore, to hear some of our home-spun "left" socialists (not communists) wag indignantly over the fact that our radical delegates voted at the convention for Gompers and his "machine" rather than for Foster and his puppets. The critics of Gompers point to the fact that he is also an opponent of industrial unionism and that he consciously fosters and upholds the guild spirit in the American trade union movement and would not permit the amalgamation of various crafts into great industrial unions that would be able to fight the employing interests with greater success. This charge is wholly unfounded, as Gompers shows in one of the last issues of the "Federationist," in an article about Foster. The Federation has worked hard during the past few years to bring about a combination of various craft unions in the same industry and wherever such a combination was not effected it was not because the leaders were opposed to it, but because the rank and file of the membership rejected such an amalgamation. Gompers is avowedly for such combinations, but he is against forcing reforms of this kind upon any of the unions affiliated with the Federation.

(Continued on Page 10.)

are benefiting by this agreement, will not suffer through your irresponsible conduct.

What is the Union to do, however, in case the workers continue to disobey its orders? Is it to declare these few workers, who at times might engage in stoppages in order to hurt the prestige of the Union, as saintly martyrs and the shop on strike as the sub-shop of the Union? Would not that be the height of folly, and would not it be tantamount to suicide? It would seem that the foremost duty of any individual group and every organization is to defend itself and its own existence. A Union not only has a right, but a duty, in case it meets with antagonism from some of its members who are jeopardizing by their conduct its existence, to break down their opposition and to exercise its fullest authority. The way to do it is to advertise in the press that "there is no strike in or against such shop," and in our opinion it is a very mild way of censure. But mild or otherwise, what else can a Union do to retain its effectiveness and power which is menaced in such an instance by a few irresponsible workers who do not begin to see what the Union means for them?

Paragraph 14 should, therefore, be viewed only in the light of the above stated. It can have no other interpretation, but that it was intended to protect the Union, its effectiveness and its authority, and, of course, anyone that would take away from the Union the right to act consistently and logically, would take away from it its very reason for existence, and would transform it into a body of clay. Only demagogues and half-wits can be against this point. Let us be frank: When one or a few members of a Union assume the audacity to act in direct antagonism to the will and the clearly outspoken decision of the great majority of the Union, they forfeit entirely their rights as Union members; they expel themselves from the Union by their action, and it is absurd to demand from the Union, in such instances, that it defend these people at its own detriment and injury. Such a Union could not exist a day, and would have no one but itself to blame for its downfall.

A few words concerning the second new point: the Commission to investigate the earnings and the length of employment of the workers:

The employers have been clamoring that the workers are receiving too high wages, and that cloaks are expensive just on that account; that because of these high wages there is not enough work in the shops, as the public has ceased buying garments at the price which the retailers would exact from it. The workers are not in agreement with these claims. They say that by no means do they get enough, or too much, for their work, but that they can hardly eke out an existence in the shops.

What, then, is to be done? In all other industries they have been cutting wages mercilessly for a long time. The members of the Amalgamated have had their wages cut three times, and yet our "communist" demagogues have heralded these wage-cuts as "victories." The leadership of our International, however, has accomplished through this new agreement that for the next six months, and in the event that the joint conference before which that meanwhile a joint commission, a wage board of three persons, be appointed to make a complete survey and study of the earnings of the workers and the length of employment in the industry. This commission is to bring a report at the end of six months, and in the event that the joint conference before whom this report is to be submitted should fail to come to an understanding on the questions arising from the report of the commission, that it be referred to an Arbitration Board, and that the decision of this board shall under no circumstances become in force prior to January 1, 1923.

This is, in brief, the addition to the old agreement. And we ask, who could rationally oppose such an addition? Isn't the very fact that the workers are guaranteed their old earnings for the next six months in itself a substantial accomplishment? And who is so sure that the Arbitration Board will decide upon a reduction of wages? If we are so confident that our wages are by no means too high, why should we take it for granted that the board will deliberately sentence our workers to a lower standard of living?

And besides this, what other way is there? Let us assume that we go on strike and fight for several months. Will we, then, be in a position, tired and starved, to decline arbitration, to reject the judgment of impartial persons, should such a proposal be made to us? Under these circumstances this clause is the best that the new agreement has brought to the workers. And yet there are some unconscionable charlatans who are trying to nullify and to belittle this important gain, just because some of them have either been divorced from or have not been wedded to the payroll of our Union.

The saddest and the most repulsive feature in this whole business consisted in the fact that a nondescript gang, whose main purposes are so obvious and threadbare, could, even for a moment, influence a certain part of our membership—may it be ever so small—and could convert in their eyes the finest achievement of our International into a failure, or worse than that. This is the saddest and, at the same time, the most instructive part of the whole story. Our movement is still immature and immature if such senseless and wildly absurd yarn could have even the slightest influence upon our workers.

We are mortified and ashamed, indeed!

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ATTENTION

Very important branch meetings will be held for the
Sample Makers—Saturday, July 15, at 1:30 P. M., Labor
Temple, 14th St., corner Second Ave.

Ladies' Tailors Branch—Tuesday, July 18, 7:30 P. M., Harlem
Social Educational Center, 62 East 106th St.

Order of Business:

Report about the conference in the cloak situation.
Report and new recommendations of the Sick Fund
Committee.

It is of the utmost importance for every member of our
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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

A MILLION STRIKERS

More than a million men and women in the United States are on strike protesting wage reductions, according to figures made public by the Department of Labor. Approximately 9,000,000 hours of work a day are being lost by industries because of walkouts.

LEGISLATION TO ABOLISH CHILD LABOR

Plans to force enactment of legislation by Congress abolishing child labor were considered at a conference of the subcommittee of the Joint Conference for the abolition of child labor, held in New York in the office of Hugh Frayne, state organizer of the American Federation of Labor. President Compters of the A. F. of L. who presided said "recommendations have been drafted to be presented to a full conference to be held in the Federation's headquarters in Washington on July 17th."

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS DECLINE

Declining exports of raw materials, food stuffs and manufactures were revealed in foreign trade reports for May, issued yesterday by the Department of Commerce. For the eleven months ended with May, exports of raw materials aggregated \$185,000,000 compared with \$1,214,000,000 during the corresponding months of last year, while imports totaled \$818,000,000 against \$953,000,000 during the same period of 1921.

NO SALARY REDUCTIONS

The request of the employers in the mercantile establishments of Washington, D. C. to reduce the minimum wage for women from \$16.50 to \$12.25 was not granted at the mercantile wage conference held under the auspices of the minimum Wage Board.

FAVORABLE CONDITIONS OF N. Y. C. WORKERS

Factory workers in New York City work fewer hours per week than those employed in up-state factories or in manufacturing establishments in other parts of the country. This appears from a comparison of data obtained from the State Department of Labor and from the 1919 U. S. Census of Manufacturers, compiled by the Industrial Bureau of the Merchants Association.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN GERMANY

In connection with the studies of collective bargaining in the United States and other countries the National Industrial Conference Board has announced that one of the most remarkable developments in industrial relations in Germany which has taken place since the end of the world war has been the rapid growth of collective bargaining.

RESTRICTIVE IMMIGRATION TO CONTINUE

Passage of a permanent restrictive immigration law is on the program for next winter's session of Congress. Representative Johnson, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration believes that the United States will never return to the wide open door policy prevailing prior to the passage of the temporary 3 per cent restrictive law. At the next session of the House, Mr. Johnson will present a bill so as to give all countries a base quota of 600 plus 2 per cent of the number of aliens from that particular country in the United States as shown by the census of 1910.

The Conquering Jobber

(Continued from Page 5)

"Admitted, admitted," said Feigenbaum. "His remuneration is provisional. He earns a contingent wage, dependent upon his ability to depress the wage level of his group of workers, as well as his ability to create economies. The inventive commercial world creates a multitude of methods whereby production is stimulated. Remuneration for effort is made in wages, salary, commissions, bonuses, profit-sharing, gratuities, pensions, etc. But none of these may be considered as profits. And as to the ownership of the machinery by the contractor, his status as that of a divisional foreman is not changed thereby. Years ago the individual operator owned his own machine and carried it with him from shop to shop; nevertheless, he was not a manufacturer. The ownership of tools has no bearing on the relationship of the new type of manufacturer, the jobber, the division foreman, the contractor. Fix it in your mind strongly that the small shop cannot be said to truly exist. It has no autonomy, its master enjoys no independence. The conditions of its existence are implacably fixed for him by the man higher up, his employing jobber. He submits, or his shop division is detached and cast adrift, leaving the jobber free to select more desirable shop divisions at will. However unique and interesting the jobber-contractor relationship may be, the complexities are commer-

cial only, and should not serve to disguise the true identity of the employing jobber. Thus, if the strength of a labor organization is directed at the contractor, it strikes at the division of a shop only while the real shop is unaffected; it strikes at the unstable contractor, an agency as it were, an insignificant department of the real manufacturer, who himself studies attack. Do you recall the legend of the General who was hard pressed by the enemy? He caused innumerable wooden posts to be erected and painted to look like soldiers, and so, drawing the enemy's attention to the army of wooden blocks, he was able to withdraw his army to safety. The real manufacturer, by a clever stratagem, withdraws himself from the range of union artillery and leaves his underlying, the so-called contractor, to bear the brunt of battle with organized labor. Now, let us further study the disastrous consequences of your refusal to recognize the manufacturer as the real and actual opponent.

"Be more explicit, Mr. Feigenbaum," I pleaded. "Do you mean that jobbers are the only employing class?"

"Yes, of course, the New Type manufacturer. But permit me to set you right in the matter of definitions before I proceed. The usual terms in use are not expressive of fact. The factors in the industry may be named as follows:

FOREIGN ITEMS

GERMANY

THE SOLID WALL OF CAPITAL

German business men and manufacturers have so perfected the association of German employers' societies that they now form practically a united front in the struggle against the demands of the labor unions and the legislative program of the radical parliamentarians according to the business report of the Association for 1921.

SWEDEN

UNEMPLOYMENT APPROPRIATION

Sweden's total appropriation for unemployment during 1922 will reach \$22,000,000. Government aid will be limited to those who through no fault of their own are without work. Persons unwilling to work will not be helped. The government will continue its efforts to send industrial workers back to the soil.

WAR AGAINST THE MIDDLEMEN

A new effort arising from the current trade depression is being made in Stockholm to bring the producer closer to the consumer. A new co-operative society has been organized and a hard fight is to be made against the middlemen.

CHILE

SANITARY CLEAN-UP

The International Labor office at Geneva has received word from Santiago, Chile, of a sanitary clean-up campaign that has been inaugurated and executed there. Under the leadership of Mr. Pobete Trineco, director of the Labor Bureau, supported by the health authorities, 500 factories were inspected. It was found that the majority of them were unsanitary. The owners were warned and given directions for bringing their establishments up to standard. In a few weeks the inspectors reported that 75 per cent of those who had been found to be derelict had met all the required conditions.

JAPAN

H. C. OF L. GREATER THAN IN U. S.

While prices have fallen off over 50 per cent in the United States and about 45 per cent in England, from the highest point reached in March 1920, prices in Japan have fallen less than 24 per cent, according to Prof. Herye, of Keio, an authority on economic matters.

GERMANY

GERMAN ROYALISTS ALLIES OF CZARISTS

The police have made public letters found on Lieutenant Guenther, one of the accomplices of the assassins of Foreign Minister Rathenau and alleged to be the private secretary of General Ludendorff.

These letters were sent by Count Reventlow and they show the relations between the German and Russian monarchists who refer continually to General Ludendorff as Uncle Ludwig. Count Reventlow, who is closely connected with the Russian monarchists, as well as being the leader of the anti-Semite wing of the Berlin monarchists, who, after the murder of Dr. Rathenau, published numerous excuses for his assassination, wrote against Captain Ehrhardt's dealings with the Moscow Soviet.

"The Old Type Manufacturer; a class of organization fast disappearing from the industry, due to the relentless competition of the new type manufacturer (jobber).

"The New Type Manufacturer; the manufacturer commonly known as the jobber.

"The New Type shop; the producing machinery of the new type manufacturer, including all shop divisions, engaged in the production of his merchandise.

"The shop division; the small shop, section or department of the new type shop, managed by the division foreman (contractor).

The division foreman; the so-called contractor.

"The co-operation division; the co-operation shop.

"I agree to your definitions. Go ahead," I urged.

"That being the case, I wish you to inspect one of the large new type shops. I ask you to imagine sixty or more shop divisions comprising it, all under one great roof. You see before you long lines of machines, fully 600 operators busily employed; approximately 150 finishers are on the floor; in the draping department 75 women are employed; the cutting department shows fifty or more cutters working, with designers, pattern-makers and milliners to help in proportion. Do you see it?"

"Give whiz," I exclaimed, "perhaps I do, but it strains the imagination to do it."

"But it shouldn't," gravely reproved Mr. Feigenbaum. "You ought to find it easy to visualize this shop, the real shop. This shop that I am describing is one of the large new shops employing in the neighborhood of one thousand workers of all types, broken up into separate producing groups, each group producing independently of its neighbor group. Observe this gigantic shop, which in the economic sense is the real shop of today, and let us carefully study the effects of the activities of organized labor upon the structure and welfare of this manufacturing organization."

"I am very much interested, go ahead," I said.

Feigenbaum cleared his throat, paused to collect his thoughts, and was about to launch into the development of his thesis when the book-keeper rushed into the show room unceremoniously and announced that his train was about due to leave.

"That's right; I almost forgot. Sorry I have to break off."

"Just a minute," I pleaded. "I have some very important questions to ask."

Feigenbaum did not answer, but quickly scribbling an address on a card, handed it to me, saying, "My address in the mountains; come up some week-end and we'll finish the argument."

"I will, Mr. Feigenbaum," I murmured, as the latter seized his traveling bag, shook my hand vigorously, and disappeared.

Educational Comment and Notes

Our Unity Villages

By FANNIA M. COHN

While walking on the estate of our Unity House at Forest Park, and pondering, a friend stopped me and asked humorously whether I was thinking of writing again of the grandeur of the Unity House for JUSTICE, and she added, smilingly, "Do you still have something new to say about the Unity House, after having written so much about it, and are you certain that it will not be a repetition of what you already said about it?"

My answer was: "Don't you enjoy Macbeth or Hamlet every time you see it performed, even by the same actors? Or, don't you enjoy the beauty of a poem even after reading it for the one hundredth time? Didn't you live through the same thrills every time you heard Caruso singing 'Mea Celeste Maria'?" Art, beauty, every time you see it, must be as far from dull in the heart of one who can appreciate it. Especially when it expresses an ideal, it must inspire us to further deeds.

"This is my feeling whenever I come to our Unity Home, whether it is that of the Philadelphia waitmakers at Orville, or that of our Italian sisters and brothers at Staten Island, and especially is it true when I approach our Unity Home at Forest Park, that is surrounded by so much beauty of nature, grandeur, and the comforts that modern invention provides. And when I think that all this was built for the mighty, who can get everything out of life that money affords, and that the workers who built it never intended it for their own use; and when I walk through the East Side and observe the ugly, smog-spraying and unsanitary tenement houses in which so many of our members live, and consider it as a matter of course that these are the only homes that they can afford, and that society can provide for them; and from there when I approach our Unity Villages and compare them with their city dwellings, I realize how much more the workers can enjoy life when he manages things collectively.

"Every time I see the beautiful landscape at Forest Park, the mountain set in a well-nigh impenetrable forest that stretches for miles in every direction, in the dense trees where a large tract of land has been cleared and here and there rise a number of proud-looking cottages equipped with everything that civilization has prepared for the pleasure of the leisure rich, the seventy-acre silver lake that stretches before you—a wonderful mirror-like lake, luring and calling you to its cool, refreshing boom that is covered with boats from which jolly voices and merriment ring out, with its beautiful landing pier, the modern swimming pool, the loveliest overlooking the lake, the tennis courts, where waitmakers, dressmakers and cloakmakers, who are used to an unhealthy indoor life, are playing outdoors under the direction of a physical training teacher, the airy and beautiful dining room that can accommodate four hundred, with its airy white table linen and clean, bright walls overlooking the lake, the sitting room with its Turkish rugs and cozy rocking chairs, the writing room with its long tables and comfortable arm-chairs, the postoffice opened by Uncle Sam for the convenience of the Unity Village, the registration desk, at which many 'captains of industry' registered their names and the names of their families and

servants, and where the names of waitmakers, dressmakers and cloakmakers are being registered now; when I look at the electric plant that makes the Unity Village glow with light in the evening; when I see the laundry with its most modern appliances that turns out the snow-white linen; when I look into the hospital, where our own nurses attend to our members; the library with its thousands of books of the most recent publications on social, economic and labor problems, and on literature, and the bowling alley, where the operators, instead of bending over their machines, are throwing the balls that tend to develop their bodies and keep alert their spirits, and also the terrace which is always cool and shady, where delicious refreshments are being served; and when I step into the theater or dance hall that rings with mirth, and where the voices of our members mingle in one great chorus, singing songs from operas as well as labor songs that are full of inspiration and hope; when I look at all these things, a feeling of sadness, mingled with hope, permeates me—when I think it is no longer a theory that the workers who were always trained to work and obey while another group was brought up to manage and command, that they, the workers, too, are learning to run their own affairs, through the collective power of their trade unions. Nothing counts so much as a successful experiment. We live in an age of experimentation. Let this experiment be made by us! Let us show that we can "make good!"

"And how inspiring and beautiful are the evenings at the Unity Village! The twilight plays upon the lake and the moon steals out from behind the clouds tinting everything with silver. The lake becomes a fairyland at the magic touch. A lovely scene colored by the moonlit sky overhead and the stretching grass under foot mingles all around and everywhere.

"And here are ample opportunities for seclusion, for sociability and gaiety. You can be alone or find pleasant companionship. The vastness of the village makes it possible to arrange your time as you please.

"Now, it rains, but you will not get wet. Here we are under the covered walks connecting all the cottages. Whether rain or sunshine, you can reach the most distant building untouched by the downpour, or the rays of the sun."

"As we approached the sitting room we noticed the faces of many wreathed in their fatherly and motherly affection upon the assembled number of youthful faces about them, and the place rang with laughter, song and joy.

"This place no longer belongs to the idle rich. The rulers of the world are no longer the owners of this land. It is the treasure and proud possession of 300,000 members of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waitmakers' Union of our International.

"As we walked along we heard from a distance a Russian melody from a mandolin, and soon there came songs of all nations, spontaneously, now this one, now that contributed to the general pleasure a recitation, a song.

"Even if I have written all this," I said to my friend, "as my impressions, previously, is it not true now? Can't I feel and experience the same joy and hope seeing it for the fifth or tenth time, as I did the first?"

The First Meeting of the Educational Committee

The first meeting of the newly elected Educational Committee of the I. L. G. W. U. was held on Friday, July 7th. The meeting elected Vice-President I. Feinberg, Manager of the Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union, as its Chairman and Fannia M. Cohn as its Executive Secretary.

The meeting had a lengthy discussion and formulated the plans for the Educational Department for next season. It is to continue the activities of the Educational Department that were carried on till now, as follows:

1. To continue the courses at the Workers' University with some additions;
2. To continue the activities of the Unity Centers.
3. To extend the activities of the Extension Division:
 - a. To arrange lecture courses in different parts of the city on Social, Industrial and Labor problems. These courses will consist in lectures on the practical and theoretical side of the Labor Movement. The officers of the Union will present the practical side of the Labor Movement and the teachers the theoretical.
 - b. To arrange for lectures to be given at the regular business

meetings of our numerous locals: 40 minutes' is devoted by the lecturer to the presentation of the subject, 20 minutes for discussion, and then the business of the meeting to be started.

c. To arrange Forums in different parts of the City in which organizations confronting our organization, our industry and the labor movement in general will be discussed.

4. Entertainments with lectures. Weekly get-togethers will be arranged for our members and their families in different parts of the City. These will consist of a musical program and a speaker.

5. A permanent Joint Conference of the Local Educational Committees with whom meetings will be held from time to time, for the discussion and improvement of our Educational activities. Their cooperation will be sought to make our work more effective. Meetings of the Educational Committee will be held monthly.

The members of the Committee are the following vice-presidents:

J. Heller,
I. Feinberg, Chairman,
S. Lefkowitz,
I. Reisberg,
Fannia M. Cohn, Secretary.

I. L. G. W. U. Students to Take All-Day Outing on Hudson, July 23

The interest shown in the excursion arranged by the students' council of the I. L. G. W. U. for Sunday, July 23rd, for which they chartered a private yacht, makes certain its success. It is only regrettable that they were not able to get a bigger boat, as so many of the members of the International as well as workers of other organizations apply for reservations.

Students of the Workers' University and Unity Centers of the I. L. G. W. U., who wish to make reservations, should do so at once, as preference so far is being given to them. They can assure passage by paying in \$1.50 to

the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

The arrangements committee is busy now working out their program of entertainment, that will consist of games, singing, professional as well as chorus, and even soft drinks are not neglected, and great care is taken to make the delicious.

The Committee decided to invite as its guests the members of the Educational Committee of the International.

Passage is assured only upon the payment of \$1.50 to the office of the Educational Department.

Is the A. F. of L. Reactionary?

(Continued from Page 7)

In the last few years, our radicals can not forgive the Federation its sharp opposition to the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government. As stated already, Gompers expresses in this matter also the opinion of the great majority of American workers. Secondly, there are in Russia and abroad also a great many socialists who were opposed to the blockade, to foreign military intervention while they are at the same time decidedly against the recognition of the Bolshevik as the legal government of Russia as long as the Bolsheviks keep up their terrorist dictatorship over the Russian working class and peasantry.

One may agree or disagree with this attitude, but it has nothing to do with radicalism or reaction. It is indeed a big question as to who is a greater idealist and more of a radical: Gompers who demands that the Bolshevik Government shall not be recognized so long as it refuses to return freedom of press, speech, and assembly to the Russian People so that they might be enabled to determine their own fate through free and open elections or a constituent assembly; or William Randolph Hearst, Senator France or Mr. Villard of the "Nation," who carry on an agitation for the recognition of the Bolsheviks so that

America might come in for a bit bono when the time comes for the division of spoils in Russia.

Gompers' attitude toward the Soviet Government is the same as of the majority of the Russian socialists and democrats who have made possible the Russian Revolution and who represent even today a large majority of the Russian workers in whose name the Bolsheviks are ruling. And it is certainly not the guilt of Gompers that several of our local "revolutionists" side in this question, not with the Russian people and with the conscious elements of the Russian working class, but with those who have robbed the Russian people of their liberties won in the March revolution of 1917.

Yet from all this we must not infer that socialists must not criticize the Federation or Gompers, or that they must constantly say amen to everything that Gompers or anyone of his fellow union leaders say or do. A real socialist and progressive trade union policy means such which primarily has in mind the interests of the unions themselves; a policy which is aimed to put the unions in real fighting shape. Each reform which tends to strengthen the union is, from a socialist point of view, much more important than a dozen revolutionary speeches and "radical slogans"—resolutions that are largely manufactured for the gallery.

A Half-Year's Work of the Dress and Waist Independent Department

By JULIUS HOCHMAN

(A Report)

June 27, 1922.

Board of Directors,
Joint Labor Dress and Waistmakers'
Union, I. L. G. W. U.
Greetings:

I hereby beg to submit to you a brief report of the routine work of the Independent Department for the period beginning January 1 up to June 3, 1922, and also the work accomplished by the Organization Department, beginning January 1 up to June 16, 1922, excluding the organization campaign at Labor Temple from February 1 to March 20, 1922.

COMPLAINTS Independent

During the period of this report 1,015 complaints were attended to, and were adjusted in the following manner: 492 in favor of the Union, 162 by mutual consent, 13 withdrawn, 232 dropped, 6 referred to the lawyer.

Waist Association

Sixty-five complaints were filed and attended to as follows: 25 in favor of the Union, 25 dropped, 15 adjusted by mutual consent.

Independent Jobbers

Thirty-one complaints were attended to as follows: 11 adjusted in favor of the Union, 20 dropped.

Of the above 153 complaints were made by pressers and 130 by cutters.

Visits

The number of routine visits made during this period is 2,137, of which 2,040 were made in shops of Independent Department, 81 in shops of Waist Association, and 16 in sample rooms of Independent Jobbers.

Shop Steward Reports

We received a request of the Cutters' Union, Local 10, to investigate the shops of our department and furnish them with the ledger number, name and address of the cutters employed in each shop. In accordance with above request, 233 shops have been visited and reports filed out.

Shop Meetings

The total number of shop meetings reported is 467, of which 446 were meetings held of Independent shops, and 21 were of Waist Association shops.

OUTLYING DISTRICTS

Downtown Office - Complaints.

One hundred and twenty-six complaints were adjusted in the following manner: 99 in favor of the Union, 5 by mutual consent, 16 dropped, 6 Association complaints adjusted in favor of Association. Of the 126 complaints 44 were Association complaints.

Visits

Out of the 203 visits made, all shops in the district were covered and found to be either working on part time or completely closed.

Bronx Office

In the Bronx office there were 20 shops controlled by the Union about the 1st of January. Now there are only 8 shops left, as 7 went out of business and 6 moved downtown. There are at present three (3) strikes being conducted in the Bronx.

Harlem Office

There were 22 union shops controlled by the Harlem office on the 1st of January, and 11 were organized, making a total of 33 shops in all. Of the 33 there are 22 left, as 7 went out of business and 4 moved downtown. Of the 2 shops on strike in Harlem one called Altman & Lehman, 192 East 125th Street, applied for an injunction. We were advised by Morris Hillquit not to have the

girls picket this shop until the case would be settled in court.

There is a large field for organization in Harlem, as there are many non-union shops, which make it very discouraging to the union workers employed there.

Brooklyn Office

The Brooklyn office is at present controlling 34 shops, of which 9 were newly organized and 4 were reorganized. Most of these shops are working at the rate of 3 to 4 days per week, and because of the dullness in the shops, it is a real hardship to control them thoroughly.

The officers are kept very busy in an attempt to enforce union standards in the shops, where there is work, and also to see to it that the members in such shops are in good standing with their respective locals.

Brownsville Office

The Brownsville office controls at present 26 shops, but a considerable number are closed down or only working part time, due to the bad conditions of the industry. Numerous attempts at reductions in wages were made, but were successfully combated by the Union. At present there are very many non-union shops in the district, which need organization. An intensive effort to have the workers pay their dues resulted in a rather favorable increase in comparison with the number of shops working.

Liquidated Damages

During the period of this report we collected the sum of \$3,839, as liquidated damages for violations of the agreement, from 55 shops.

Employers doing their own cutting, 30 shops \$ 730
Employers doing their own pressing, 1 shop 5
Ill treatment, 9 shops 360
Working on holidays, 1 shop 50
Lockout, 3 shops 300
Sending work out while inside workers are idle, 6 shops 2,135
Working on scab work, 2 shops 50
Running non-union shop 150
Discharge 50

Collected Wages

The sum of \$8,725.55 was given to the financial department of the Joint Board for distribution to the workers.

Security

We collected the sum of \$6,925 as security from firms that signed new agreements, from January 1 to January 30, and from March 20 to June 3, 1922, a period of 15 weeks, excluding the security collected during the organization campaign.

Incoming Shops

During the period of this report 63 dress shops and 7 waist shops were added to our lists, in addition to the 111 shops organized during the open shops campaign, which was reported heretofore. Of the 66 shops organized 1 joined Waist Association, 1 signed as Independent Jobber, 64 signed independent agreement.

Outgoing Shops

During the period of this report 160 shops have been taken off our lists for the following reasons:

Out of business, 117, of which 62 are dress shops, 37 are waist shops, 2 are tucking shops.
Joined Dress Association, 41, all dress shops.
Transferred to Local 23 for control, 2 dress shops.

Matter of Jus Dress Company
As you have been previously informed, an investigation disclosed

that the Jus Dress Company was giving out work to non union contractors. A complaint was filed and this matter was taken up in the office of the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association with Ben Erdman, President of the Association, representing the firm, and Mr. Friedman and myself representing the Union. The final disposition of the above is contained in the following letter, sent to me by Ben Erdman, which reads as follows: "Mr. J. Hochman, 160 W. 21st St.:

"Permit me to set forth in this letter the final disposition of the matter between Samuel Silver and your honorable association in the agreement reached by you and me this morning, so that it may be clearly understood, our findings being as follows:

"That Samuel Silver is to pay a fine in the amount of \$1,500. This money is to be paid to your association and you are to distribute it to such charities as in your wisdom are in need and are deserving of help.

"It was further agreed that Mr. Silver would conduct his dress department in accordance with the agreement existing between the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association, of which he is a member, and the International Garment Workers' Union. It is also agreed that Mr. Silver would not enjoy the protection of his Association for a year, unless he was knowingly committed by him or his organization.

"I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your remarks, namely, that it is your desire that men who have offended against our agreed regulations, that have been disciplined in a manner that will be helpful to them in reorganizing the method of their merchandise and the distribution of merchandise given out for the purpose of manufacturing. "BEN ERDMAN."

From the above you see that this \$1,500 is to be distributed to such charities as in our opinion need and are deserving of help at this time.

I therefore recommend that the \$1,500 be distributed in the following manner:

West Virginia miners \$500
Cotton mill textile strikers 300
Sacco-Vanzetti 200
New York Call 200
Ferrer School 100
Society of Politicians 75
Amnesty Alliance 75
Rand School of Social Science 50

Samuel Floersheimer

We have had considerable trouble of late in the shop of S. Floersheimer.

About three weeks ago a presser by the name of Barruso, a member of Local 89, was discharged. Brother Portnoy took up this case with the firm, but could not reach a settlement. We took this matter before Dr. Moskowitz, as impartial chairman. While there we called the attention of the chairman to the complaints of the Union that most of the workers employed in the shop of S. Floersheimer are not in good standing, and that the firm has failed to co-operate with the Union or live up to its agreement, signed during the general strike of 1921. Dr. Moskowitz's decision was that the presser be reinstated, and also that arrangements be made between the Union and the firm whereby all workers of the shop shall, within the next few weeks, appear before their respective locals and pay up their dues, and those failing to do so shall not receive any further work.

Embroidery Shops

Through the efforts of the Independent Department we succeeded in unionizing the embroidery shops, recently opened by Brambril & Hendricks, 105 Madison Avenue, and Markowitz, 159 Madison Avenue. These firms have signed agreement with Local 66.

Collection of Dues

For the past few months there has been more or less work in our shops. We have utilized this opportunity to enforce the payment of dues. In order to do this more effectively we have introduced a new system. Each shop has a card on file in the office of the Union, with the local number, ledger number, trade, name and address of the workers and amount of money due the Union from such workers. Space is left for checking up the standing of the workers each month. This means that each business agent is to visit every shop each month for the purpose of checking up the standing of the workers in the shop. We hope this will encourage the payment of dues, and when work starts the workers will be obliged to pay their arrears to the Union. So far we have succeeded in filling out cards for 125 Independent shops.

Organization Department

During the period of this report 209 shops were on strike, employing 2,864 workers.

Shops on Strike

Fifty-three Independent Union shops, 36 Dress Association shops, 1 Waist Association shop, 119 open shops.

Disposition of Strikes

Of the 53 independent shops called on strike 44 settled independently, 1 settled through Dress Association, 1 settled and signed Independent Jobbers' agreement, 1 settled as Independent manufacturer, 3 out of business, 3 are still striking.

Of the 36 Dress Association shops called on strike 28 settled through Dress Association, 1 settled and signed Independent Jobbers' agreement, 3 out of business, 4 are still striking.

One Waist Association shop called on strike, 1 settled through Waist Association.

Of the 119 open shops on strike 49 settled independently, 40 settled through Dress Association, 1 Waist shop dropped, 21 went out of business, 8 are still striking.

In summing up this report, I want to call the attention of the board to the many strikes we had during this period. I do not think that so many strikes in union shops were ever called in a similar period of time. This, of course, is due to the bad conditions existing in our industry. The employers have constantly attempted to reduce the standards in the shops, and in many ways tried to violate the agreement with the Union. We have fought every inch of ground, and wherever a violation has been called to our attention we have not been reluctant in taking the proper steps to enforce our agreement, restoring, if need be, to the picket line.

From the large number of fines collected, you can readily see that in all cases, where we still exist, we have not dispensed with the services of cutters and do their own cutting. We realize that we have not altogether abolished this evil, but we are keeping a constant watch on those firms and are doing our best to see to it that Union cutters are employed.

We are sorry that the large number of fines imposed is due to the attempts on the part of the firms to dispense with the services of cutters and do their own cutting. We realize that we have not altogether abolished this evil, but we are keeping a constant watch on those firms and are doing our best to see to it that Union cutters are employed.

I am making this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all who have helped attend to the routine work of this department.

Special mention is due Brother Shapiro, who was acting manager during my absence as a delegate to the convention, and who discharged his duties as manager in a satisfactory and creditable manner.

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

CLOAK AND SUIT

The agreement between the Union and the Manufacturers' Protective Association has been ratified by the General Conference Committee and the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, and will be given over to a referendum vote of the membership at large.

As has been reported in these columns, the manufacturers have submitted the demands to the Union for which they abrogated the agreement some months ago, and for which they declared a lockout at the time. The efforts of the manufacturers were not crowned with success, as they were forced by virtue of an injunction granted the Union by the Supreme Court to live up to the agreement until its final expiration on June 1, 1922.

However, the manufacturers still cherished the idea of forcing the workers to accept longer hours, piece work, and that they, the manufacturers, should have the prerogative of discharging workers in their employ. With this object in view they went to conference with the Union on June 1, 1922, but instead of putting up their demands as clear cut issues, they presented entirely new demands to the Union. Among these were included the following:

The right to discharge workers, instead of being a clear-cut issue, was rammed under the heading of shop reorganization during certain periods of the year. They also demanded the right to install new machinery at any time, and the elimination of legal holidays. The only clear-cut issue that was left from their previous demands was the question of a general reduction of wages in the industry. But when it was made clear to them that none of these demands would be considered by the Union, they finally withdrew these demands and presented others in their stead, such as the elimination of the clause regarding overtime, the privilege that the cutters should work by the day and not by the week, etc.

When again they were given to understand that they could not get either of these things, the new agreement reached was practically the old agreement renewed for a period of two years. This means that we retain the 44-hour week, the system of week work without standards of production, the provision against discharges and reorganization, the preferential union shop, the legal holidays, the limitation of overtime work, the benefits awarded by the governor's board in 1920, and the machinery for adjusting disputes. All this, with only two modifications, the question of stoppages and that of wages.

On the question of stoppages, the former clause, which obligates the Association and the Union against shop strikes and lockouts, has been amended. It places the Union and the Association under more definite obligation to enforce this clause, for, in addition to the old clause, which reads as follows: "In the event of a stoppage of work or shop strike in any factory, immediate notice thereof shall be given by the Association to the Union. The Union agrees to return the striking workers to their work within 24 hours after the receipt by the Union of such notice, and until the expiration of such time it shall not be deemed that the striking workers have abandoned their employment," the following new amendment has been added to it:

The modification is that in case of a stoppage the Union agrees that after the workers fail to return to work within the stipulated time it

will forthwith state in writing and in the appropriate press or otherwise, that there is no strike in or against such shop in which the work has been stopped, and that the shop is in good standing with the union. The Association, on the other hand, is similarly obligated in case of a lockout.

According to the old agreement, there was no stipulation as to breach of agreement, which means in other words, that either side could abrogate the agreement and blame the other side for it. According to the new agreement, the determination as to which side has executed the agreement in bad faith, is to be left in the hands of an impartial Chairman.

As to the question of wages, a Wage Board shall be created, composed of three members, one to be selected by the Association, one by the Union, and the third, an impartial person in no wise connected with either the Association or the Union, to be selected by both. The duties of this commission shall be to direct a complete survey and make an intensive study of the earnings of such workers' employment in the industry, and report its findings by December 1st, 1922, to a general conference of the union and the Association. Should the conference fail to reach an agreement within one month of the submission of this report, the question of wages, based upon the yearly earnings of the workers as submitted by the Commission, shall go to a board of three arbitrators, one to be selected by the Association, one to be selected by the Union, and a third, the umpire to be chosen by both.

This agreement, as amended, was submitted for ratification to the General Conference Committee, which consists of all the local and district managers and general officers of the Joint Board, where it was ratified unanimously. It has also been approved by the Joint Board with but one dissenting vote, by whom it has been decided to submit this agreement for ratification to the local executive boards.

At a special meeting of the Executive Board of Local 10 on Tuesday, July 11th, called for the purpose of ratifying the agreement, the same, as amended, was thoroughly discussed. Upon a roll call vote it was ratified with but one dissenting vote.

This agreement has also been ratified by all the locals comprising the Joint Board with the exception of the executive boards of Locals 1 and 9. The Joint Board therefore decided to submit this question to a referendum vote of the entire membership of the Joint Board, which will be held on Friday and Saturday, July 14th, and 15th, respectively, thereby giving the rank and file the opportunity of expressing their individual opinions on the agreement.

The Executive Board has also decided that in view of the fact that no special meeting could have been called before Monday, July 17th, to discuss this agreement, and also since this proposition is to be referred to a referendum vote of the membership, that a Special Meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division is to be held on Monday, July 17th, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place, where the members will be afforded the opportunity of listening to a detailed report of the manager, who is a member of the General Conference Committee. They will also be able to decide upon their attitude towards a cessation of work in the industry for the purpose of eliminating the "social shop" evil.

The following is a statement by Brother David Dubinsky, General

Manager of the local, to the Cloak and Suit Cutters:

"After conferring with the manufacturers of the Cloak Protective Association for a number of months, the Union finally succeeded in renewing the old agreement with two modifications for a period of two years. This means that we retain the 44-hour week, the present minimum scales, the week work system, and the right to review discharge cases.

"The Union succeeded in this in spite of the desperate attempts on the part of the Association to reduce our standards, as instanced by the arbitrary stand it took seven months ago, which resulted in a general strike. And in our recent conference they again were determined to reduce our standards, which proves that the task of the Union was by no means an easy one.

Some forces, for reasons unexplain-

able, are bending their efforts towards the rejection of the renewed agreement, which may lead to chaos in the industry and hinder the Union in its organization plans in which the cutters are so vitally interested.

"As Manager of the Cutters' Local, I appeal and urge upon every Cloak and Suit Cutter to participate in the referendum which is being submitted to you, and vote for the approval of the agreement.

"As a member of the Conference Committee, representing the cutters, I believe, in view of the present industrial conditions throughout the country in general, and in our industry in particular, that what the Union has accomplished now is a victory which our organization in the country has succeeded in obtaining.

"DAVID DUBINSKY,
"Manager, Cutters' Union."

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

General Monday, July 24th
Cloak and Suit Monday, August 7th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

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

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

Cloak, Suit, Reefer and Skirt Cutters

ATTENTION!

A Special Meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division of Local 10 will be held on Monday, July 17th, at 7:30 P. M., in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place.

The purpose of the meeting is to acquaint the cutters with the results of the conference.

The matter of the cessation of work for the elimination of the "social shops" will also be taken up.

BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

PHILIP ANSEL,
Chairman.

JOSEPH FISH,
General Secretary.

The referendum vote on the agreement will take place Friday, July 14, and Saturday, July 15, at the following places:

Joint Board of Cloakmakers - 40 East 23rd Street
Office of Cutters' Union, Italian Labor Center,
231 East 14th Street

Every Cloak and Suit Cutter
Should Participate in the Voting