

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

—Job 27:6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol VII. No. 33.

NEW YORK, N. Y., FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1925

Price 2 Cents.

No Overtime In Cloak Shops Until Every Worker Is Employed

Joint Board Adopts Recommendation of President Sigman to This Effect—No Overtime Without Permit by Union—Shops Are Investigated and District Meetings Held—Great Meeting of Pressers, Local 35, Held Last Thursday

The season in the cloak trade of New York is not in full swing yet; there are still a great many unemployed workers badly in need of jobs, and the Union, at this hour, is greatly concerned with the problem of placing the idle men and women on jobs, so as to insure their existence, and

the existence of their dependents, for the next few months to come.

As a measure of immediate relief, President Sigman proposed, and the last meeting of the Joint Board approved, that the principle of equal distribution of work be rigidly enforced in all shops, and that as many

workers as possible be placed at machines and finishing tables without delay. The Joint Board requested President Sigman, its temporary manager, to enforce a rule in all shops that no overtime be allowed without the permit of the office, and that no such permit shall be issued to any shop as long as there are any empty machines or any other vacancies in that place.

President Sigman forthwith instructed all district managers and business agents to call shop and district meetings to familiarize all the workers in the industry with the rule adopted by the Joint Board. It is confidently predicted that this measure will bring excellent results for the jobless cloakmakers and for the Union as a whole.

The Shop-Chairmen Meeting in Beethovens Hall

On Monday last, August 10, right after work-hours, a big meeting of shop chairmen was held at Beethovens (Continued on Page 2)

Locals 2 and 9 Elect Managers and Executive Boards

M. J. Ashbes and Isidore Sorkin Elected Managers of Locals 2 and 9 Without Opposition—Representative Vote Cast for all Candidates Despite Communist Intrigue—Dressmakers Will Have Election of Officers Next Tuesday, August 18th

On Tuesday last, August 11, the cloak operators and the cloak finishers of New York voted for executive board members and for managers of their locals to fill the places made vacant by the suspension from office of the Communist group which got itself elected last fall by posing as "loyal" union members, and by concealing their allegiance to the Communist politicians.

The voting took place from all the six offices of the Joint Board in Greater New York and lasted a whole day. Over 1,000 cloak operators took part in the voting and about that many cloak finishers registered their choice for officers of their local. The event passed off without disturbance, despite the attempt of the Communists to raise trouble in some of the polling places.

The following is the result of the election in both locals:

Local 2—Manager, M. J. Ashbes, Chairman Nathan Hines.

Executive Board Members: A. Abramson, E. Welter, H. Ingber, J. Block, B. Becker, Wm. Bloom, M. Cans, S. Glasberg, S. Gordon, D. Genser, J. Gutterman, A. Goldstein, J. B. Holtander, H. Lapidus, B. Miller, H. Perlmutter, R. Zuckerman, B. Kaplan, S. Rudin, Max Rubin, L. Rosen-

zweig, S. Resnick, Ph. Shaffer and A. Nagoshiner.

Local 3—Manager, Isidore Sorkin.

Executive Board Members: Max (Continued on Page 2)

Communists Plan to Stage Fake Stoppage of Cloakmakers Next Tuesday, August 18th

Chicago "Cheka" of the Communist Party, With Aid of Suspended Officials, Will Make Desperate Effort to Call Out Cloakmakers in "General Strike" Next Week—Communists Clutching at Last Straw as Shreds of Influence Wane—Foster's Order to be Carried Out

The Communist "Cheka" from Chicago, which is using the handful of deluded former officers of the three locals of the I. L. G. W. U. as a cat-in-the-hat in its conspiracy to destroy our Union, is now bent upon carrying out in a rush its scheme for precipitating a general stoppage in the cloak trade of New York. Several weeks ago, the Communist clique, which has thrown all its resources, domestic and foreign, into this attack upon the International in New York, decided that, in order to save whatever little influence it still has among some cloakmakers in New York, it must provoke a big stoppage, hoping against hope that by such a desperate move it might retain some of its waning "prestige."

William Foster arrived with such an order for a "general strike" from Chicago and at a secret meeting of New York Communists, held on July 27, read to them the "ukase." Foster intimated at that meeting that such a general strike had the sanction of the Communist powers "higher up" without disclosing whether he meant by

that the rulers in Moscow or Zinoviev's Internationale.

Right after that meeting, the Communists set to work to "prepare the ground" for the planned general walkout. They called one meeting of their adherents in Cooper Union, and last Tuesday, August 11, they summoned their cohorts to another meet- (Continued on Page 2)

Huge Meeting of New York Cutters Demonstrates Loyalty to Union

1,200 Members of Local 10 Attend Meeting Lasting Five Hours—Three Communist Emissaries in Cutters' Local Rebuked by Overwhelming Vote and Disciplined

A great meeting of cutters, members of Local 10, on Monday last, August 10, in Arlington Hall, again demonstrated in a thundering voice the stand of the men who fill the cutting rooms in the cloak and dress shops of New York in the present fight waged against the I. L. G. W. U. by the Communist union-wreckers and their henchmen in some of the New York locals. Like in all former critical situations in the history of the International, the cutters are proving their faith and loyalty to their Union in a manner that leaves no room for

doubt or wavering.

The principal question that confronted this meeting was the approval of a decision by the Executive Board of Local 10 to discipline three disrupters who for some time past have been guilty of acting as agents for the Communist commissars and have been actively engaged in demoralizing activity among the members of Local 10. The Executive Board recommended that they be deprived from the right to attend meetings for one year, and, after an all-around dis- (Continued on Page 2)

Two unusually well-attended district meetings of workers in dress and waist shops were held last week under the auspices of the Dress Division of the New York Joint Board, which for enthusiasm and earnestness in facing the real problems which confront the workers in this trade, exceeded all expectations.

The first of these meetings, called for workers in shops located in the Union Square section, took place on Thursday, August 6th, at the Debs Auditorium, which was packed to the doors, while several hundred workers were unable to gain admission. The meeting was addressed by Secretary Baroff, Julius Hochman, the manager of the Dress Division, and Anthony Crivello. The second meeting, held on Tuesday, August 11th, at Bryant Hall, was attended by 1,500 workers

in the uptown shops who filled the big hall to capacity. Both meetings discussed trade problems and the present situation in the Union created by the Communist conspiracy to capture the organization, and applauded enthusiastically the speeches of Julius Hochman and Antonini, the manager of Local 89, who denounced the disruptive work of the "lefts" and their dastardly attempt upon the life of the I. L. G. W. U.

Brother Hochman issued a special warning to the workers to watch out for the efforts of the Communist group in some shops to ingratiate themselves in the eyes of the bosses by consenting to lower their work prices on dresses and thus curry favor with them. "This group," said Hochman, "is bent on mischief and disruption (Continued on Page 2)

Local 89 Nails "Left" Fake

ANTONINI LAYS BARE STORY OF MEETING OF "PROGRESSIVE GROUP" OF LOCALS 89 AND 48

A few days ago, the Italian newspapers of New York City carried a story, which later appeared in one English daily, to the effect that on August 5 there was held in 5 West 41st street a meeting of a so-called "Progressive Group" of members of Locals 48 and 89 at which the I. L. G. W. U. and the administrations of the two above-mentioned locals were bitterly attacked.

When Bro. Luigi Antonini, the secretary of Local 89, the Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Union, was asked concerning the truth of this story, he issued the following statement:

"It is not so long ago that we called the attention of the members of our Local putting them on guard against these accusations circulated among them. We have also drawn their attention to the fact that every campaign, to attain its desired end, must be based on truth."

Therefore, for the sake of truth, we (Continued on Page 2)

Big Rallies of Dressmakers Discuss Union Problems

Crowded District Meetings in Debs Auditorium and Bryant Hall—Shop-Chairmen and Chairladies Hold Several Meetings—Workers Warned Against Schemes of Communist Element in Shops to Gain Favor of Employers by Lowering Prices

No Overtime in Cloak Shops While Workers Are Idle

(Continued from Page 1)

staff. Bro. H. Slutsky, manager of the "American" and "Independent" departments, presided.

President Sigman delivered at this meeting an impressive address, calling upon the chairmen to aid the Union to carry out its decision to supply all idle workers with jobs as speedily as possible. The unemployed men and women who are thronging the streets in the cloak district are, no doubt, a menace to the work standards in the shops which must be preserved and protected at all hazards.

The Meeting of the Pressers in Webster Hall

A great meeting of pressers, members of Local 35, took place a week ago, on Thursday, August 6, in the big Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street.

The spacious assembly room was crowded to the door by more than 2,000 workers, and the meeting, despite some attempts by Communist hecklers to disrupt it in its early stages, was a phenomenal success. President Sigman delivered an impassioned talk, describing at length the conspiracy of the national ring-leaders of the Communists to capture and destroy the I. L. G. W. U. Vice-president Breslau, manager-secretary

of Local 35, made a warm appeal to the pressers to oppose a united front to the disrupters and to defend their beloved organization from the ugly attacks leveled at it by the "left" clique which would either rule or ruin the Union.

The meeting adopted before closing by almost an unanimous vote and amidst a storm of applause, a resolution declaring its solidarity with the International and the Joint Board.

Communists Plan Fake Strike For Next Tuesday, August 18th

(Continued from Page 1)

ing in the same hall. This last meeting in Cooper Union, which was on the whole a thin and lukewarm affair, "decided" to call the general strike in the cloak industry, empowering the "Joint action committee" to fix the date for the strike.

Trade is Still Dull

This instruction, however, was hardly necessary, as the date for the spurious "demonstration" already had been set in advance by the Communist "Cheka" for next Tuesday, August 18th. That the entire thing is a mere maneuver on the part of the Communists and the suspended officers to

(Continued from Page 1)

Bredschneider, Sol Bender, Sam Beriman, Carl Berovick, Max Goldstein, Sam Goldstein, Harry Gartner, Rose Henig, Jos. Horowitz, Hyman Wachtler, Sam Lakowitz, Katie Mondras, Hyman Salaberg, Celia Sommera, Isidore Blegert, Abraham Shoboda, Jacob Friedman, Sam Zuckerman, Abraham Cohen, Isidore Cohen, Louis Kaufman, Nicholas Kirtzman, Meyer Kushner, and Morris Schneider.

And now, with the election of a complete set of executives and managers, the organizations of the cloak

operators and of the cloak finishers of New York will proceed at once with the great task entrusted to them—to bring order out of the chaos which their deluded predecessors had succeeded in creating among the members of the two locals, and by constructive effort to repair the damage done and to regain for Locals 2 and 9 their former fighting strength.

Local 22 to Elect Next Tuesday

The Dressmakers of New York, Local 22, will vote next Tuesday, August 18, for secretary-manager and members of the executive board under the direction of the election committee appointed by the regular member meeting of the local two weeks ago. The committee will be aided by the special election committee appointed by the Joint Board. The results of the vote will be announced in next week's Justice.

Where to Vote

The balloting will begin at 9 o'clock in the morning and will last all day and until 7 in the afternoon in all the offices of the Joint Board in the Greater City, as follows:

Main Office of the Joint Board, 130 East 25th Street.

Downtown Office, 33 Second Avenue, Brooklyn Office, 165 Montrose Avenue.

Brownsville Office, 219 Sackman Street.

Harlem Office, 161 East 121st Street.

Of course, it is unthinkable to even suspect that the Communists are in earnest about such a strike. The entire affair is but a scheme to show the workers how they, the Communists, on the threshold of their defeat, are capable of going down in a "glorious" crash.

Cloakmakers Will Ignore "Cheka"

The cloakmakers of New York will not allow the Communist "Cheka" to force them into a bluff strike against their will. They will remain on guard and defend their only bulwark of defense, their Union. The Communists will quickly learn to their bitter disappointment that, in issuing an order to the cloakmakers of New York to go out in a general strike, their "Cheka" had reckoned without the actual host in this situation. The cloakmakers are too mature and seasoned trade unionists to be provoked into such a dastardly adventure, which places the very existence and the well-being of themselves and their dependents in jeopardy, by a brazen order issued by outsiders.

The Communist disrupters are playing their last card, and, by this time, they know that their game is lost. They can not deceive anyone any longer. Their traitors and sworn enemies of our Union shall now be driven out for all time to come from our midst!

Local 89 Exposes "Left" Fake Report

(Continued from Page 1)

must deny, in great part, the account of that meeting basing it on the following inadmissible facts:

1. The small hall at No. 5 West 21st street where the meeting was held, can not hold more than 150 people.
2. Among those present were Jewish members of our Union and also many strangers.
3. Nearly all the Executive Board members and all the Business Agents of Local 89 were present to discuss and explain the policy of our local in the present crisis.
4. No more than five or six other members of Local 89 were present, ex-members of the executive board who could at any time be re-elected without any opposition, which leaves it a fact that this "Progressive Group" of Local No. 89 consists of none other than the executive board itself.
5. Local 89 consists of 5,000 members of whom none were present outside of those already mentioned.
6. The chairman, L. Res, very democratically and upholding the principle of free speech, would not concede the floor to our representatives. Imagine: Brother S. Milano, the only member of the

Investigating Committee in the proceedings against the executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22, who did not serve on the committee and who voted against the suspension at the Joint Board, was not allowed to speak! Brother A. Crivello was stopped in the middle of his speech.

7. Instead the floor was given to one lately arrived from Italy, not affiliated with and ignorant of the problems of our Union, but an organizer in the services of the "Workers Party."
8. That the undersigned was ready to contradict the "leaders" of the so-called "Progressive Group" (which in effect does not exist in Local 89), but, through an evasion, the Chairman L. Res ignored the challenge to have him appear at the meeting.
9. That for the satisfaction of the members of Local 89, the undersigned is disposed to challenge L. Res or any person affiliated with our International to a debate in which only members of Local 89 or any other Local of the International should be permitted to participate.

LUIGI ANTONINI,
General Secretary."

Cutters Demonstrate Loyalty to Union

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cusson which lasted almost five hours, during which the accused were given full opportunity to defend themselves, the meeting, with only 70 dissenting votes, decided to confirm the sentence imposed upon them by the Executive Board.

The speech by Vice-President David Dubinsky, the manager of Local 10, who summed up the viewpoint of the Executive Board and epitomized the full position of the cutters' organization and the loyal support it was giving the I. L. G. W. U. in its defensive campaign against the Communist disrupters, was greeted with prolonged

applause. The meeting also sanctioned unanimously the request of the Joint Board that Brother Dubinsky give part of his time to managerial duty in the Joint Board, in co-operation with President Morris Sigman.

ONLY THREE MORE WEEKS LEFT OF UNITY SEASON!

The Workers' Unity House at Forest Park, the wonderful summer home of our workers, will remain open for only three more weeks—until after Labor Day.

If you desire to visit Unity—make haste about it. Register at once in the office of the Unity House, 3 West 16th Street, Chelsea 2148. Don't delay—Tomorrow may be too late.

Locals 2 and 9 Elect Executive Officers

(Continued from Page 1)

Bredschneider, Sol Bender, Sam Beriman, Carl Berovick, Max Goldstein, Sam Goldstein, Harry Gartner, Rose Henig, Jos. Horowitz, Hyman Wachtler, Sam Lakowitz, Katie Mondras, Hyman Salaberg, Celia Sommera, Isidore Blegert, Abraham Shoboda, Jacob Friedman, Sam Zuckerman, Abraham Cohen, Isidore Cohen, Louis Kaufman, Nicholas Kirtzman, Meyer Kushner, and Morris Schneider.

And now, with the election of a complete set of executives and managers, the organizations of the cloak

save their faces and to stem off the disaster which is facing them, is clearly evidenced by the fact that there is very little work in the shops at present and that only persons bent on staging a fake would undertake to call a "general stoppage" at a time when the trade is as dull as it is now.

Communists Are Panic-Stricken

From intimate sources we have learned that the reasons which are prompting the Communist to call their "strike" in such a hurry are the following: They are beginning to see, what everyone endowed with a measure of common sense could have foreseen sometime ago, that their limited influence among the cloakmakers is fast disappearing and that the workers in the industry are quickly rallying to the support of their Union. They saw the splendid meetings held by the cutters and dressmakers during last week and this week, and the impressive demonstration of the pressers on Tuesday last at Webster Hall only added to their discomfort. Their shop strikes against the Union in the firms of Ruthenberg & Shenberg, the Best Clock Company, and H. Frederic also pestered out ignominiously this week, despite their readiness to pay as high as \$25 per week in strike benefits to keep the men out against their organization. The only step left to them under these driving circumstances was to carry out the final step—the order of the "Cheka" for a "general strike," and this they are planning to do next Tuesday.

The overwhelming majority of the cloakmakers are, of course, by this time fully aware what a misfortune such a general stoppage, if undertaken at this time and under the criminally irresponsible "leadership" of the Communist gang, would spell for them. Such a fake stoppage, naturally, would mean suicide for the Communists, but it would also add to the hardships and the woes of the cloak-

Dressmakers Hold Big District Meetings

(Continued from Page 1)

and they will stop before nothing in order to gain their despisable ends. We have information that they are playing into the hands of the employers in many shops in order to make themselves "strong" with the bosses, at the expense of the workers. Watch out for this trick, and as soon

as you learn of any attempt by them to bring prices down, inform the office at once and we shall take care of it."

During the week, two shop-chairmen meetings of waist and dressmakers were also held in the offices of the Joint Board, one on Wednesday, August 11, and another on Thursday, August 12. The big district meetings will be continued in all other sections of the city, manager Hochman stated, until every worker in the dress industry is personally met by the representatives of the Union and the problems of the industry, as well as the issues underlying the present conflict in the organization, are fully explained to them in their true light as supported by irrefutable facts.

With the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board

By JOSEPH FISH,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Meetings of Board of Directors—

Committees:

Jack Salvy, a member of Local No. 35, speaks in behalf of the committee of the striking shop of Brown Bros. 498 Seventh Avenue, and requests the Joint Board to do everything within its power to assist them in this strike.

The case is referred to the office.

Ben Epstein, Local No. 2, ledger No. 3537, speaks in behalf of the committee of the shop of Ab. Katz, 35 West 32nd Street. He informs the Board that this firm was reorganized some time ago when the firm changed its line of work from plushes to cloth and instead of the 35 machines, the impartial chairman granted them a reduction in the number to 14. He requests that the annex which this firm now intends to open should not be recognized as a cloth department and that those workers who fell out at the time of the reorganization, should be re-employed; also that the money collected for these workers should be refunded to them.

The case is referred to the office.

A meeting of the Board of Directors was held on Wednesday, August 5, 1925, at the Council Room of Local No. 45, 231 East 14th Street.

Committees:

A committee of H. Drusin's shop requests financial assistance, stating that they have been out of work for a number of weeks after striking this firm sometime previously.

The request is referred to the office.

Managers Reports:

Brother Slatsky, manager of the American and Independent Department, reports that he is having trouble with the Dartmoor Cloak Co., 17 East 22nd Street. The firm refuses to show the books to a representative of the Union. He therefore intends to stop the shop.

The action of Brother Slatsky is approved.

Brother Schechter, manager of the Brooklyn office, reports of the activities of his office for a period of six weeks, from June 15th up to date. During this time his office attended to 249 complaints, classified as follows:

Insurance cases, 53; out of business, 12; removals, 2; settlements, 4; cutter cases, 10; controls, 26; investigations, 56; labels, 20; reduction of prices, 1; miscellaneous, 7; non-union people working, 1; unequal division of work, 1; discharge cases, 9; collection, 3; adjustment of prices, 2; illegal hours of work, 1; stoppages, 11.

General Manager's Report:

President Sigman reports that he has assumed the duties of General Manager of the Joint Board; also that Vice-President Dubinsky is assisting him in his work. Vice-President Halpern has been assigned to the Organization Department and Vice-Presidents Breslaw and Ninfo are assisting to the general work of the organization.

He further reports that he has taken up certain matters with R. Sadowky, but that he can only report progress at the present time.

President Sigman reports that the decision of the impartial chairman in the case of I. Pollack is to the effect that 60 people be employed, and that the others be employed as soon as he changes his quarters.

Brother Sigman recommends that Brother Fein be placed as Manager

of the Protective Offices; also that Brother Sommer of the downtown office become the complaint clerk in that office.

He further recommends that Brother Keaten be called back to the Protective Department and that in his absence Brother Moskowitz, who is at present with the Organization Department, be sent to Brownsville.

Brother Levine, the Manager of the Organization Department, he further recommends, should report back to Slatsky's office; Brother Mozer, Manager of the Harlem office, be called back, if conditions in his office permit this change.

President Sigman further reports that arrangements are being made by all the offices to elicit district meetings.

President Sigman's report and recommendations are approved.

Vice-President Halpern states that there are a number of shops against which strikes are being conducted for a number of weeks and that it is quite a struggle to combat these firms.

These cases are referred to the office with full power.

Joint Executive Meeting

A joint meeting of the Executive Boards of the Locals Nos. 3, 10, 21, 23, 35, 45, 48, 64, 82, 89 and the Russian-Polish branch was held on Monday, August 3, 1925, at the International, 3 West 16th Street.

Chairman, Brother Weissman.

President Sigman opens the meeting and explains to the members present that the purpose of this meeting is to review the present situation prevailing in our Union and to hear the opinions of these Executive Boards on the situation created by the Communists. This meeting, he states, will create a unified opinion amongst the members, and will result in a real fight in the Union's defense which we hope will end successfully for it. Brother Sigman informs the delegates that a rumor has been spread that some of our people are of the opinion that the time was inopportune to start a fight. He therefore wishes to convey to the people present, as well as to the rank and file, that if we would not have started this fight, the Communists would have done so. However, this does not make a particle of difference, as according to the weapons they have employed so very often and the various issues which they raised such as dues and assessments, the fight would have been begun by them sooner or later.

Brother Sigman then quotes from a letter, issued by the Jewish section, an order to the Communists about the Trade Union Movement in general and about the International especially, directing their members to apply all their energy towards capturing the International. President Sigman states that he expects to issue a statement to the "Forward" tomorrow, regarding a rumor about a general strike which is to be called by the Communists this season and not by the Clockmakers. This general strike was decided upon at a meeting of the Communists, which was not announced in the press as it usually don't, and at which Foster presided. A number of suspended officers of the Executive Boards of Locals Nos. 2, 9 and 22 were also present. Mr. Foster spoke about the method of fighting that is being used and stated that the people will not continue fighting in this way especially when the season sets in. This will necessitate the

calling of a general strike. When Mr. Foster was questioned by the people about the expense which a general strike involves, he answered that if the strike is successful money will eventually come in.

Now the question arises who will decide upon a strike—the members who are directly connected with the Industry or the Communists? This general strike has been decided upon by people, who have absolutely nothing to do with our industry. The people who are in the Joint Action Committee are trying to make us know their calibre and efficiency in conducting organizations. This in itself goes further to prove that the fight is being led by the Workers' Party and that these people are only tools in the hands of the Workers' Party. It is President Sigman's opinion that this movement is a menace to the organization and that we will have to do quite a bit of fighting to bring it to a successful finish. He urges each and every Executive Board member who realizes the situation, to prepare those members, with whom he comes in daily contact, to be ready to fight at a moment's notice; that these Executive Board members be prepared at all times to discuss the existing problems with the workers, the same as our opponents are doing; to attend the meetings called by us as well as those called by them and to try to take the floor in order to explain to the members present the lies which they are agitating.

Brother Milazzo, Local No. 89, in a brief address, states that his Local is with the International in the present fight, but nevertheless he urges that the Union be tolerant during this grave situation.

Brother Gottlieb and Schwartz, of Local No. 3, then address the membership and state that in order to preserve the standing and usefulness of our organization it is absolutely essential that we fight this out to a successful finish.

Brother Antonini, Manager of Local No. 89, then takes the floor and reiterates the position of Local No. 89 and assures the delegates that he is doing all in his power to keep his Local in solid formation behind this fight.

Vice-President Breslaw is then granted the floor and in a very inspiring speech states that the main issue in this fight is not the Communists, but the tactics adopted by them in the Union. He also dwells on the question of the stoppage, claiming that if the majority of the members will respond to their call for a general stoppage, then the pres-

ent administration will have no other alternative than to comply with the will of the membership. He is, however, certain that the cloak and dressmakers are with the Union and that they will not heed the call of these demagogues but will remain in the shops until the Union—the organization which was built up by them—will call them to action. As Manager of Local No. 35 he makes a statement in reply to false rumors which are spread to the effect that Local No. 35 is not wholeheartedly in this fight. He emphatically denies this and thereupon reads a resolution adopted by his Local, in which it is said that they are in this fight 100 per cent. until the finish. As for himself, he is in it until his last drop of blood. He states that the pressers, who were worse off than any other workers without the Union, know that the Union has brought them and that it is important for them, more than for any other craft, that the Union should remain in force so that the manufacturers will not take advantage of the situation. He further states that the loyalty of the pressers in this fight cannot be questioned.

Brother Julius Hochman, Manager of the Dress Department, then takes the floor and urges the Executive Board members to put their shoulders to the wheel and to do everything in their power to back up the Union.

Brothers Kurtzman, Saltzman and Rein, members of Local No. 3, request the members to continue this fight until its successful termination.

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hunger	Flag Day	gongher
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overhead	Blue Cross	aerial cascade
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JUSTICE

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Who Is Supporting the Scab Shop In Hammington, N. J. ?

A Statement by the Philadelphia Cloakmakers Joint Board

On July 22nd there appeared, under the above caption, an article in the blackmail sheet published by the Communists in New York City in the Jewish language, in the form of "questions and answers," quite typical of the brazen disregard for truth that is characteristic of the "red" outfit that is at present engaged in the unwholy work of sowing malice and discord in our ranks in New York City.

The "article" is replete with irrelevant insinuations that have no foundation either in logic or fact, such, for instance, as that "the Washington correspondent of the 'Forwards' is a brother-in-law of Eskin, the owner of the scab shop in Hammington," and that "Bikowsky, one of the pillars of the Workmen's Circle in Philadelphia, had more than once loaned money to this Eskin." It ends up with a statement that "when the Union had made its final attempt to break into this fortress of scabbery and succeeded in taking down some men from their jobs, the Philadelphia 'comrades' sent others to take up their places. Tell us now, cloakmakers, who is scabbing against your international?"

This last outburst, wholly false and intentionally misleading, requires a correction, which we shall make for the benefit of the readers of "Justice," a correction based not on fiction but on well-known and irrefutable facts.

What we have in mind took place in the time of the last stoppage in New York City last year. The Out-of-Town Department of the I. L. G. W. U. had learned that the *Sandowsky* firm, which was still fighting the Union after all other shops had settled, was making some of its work in the Eskin shop in Hammington, New Jersey. Brother Halperin, manager of this department, came to the Philadelphia Joint Board, and requested us, in view of the fact that we might be in a better position to tackle the Hammington shop from Philadelphia, to undertake this work. The request was granted, and the Joint Board appointed Brothers Rubin and Louis Moros to go to Hammington. It must be kept in mind that Eskin is quite a power in that little town and that outsiders are generally regarded with suspicion and antagonism in such little communities, particularly when they come there on trade union missions. Nevertheless, they succeeded in organizing a meeting with the workers of that shop, the Jewish Italians, and some old-time scabs who were engaged in strike-breaking as far back as 1912, during our big strike in Philadelphia.

The committee however, organized these workers, and it was decided that they go out on strike the following Monday.

There was, at that time, hanging around our office a certain individual Bilenko, a pillar among our "lefts" who used to entertain them daily with his mud-slinging and vilification of the organization and of its leaders. This Bilenko nursed a bitter hatred against the Union, as he fell out of a job after the shop he worked in had closed down, and though the Union had sent him to several places afterwards, he could not adapt himself to a new set. Finally, he found his opportunity for "squaring up" accounts with the Union in Hammington.

On that Monday morning, the day of the meeting of the Hammington workers, Brother Danaky, who meanwhile had taken the place of Brother

Rubin, came there also, and, much to his astonishment, found this "revolutionist" in the shop. He refused to recognize Danaky and would have no business with him. As a result, the Italians left the shop and went out on strike, but the Jewish scabs, now encouraged and supported by Bilenko, refused to join in the walkout.

It is not important here to enlarge about the outcome of this strike. What is interesting is to point out the fact that the scabbing in that shop was done under the auspices of a "left" and that they have later aided, defended and abetted him. When Brother Danaky found out later that this fellow, Bilenko, was a member of Workmen's Circle Branch No. 142, which was at that time fully controlled by the "lefts" and which numbered among its members such leading local "left" lights as Celia Lichtman, Samuel Bell and Ingber, he notified the branch of this fact. The result was that he received from this branch a reply in which they stated that the "union had never before defected the shop in Hammington officially on strike, that Bilenko was not a member of the Union for the past two years, and that the Union was merely persecuting Bilenko."

This letter is elegant proof of the length to which "lefts" would go in their effort to foster and protect scabbery by their followers against our Union. If, however, they are still inclined to deny that they had in any manner encouraged Bilenko to do his dirty work, we shall state here another fact which would give an answer to the question—Who is scabbing against our international?

A strike was on in the shop of Nathan Albas, and the firm, of course, refused to have its work made elsewhere. We found out that it was doing work in a Camden shop, where one Benny Katz, an active "League" member was employed. This Katz used to distribute anti-union "literature" for the "lefts" in Philadelphia and was an all-around useful fellow for them. When we succeeded finally in stopping the Camden shop, Katz came back with the hope to Philadelphia and was scabbing in the inside shop under police protection. We also have evidence that he used to meet his "comrades" daily who would give him instruction how to carry on the blacking work against the Union and would constantly encourage him. This same Katz was quite a prominent guest at the "ball" given during last winter by the Philadelphia "lefts" in support of their New York blackmail publication. When the ball committee was confronted by one of our members who happened to be at the dance and who pointed out to them that Katz was an inveterate strike-breaker, Katz defended himself by saying that Max Levine, who at that time was the head of the "League" in Philadelphia, had himself sent him to do the scabbing in Camden. It is worth while noticing that this selfsame Max Levine, who signs himself "former chairman of the Philadelphia Joint Board," is now one of the ringleaders of the "Joint action committee" of New York and was the chairman of their recent unsuccessful meeting in Philadelphia.

We believe that the question—Who is scabbing against the international—is now fully answered.

JOINT BOARD CLOAK & SKIRT MAKERS' UNION OF PHILADELPHIA.

P. S. On Thursday, July 30, we had a well-attended general member meet-

Communists Scheming to Capture State Convention of N. Y. State Fed. of Labor

Call to "Fraction Secretaries" Urges Election of "Left Wing" Delegates—Detailed Plan for Work of "Fractions" in the Local Unions Also Given by "Industrial Organizer"

Not contented with disruptive work in the needle trades in New York, the Communists are now turning their attention to other fields, fired with ambition to plant seeds of hatred and demoralization in quarters that have hitherto been immune from their poisonous touch. This time it is the annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, which is to meet in Schenectady on August 25th, that is attracting them.

This is revealed in an "order," printed below, issued by "Industrial Organizer" Miller of the Communist party to all "Fraction Secretaries" in New York. Under the term *fraction* secretaries is hidden the title of the official of the secret Communist group (the nucleus) that is supposed to exist in every trade union invaded by Communist propaganda, carrying on its work under the direction of the party and acting as a unit on instructions issued by the party. "Organizer" Miller complains that he finds that a number of these fractions are not meeting regularly, and he admonishes them to function properly in the future. In view of the approaching convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, they are exhorted to work in the trade unions to "select left-wing delegates" obviously with the hope of capturing that body for the Communist party.

Of course, anyone who is familiar with the State Federation of Labor knows well enough that this Communist ambition to capture it is nothing short of a joke. To begin with, the number of trade union-affiliated with the State Federation where the Communists are likely to have "fractions" or nuclei is so infinitesimal that their prospects for capturing the State body are even less than that of the proverbial snowball in the hot place. It is, nevertheless, characteristic of their blind subservience to Moscow orders and to the "ukases" issued to them by the Chicago "Cheks," and it throws a lurid light upon the machinations of this group that is bent on destroying the American Labor movement.

The "order" follows:

WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA
108 E. 14th Street
N. Y. C.

Notice from Bert Miller
Industrial Organizer.

To all Fraction Secretaries.

Dear Comrades:

In going over the records of the various union fractions, I find that a number of them are not meeting regularly. You are instructed to see to it that your party and league fractions function properly. Each fraction must meet at least once a month. You are responsible for this work. You must see to it that all these instructions are carried out fully, and that reports are made regularly as to your activity.

You are again reminded of the Convention of the State Federation of Labor to be held on Tuesday, August 25th, at Schenectady. Every ef-

fort should be made to elect left wing delegates. You are entitled to delegates on the following basis: less than 300—one delegate, 300 to 500 members—two delegates, 500 to 1,000 members—three delegates, thereafter one additional delegate for each additional 500 of membership. To be entitled to above representation a union must have paid per capita tax on the maximum membership for which it claims representation for six months prior to the convention. Affiliated unions must pay a per capita tax of 1½ cents per month but no organization shall pay less than \$1.00 per year. The initiation fee for local unions is \$5.00. Credentials must be forwarded to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer at 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y. Delegates must be citizens and have five union labels.

A call for the "Hands off China" conference on Friday evening, August 23, at P. M. at Silverback Casino, 142 Second Avenue, has been sent to your local union, which should receive your attention at once. Let us know what action your organization takes on this matter.

As secretary of your fraction you are responsible for the following matters in connection with your work in the union:

- All fractions should have regular meetings at least once a month.
- Notices are to be sent out by fraction secretaries. (The local office will cooperate fully with you.)
- Each fraction should have a small executive committee responsible for arranging the program for each fraction meeting.
- Secretaries should keep minutes of all meetings in a book in a regular manner which minutes should be carefully filed. The office should be kept informed of all important developments.
- The order of business at meetings should cover the following: 1—Minutes. 2—Reports on situation in the industry and in the union. 3—Proposals for future work—industrial—political.
- Secretaries should keep a record of the attendance of all members of the fraction at meetings. The local office will cooperate in checking up those who neglect this important work.
- Each fraction should be self-supporting, should have its own treasury for incidental expenses, should collect money for the TUEL Sustaining Fund, its own secretary responsible for sending out all notices, correspondence, etc., and its officers and committees responsible to the fraction.
- Efforts should be made to broaden the support of the fraction by creating untied fronts within the union.
- Fraction members should keep in touch with trade journals so as to be fully informed as to what is going on in the industry.

Step By Step

Step by step the longest march can be won, can be won. Single stones will form an arch. One by one, one by one.

"And by union, what we will can be all accomplished still. Drops of water turn a mill. Single none, singly none."

ing, which fully approved of the stand of the I. L. G. W. U. toward the disruptive Communist element in our Union, and rejected the communistization of the suspended former officials of Locals 2, 9 and 22. Local meetings from now on will be held regularly each week.

Chaos in the Coal Industry

By NORMAN THOMAS

Private ownership of the coal mines that no man made and their operation for profit has got things in a mess in Great Britain, Germany and America. In all three countries the operators are talking reduction of wages as the only cure for their own greedy and unscientific mismanagement. In Germany the government seems to be considering some sort of direct or indirect subsidy to its mine owners so that they will not further reduce wages or lengthen hours. England's only hope of averting a serious strike seems, as we write, to be the proposition of a loan to the coal industry in order to maintain the tragically low wage scale without reducing profits. That is, the taxpayers will pay to keep us profits.

In this country a strike in the anthracite fields is probable and in the larger and worse mismanaged bituminous field not improbable. Here it will not be the citizen as taxpayer but the citizen as consumer who may have to subsidize private owners to keep up wages—this though the Federal Trade Commission and the Pennsylvania Department of Mines have both shown that the increase in the price of anthracite (and hence of the profits of the operators) is out of all proportion to the last wage increase. Wage increases in the anthracite field should come out of the profits.

For a real reform of the coal industry two things are necessary: (1) efficient and democratic nationalization of coal in industrial nations and the elimination of the profit ladder; and (2) some sort of international understanding, which will prevent waste and destructive international competition. As a step toward it the workers in Great Britain, Germany and America ought to try to get together so that international strike-breaking can be ended. Such common understanding may be denounced violently as anti-patriotic. It is, so much the worse for that kind of patriotism. In the long run not only the workers but the consumers in every country suffer from the present chaos in coal mining. There is no way to end it so long as it is left to the mercy of private profit-seekers.

The Price of Prestige

The French Moroccan War is a miserable affair. France is drafting Negro boys from her other African possessions and peasant boys from her own villages and some of the workers from her cities to fight the sons of the desert in a cruel and exhausting war—for what? For the preservation, they are told, of her empire which will be imperilled if French "prestige" is weakened by defeat at the hand of the Riff tribesmen. It is the old, cruel reason for so many Colonial wars. It isn't good enough to cause honest French lads to kill and be killed under the African sun. Abdel Krim is a man of considerable education and much ability with the undoubted support of his own tribes. He has already defeated Spain and made astonishing progress against France. He is, according to report, willing to offer most reasonable terms of peace. There is more real prestige for France in meeting these terms than, in her state of near bankruptcy, wasting money—to say nothing of lives—in a war as little honorable to her as was the Boer war in England. We should like to see all working class groups and parties in France unite in a demand for an immediate negotiated peace.

For Frenchmen to fight in Morocco there may be a shadow of excuse. For American adventurers as aviators in French service there is none at all. Not sentiment, for sentiment should be on the side of liberty, rather than imperialism. Not adventure, for there are other and nobler escapes from the monotony of civilization than murder. And for these American soldiers of fortune, war in Morocco is plain murder. But because it is a wholesale murder it will more probably lead them to "glory" than to the police court.

One of the largest units of the huge Stingers industrial combination has been acquired by British and American capital. The participation of American capital is one more evidence of the steady march of American investment in all parts of the earth. It makes talk of American isolation from Europe pure bunk. Stocks and Bonds are harder pieces of paper to tear up than treaties. Moreover we shall miss our guts, if the German workers do not find that British and American control will make harder their struggle for social justice.

Mussolini Hates the Light

When Mussolini sneers virtually to spit an American correspondent (as is the case with George Seldes of the Chicago Tribune) because he doesn't like his dispatches, he gives the world new measure of the dangerous autocracy of Fascism and its fear of the light. Having invited criticism at home he wants to do it abroad. Correspondents are human and may make mistakes but the mistake they make in foreign capitals is as a rule that of too great difference to the powers that be. Observe, for instance, how very pro-French are all or almost all the Paris correspondents and how quick to justify every act of French imperialism. To add to this natural tendency to flatter those in authority a compulsion only to speak

The Labor Movement in Palestine

By J. W. BROWN

Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions

The General Federation of Jewish Labor of Palestine, the youngest of the national trade union centers of the world, was founded in 1920; in 1922, when it affiliated with the I. F. T. U., it had a membership of 5,000, which rose to 15,000 in 1924. Turkish law is still valid in Palestine, in spite of the fact that it has been mandated to Great Britain. There is no social legislation, not even legal protection for women or children, and trade unions have no legal status. Despite all these difficulties, the workers are full of enthusiasm for the ideals of Labor and show great energy and perseverance not only in the construction of their "National Home" work to which many of them are unaccustomed, but also in building up a strong Labor Movement. In every town and village we find a Labor Council, which enjoys self-government. Last the strength of the infant movement should be dispensed in vain, no local strike may be declared without the approval of the Local Committee, and no general strike in any town or district without that of the Executive of the National Centre. Two unions which mainly compose the national federation are the national unions of the landworkers and the building workers, which have always been the backbone of the movement, although smaller unions catering for railwaymen, and post and telegraph employees, have now been formed.

Much of the pioneer work is done by cooperative groups, and cooperative societies work hand in hand with the unions; indeed, every member of the General Federation of Jewish

well of the existing government is to make foreign correspondents pure and simple propagandists. It degrades our call to new low levels. We hope that if worse comes to worst all American papers will withdraw their correspondents from Rome by way of protest against Mussolini's high handed act.

Labor is automatically a member of the General Cooperative Association of Jewish Labor and all the cooperative societies are centralized in this national association, which also comprises the cooperative contractors' organization, for Building and Public Works, and a Cooperative Bank, etc. In order to ensure trade union control of the cooperatives, a certain number of the shares of the General Cooperative Association of Jewish Labor are in the hands of the General Federation of Jewish Labor, and these shares carry with them 50 per cent of the votes at the general meeting.

A very important branch of the activities of the National Centre is that of Workers' Education, which has a wider sphere of work than is usually the case; the Educational Department not only provides trade union education for the members, but it arranges vocational classes, and organizes classes on historical and topographical subjects, in order that the immigrant workers may be made better acquainted with their new country; classes in Hebrew are also provided. For remote settlements the Educational Department organizes libraries and travelling lectures. Yet another activity is the establishment of schools for the children of rural settlers. The Labor Movement also issues a Hebrew daily paper of its own.

The Federation has taken every energetic measure to deal with sickness among the Jewish immigrants. This is especially necessary, because the whole country is defective in hygienic legislation, and the government has adopted no means of dealing with infectious disease. The Federation has therefore set up a Hygiene Centre, which already has 10,000 members; and has established a sanatorium at Moshav near Jerusalem, hospitals at Ain-Harod and Tiberias, and Health Stations in many places, while at Tel Aviv and Ain-Harod bacteriological laboratories have been built. Tel Aviv has large stores of medications.

The Labor Movement in Palestine owes its strength very largely to the excellence of its immigration service. Incoming immigrants are prepared both mentally and physically before they leave their own country, and very carefully selected from among the many applicants. On arrival they are received by the Emigration Department of the Federation, which provides accommodation for them until they find work, and enrolls them as members of their competent trade unions.

The general situation in Palestine is, as is well known, complicated by sharp divisions of race and religion. Animosity between Jew and Arab, and between the many sects and religions represented is sometimes very strong, and often there appears great danger of a general conflagration. But here the Labor Movement steps in as a reconciling agent. In spite of its name, it welcomes Arabs as well as Jews among its ranks, and thus acts a splendid example of the need for disregard of race and religion in the interests of Labor solidarity.

If this gallant little Labor Movement can succeed in achieving its high aims, its activities will doubtless have repercussions beyond the boundaries of the country itself. Already it has stretched out a helping hand to the Egyptian movement, which is still in its infancy. There is good ground for hope that it may make its influence felt still further, and help to spread its ideals through the East, thus aiding to achieve the much-needed solidarity between workers and eastern workers.



CHILD LABOR OR CHILD GROWTH

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

THEIR MASK IS OFF

We have stated it, on more than one occasion, that the crux of the present turmoil within our organization is not the question of leadership, not the question as to who shall remain at the helm of our organization. Our viewpoint is that, while it is of extreme importance that the Union be led by able, respected and thoroughly trusted men, it is wrong to assume that the fate of the organization depends entirely upon the calibre of its leaders. The Labor movement would indeed forever be in a state of uncertainty and instability were it to depend wholly upon its leadership. To be sure, upon close examination, one does not fail to observe a constantly changing personnel of leadership throughout the breadth and length of the movement, alien men taking the places of less gifted predecessors—and vice versa—while the movement itself goes on unhaltingly forever.

The Labor movement is not essentially the achievement of single individuals; it has its root in the economic contradictions of our social structure, and is the offspring of the clash between these antagonistic interests. Its leaders and active workers certainly contribute a great deal to its clarity and help strengthen it inasmuch as they succeed in succinctly formulating the strivings and the feelings of the masses that make up this movement. A leader may achieve but little, if he fails to grasp the concrete and practical aims of the movement; he may be then one of its agitators, one of its educators, but never its leader and its spokesman. And if some agitator or theoretician should attempt to force his theories upon the great mass of the workers, no matter how lofty his intentions might be, his ideas will be rejected and their chance for being accepted by the masses will be made nil for a long time to come.

The final truth is that the Labor movement as such cannot be forced into this or that channel against its course through the whim or caprice of a leader. It cannot be forced artificially to go right or left; it functions in accordance with its own internal laws which baffle and frustrate the strongest efforts of individuals. Many have been prone to believe that it was the late president of the A. F. of L. who, that by his prodigious will, has given the American Labor movement its shape and form and that with his death that movement would undergo a tremendous change. These forecasters, however, must see their error clearly now. It was the American Labor movement indeed that molded Samuel Gompers—and not the other way—and his demise appears not to have created the least impression upon this movement. To be sure, even Gompers' last deviation from the trodden path of the Federation, when under his influence the A. F. of L. had for a season given up its old policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" politically,—has now been found out to be a reckoning without the real master. The last meeting of the Executive Council of the Federation went on record in favor of the old political attitude and wiped out all other recent scores.

This was done not because the leaders of the A. F. of L. are traditionally or politically incapable of learning any other truths but such as they had been taught in the old Gompers school, but rather because they are fully convinced that the great masses of American wage-workers would not go off upon another course, and, as seen in this light, their decision actually is the expression of the will of these masses. We repeat: We do not intend to say that the agitator, the theoretician should give up the attempt of influencing the workers that they change their old viewpoints. We only maintain that until these masses have materially changed their attitude, the agitator must be content with the somewhat modest role of an educator. He may become the leader when his ideas will have penetrated the minds of the masses, when his ideals will become their own. To force a gospel upon the workers against their will is preposterous, and such an attempt is doomed from its very inception.

In the present conflict of ideas in the Labor movement in general, and in our International in particular, it would be just as erroneous to attribute the driving force in the contest to a desire to retain leadership. The leaders, no matter what their personal feelings or inclinations are or might be, will after all have to take their cue from the feelings, striving and aspirations of the great masses. At stake in the present controversy is quite another issue, which briefly may be stated as follows:

Is the trade union, as the old A. F. of L. Labor movement, to have its own self-sufficient aim, direction and purpose, or shall it be utilized by certain social elements for their own purposes re-

garded by them as superior or paramount to the aims of the trade unions? It is along these lines that opinion is split in our Union, and, although under normal circumstances the latter should be the only doubt that the trade union would have been overwhelmingly accepted as the rational, logical and living function of the union, in the present turmoil, unnatural as that may sound, the second viewpoint has gained for itself a considerable number of followers. It is therefore quite in place here to subject this matter to a more detailed analysis, if we are to grasp the reason why so many cloakmakers should be inclined to accept a viewpoint that would otherwise be utterly repugnant and distasteful to them.

As it appears to us, this tendency may be traced to several very definite causes. First, those who are at present attempting to gain dictatorial powers over our Union are shrewd enough not to come out in the open declaring that they care little for the organization with its present aims and purposes but that they aim very much "higher" than that, let us say, at a social revolution. Were they to come forth with such pronouncements, there is hardly a doubt that they would have been treated by the cloakmakers as harmless lunatics and would, of course, never be permitted to gain any place of authority within the Union. But these fellows with "higher aims" are today sailing under a false flag and under false "principles." Their principal task is to hide these aims from the masses, and in order to achieve that they must and do engage in the most unconscionable form of demagoguery by telling the workers that they are being "horribly enslaved" by their leaders, that the rank and file is being totally ignored within the organization, and that their leaders are betraying them body and soul to their employers.

This demagoguery, unbelievable as that may sound, still finds a considerable number of followers among the masses. Not because the masses are so hopelessly gullible, but principally owing to the fact that, like every other demagoguery, its starting point is a kernel of truth. It is true, for instance, that the rank and file is entitled to have all power in the organization, but it is not true, at least in our Union, that this rank and file is not having such power because it is prevented by anyone from having it. The trouble with our rank and file is that it is not interested with Union affairs, that it does not attend Union meetings, does not take a great part in the election of officers, etc., etc. But instead of telling these truths to the workers and instead of urging them to become active and zealous union men and women, the demagogues find it more suitable for their purposes to tell the workers that it is the fault of the present leaders, and that if given power they would transfer to the rank and file all power and influence. The irony of the situation consists, of course, of the universally known fact that the whole gospel of these "red" demagogues is based upon the rule of the mass by an elect group of dictators and upon the strict mental and organizational censorship of the rank and file.

The second cause for the prevailing turmoil is that there exists among the great masses of cloakmakers widespread dissatisfaction with their present economic condition. It is quite true that one cannot begin to compare the standards of life and labor among the cloakmakers of today with those of the past, but it is nevertheless a fact that the conditions have not improved among them years ago. This is an irrefutable fact, and the older generation of cloakmakers and dressmakers know that difference only too well. It is equally undeniable that the cloakmaker of today is not a whit worse off than any other organized American worker—with respect to wages, work-hours, and shop conditions. This, however, cannot and does not satisfy the cloakmaker. The fact remains that his "black" seasons are terribly long and that, notwithstanding his comparatively high earnings during the "busy" weeks, he can hardly make ends meet. A great many cloakmakers are therefore embittered, and this state of their mind offers a fertile ground for the demagogue. Instead of proving to the workers that it is of supreme import to them to stick closer to the organization and to rally their forces for further gains and for a greater measure of industrial security, the demagogue heaps abuse upon the leaders of the organization and besmirches the constructive record of the Union. It is not difficult to visualize that under such circumstances he finds enough listeners who are willing to accept his formula that "the leaders are to blame for all ills."

The third reason lies in the psychology of our workers. We have, to begin with, among us a large number of women, who are easily excitable and emotional element, which is at all times quicker influenced by a fiery, tempestuous phrase than by a quietly spoken truth. But the male portion of our membership is not much more deliberate and balanced. Most of them, though they like to style themselves "class-conscious" workers, keep on nevertheless thinking incessantly of the day, and hoping for it, when they might give up work and turn to some easier and more profitable occupation. They are in the Union to get out from it all they possible for as little as they need possibly give in return. As a result, when the Union embarks upon organizing activity and requires funds that can be raised only by an increase of the members' dues, it is invariably confronted by a concerted shriek of disapproval. Of course, at this juncture our demagogue is here again, ready to take advantage of this "protest" for his own petty ends. He leads the chorus of the "protesters", all the while harping on the point that while "they, the workers, starve, the leaders live like lords."

In this chant of hate, reason is thrown to the winds and common sense and logic are forgotten. They forget, for instance, that when a union leader leaves his office and enters any other trade or business he, as a rule, succeeds in earning several times

The Seventh Annual Conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva

Special Correspondence to Justice
By HERBERT FEIS

Geneva, July 16, 1925.

I think your readers may be interested to have my impressions of the most recent Conference of the International Labor Organization, as acquired on the basis of a close study of the documents and much conversation with various people who took part in it. Unfortunately I myself came a few days too late to see it work.

It was the seventh annual Conference; the meeting was marked by the presence of a larger number of national delegations than has ever been represented, and there were fewer incomplete delegations than at any previous Conference. Forty-six Member States were represented, which, if you recall that certain of the Member States have only very slightly developed industrial life (for example Paraguay, Uruguay, Ecuador, Abyssinia, and so forth), means almost complete effective representation.

Two tendencies which were more evident than ever during this last Conference were firstly, the constantly augmented interest and influence of the South American industrial countries in the work of the Organization and of the Conference. Both Government and other representatives from Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile took a very active part in the discussions, both of the Conventions and of the general problems of the Organization. I might note in passing that Albert Thomas, the Director, has just left for a two-months' trip through South America, on the repeated invitation of the South American Governments and industrial labor parties, for the purpose of establishing new personal relationships with the International Labor Organization in that part of the world. Secondly, there is the reassertion of the interest of the Far Eastern countries, and the growing amount of attention given by the Conference to industrial and labor conditions and affairs in that part of the world. There were some extended and warm discussions between the representatives of China, Japan and British India as to the tendencies in their respective countries towards the improvement of labor conditions, and the Government representatives of all three countries spoke most eloquently of the progress that had been made since the creation of the International Labor Organization. British India has ratified several of the International Labor Organization Conventions, including the Eight-Hour Convention. China and Japan have taken the first steps towards the creation of factory legislation in the last few years.

The work of the Conference itself fell into four parts: (a) the discussion of the Director's Report; (b) the consideration of the projects for International Conventions which were on the agenda; (c) the question of future work in the general field of social insurance; (d) the question of the

amendment and completion of certain important rules of procedure of the Conference itself.

The discussion of the Director's Report touched on every phase of the Organization's work. Interest in the progress of the Eight-Hour Convention has increased rather than the contrary.

The progress of ratification of the other Conventions goes on steadily, though not without many halts and difficulties. The number of ratifications now approaches 165—certainly the framework of an international industrial standard. In the discussion of the general state of ratification of Conventions passed by previous Conferences, suggestions were made in various quarters that the Office should institute some investigation, or that the Conference itself should establish a commission to discuss why certain States had not ratified certain Conventions. These repeated suggestions indicate the intense seriousness with which the workers' representatives regard the agreements reached here, but are hardly practicable at the present time, and probably not even constitutional. The Director pointed out that the extent of obligation of the Member States was merely to submit the Conventions passed by the Conference to the competent authority within each State, and that the International Labor Office was merely the servant of the separate Governments who compact with each other. Therefore any action such as that suggested would have to be taken by the States themselves and not by this Office or by the Governing Body of the Office.

The Conference, as a result of its work, passed four new Conventions dealing with workmen's compensation, prohibition of night baking, compensation for industrial diseases and equality of treatment between nationals of different countries under workmen's compensation legislation. It also passed two recommendations

supplementary to its Convention on workmen's compensation. With the exception of the one dealing with equality of treatment, all the Conventions represent distinct compromise between what the Workers' Group ardently desired and the Employers' Group was willing to admit. Great care was taken to make the "Workmen's Compensation" Convention elastic to permit ratification by countries with widely different administrative and judicial systems; the delicate question of the rate of compensation is not handled in the Convention at all, but in the recommendations. Except in minor points this Convention cannot be considered much of an improvement over the existing legislation in the more advanced industrial States, but will mark a distinct advance in other parts of the world, and should give a stimulus to the establishment of such legislation where it does not exist.

It is interesting to note that a protracted controversy arose, both in the committee meetings and in the full Conference over the question of whether to use the words "arising out of and (or) in the course of employment" to define the scope of the workmen's compensation Convention. It will be remembered that this is the phrase used in American State legislation. After the committee had rejected this wording under the influence of employers, the full Conference reasserted it in the first reading; but later, fearing a defeat of the whole Convention because of this one point, the workers agreed to its withdrawal, and the definition of "industrial accident" is left within the competency of each separate State.

The Convention dealing with compensation for industrial diseases is very limited in scope, providing compensation for a relatively small number of such diseases, the existence and causes of which are universally acknowledged. This Convention is to be followed up by further study in the field, and it is expected that its scope will be widened at a later time as technical knowledge on the subject grows.

The "Night Baking" Convention was passed by last year's Conference and came up for its second reading this year; a very hard fight centered over it, showing not only differences of opinion between workers and employers, but also between national groups. A Convention calling for weekly rest periods was also passed, a task force, which had passed in its first reading before last year's Conference, was finally rejected by this year's Confer-

ence in its second reading; the crucial point of debate was whether this weekly rest should be on Sundays or not. The problem was greatly complicated by the fact that this industry is in plain process of revolution, and the regime which was quite suitable for certain technical methods might have been different for other methods, so I doubt whether there was much regret over the outcome.

I might mention in closing two of the problems presented by the attempt to formulate satisfactory international Conventions within the fields of labor and industrial conditions, which have occurred to me during my observation of successive conferences. Please understand that I am giving you now merely my own personal reflections on the subject. The first is that these conferences, like practically all other international conferences, show a tendency sometimes to accept phraseology which is not as clear as it seems to be, and which may very well bring up at a later time serious questions of interpretation. This arises out of the fact that the conference is eager to find a common basis of agreement despite national differences in political and administrative organization, traditional outlook, and difference of consent on the part of different national employers' and workers' groups.

Secondly, it becomes increasingly plain as time goes on that the successful fulfillment of the objects set forth in Part XIII of the Peace Treaty will require national states to make some sacrifice and some adjustment in their national outlook and national legislation. This applies even to countries in which industrial and labor conditions are relatively satisfactory. Government representatives of the advanced industrial countries tend often to come to Geneva with the attitude that the Conventions adopted must fall within the limits of their present national legislation, and thus serve only to level up conditions of the more backward countries to the standard which the more advanced industrial countries have already established in whole or in part. This sometimes proves a different attitude, as satisfactory international conventions usually require some small adjustment in legislation even on the part of the advanced industrial countries.

It is my opinion, however, that year by year all governments concerned will more and more display an acceptance of the necessity for an occasional national concession. The creation of the willingness to make such concessions, and the acceptance of its morality, is one of the great tasks and partial achievements of the International Labor Organization. It cannot be overdone, for the International Labor Organization has created an international sentiment and judgment in the field of industrial conditions.

as much as he is paid while an union officer; they forget that it is the very interests of the worker, the union leader and the employers as their representative on terms of equality and make the appearance of a trusted, respected and well-treated official. But the demagogue, who derives his source of living heaven knows from where, is but too eager to seize upon this mean, despicable feeling of common envy to add to the flames of discontent and hate.

No Union can carry on without certain fixed rules of conduct and an accompanying code of discipline to enforce these rules. It is the business of the Union's leaders, of course, to see that these rules are carried out, if the Union is to live. Men are often punished for violations of these rules, and those who are thus disciplined seldom will admit that they ever had been wrong. They nurse a grievance against the Union and its leaders, and their erstwhile transgressors are also handy material for the demagogue, an element that is ready to join his "rebel" army for the asking.

Such is the food upon which demagogy in our ranks feeds, and therein lies the explanation for the temporary influence of the Communists upon some of our workers. It is literally true that one can count on one's fingers the actual number of Communists among the cloakmakers and dressmakers, and it is just as true that if the Communists were to come out in the open with their

real program, they could not have collected a baker's dozen of men and women to their meetings and "demonstrations." But the workers too shy to put their cards on the table. Instead they are utilizing the existing dissatisfaction within our ranks, which in part is justifiable, to confuse the minds of our workers.

This delusion, however, cannot last long. The majority of the workers who had been misled by the Communist haze are beginning to regain their reason. The publication last week by President Sigman of the documents which reveal so clearly the true designs of the Communists upon our Union, will contribute a great deal towards clarifying the situation before the cloakmakers and the dressmakers of New York. It is clear as daylight that for the Communists the trade union is but a stepping stone to their political ambitions, that the sufferings of the workers are for them but a ladder for climbing towards their "dictatorial" goal. They would keep the masses in a state of constant turmoil in order to "revolutionize their minds."

And now that the mask is torn off their faces, many of those in our midst who have been misled by their fake slogans and fantastic promises, will sober up and regain their feet. That will mark the beginning of the end of this crazy period—for such we believe it will be termed by the future historian of our International—which has raised so much stress and storm among us in the last couple of years.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Anthology Once More

By SYLVIA KOPALD

The Best Short Stories of 1923 and the Yearbook of the American Short Story, Edited by Edward J. O'Brien, Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1924.

Mr. O'Brien's "yearly best" has now a record of a decade's choices behind it. That record yields many fascinating data—interesting revelations, not only of the short story in America but also of selection and editing and public taste and many other things. Year after year Mr. O'Brien has turned the multiple pages of America's multiple magazines, has scored the continuous flow of America's short story collections, has studied other men's opinions of the short story in America, has issued his final choices and his explanations of them, has compiled, averaged, and entered scores and drawn up rolls of honor and offered the various useful information that makes a yearbook.

Other anthologies have followed his into the field. The O. Henry Memorial Prize volumes of short stories are also offerings of choices with explanations of them. This time we are offered the selections of a combination of experts—a committee—and a compound of the balancing of individual reactions that made the final choices. Practically the same sources of the American short story are combed for these two volumes. Possibly the O.

Henry committee reviews exactly the same stories that Mr. O'Brien does, certainly the American short story for each of them is a summation of practically the same individual short stories published each year in America. Anthologies should be well, anthologies; and surely the reflections of the American short story as mirrored in these two volumes should bear at least a family resemblance to each other.

But apparently they are not even on speaking terms. Each year these volumes appear at more or less the same time, and each year the type short story that emerges from each of them draws farther and farther apart one from the other. Perhaps it is an indication of the manifold variety of short story writing in America. More than any thing else, however, it reveals the distinct identity of selection as an artistic technique. Mr. O'Brien may be purposing to compile only a representative picture of the best from among the myriad short stories appearing each year in the United States; Miss Williams and her committee exists to apportion rewards among the writers

of the same best. But both Miss Williams and Mr. O'Brien are really issuing each year individual works of art as different one from the other as two novels on the same American life by Edith Wharton and Sherwood Anderson.

The comparison is fitting in several ways. The stories selected by the O. Henry prize committee usually reflect the same New England restraint, the same delicacy of touch and sparseness of emotional expression that are so characteristic of Mrs. Wharton's novels. Mr. O'Brien's volume on the other hand breathes more of the newer mood in American literature, the mood first cast by Theodore Dreiser and now general in the mid-western school. There is light comedy in his offering, of course, and buoyancy, too, but his dominant note is the pain and bewilderment of tortured, harassed folk, and the problems of the unhappily introspective. The character of his pattern becomes each year more distinctly marked. It is not difficult to recognize a novel by Sherwood Anderson or Sinclair Lewis. No more difficult is it to recognize the anthology of Edward O'Brien. His work belongs to the Continental-Russian school of the American literary brew; just as recognizable as the O. Henry volume belongs to the British-New England influence.

The latest volume of Mr. O'Brien's choices will bring joy to the same enthusiasts whom the earlier cheered, and dismay to the same unbelievers. It is interesting to hear in Mr. O'Brien's preface this time, however, an echo of just that complaint which many have been voicing against his choices from the start—"Why do not our American short story writers drop their preoccupation with the pain of American experience. Why do we not get from them the buoyant self-consciousness that is part of literature in even less happy nations?" To those of us who have been watching the evolution of literary taste among the American people, this question comes with familiar ring. Much of the popular objection to Mr. O'Brien's artistry used similar argument. "O'Brien thinks no story good that has not at least one death in it. Bloom is his final test of merit." And so on.

Of course Mr. O'Brien's complaint has less justification than that of his objectors. The O. Henry committee extracts from the self same literature far less pain and self-consciousness than does Mr. O'Brien. Undoubtedly the dominance of unhappiness in his anthology proceeds as much from the selector as from the source of the selections. The artist, and certainly the editor is very apt to find in life and literature answers to his own needs, satisfaction for his own cravings and denials. And so Mr. O'Brien will probably continue to record the same names in his work that have appeared almost regularly from year to year: Sherwood Anderson, Mary Heaton Vorse, Conrad Bercovici, Fanny Hurst, Theodore Dreiser. And the new talent that is registered will show similar tendencies, as do for instance Ruth Suckow and Jean Toomer and Ernest Hemingway. The form of H. L. Wilson and Irving Cobb may be included and the adventuring of Dana Burnett and Wilbur Steele and Bill Adams and the discreet touch of Margaret Prescott Montague. But the O'Brien anthology as a whole will probably continue its distinct character of probing and preoccupation. As long, that is, as Mr. O'Brien remains its editor.

I, for one, will not quarrel with these characteristics. For me the dominant notes sounding in the life of our transitional America is pain and probing, and restlessness and the discontent of a sudden maturity. The

new issue of Mr. O'Brien's preferences give me imaginative insight into this seething of our age, much as does a novel by Sherwood Anderson or Sinclair Lewis, or a drama by Eugene O'Neill or John Lawton, or a comedy by Marc Connelly and George Kaufman. There is revealed in it all the many faceted experience of present day America. Jew and Gentile, western farmer and eastern worker, sailor and landsman, white and negro, men and woman, husband and wife, swirl their baffled searching and clashing before our eyes, and with it all this challenging complexity of modern American living.

In "Seven Candles" Fanny Hurst writes down the course of internationalism among unlettered, emotional, traditionalized lives. Old Mrs. Palestine withers under her own pain and her Gentile daughter's brilliant "difference." Mois Ivann takes the way out that unfolds itself to her patient mind and Palestine loses his orthodox Jewish mother and repudiates his Gentile wife. Sherwood Anderson recounts an unknown poet's attempt to raise the walls that are ever shutting people off one from the other, the ill unscalable walls that men build about themselves. He succeeds in finding a queer peace for himself through his "woman" only to lose that peace once more in the strangely unaccountable way in which men's fates move. Jean Toomer sketches in the tale of white-negro relations in the south, and of mob lynching with a delicacy that leaves a far stronger impress than any explicitness. Ruth Suckow's tale of "revolvers" represents the poor man's fight against external, the farmer's fight against the owners with such sharp directness that its voiceless consciousness becomes unmistakable. "Reims" wittily refuses the happiness her husband can offer her, and makes her slange, light-headed, unreckoning way through Dreiser's tale of her. Edna Ferber's "Home Girl" reveals the ironic history of numerous modern home girls. And so on through the twenty tales.

Another edition of the annual anthology and one more view of a particular vision of the American short story. It is a vision worth the worker's investigation.

WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By Alice Henry. New York, George H. Doran Co. 1922. \$1.50.

The author is well known for her earlier work: "The Trade Union Woman." She is now secretary of the Educational Department of the National Women's Trade Union League. The present volume gives much valuable information about working women in America. The subjects treated include a short historical study of women's work; the relationship of women to modern trade unions and the numbers of women members of unions, where such information is available; the work of the Women's Trade Union League; the development of industrial legislation, particularly of minimum wage laws; the history and work of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; the effect of the World War on women in industry; the status of women in industry; and the work of the International Federation of Working Women. The book may be regarded as authoritative and a useful source.

GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY!

The Office of the International, 3 West 16th street, is open every Monday and Thursday until 7 o'clock to enable members of the Union to purchase

"The Women's Garment Workers" at half price—\$2.50.

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DOMESTIC ITEMS

Wages Kept Down by Welfare Work

WELFARE work keeps wages down and employers should not be taxed for this attempt to equalize low wage rates.

This decision was made by the United States Board of Tax Appeals in the case of the Folsom mills, located in Greenville, S. C.

The mill management was taxed for its expenditure for welfare work among its employees, and appealed to the tax board on the ground that this money was used "for purposes connected with the operation of its business."

In sustaining the appeal, the board said:

"The foregoing facts show that the Folsom mills had a constant policy of welfare work among its employees which, as the president of the corporation testified, was necessary to produce an attitude of contentment toward the company among its employees, to equalize the lesser wage established in the section in which the company operated with a somewhat higher scale paid in other sections, and to reduce the volume of labor turnover."

The effect of this decision will be to encourage low-wage employers in their effort to feudalize workers. The cost will be considered as connected with the operation of their business.

The decision is also the first frank avowal by a government board that the purpose of welfare work is to smash trade unions, by making workers "contented."

Railway Bankers Favor High Wages—for themselves.

RAILWAY bankers and their attorneys favor high wages—for themselves. Last week they presented a bill for \$2,364,249.75 for reorganizing the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad. They insisted that this was a "living wage," but the Interstate Commerce Commission reduced the rates to a barely \$1,500,000. The bankers receive \$900,000 and the attorneys \$400,000.

The award was so excessive that Commissioners Eastman, McManamy and Campbell filed a minority report. It was shown that one lawyer was classed as a \$400-a-day man.

"Men receiving such compensation," said Commissioner Eastman, "usually entertain a righteous conviction that it corresponds with intrinsic worth although, at the same time, they may be incensed that painters or carpenters should assume to demand and be able to exact \$15 a day for their services."

Mr. Eastman called attention to other expenses that the bankers presented, although "the actual risk and burden in connection with the underwriting was insignificant."

Green's Mexican Note Given Wide Publicity

PRESIDENT GREEN'S protest of Secretary of State Kellogg's recent belligerent note to Mexico has been heralded through every country south of the Rio Grande. Newspapers received at A. P. of L. headquarters indicate that the trade unionists' defense of Mexico is warmly received by the Latin-American countries.

Argentine newspapers, especially, feature the protest. In discussing a resolution in the Argentine national senate in support of President Calles of Mexico, and his reply to the Kellogg note, Senator Justo said:

"I believe, Mr. President, either to the welfare of the liberty of the North American people in the political course of Mexico. This is so true that the Buenos Aires papers of today print the declarations of the American Federation of Labor favorable to the government of Mexico and in opposition to the uncalculated declarations of the North American government."

Anti-Union Packer Bows to Strong Union

ANTI-UNION employers shift their position very quickly when they are confronted by a 100 per cent organization of workers.

This is shown by a recent advertisement in which the Armour Corporation, meat packers of Chicago, asked for bricklayers, "union only."

The Armour concern treats its unorganized butcher workmen different. It maintains a company "union," a spy system, and advises other employers to buy Christmas turkeys—sold by Armour—for its workers.

"Armour & Co. wants the union bricklayer, but it does not want the union packing house workers," says Dennis Lane, editor of the Butcher Workman. "In actuality it does not want either, but might compel the employment of the union bricklayer."

"The big packer has unintentionally once again, supplied evidence that the power and influence of an organization is measured by the size of its membership."

Rockefeller Miners Are Again Duped

THE company "union" of the Rockefeller Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is used by the management to again reduce wages. Officers of the "union" are circulating a petition that the company reduce wages 15 per cent "to meet competition" in its mine production.

Last March wages were lowered 20 per cent with the approval of the State Industrial Commission. The workers were then told that competition made this policy necessary. Later, the company said it was impossible to meet competition because of discriminatory freight rates. The Interstate Commerce Commission adjusted rates to the company's satisfaction.

But the company is still dissatisfied. It has discovered that the "competition" cry brings results, and it is again using this plea, while its hand-picked "union" directs the fight for a wage rate that will equal the low 1917 scale.

The company's scandalous policy of continually deceiving its employes has silenced every champion of company "unionism" in this state.

The organized workers are asking the duped employes when will they wake up.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

Plans For a National Choral Union

A NATIONAL Choral Festival for Labor is envisaged in a scheme, details of which are being submitted to local organizations by the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party.

The idea has been prompted by the remarkable success of existing choral and musical societies within the movement. These societies have rendered the greatest possible assistance to the Movement, and have proved of immense value in nurturing Party enthusiasm.

The scheme approved by the National Executive provides for:

Local Choral in association with local Labor parties.

Labor Choral Union for suitable areas for co-ordinating the activities of Labor, Socialist, and Co-operative Societies.

A National Labor Choral Union to link up the choirs and unions.

Annual Local Musical Competitive Festivals are suggested, with a National Competitive Festival for the winning choirs.

FRANCE

The Activities of the National Council for the Division of Labor

THE National Council for the Division of Labor has just held its first meeting, with the Labor Minister in the chair; the draft of a bill was approved, the object of which is to exercise more effective control over foreign workers in the first year of their domicile in France. Amongst other things, the law would ensure that the labor market is not complicated by useless unnecessary changes of employment, etc. The council also assented to an arrangement to regulate the activities of the municipal and departmental employment exchanges.

BELGIUM

The General Strike of the Metal Workers

ACCORDING to program, the strike of the Belgian metal workers became a general on the 15th of July, and there are at the moment 70,000 workers on strike. The spirit throughout the country is excellent. Meetings are being held everywhere, in order to keep the workers informed of all the phases of the conflict. Especially effective was a demonstration in Nivelles, in which nearly 3,000 women took part.

The situation in Belgium came up for discussion at the meeting of the Executive of the Metal Workers International held in Wiesbaden, and important decisions were adopted with regard to the question of international action. As is already known, half a million francs have been provisionally placed at the disposal of the Belgian strike centre.

SWITZERLAND

Meeting of the Trade Union General Council

AT the meeting of the General Council of the Swiss Trade Union Federation, which took place recently, a proposal was made by Kundig (Basle) that the executive should get in touch with the I. F. T. U. again with reference to the immediate resumption of negotiations with Russia. This was turned down, however, as was also another proposal, that the committee of the Swiss Federation should organize a commission of enquiry to Russia.

ARGENTINE

The Amsterdam Platform in the Argentine

A COMMISSION under the "Comité de Relaciones entre Sindicatos Autonomos" has been formed in Argentine, the aim of which is to form an organization affiliating the trade unions which have seceded from the anarchist Trade Union Federation.

The trade unions which this committee represents, have now taken seriously in hand the task of founding a new national centre which shall work on the lines of the I. F. T. U. This step is all the more significant as the Argentine Trade Union Movement is just now passing through a serious crisis—which is the result of unfortunate internal disputes. In conclusion the committee expresses its desire to enter into as close a connection with the I. F. T. U. as possible, in order to bring the Argentine working class into contact with the rest of the workers of the world.

CUBA

Labor Conditions in Cuba

THE workers' movement in the Antilles, against which the employers are setting all their energies, is in a most difficult position, and is having much ado to keep its head above water.

Apart from the hostile attitude of the employers and authorities in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, with their medieval ideology and methods, the labor movement in this part of the world is chiefly weakened by the disputes of the various orientations and the extreme elements, which in these (on the whole) backward districts find a very auspicious field of work. Just lately, however, there has been some slight improvement and, to judge by news received from Cuba, it seems very likely that this island at any rate will succeed in unifying the various movements.

The building workers of the capital, Havana, are at present making very special efforts in the sphere of organization. In spite of the fact that it is only a local body, it keeps in contact with all the other trade groups and unions. Its discipline is so stringent that no worker can obtain employment in the building material factories unless he is organized in a trade union. Thanks to this unity, it has been possible to maintain the advantages achieved in the last four years, e.g., the 44-hour week, with a free Saturday afternoon from 11 o'clock, and wages from 3 to 6 dollars a day.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

The Brookwood Labor Institute

August 9-22, 1925
Tentative Daily Program

Evening Sessions, August 13-15

Aug. 13—The British Labor Movement and Adult Education—Speaker: Professor Illyd David, of the University of Wales, prominent figure in British workers' education movement.

Aug. 14—The British Labor Movement and Modern Social Theory by Professor David.

Aug. 15—The Organization of Women—Discussion to be led by Miss Theresa Wolfson and Miss Fannia M. Cohn, of the I. L. G. W. U.

One-Day Conference on Insurance
Sunday, August 16

Sessions at 11 A. M. and 2.30 P. M.
Discussion of Unemployment Insurance to be led by President Morris Sigman, of the I. L. G. W. U., on Life Insurance under Trade Union Control, to be led by Mr. L. D. Wood, Insurance expert attached to the A. F. of L. special committee on insurance, and Mr. Charles F. Nesbit, actuary for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The One-Day Conference on Insurance is a part of the Brotherhood Labor Institute and members of the Institute are eligible to attend without any further charge. Members and officers of trade unions in New York and vicinity are invited to come up for the day. Charge for meals for the day one dollar.

Morning Sessions, August 17-22
The History of the War and Post War Period from the Labor View

Planning A Workers' College

Issued by the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

A Workers' College usually means one or more evening classes conducted by organized labor for the benefit of workers. Most of them meet once a week, twenty weeks in the year, although there are variations.

Every one agrees that self-education promoted by organized labor is desirable. The American Federation of Labor and a growing proportion of state federations have called for its advancement.

Of course, self-education does not necessarily mean a school or college. Education comes from observation and study and thought. Education can be secured even though one is entirely alone. For instance, The seal the Workers' Education Bureau has on it the picture of Abraham Lincoln who attended class for less than a year during his entire life and yet Abraham Lincoln was a well educated man.

Workers' Colleges are a great help to education, however. Abraham Lincoln did not attend school simply because there were no schools in his neighborhood to attend.

Workers' Colleges carried on during evenings by labor organizations enable the worker to improve his powers and make himself more useful to the labor movement through the study of public speaking, English literature, history of the labor movement or whatever he himself may find desirable. These institutions are growing rapidly in the United States.

Although we all agree that these institutions are beneficial, an effort

point. Among the subjects that will be discussed are: The Trend of Wages and Standard of Living—have real wages been going up or down? The Trend of Unionism—gains and losses in various unions; Industrial Struggles—steel strike, railroad strike, etc.; Political Developments—non-partisan policy, attempts at forming a "labor party"; Education and Propaganda—workers' education, labor press, etc.; International Problems—international affairs and their effect on American labor. A. F. of L. and Mexico, etc.

Discussions will be led by Arthur W. Calhoun, David J. Saposs and A. J. Nunte also in attendance.

Evening Sessions, August 17-21

Aug. 17—Company Unions—Discussion led by Mr. Don Seickman, of the Russell Sage Foundation, co-author of "Employee Representation in the Coal Mines," etc.

Aug. 18—Picnic Trip to Pioneer Youth Camp, Pawling, New York.

Aug. 19—Musical evening in charge of Mr. Herman Epstein.

Aug. 20—Health of the Industrial Workers—Discussion led by Mrs. Grace Burgham, of the Workers Health Bureau.

Aug. 21—Grant-Power and the Labor Movement—Discussion led by Robert W. Brauer, of the Survey, author of "The Coming of Gold."

The rate for joining the Institute, including all expenses, is \$20.00 a week; for those who wish to spend only one day there, \$3.00.

are tempted not to take advantage of them. We reach home at night quite tired from the day's work and we much prefer to rest or seek amusement rather than study. This is likely to be true even though the ordinary Workers' College meets only once a week. This tendency on our part is of course a natural one, and is to be found among all human beings. Obviously what we must do if we are to make ourselves as valuable as possible to the labor movement is to overcome this tendency and to exert ourselves in study even though it is not for the time being altogether pleasant.

Workers' Colleges frequently begin the second week in October and last for twenty weeks. They must be carefully planned in order that they may be made as attractive and as useful as possible. If a labor organization—let us say the central labor union of a city—is to have a Workers' College, it must, during the summer, appoint an Educational Committee. All of this committee's action, of course, is subject to the approval of the union as a whole.

This committee must lay its plans to meet the needs of the particular community. The work of the Educational Committee is particularly difficult because communities differ so and a plan that has proven entirely successful in one community may not be at all successful in another. For instance: In one community there may be a large university with numerous specialists on its faculty who can be hired by the Workers' College to lecture and to conduct classes in any subject desired. Another community

Can Education Serve The Labor Movement?

By JULIA O'CONNOR

Labor and education ought to be natural allies. It is almost a platitude to recount the service which labor has rendered to education, to free education—the first public schools, free text books, academic freedom for teachers, assistance in their release from the traditional slavery of low wages and insecurity of tenure. Labor has ever had its finger on the pulse of education, has ever been zealous for the humanizing, the democratizing of the educational system.

Not only because of these facts, but by the very nature of things, labor ought to have a sense of proprietorship in education; life itself is its text-book, and its curriculum every subject under the sun. No problem of government, of economics, of finance, of education, is alien to the wage earner. His interests are woven into the fabric of our social order as of those of no other class. It is a commonplace of sociology that the burdens, mistakes and inequalities of society fall first and fall heaviest on the workers in the world. No group so definitely needs to be intelligent, to be informed, to be competent to understand and appraise the industrial society of which it is so important a part. And where can the worker find this information, develop this intelligence, train this vision and perspective except in his union?

He lives in a world committed to the enterprise of profit, to the exploitation of the weak by the strong, to the theory that property is sacred and life is cheap. All the influences which would build thought—press, politics and pulpit—unite to confuse him, not necessarily from venal motives, but because no illiteracy is so wide-spread as economic illiteracy, sheer misinformation and ignorance on the part of those who ought to know about such fundamental things as the right to organize, the right to strike, the abuse of injunctions, the need of a

child labor amendment, and so on down through the whole category of the great economic issues which are so fearfully mishandled in every kind of public form.

Only in the union is humanity stroved, are finer motives emphasized, are relative values at all adequately appraised. I speak outside a mere narrow partisanship to the labor movement. I am fully aware of its mistakes, its stupidities, its blunders, its crudities. I know how swollen some unions are by materialism, and how emaciated and helpless others are by politics and factionalism, and even by plundering. The force which moves the labor movement onward both underlies and transcends these things. It is the great human mission of the labor movement, its crusade for justice, its nearly divine purpose to champion and defend the weak against the strong, and the worker who has sensed the labor movement in that light, who feels that call to the spirit, has taken all the degrees that the movement can confer, whether he is captain or private in the ranks.

And since labor pours forth so much beneficence in the way of education, since labor has the conscious influence of the wage-earning world, has so valued education, has so enhanced and contributed to the worth of education, can labor call upon the educational movement as such to serve the ends of labor? Through all its history labor has preached the worth of the human being, his capacity for development, has stressed the eternal verity that there are no frontiers to human capacity. All the libraries that millionaires have built, all the universities that money has endowed, have not given the genuine impetus to education and to the culture development of the race that labor has contributed through the eight-hour day.

W. E. B. NEWS SERVICE

may be an isolated mine village with no university within 100 miles. Such a community must secure its teachers from among the workers themselves, and among the school teachers in the district, none of whom are specialists. Text books are of much importance in this community. The Educational Committee must hold many meetings and must consult with many persons, endeavoring all the while to decide what the workers in the district concerned really need and desire. It may get information and suggestions from the experience of other Workers' Colleges, applying sometimes to the Workers' Education Bureau for information on these matters.

The committee must make the proposed Workers' College as convenient as possible, both in time of meeting and in location. It must secure the best possible teachers and lecturers. It must supply a program that is not only educational but that is, so far as possible, interesting in itself. It must look after innumerable other details.

The union should have one other

committee in connection with the college—a Boosters' Committee—whether it is formally appointed or not. It may be self appointed.

It is not sufficient merely to plan a Workers' College. It is also necessary that Trade Unions publish the full information as to the opportunities that are presented by the College, in other words the College must be advertised.

The problem is much the same as that which confronts a manufacturing concern when it puts a new product upon the market. Suppose that the new product is a particular brand of cigarette. The manufacturing concern must in the first place see that the public learns that such a brand is available. It must see to it, in the second place, that the merits of that particular brand are well understood. It must in the third place do what it can to get people to take advantage of these merits. In the fourth place, it must keep up the campaign even though immediate results seem to be discouraging. In the fifth place, it

(Continued on page 11)

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ

президента Ситмана и клоня в драматическую.

Как уже известно, я временно беру под свое управление Джеймт Бора.

Братия и сестры! Я призываю на себя эту работу с твердой уверенностью, что я получу вашу поддержку и полное доверие в нашей общей борьбе с охранниками кинематографа и разоружения и в усилении его в отношении к недостаткам; от вашей преданности и любви к кинематографу успех предприятия моего работы.

Я не могу надеяться на успех, пока не буду иметь собственные средства, но с вашей преданной помощью — мною все основательно верю в успех в возможности продолжения всех вышесказанных и нужных для привнесения на пути к достижению замечательных нашей организационной задачи.

Коллективом кинематографов помнит тяжелые времена 1915-1916 годов, когда Георгий Иппик был главнотрудовым, Джеймт Борда, они помнят абсолютную дискриминацию в руках наших членов и атмосферу безразличия. Джеймт Бора предложил мне, тогда, прийти на себя управление организацией и я принял на себя эту обязанность. Каким образом вернулись помню, что за время управления мной делами Джеймт Бора, мне удалось значительно улучшить общее положение в индустрии и в кинематографе.

Удалось мне это сделать потому, что кинематографы в это время оказались мне из полного доверия и поддержку, как разработать должным членом кинематографа. Дискриминация также должны помнить, что в 1921 году я имел честь быть главнотрудовым из Джеймт Борда. Когда я занял эту должность, организация дискриминации была деморализована финансово и духовно, когда я оставил ее она была значительно сильнее во всех отношениях.

Присутствуя теперь вместе с другими членами Генерального Исполнительного Комитета к работе Джеймт Борда, я желаю, что мы можем ввиду не только разрешить появившиеся в кинематографе, но и поднять кино на столь высокий стандарт, на каком его желают

иметь наши члены. Наша задача это улучшить кино организационно внутренне и наружно и этим улучшить рабочие условия наших членов в мастерских.

Потребно знать, что для того чтобы мы успевали в проведении замечательной работы, мы должны иметь полное безразличное доверие и поддержку. Мы требуем поддержки от всех нас — членов, которые построили этот кино в прошлом — наша помощь необходима для защиты для укрепления организации от возможных притеснений над ней буря и ее движения вперед!

Объяснимся же все вместе для этой святой задачи! Объединим мы сумеем защитить и улучшить нашу работу и славою организации!

К НОВОМУ ДОГОВОРУ.

После почти пятидесятилетней деятельности Дабарская Ассоциация на закон, приняла рекомендацию Губернаторской Комиссии. Хотя в своем письме на имя председателя Губернаторской Комиссии Георга Батца Дабарская Ассоциация очень определенно заявляет, что она принимает рекомендацию Комиссии с протестом против приписания их членов приписке наивысшего труда.

В связи с этим Губернаторская Комиссия заявила, что ввиду их требований является 1) Непосредственная защита дабарских страховых премий за своих контракторов в случае страхового фонда, 2) Увеличение страховой премии с двух до трех процентов с доллара, 3) Мера материальной помощи "своих".

С своей дабарской рекомендацией таковы пункты: всем заинтересованным сторонам в индустрии и в самом скором времени Г. Батца советует исполнительное заседание для обсуждения контракта.

Создание постановления Джеймт Бора кино будет требовать дабы Губернаторская Комиссия заявила свои окончательные рекомендации за два-три месяца до окончания контракта, на случай если эти рекомендации окажутся неприемлемыми для кино, чтобы иметь возможность подготовиться к возможной необходимости борьбы.

СТРАХОВОЕ ПОСОБИЕ.

Начиная с первого августа безразличность отделов, которые Безразличного Фонда в целях экономии закрыты, и с того же числа путем казны в эти отделы прекращены.

По новым порядкам все члены, имеющие мастерские, должны безразлично через главнотрудовую киноиндустрию в Безразличного Фонда.

Для того члены должны требовать, чтобы "ман черман" выписывал из кино в списке мастерских. Те же члены, которые имели себе новые мастерские, должны требовать, чтобы "ман черман" вошел их именами на списки ставки бы в кино мастерских, в которых они работали в прошлый ("спринг") сезон и вместе с тем должны давать жалованье на безразличную страховку в которую своего доллара или же в которую Джеймт Бора, номера 55, на 5-м этаже.

Члены же, не имеющие мастерских (безработные) и не получившие полностью страхового пособия, должны немедленно обратиться с жалобами в которую своих делов на их же в которую Джеймт Бора к брату Дабарскому, на 6-м этаже.

Секретарь М. Шеневина.

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Planning A College

(Continued from page 10)

must continuously advertise its product year after year, even after the people have become familiar with it.

The summer is the time for the making of plans for Workers' Colleges. Every central labor body should decide to have a Workers' College next fall. It should see that it is well planned; it should see that it is well advertised.

Education is an arduous task, and it calls for much sacrifice on the part of those who set up Educational Institutions and of those who take advantage of them. Its reward, however, both to the individual and to the labor movement in general, is far greater than the sacrifice required.

See that your central labor union or trades and labor assembly has an Educational Committee to investigate the possibilities in your locality. Communicate with the Workers' Education Bureau, which is endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and will be glad to be of any assistance it can. Its help is free. Its address is 476 West 24th Street, New York City.

THE RECORD AND PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT, I. L. G. W. U.

In calling upon all secretaries of affiliated locals to transmit to it monthly, before the 15th of each month:

1. All day-book sheets, where income from members is entered.
2. The specially prepared index cards for members accepted through transfers or reinitiation.
3. A detailed report of members suspended during the month.
4. New addresses of members caused by change of residence.

According to our by-laws, a local of the I. L. G. W. U. may be fined for failure to supply the information requested above. We ask our local secretaries therefore to be prompt concerning it.

TO ALL MEMBERS!

It is our fond ambition to see "Justice" reach regularly each week the homes of all our members. We spare no time nor energy to realize this ambition, and we call upon you to help us succeed.

1. Remember to notify us of your new address upon change of residence.
2. When you write to us, please, give your local and ledger numbers.
3. Ask your neighbors in the shop if they get their paper regularly. If he or she do not, explain to them the importance of keeping in close touch with the life of the organization and with the labor movement in general.

"Justice" is recognized as one of the liveliest Labor papers in America and you cannot afford to miss it even for a single week.

Fraternally,
H. A. SCHOOLMAN,
Director.

OUT ALREADY

The Women's Garment Workers

A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

A Book of 640 Pages, Excellently Bound

by Dr. Louis Levine

Author of "The Syndicalist Movement in France," "Taxation in Montana," etc.

The Price of the Book Is Five Dollars

Members of the International may obtain it at half price, \$2.50, from the General Office directly, at

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Out-of-town members can secure it at half price through local secretaries.

The Book contains several excellent illustrations

—from the early days of

the organization to the last

Boston Convention.

P. S. The General office will be open until 6:30 p. m. every Monday and Thursday to enable our members to purchase the book after work hours.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

By an overwhelming vote, with only twenty-two dissenting of the more than twelve hundred members who crowded to capacity the large meeting room and the balcony of Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place, on Monday, August 1, the Executive Board's decision was carried to suspend three members who are guilty of slandering the officers of the organization, attempting to disrupt the previous meeting of July 27, and carrying on similar disruptionist activities in an effort to further the work of the communists towards splitting the union.

Work of Union Must Go On

It would not be quite correct to say that the meeting, for size and orderliness despite a few interruptions by the exponents of communism, was without precedent, though one, however, is strongly tempted to say that the meeting was an extraordinary one.

From the elevated platform of the hall one saw nothing but a sea of faces. Unlike other meetings, the hall was already almost full at 7:30 p. m. and by 8 o'clock, when the meeting was under way, at least a hundred men were in the lobby of the hall, unable to gain admission but contending themselves with looking through the doorway while standing on chairs in an effort to see and hear the proceedings.

The size of the meeting was largely due to the shop-chairmen's meeting which was held on Saturday, August 8, in the Joint Board room at 231 East 14th Street. It was at that meeting called by the Executive Board that Manager Dubinsky, Samuel Permuter, Isidore Nagler and President Ansel, familiarized the active members of the organization with the present situation in the union and the trade and with the importance of the membership attending all regular meetings.

Manager Dubinsky had told the shop chairmen that the disruptionist tactics of the Communists were reaching such proportions that the working conditions of the men in the shops were being interfered with to such an extent that cutters were actually in some cases deprived of work. He cited a number of instances which occurred recently in shops of violations committed where workers, under the guise of "leftism," permitted employers to do their own cutting, the benefit of which entirely accrued to the bosses and prevented cutting from securing employment.

At the conclusion of the shop-chairmen meeting and after the men had heard to what extent the communists were carrying on their work towards splitting the union, one of the chairmen, following Manager Dubinsky's statement that if the work of the union is to go on the cutters must tell the enemy, "Hands Off," introduced the following resolution which was read to the members at Monday's meeting:

"WHEREAS, there has at the present time been created a situation by a so-called 'Feddie Trade Department' of the Trade Union 'Educational' League, both of which organizations are part and parcel of the Communist or so-called Workers' Party and

"WHEREAS, the organizations above referred to are carrying on a vicious propaganda of slander by means of leaflets in which officers of the International, the Joint Board and of Local 10, are referred to as 'murders, gangsters, dishonest officials,' and

"WHEREAS, this propaganda aims

solely at the disruption of our union, which is the ultimate aim of communists all over the world, be it therefore

"RESOLVED, that we, the shop chairmen of cutters in the cloak and dress shops, in meeting assembled this 8th day of August, 1925, at 231 East 14th Street, condemn the action of the so-called Joint Action Committee, the tool of the communists, and be it further

"RESOLVED, that we reaffirm our pledges of loyalty to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Joint Board and Local 10, and their officers, and that we furthermore pledge our fullest support to the organizations here referred to in their efforts to eliminate the disruptionist plague from our midst, and that we loyally stand with our fellow-members in the shops to this end."

Guilt Practically Admitted

The Executive Board had tried four members as the result of their actions at the meeting on July 27th, namely, Max Arnold, Irving Horowitz, Louis Kahan and Meyer Tunick.

Against the first three, that is, excepting Tunick, additional charges of having directed slanderous remarks against officers of the International, the local, and the Joint Board, were preferred. It was for this reason that the decision to suspend was made against these first three.

The attitude assumed at the meeting of the Executive Board by Horowitz, Kahan and Arnold, was of a nature that left little doubt in the minds of the Executive Board as to their guilt. Their defense consisted merely in justifying their actions. In the case of Tunick, however, his defense amounted to a plea and a denial of intention to disrupt the meeting. Out of consideration for his form of defense the Executive Board in the case of Tunick decided that his action at the previous meeting be held out to him as a warning and that a similar offense will result in his suspension also.

The Executive Board made plain in its statement contained in the decision that the conduct of these members at that meeting was more than misbehavior. "The Executive Board discussed at length," reads the decision and the statement, "the charges against the above-named brothers, and felt that they were guilty of having unconsciously and deliberately attempted to disturb and disrupt the meeting. Their excuse in discussing the occurrences at the last vulgar meeting, came to the conclusion that it was no more than an attempt on the part of a certain group who come on instructions from outside sources, determined to break up our meetings even to the extent of inciting to riot, as was demonstrated at that meeting.

"The Executive Board came to the conclusion that in spite of the fact that the membership of Local 10 has repeatedly and overwhelmingly come on record as against the communistic cliques within the organization and their disruptive tactics, and has on many occasions overwhelmingly commended the Joint Board and the International for the stand they have taken in outlawing these union-breaking elements from active participation in the union's work, this group has nevertheless determined not to hold to the decisions of the membership, of which they are part and parcel, and instead prefer, at the behest of an outside clique who are directing them to carry on their disruptive and slanderous tactics even to the extent

Special Notice

The following is a resolution on the present situation adopted by the membership of Local 10 at its meeting on July 27, 1925, and which every member is duty-bound to observe in order not to be in conflict with the decisions of the Union:

"The Executive Board, in the course of its discussion (at the meeting held July 23rd) on the present situation in the Union, decided to warn the members of Local 10 against participating in picketing or strikes, or both, when such strikes and picketing have not been ordered or called for by the regularly constituted authorities of the official organizations, such as Local 10, the Joint Board, or the International. Any member taking his orders from any other source but these will be disciplined. The members also stand instructed against participating in meetings of their shops or other meetings unless called or ordered by the officers of the organizations herein mentioned, or contributing otherwise to the support of the Union's enemy."

of disrupting meetings, as was demonstrated at the last regular meeting. That these individuals are aided by and are following the instructions of outside groups contrary to the decisions and the welfare of their own union is substantiated by documents within the possession of the Executive Board.

Following this statement, the Executive Board decided that Horowitz, Arnold and Kahan, be found guilty as charged and are to be deprived of their right to attend the meetings of the union for the period of one year.

Attempt to Befog Issue Fails

The meeting of course was not totally without some interruptions. These, however, came from about six members who were the communists or their sympathizers. Their interruptions never varied and their personnel never changed.

The failure of one of the defendants to comply with an order of the Executive Board and which compelled him from being present was used as a means to befog the issue. This referred to Horowitz's failing to present his membership book.

According to the rules and precedents of the union and the Executive Board a member appearing on charges must present his membership book. He is informed of this rule in the letter sent him summoning him before the Board. In Horowitz's case this instruction was also incorporated in the letter which was sent by registered mail and which, according to the receipt in the possession of the office, he had received.

When he, Horowitz, appeared before the Board he stated upon his being asked for his book that he had either misplaced or lost it. He was told that the case would be taken up on his promise to either bring the book to the office two days later, or in the event that he had lost it, a new book would be issued to him.

Kahan also did not have the book in his possession and was similarly instructed. Neither of the men appeared on Saturday, as instructed, with the books. When these men appeared at the meeting they were asked for their books and Kahan was admitted upon his presenting his book. Horowitz, however, did not present it and was not permitted into the meeting.

Upon this explanation of the chair the meeting continued and the case

was then discussed. The members present upon warning by the chair saw through the scheme to change the issue, into something foreign and showed plainly their determination to go on in an orderly manner.

Chair's Ruling Satisfies "Lefts"

The dozen or so of the so-called "lefts" for once lent their "eyes" to approval of a ruling of the chairman. An interesting feature of the meeting was the unexpected presiding over the meeting by Manager Dubinsky instead of the regular chairman, President Ansel.

This came about when objection was raised to Brother Ansel's presiding in view of the fact that it was he who was charging all of the men with misbehavior at the meeting. In the absence of the Vice-President, the Manager-Secretary took the chair. However, Dubinsky's being chairman was entirely unlooked for by some few of the members.

The unanimous approval came when Manager Dubinsky, as chairman, suggested that in order to save time speaking be limited to five men for the decision of the Board and five against it, excluding the defendants. These would be allotted more time and would be recognized as defendants. This suggestion on the part of the chair was taken up as a motion and unanimously adopted.

Allusions to the form of trial accorded the men in question failed to sway the membership. The manner of the trial accorded in this instance was the same as practiced by Local 10 ever since its inception and at no time has it been deviated from nor questioned by the members. With this borne in mind, the sympathy of the members could not be gained by the opposition, especially in view of the fact that the members have the final say and are practically the jury in this as well as every other case.

Manager Dubinsky read to the members various utterances by communists and read a letter published in one of the mouthpieces of the communists in which the most brazen lies were resorted to in an effort to disrupt and break up unions and underline the confidence of the members in their officers. The action, he said, of the three members were in line with instructions by the communists to their agents in the local unions to this end.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, August 17

At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place
Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.

All Cutters are required to secure new working cards beginning with July and to return the old ones.