

"My righteous-
ness 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."

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Price, 2 Cents

NOT A WHEEL TURNING IN THE CLOAK INDUSTRY OF NEW YORK

Monday's Amazing General Strike Demonstration Stirs New York

PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER CALLS ON MAYOR FOR FAIR TREATMENT TO STRIKERS—REPLIES TO
GROUP OF UNITED STATES SENATORS

The conflict which the Union had sought so hard to avert and which the Cloak Protective Manufacturers' Association in New York finally forced upon it, is now a living fact. The Cloakmakers of Greater New York are out in a general strike against their bosses.

How fast events of the last few days have succeeded each other! Only last Wednesday long lines of cloakmakers were streaming to vote on the strike question and on Monday, November 14, four days later, endless rows of cloakmakers were marching through the cloak districts of their shops into the strike halls, their new headquarters!

It was a remarkable and impressive demonstration of unity and strength, this great march of last Monday morning. They came out and flooded the scores of streets and avenues lining the great garment district of New York, parading simply yet proudly to their new "trenches,"—the strike assembly rooms. At the sign of the hour of ten every wheel and machine stopped turning in the countless cloak shops of New York and the will of the masses as expressed in the order of the Union, was carried out completely.

From the numerous streets and avenues they came and as they reached Madison Square and Union Square these long lines of humanity became merged into one solid mass that stopped traffic and caused genuine amazement mixed with enthusiasm among all who were privileged to see this remarkable outpouring of

organized and class-conscious humanity. It seemed as if the entire city knew that it was the powerful Cloakmakers' Union of New York marching forth to a battle for the preservation of its elementary human rights and

and united by a common ideal of solidarity of interests. Young girls and middle-aged women were marching side by side with old men with patriarchal beards, all thrilled by the same thought and the same ideal that

PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER'S MESSAGE TO THE STRIKERS

SISTERS AND BROTHERS:

The Union calls upon you to cease work this morning at 10 o'clock. I am certain that you will comply with this call. It is clear to you that our fight is a fight of self-defense. We have demanded nothing from the employers. They come to us with the demand that we return to the conditions of by-gone years. You have replied thereto, by your remarkable vote, in terms that could not be mistaken. You have given the leaders of your International and of your Union a mandate to lead you in a general strike to thwart the lockout plans of your bosses. This morning we are beginning to carry out this mandate and we shall wage this fight until your employers abandon their hope to bring back the sweating conditions of old times. Not sooner nor later.

At this moment I can only say to you that clarity of purpose, a true understanding of the situation and absolute order will lead us to success and victory.

There must be no confusion in your ranks.

This is not the first strike that you have fought. There are among you thousands of gray-haired men, veterans of all our former great strikes. You know your aim, you know your purpose, I wish you success.

RENNAM SCHLESINGER.

in defense against the autocracy of the employers.

There were no music bands, no leaders on horseback, preceding the marchers. It was hardly necessary. The army of cloakmakers was inspired

they were a power to be reckoned with, a disciplined mass, a mass that knows how to work together, fight together and win together. And as the solid columns of workers passed the

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Workers' University Opens Tonight With Great Festival

Tonight, Friday, November 18th, at 7:30, members and officers of the Executive Boards, educational committees, former and present students of our Workers' University and Unity Centers will assemble in the auditorium of the Washington Irving High School to celebrate the reopening of our Workers' University, Unity Centers and other educational activities of our International.

For this occasion we have arranged a concert in which prominent artists will take part.

The baritone, August Werner, who has already appeared before our members, will delight them with his magnificent voice.

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International Lays Cornerstone for New Home

As readers of Justice know already, our International will soon have a new home at 3 West 14th Street, near Fifth Avenue. It will be a six story building equipped with the latest improvements and fitted out as an office for all the departments of the International Union.

On Tuesday last, November 15, the cornerstone of the new building was laid. Fate had willed it so that the foundation for a new home of our International be laid on the day following the calling out of a general strike in the cloak industry of New York. Of course this event has somewhat marred the celebration and many of the acting leaders of the Union were not able to be present at the ceremony on account of that.

The cornerstone was laid by our Secretary-Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, who delivered a short and warm talk. Under the stone there was deposited a copper box with Union documents, such as the Constitution of our International, copies of our three publications, JUSTICE, GUSTIZIA and GERECHTIGKEIT, and also a scroll of parchment with a fitting inscription and the signatures of all the members of the General Executive Board and several of the leading members of our Union.

Montreal Cloakmakers Strike Against Piece Work — Philadelphia Votes to Strike Against It—Chicago Will Take A Strike Vote at End of This Week

The fight against the piece work system and for the retention of week work is extending like wild-fire to every cloak center of the country.

Already the Montreal cloakmakers are out on a general strike since Wednesday, November 9, in a fight of defense against the attempt of the local cloak employers to bring back piece work, to reestablish longer hours and reduce wages. The entire local industry is tied up and the workers are confident of ultimate success.

From Philadelphia comes the news that the referendum vote upon the demands of the manufacturers has resulted in a vote of 2,452 for week work and 157 against. The entire

machinery of the local Joint Board has been placed on a war footing and the Union is ready to call out the workers to strike on November 21, the day set by the employers for the introduction of piece work. Following this vote, President Schlesinger addressed this communication to the Philadelphia Cloak Employers' Association:

November 14, 1921.
The Women's Garment Manufacturers' Association, Mr. Simon Fraser, President,
Broad and Wallace Streets,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Gentlemen—Your demand for the re-establishment of piece-work in your shops on November 21 was submitted to a vote of our Philadelphia membership. The workers voted unanimously to oppose the return of the piece-work system by a general strike to be called on November 21. In this defensive action, the Philadelphia cloakmakers will be backed by the entire membership of our International Union.

The re-establishment of the piece-work system

and the workers have been established in the industry in the course of many years of hard and persistent effort, with the assistance of public opinion and some of the best minds in the country. The workers in the cloak industry of Philadelphia cannot accept this unless they are ready to return to the conditions of the sweating conditions and semi-slavery which disgraced the cloak industry of Philadelphia in the dark days of the "sweating" system.

Should you change your attitude on this matter and decide not to change the present system of work, we will be glad to call off "Saturday" next, November 19, we shall be glad to cooperate in arranging a contribution to finance the terms of a new agreement between our respective organizations.

From Chicago the following telegram was received:

"We are with you in the great struggle. Your fight is our fight and we send you greetings and brotherly assurance of cooperation. We prepare for the ensuing battle here in Chicago, too. We shall take a strike vote this Thursday, Friday and Saturday and results we expect to be the same as in New York. The battlefront will then extend all the way from the East to Chicago and our cloakmakers are certain of victory."

H. SCHOOLMAN,
Vice-President.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By MAX D. DANISH

THEY ARE BREAKING THE MILK STRIKE

THE job of smashing the strike of the 11,000 employees in the milk supply business of New York is proceeding fast.

Last week saw the issuance of a sweeping blanket injunction prohibiting the strikers from going on with any regular work or any other activity connected with the regular prosecution of a strike was left uncovered by this writ of equity issued, of course, by a Brooklyn judge. The papers are daily decorating their choicest columns with heads to the effect "The milk strike is nearly over," "trouble expected to be settled in a few hours," etc., etc. The slightest infractions by the men, bullied and provoked into a sullen state of mind, are being magnified into "plots" and "violent outbreaks," while the police and the private guards are practicing unspeakable brutalities upon the strikers.

Of course, the committee of the strikers' wives who went to protest to Commissioner Enright against the brutalities of the bluecoats have found no commissioner out of town and the mayor on an after-election vacation at Atlantic City. Dr. Copeland's attempt to bring about arbitration was again scornfully rejected by the Milk Trust, who now, after the election tumult is over, can rightfully count on the 100 per cent support of the city authorities to break the union of the milkmen.

For, that's all the fight has been reduced to. It is not a fight for wages, hours or any other work standard. It is a struggle on the part of the milk drivers and distributors to bring the organization which they had built up after such strain and effort. But the Milk Trust, which, by hook and crook, has managed to poison the mind of the public against this hard-driven army of night workers, is set upon destroying the Union in the industry. All other arguments are sham and insincere bunk.

AT THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

THE Disarmament Conference has opened with a dramatic chapter that augurs well for the potential interest that its coming sessions hold in store.

We refer, of course, to the proposal for a ten-year naval holiday made by Secretary of State Hughes, which includes the scrapping of the entire American big-skip program and the battleship building of England and Japan. Not that we believe that this plan came as a "bombshell" to the delegates who knew nothing concerning it in advance. They do not do things in such fashion in "old diplomacy."

At any rate, the proposal of this plan has had a tremendous effect. That it came in response to the popular feeling for disarmament that was gathering up in this country in immense volume and was reaching a bursting point in the demonstrations from one end of the country to the other in the course of the last few weeks, is beyond doubt. The militarists and their ardent supporters, who were shining before the public as such splendid figures during the last few years, have somehow become obscure upon the horizon lately, driven off, perhaps, by the very legitimate determination of the masses of the people to reduce taxes and what constitutes its armaments by all means. The word is not with the elements opposed to militarism and huge navies and armies. How much, they would like of this psychological opportu-

ity, of course, a different question. Whether the Hughes proposal will win or fail—no one can tell—not be any too truthful when one deals with suave and sleek diplomats—it must be accepted only as a qualified victory for disarmament. It does not affect forces on land and, at best, it only obviates what is regarded in some opinion as a definite possibility of a war between the United States and Japan, and offers an opportunity for the lightening of the unbearable burdens of taxation the world over.

No tangible and concrete endeavor, short of tackling the cancer of militarism and hate that is eating up Europe—Central, Eastern and Western—and is fed by the pernicious fumes of the Versailles Treaty and the colossal indemnities piled up on the backs of working humanity, can mean a return to normal and steady human progress. With such a precious collection of admirals, marshals and "old guards" as has gathered in Washington in the capacity of experts, advisers and counselors, we are inclined to agree with Commander Kennworthy of the British House of Commons that to expect from them the abolition of militarism is like expecting from a convention of bookmakers the abolition of the race track.

ROADS ANNOUNCE WAGE CUTS

THEY are usually short on performances and very long on promises, the railway magnates. This time, however, they reversed themselves and are beginning to perform in admirably fast time.

Only a few weeks ago the railway strike was averted on the supposition that the organization which wage cuts would be deferred for at least another year. True, the railway executives, as if to emphasize their contempt for the organization of their men, promised to come back with their demands for wage-cuts in short order. Nevertheless, almost everyone expected that for the time being the question has been shelved.

Now the columns of the press are again full of accounts that the roads in the East—fifty-two in number—together with the Western roads have already served notice of wage-cuts affecting 700,000 workers on their lines to take effect this week. The wage-cuts will amount to 10 per cent and will involve all the five brotherhoods, including all the other international unions in the railway industry such as the maintenance of way, machinists, and all repair shop workers.

As the workers are expected to refuse to accede to these wage cuts, the demands of the railway magnates will be filed, after thirty days, with the United States Railway Board at Chicago. The question will again be fought out before the Board and the problem of war and peace on the railways will, probably, hinge again upon the decision of the Railway Board.

ARCHBISHOP TURNS POLICE COMMISSIONER

WE ARE accustomed to the sight of citizen's committees, vigilantes, prohibition agents, etc., arrogating to themselves police power and playing havoc with the rights of their fellow citizens whose views on social and economic topics they do not like or who happen to belong to an unpopular minority in times of national hysteria.

That archbishops would go into the police business is, however, quite a novel occurrence, something that is likely to shock even a blasé New Yorker. Still, it happened in this metropolis last week and for a starter,

we must say, it was done well and without a flaw.

The meeting called by the National Conference for the Discussion of Birth Control at Town Hall, a perfectly legitimate, it would seem, affair, the wind-up of a three-day gathering at a fashionable hotel, came to grief having been "verboden" before it was started and its promoters and speakers placed under arrest. The breaking up of the meeting took place under orders from the Secretary to Archbishop Hayes of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New York, who gave the orders to the Police Captain who attended the gathering with a hundred reserves and who closed the doors of the Hall to all comers. The following morning the prisoners were released, upon the motion of the District Attorney who saw no violation of the law in the holding of the meeting, and the story leaked out that the entire affair was engineered from the office of the archbishop who acted nonchalantly in this case as censor, policeman and supervisor of morals.

Pretty story, isn't it? Because a certain influential clergyman had made up his mind that the meeting is not quite to his liking, he orders the New York police authorities to close it down and the police do his bidding without questioning or hesitating. The reason why no heads were broken in the process of the dispersing of the meeting can, perhaps, be attributed to the fact that among the present or those who sponsored the meeting were men and women whose names are in the Social Register of the metropolis.

Who said we have no freedom of assembly in this city?

THE DEBS PICKETS

WILL they ever free the political?

This week saw the final "end of the war." The treaties be-

tween Germany and the United States were officially exchanged and ratified and President Harding promulgated a formal state of peace between this country and the Teutons.

Not a shred of justification, either moral or legal, except for bitter vindictiveness, remains now for the further detention of the 140 odd political prisoners. Every labor organization in the country, including a number of veterans and model hold-outs, has decided with the Administration that they release the prisoners of conscience and remove this black spot from the name of this land. So far appeals and exhortations have been in vain. From time to time a news story emanates from the capital that the release of Debs and his fellow prisoners is right at hand,—only to have the hopes raised by these premature announcements dashed to ground.

The leaders of the amnesty movement have decided last week, while the Disarmament conference is holding sway in Washington in a professed endeavor to bring "peace on earth and benevolence to mankind," to force the issue of the release of Debs and the other political prisoners through demonstrations and picketing. A silent vigil of the White House has begun and a forceful lobby movement that will wait on every member of the House and Senate will be put into action. Simultaneously it is reported that Attorney General Daugherty will submit to President Harding favorable recommendations.

Such is the news. Whether one may derive genuine hope from these plans for the release of the men and women who have been languishing so many years already for their conscience and faith, it is difficult to tell. We prefer to wait and see before we vest our belief in them.

Schlesinger Calls for a Fair Deal from the Police

In almost every strike the workers have to come in contact with the police authorities and in order to insure fair treatment to our men, President Schlesinger addressed the following communication to Mayor Hylan and Police Commissioner Enright.

New York, November 14, 1921.
Mayor of the City of New York,
City Hall, New York City:
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. as Commissioner of Police of the City of New York.
Police Headquarters, New York City:
First—Thirty thousand members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have been on strike. The strike was forced by the leading manufacturers in the industry, the Clock, Bell and Fire Manufacturers' Protective Association, but instead of ordering its members to strengthen the prevailing labor force and to introduce the peace system of work-

in open violation of an existing agreement between the association and the Union.

The Union had taken every conceivable measure to conduct the picketing in an orderly and peaceable manner.

It has issued strict directions to its members to refrain from all outbreaks of violence or threats and any demonstration of violence or threats and not to conspire in harm against the city.

On the other hand, the Protective Association, by force and without consideration of the practice of hiring so-called "private police" to surround and surround individuals with criminal records, in brown coats and carrying the striking weapons. As members of even-handed justice, we respectfully request the police to take the necessary steps to be instructed to protect our members in the exercise of their legitimate right of peaceful picketing as fairly as the would-be strikers are in their right to look for work.

Workers' University Celebration Tonight

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nificant, resonant voice. The talented violinist, Oscar Wasserberger, will play several popular classics. Miss Rose Roback will sing a group of Russian and Yiddish folk songs.

Short addresses will be made by President Schlesinger, Prof. Charles A. Reed, Secretary Abraham Baroff, Alexander Fichandler, our Educational Director, and Fannia M. Cohn, Secretary of our Educational Committee.

The plan for next season's educational activities of our International will be presented and the announcement of the courses will be distributed. Those of our members who wish to attend our courses will be

able to enter their names and addresses.

The educational committees of the Local Unions will act as ushers.

Everything has been done to make this affair an artistic and moral success.

A great many of our members applied for tickets. The Educational Department was so flooded with applications that all who obtained tickets would be able to come, and therefore distributed more tickets than the capacity of the auditorium permits. Those of our members who wish to come, are advised to be there early to be assured of a seat.

Seats will be reserved for ticket holders until eight o'clock only.

Labor's Challenge to the Disarmament Conference

By MAX D. DANISH

Last week the Harding Disarmament Conference came into being. The British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan have met with the United States in Washington on November 11, 1921, to discuss the problem of the limitation of armaments. Questions of Pacific policy will also be considered; and China, as a nation vitally interested in those questions, and furnishing her share of them, will assist in this part of the discussion.

How does the labor movement view this conference, and what results does it expect from it?

With a national debt of almost \$25,000,000,000—twenty-four times as great as six years ago—American labor, no matter how conservative, cannot regard the future with equanimity. In 1920, the bill for the military expenses paid by the people of the United States was over \$6,000,000,000, and the 1921 military budget, while somewhat smaller, is still general staggering in its rate to the general expenses of the government. According to the analysis prepared by the United States Bureau of Standards, 93 per cent of the total expenses of the government in 1920 went for military purposes, covering liabilities included in past wars and in preparation for future wars. On the other hand, only 7 per cent of the nation's 1920 income was apportioned to general expenditures, which included agriculture and development of national resources, education, public health, harbors, rivers, roads and parks. Labor received only one-hundredth of 1 per cent.

The burden of armaments in Europe is, of course, no less crushing. England's national debt today is thirteen times as large as seven years ago. The debt of France is one-half the total material value of the French nation and that of Italy is even more appalling. In addition these countries are now spending for armies and navies vastly more than they did before the war.

Labor's Attack on Militarism

The labor movement has, since its

early days, unalterably opposed the principle of large standing armies and of militarism. The staggering burden of direct and indirect taxation which war and preparation for war added upon working and tax-paying humanity has been, of course, the most obvious reason for this opposition. It has opposed competitive armament increases quite as strongly on the ground that these inevitably breed national hatreds and animosity and erect artificial walls between the working masses of one country and another, thus serving as a screen for schemes of commercial and industrial imperialism.

There is, however, one more aspect of militarism which directly affects organized labor and to which the middle-class or the liberal-minded advocates of armament reduction generally give but little attention. It is the employment to an ever-increasing extent of the national military establishments in an attempt to break down large-scale strikes and other concerted efforts of the workers to improve their conditions and increase their power. Here in the United States, for instance, it can be safely asserted that no general strike in any essential industry, since the railway strike of 1894, has passed by without either the actual application of military coercion or an equally effective threat of force.

A. F. of L. Against Standing Armies
In America the position of the labor movement in general on the question of disarmament was set forth in the declaration adopted by the 1919 Convention of the A. F. of L. and reaffirmed at the Denver Convention in 1921:

"The trade union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to militarism or a large standing army. Militarism is a system fostered and developed by tyrants in the hope of supporting their arbitrary authority. It is utilized by these when selfish ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other peoples and nations, to destroy their liberties, to choke their wealth and to fasten the yoke

of bondage upon them. The trade union movement is convinced by the experiences of mankind that militarism brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. The finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under militarism a despotic restriction is established in the people's minds, where men believe that there is nobility of spirit and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty, for the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democracy.

"Militarism is the application of arbitrary and irresponsible force as opposed to reason and justice. Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that which gives quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The free institutions of our country and the liberties won by its forefathers would have been impossible had they been unwilling to take arms and, if necessary, die in the defense of their liberties. Only as people are willing to make life, limb and property and their liberties are they guaranteed free institutions.

"Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A voluntary citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take the place of a large standing army. To the latter we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish the evils of militarism. Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished."

The American Federation of Labor is now utilizing the Washington conference for a nation-wide agitation to "impress upon the International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments the overwhelming world determination to stop conducting international affairs on a military basis." To that end it has organized a network of Armistice Day demonstrations and parades from one end of the country to the other. In its call for a national demonstration, the Executive Council of the Federation realizes that "the conference may easily be come entangled by the tactics of the 'old diplomacy' and hamper itself with problems growing out of the 'balance of power' theory. We want to bring into that conference the vitalized power of our people, to demand a practical idealism that insures for men and women the greatest opportunity for creative effort."

It is characteristic, nevertheless, that even in this declaration the

spokesmen of the Federation endeavor to fence themselves off from the "pacifists" and admonish all affiliated bodies to "put the bars up absolutely against pacifist organizations, since the American labor movement in no sense countenances pacifist activity or the philosophy which is inevitably an accompaniment of pacifist activity."

We have not come across any statement from the authorized spokesmen of either the French or the Italian labor movement with regard to this conference. The labor movement in both these countries is at present torn with strife and the energies of its leadership and rank and file are almost completely consumed by fratricidal warfare.

Labor's Representatives

The Labor Party of England, however, has issued the following statement, defining its attitude towards the conference and what it anticipates from it:

"A few weeks hence the Washington Conference will assemble to consider the important question of disarmament. The British Labor Party is concerned on the occasion for liquidating the war. The nations of the world have since been faced with the question of liquidating the failure of the Versailles Conference, one of the most urgent and important of these is unquestionably the need for 'armament reduction.' The proposed conference in Washington is intended ostensibly to bring about an agreed extension of disarmament by the League of Nations and the League of Nations has so far only succeeded in agreeing to the imposition of disarmament upon the nations least capable of competing in the race for armaments."

"The conference will, no doubt, be productive of many eloquent discourses on the need for limitation of armaments, but it would be unrealistic to expect optimistic concerning its probable results. Those mentioned as likely British delegates are, for the most part, firm adherents of the old policy of naval and military competition which is viewed with real disgust by the American nation. They represent a conservative thought which in the past has been very vocal in its demand for British naval supremacy, military conscription, and the maintenance of peace preparation for war."

"It was Mr. Churchill who declared only a few weeks ago that if Britain did not continue with her naval construction it would be impossible for her to be powerful to keep itself alive except by goodwill; which, to his mind, would be a melancholy sequel to the glories of the 'Great War.' Naval power and not goodwill is what the government regards as necessary to enable Britain to keep itself alive, and that is what that view are to be the British representative at the Washington conference."

"Labor, on the other hand, which does have in its ranks a large number of men for Germany but for Britain and for the other powers, and does regard a policy of universal disarmament not only as practicable but also imperative, is apparently not to be given an opportunity to contribute to the formulation of a definite disarmament scheme at Washington. None of our nation's representatives will be drawn from the ranks of labor, although British labor represents the most powerful body of organized opinion in the world in support of universal disarmament. A conference which consists merely of representatives of the old governing caste, with its prejudices, fears and narrowness, is bound to fail because of its lack of moral authority."

These two authoritative statements of the labor movement of England and America, while seemingly distant from each other, are, nevertheless, permeated with the same note of distrust and still deeper lack of confidence. Behind the rather bombastic and unbecoming of the Federation's Executive Council and its rich verbiage, there lurks the admission that neither here nor abroad has labor risen to the power of dictating or enforcing disarmament upon "old diplomacy." The pessimistic view of the British labor movement with regard to the conference is, perhaps, even more justified when one realizes that it will be practically the same group that engineered the Versailles Treaty that will foreground in Washington, principally to partition "spheres of influence" in the Far East, China and Siberia and, perhaps, to effect thereby the elimination of some immediate war causes in the Pacific.

The Coming Cloak Strike in Philadelphia

By J. S. FRENOWITZ

(Special Correspondence to Justice)
We are on the threshold of a big fight of cloak and shakers in this city too, and its causes are the same that were responsible for the calling out of the local fight in the waist and dress trade, namely, the narrow-mindedness and sordidness of the manufacturers bent upon exploiting without end their workers and upon continuing to pile up wartime profits.

Our manufacturers are using the hard times prevailing at present in the country for their own selfish aims.

Staggering unemployment has called out real sentiment among the employers of Philadelphia in their eagerness to destroy the unions. The waist and dress manufacturers have begun their nefarious work about twelve weeks ago, when they have started the strike in their shops. As known, the I. L. G. W. U. has done all in its power to avert the strike. I know how hard Schlesinger, the President of the Union, had worked for peace in the trade. The manufacturers, however, would listen to nothing. They have cast overboard every proper conduct to peace in a rough and vulgar manner, in the arrogant confidence that they could drive the workers back into the shops defeated and humiliated.

Well, these girl workers have been

now in this strike for more than 12 weeks and they are to-day just as courageous and determined as on the first day of the strike. Nay, they are even more determined to win their battle, because while they may have believed at the early stages of the fight that a spark of justice is still hidden somewhere in the hearts of the employers, they have given up these illusions completely by this time. They have seen their employers at work in this struggle, they have watched their ugly methods at close range and they know that they must teach these manufacturers a lesson that will be remembered by them for many years to come.

And, we dare say, from best indications, the employers will not forget this fight so easily. No matter how long this strike lasts, the bosses know that the girls will go back to the shops only as complete victors. Despite the immense aid the employers have received and are still receiving from the hands of the police and the paid "detectives," they are beaten and will have to acknowledge defeat sooner or later. The waist and dress girls have surely shown the employers of Philadelphia that they are brave fighters. Even the Gentile girls have displayed remarkable courage in this marvelous fight. They are struggling

shoulder to shoulder with their Jewish sister workers and have very sadly disappointed the bosses in this respect.

That the cloak and skirt workers of Philadelphia are tried veterans, the employers in that industry know without any additional or outside evidence. They must still remember the conflict waged in that industry eight years ago for twenty-six weeks. They must still remember how they found it, at that time, impossible to break through the iron ring of solidarity of the workers. The workers did get tired and went back to the shops for a short while only to gather more strength and to come back at them the following season. Then the manufacturers listened to wiser counsel and conceded the demands of their workers. That victory will forever stay written in indelible letters in the history of labor struggles in this country.

Now the cloak makers of Philadelphia are again ready for a fight, and unless the manufacturers withdraw their demand for piece-work the fight will break out in full force. The employers in this industry, like their brethren in the waist trade, of course, might be tempted by the industrial depression and provoke this

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Industrial Progress in the United States

(Based on Advance Summaries, Census of Manufacturers, 1919)

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

Every ten years the Federal Government conducts a census of population in all the States of the Union. In addition, it takes a census of manufacturing establishments every five years. These censuses record the progress of industry and show the growth in population. This very important work is conducted under the auspices of the Census Bureau, which is a branch of the Department of Commerce. Enumerators are sent out through the country to take the census, and the original data is then analyzed and computed by statisticians of the Census Bureau. The final results are later published as official census reports and are available for reference in all libraries.

The last census of manufactures was taken in 1920 for the year ending 1919. While a great deal of time and care must be given to checking, verification and final computation of the schedules submitted by the census enumerators, our government bureaus are, nevertheless, particularly slow in publishing the results of their investigations. The Census Bureau is only now able to release advance summaries of the 1919 census of manufactures. The complete reports will probably not be available for another year.

The summary which the Census Bureau issued on October 4, giving the preliminary census results thus far obtained for the various States, shows that the total number of manufacturing establishments in this country grew from 775,791 in 1914 to 799,768 in 1919, an increase of 13,977, or 5.1 per cent. The number of

wage earners (average number) in these establishments has risen from 7,596,337 to 9,103,590, showing an increase of 2,006,863, or 26.4 per cent. The total amount of capital invested in the various manufacturing enterprises was \$22,790,979,937 in 1914 and \$44,678,911,000 in 1919. The invested capital during the five-year period was almost doubled, the increase amounting to \$21,887,931,063, or 96.0 per cent. The value of the product, that is, the amounts received by the manufacturers for their finished products, was \$24,544,434,724 in 1914. The present census shows that the value of the product in 1919 amounted to \$62,910,922,000, which represents an increase of \$39,663,767,000, or 159.5 per cent.

New York is the leading manufacturing State; with nearly five billion dollars' worth of manufactured products. The other States which produce over a billion dollars' worth of goods come in the following order: Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Michigan, California, Indiana, Wisconsin, Missouri, Connecticut, and Minnesota. The above named States appeared in the same order in the 1914 census, with the exception of Indiana and California, which changed places with each other.

Census by Industries.

Altogether 352 industries were covered by the present census of manufacturers. If we should consider only those industries which in 1919 had an output of manufactured products valued at over a billion dollars we will find that the 14 following industries have reached that mark:

Comparison of Value of Product, Census of Manufacturers, 1914 and 1919, Showing Absolute and Percentage of Increase.

Industry	1914	1919	Percentage Increase
1. Flouring and Grain Processing	\$1,511,111,000	\$1,451,134,000	\$2,363,000, 0.154
2. Iron and Steel Works	2,619,793,000	3,122,626,000	502,833,000, 19.2
3. Automobiles	1,897,253,000	2,626,226,000	728,973,000, 38.4
4. Lumber and Wood Products	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
5. Petroleum and Coal Products	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
6. First and Other Mill Products	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
7. Textile Goods	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
8. Paper and Printing	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
9. Chemicals	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
10. Food and Kindred Products	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
11. Glass and Other Products	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
12. Leather and Other Products	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
13. Drugs and Chemicals	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3
14. Miscellaneous	1,871,111,000	2,121,227,000	250,116,000, 13.3

The value of the manufactured products of the above quoted 14 industries is \$26,000,000,000, and represents about 42 per cent of the total value of the product of the 352 industries in the United States. The greatest increase was in shipbuilding. This is explained by America's development of its merchant marine since the outbreak of the war. The next two industries with the largest

increases are automobile manufacturing and petroleum refining, the latter being a corollary of the first. The fourth highest increase is recorded in iron and steel, which was enhanced by the increase in shipbuilding. The percentage increase of all the other industries, with the exception of lumber and timber products, do not show any substantial deviation from each other.

THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY

The production of women's clothing showed a higher value in 1914 than that of men's clothing, and the present census records the same fact. Thus, while in 1914 the value of manufactured women's garments was \$473,888,000, in 1919 it was \$1,184,990,000, showing an increase of \$710,211,000, or 149.9 per cent. The production of men's clothing, on the other hand, was worth \$458,211,000 in 1914 and \$1,150,607,000 in 1919, registering an increase of \$692,396,000, or 151.2 per cent. The increase in the value of the product in both the women's and men's clothing industry was about the same, showing that in 1919 both industries produced in value about 150 per cent more than they did in 1914.

While the comparison of the output of both branches of the clothing industry shows that they are about equal, with the product of women's clothing worth about \$25,000,000 more than the men's clothing, the comparison of the manufacturing establishments in the two census years shows a very marked deviation. According to the 1914 census of manufactures, the men's clothing industry claimed 4,830 establishments. The 1919 census credits this industry with 5,255 establishments. The increase is 425 establishments, or 8.8 per cent. The number of establishments in the women's clothing industry was 5,644 in 1914 and 7,645 in 1919. The number of shops was increased by 1,982, or 35.6 per cent.

In comparing the increase in the number of manufacturing establishments in the United States, we showed that there was an increase of only 5 per cent between 1914 and 1919. The men's clothing industry shows an increase of about 9 per cent, while the number of shops engaged in the production of women's garments shows an increase of about 36 per cent between the two census years. This is a very significant factor, both from the point of view of the industry as well as the union.

Instead of centralization, we find numerous small shops springing up, which makes the problem of organization in the industry more difficult. Compared with the men's clothing industry, our industry had 734 shops more in 1914. In 1919 the women's garment industry had 2,291 shops more than the men's clothing industry.

The census of manufactures gives, besides the number of establishments and the value of the manufactured product in each industry, other information which is of great importance, but, as pointed out above, not all the data is as yet available. We are still waiting for figures concerning wages, number of workers, and

other information of importance. When the Census Bureau makes the rest of the data available we shall review its contents for our members through the columns of "Justice." We shall then have an opportunity of showing more fully the progress of our industry since 1914. We shall also be in a position to see how the increase in the amount of wages paid to the workers in the women's garment industry compares with the increase in the value of the commodities which they produced.

Women's Garment Industry Prospers

The data available at present shows that the women's garment industry ranks high in the American industrial world. It is one of the fourteen industries whose product was valued over a billion dollars in 1919. It occupies the twelfth position among the fourteen industries enumerated in the above table, and supercedes the men's clothing and boot and shoe industries.

If we compare the value of the manufactured products for the two census years we find that the women's garment industry has prospered well during the five years (1914-1919). A 150 per cent increase in the value of the output in 1919 as compared with 1914 is indeed an indication of its remarkable growth.

The census of manufactures for 1909 showed the value of manufactured products in the women's clothing industry to be \$384,711,649. In 1914 the census credited the products in this industry with a value of \$473,888,000, or an increase of 23.2 per cent. In 1919 the value of the product rose to \$1,184,990,000, showing an increase of \$710,211,000, or 159 per cent.

All historians of our International agree that the union has become a factor in the industry since the general strike of 1916. During the decade when it established collective agreements with the manufacturers' organizations in the industry it has seen the industry grow from \$384,711,649 in 1909 to \$1,184,990,000 in 1919. The value of the garments which the members of our International produced has increased \$799,207,251, or 208 per cent, during the decade. The first five years showed an increase of only \$99,000,000, or 23.2 per cent, while the second five years showed an increase of \$710,211,000, or 159 per cent.

The manufacturers may talk glibly about the impoverished conditions. Facts speak louder than words. During the past ten years the industry has grown to proportions which places it among the first dozen industries of the country, and it has particularly prospered during the last five years.

The Coming Strike in Philadelphia

(Continued from Page 4)

fight, but they will have a disappointment in store for them, the same disappointment that has met them in their past endeavors to break the workers' unity and organization.

The manufacturers have issued a statement that week-work has diminished the volume of their business. President Schlesinger has proved, however, at a conference that their contentions are unfounded and that if their business has been hurt it is not due to week-work but to the general hard times and has no connection whatever with the prevailing system of work. At that same conference the manufacturers have complained that the workers are not pro-

ducing enough, to which they received the answer that whenever a bona fide complaint was lodged with the Union it to that effect, the Union has always paid proper attention to it and the bosses have no legitimate ground for complaint now.

The employers sought another pretext for piece-work and said that the Union had given them no definite plan whereby the agreement could be kept up six months more. Of course, that was immediately denied and it was stated that the Union had proposed to the employers that the old agreement be continued for another half-year and that a committee from both sides be appointed to prepare recommendations governing the rules of work in the trade. After six months

it was proposed this committee would bring in definite recommendations for a new agreement. The employers refused this proposal too, they wanted no peace in the industry and were obviously forcing a strike upon the workers.

Yes, they want war, because they believe that under present industrial conditions they can defeat the Union. They are money and power-mad and will stop at nothing. Naturally, the workers will have no other alternative but to accept their challenge. The Joint Board has discussed the situation at length and decided to wage a fight against the aggression of the employers. The question was, however, referred to a referendum vote of all the workers but at the time of this writing we have not at hand the results of this referendum yet.

We can, however, foretell the out-

come of this balloting. The machinery for the conflict has already been put in fighting trim, the committees elected and the ranks closed. At the proper moment, at the given signal, the reply to the bosses will be given, and when given it will sound strong enough to blast the fortifications of our employers.

I remember the time when workers would be discouraged and nervous before the calling of a strike. When one enters, however, into, let us say, the offices of the cloakmakers' union here in Philadelphia, today, one feels the atmosphere of fight and a spirit that is unconquerable. The cloakmakers know that there are no traitors among them now; no scabs to take their places and they feel reasonably sure their victory is theirs.

And victors they will be!

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE GREAT CLOAK STRIKE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

It is almost inescapable that persons accustomed to look at things and events with open eyes, would from time to time despair of the tardiness of human progress. There are, however, great and inspiring moments when the pettiness, selfishness and the narrow-mindedness of the average human being vanish and the practical side of everyday is transformed, as if by magic, into a hero and a fighter.

Such two great moments we have lived through in the last few days. The first moment was when the big membership of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York had cast its vote in the strike referendum in reply to the ultimatum of the cloak manufacturers. The very fact that almost the entire membership had deemed it a sacred duty to participate in the voting is a matter of the highest importance. The customary apathy of the masses disappeared in a miraculous manner; men who have been regarded as dead insofar as Union activity is concerned, have suddenly displayed an amazing amount of interest. And fearing to leave to others the determination of the great controversy and the stakes involved in it, they poured out in great masses to have their say and final word.

A long sustained agitation, it is true, may sometime influence people to act in a certain way, even against their will. The voting on the cloak strike, however, came about in an altogether different manner. The ultimatum of the Protective Association came to the Union like a bolt from the clear sky. No one expected that the employers would break their agreement in such a shameful manner. No one expected that they would demand the abolition of week-work or the lengthening of work hours. The leaders of the Union have, as a matter of fact, had no time to conduct an agitation on the issues of the crisis. Only one meeting of shop-chairmen was held in Cooper Union, and only two thousand of the fifty-five thousand involved in the conflict had an opportunity to listen to the recital of the demands of the employers from the lips of their leaders.

Nevertheless, the entire membership of the Union grasped clearly the issues and have made up their minds to vote en masse their opinion and convictions. Everyone of the forty thousand men who came to vote have felt that they must not remain away and that each and every one of them must, for himself, decide his fate; that each one by his vote must personally reply to the assertion of the employers that 85% of the workers are willing to return to piece work. Isn't this mass demonstration an act that should fill one with admiration for our union men and for their quick response to the call of duty at a supremely critical moment?

It has, perhaps, occurred to each of us, at times, that our entire big organization lacks virility and concreteness and that the great masses belong to the Union more as a matter of habit and would worry little if one fine morning they would find their union gone and disappeared. At such glum moments, the heart aches, indeed, for the immense toil, effort and sacrifices that have been spent in the work of upbuilding the organization. But the truth is that such thoughts have no foundation in fact. Our cloakmakers have the interest of their union deeply at heart. In ordinary days they have but little occasion to display this concern. Only when a crisis arrives, when the life of the union is in danger, do they rise, stirred to the utmost, to defend their organization. This is the significance of the vote of the 40,000 cloakmakers of last week. The workers have perceived that the true aim of the bosses was to smash their new work union; they have perceived that to remain apathetic and indifferent at such a moment would mean treason to their best interests and convictions, and they have gone and cast a record-breaking vote in defiant response to the ultimatum of their bosses.

The second great moment that has filled our heart with joy and hope for the future of our workers came immediately after the vote, on that great, now historic Monday, November 14, on the day when the bosses determined to re-introduce the accursed system of piece work, a longer day's work and lower wages. In their blindness the employers were still obtuse enough not to withdraw their decision and to disregard the emphatic vote of the workers. On the morning of that day, however, they had learned that there were no men left in their shops upon whom they could enforce their new work-system. The shops have become empty, as if cleaned out by a magic wand. Tens of thousands of workers were filling the streets, marching to their points of assembly with order, cheer and precision. The strike call was obeyed without the slightest effort, disturbance or untoward event. An army of men and women have left their jobs, not for a frolic or a holiday but for a struggle that might last weeks and months and entail for them and their

families deprivation and suffering, without a sign of whining or a murmur of dissatisfaction.

Fifty-five thousand men and women have chosen to ignore temporary interest for the promise of a better day that the morrow will bring. It was done not blindly, not in a moment of ecstasy, but with eyes open and upon the sound calculation that it is worth while, that it is absolutely necessary to suffer, if need be, for the attainment of a victory for a right cause. Can there be a nobler and more inspiring moment for anyone who had bound up his life and his fate with the workers, with the cause of the fighting and ever-aspiring proletariat? We shall not attempt to speak for others, but for ourselves we say, these were the two happiest and most beautiful moments in our life. And if ever other moments of despair and chagrin visit us again, they will be dimmed and relegated to the background by the wonderful events of the last few days.

THE PRINCIPAL ISSUES OF THE STRIKE

Officially, the issues of the strike are of a purely economic character: Piece work in place of week work, a forty-nine-hour week instead of forty-four, and as a result, an appreciable decrease in earnings for all the workers. The fight, therefore, is for the retention of the prevailing work standards.

Of course, all this is of the highest importance and there is no question but that the workers will and should contend against these aggressions with all their strength. Their gains and acquisitions must not be robbed from them. Nevertheless, important as these economic issues are, they become a hundred-fold more important when one perceives fully their moral character.

What ground are the cloak employers advancing for their demand of piece work? Is it because that under week work the garments are not made as well as the market demands? No! The employers have not dared to put forth a fabrication of that sort. They say, however, that the workers are not giving in return "an honest day's work," not as much, they assert, as the workers would, had they been working with greater loyalty. In other words, the bosses accuse the workers of deceit and short-weighting, as it were. The week workers, they claim, have been receiving, let us say, \$10 a day, and have given in return only \$5 worth of work. They want piece work because the workers, they claim, have been stealing from them.

It stands to reason, of course, that if this charge had been hurled against a few individuals it could at least be understandable. Among tens of thousands of workers a few may be found whose conscience would not be bothered, if they did not earn their pay. But the employers demand piece work as a general remedy. They charge all our workers with dishonesty; they declare before the world that the sixty thousand workers employed by them, from those toil they have become influential and wealthy, are thieves and swindlers, and they cannot, therefore, employ them any longer as week workers. If the Union were to surrender to the demand of the employers, it would mean that it would admit that the workers are thieves and dishonest. Could it even for a fraction of a moment be thought that the Union would concede such despicable slander upon its entire membership?

Nevertheless, the Union did not reject the demand of the employers without arguing. The Union demanded proof for these slanderous assertions. And as early as last June a joint commission was organized in the industry to study productivity and to find out whether the statements have any basis in reality. The Union promised to co-operate with the employers in any case where it could be shown that a vestige of right was on their side. As a result only one case was found where a worker did not do his full duty, and remaining true to its word, the union was to demand the discharge of the worker. That was only one exceptional instance and not a single other case could be found in the entire industry to substantiate the charges of the employers. In spite of that they have had the brazenness to come out now with a demand for piece work on the ground that the workers are stealing from them. It is because of that that the present fight for week work is not only an economic conflict. There is a moral issue involved in this fight and the cloakmakers will not and cannot return to piece work unless they brand themselves as dishonest and irresponsible workers.

The man in the street might ask us this question: If it is true, as you say, that the overwhelming majority of the workers are honestly fulfilling their duties, the bosses must be aware of it. Why are they so set against week work? After all, what difference does it make to them as long as the work is honestly and well made? Our reply to this question is brief and terse. Our employers are not satisfied with an honest day's work. They want overwork. They want the return to the olden times when after a season the workers were fit subjects for the hospital to which they were not infrequently taken. Our employers want a hundred dollars worth of work for fifty. That is the true meaning of the demand for piece work and for forty-nine hours in place of the hard-earned forty-four. The cloakmaker of today will fight against these arrogant demands with might and main. He understands well the issues of week work and longer work hours, and as long as there is a spark of life and self-respect left in him, he will never accept the infamous and humiliating system of piece work, of semi-slavery.

And a still greater issue than piece work and all its destructive consequences is the issue of the existence of the Union itself. Anyone with a spark of intelligence can understand that the manufacturers are first and foremost after the Cloakmakers' Union. It is not an original idea on the part of the present leaders of the Association. After the great strike of 1910 they thought they could smash the Union morally through the pro-

Continued on Page Seven

In the Land of "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

By BEN AUGUST

II
Have the workers of Soviet Russia
say over the factories?

Are the workers the "bosses" in
the factories where they work?
Do the workers control industry?
Are the workers the dictators?

These questions and the reply to
them involve the very basis upon
which is reared the communist regime
of Russia. I presume that many
readers will be amazed at these ques-
tions, and many of them might ex-
claim in rejoinder: What a set of
heretic queries!

But you will readily understand
that I personally have nothing against
the Bolsheviks. My only object is to
give the readers of this journal the
true facts concerning Soviet Russia.
Perhaps we might learn from it a les-
son for the future, for guidance in
the event "of a worldwide social rev-
olution" that may break out some day.
When? Well, that's a different story,
and concerning this I would like to
relate to you a conversation that I
have recently had with Samuel Gompers.

A few weeks ago, on a Saturday
afternoon, the old veteran leader of
the American labor movement paid a
visit to a certain restaurant in Divis-
ion Street, New York City, where
many Jewish writers congregate. In
the course of a talk I asked him:

"Brother Gompers, tell me, please,
when will the social revolution break
out in America?"

The old man almost fell off his
seat. But he quickly recovered him-
self and giving me one of his keen
and shrewd glances said:

"Dear friend, the revolution will
break out to-morrow morning at 9
o'clock sharp, unless it rains." I
did not put this question to Gompers
just for the sake of a jest. When I
reached Russia many Communists
have asked me the same question.
My answer to them was that the day
for a social revolution in America is
still quite distant. They would not
believe me at that time and insisted
that I did not understand the Amer-
ican situation. Well, they believe it
now. But we shall return to this
again.

Right after the Bolsheviks had

taken over the reins, they began com-
mitting one blunder after another.
They are admitting it now, but to-
day these blunders are hopelessly be-
yond repair.

The workers of Petrograd and Mos-
cow have fought on the barricades to
win freedom for themselves and the
entire Russian people. They had faith
in the attractive slogan: "The work-
ers must control the factories!" Who
could have believed otherwise? After
the Communists had taken over the
government, who else but the worker
would control industry? You and I
and millions of others have believed
in that, and many still believe that
here and everywhere. Sadly enough,
such was not the case. Had this slogan
materialized, the situation in Russia
today would be, by far, better than
what it is.

Instead of the workers gaining su-
premaccy in the factories from the
very start; instead of the workers
having become the managers of indus-
try, the Bolsheviks (in those days
this term was more in vogue), have
begun to dictate a policy for the
workers and the workers were com-
pelled to submit to the dictatorship
of the Bolshevik party. In the be-
ginning of January, 1918, at the First
Congress of All-Russian Bolsheviks
Party, the fate of the workers' or-
ganizations was sealed already. And
that was the greatest blunder com-
mitted with regard to labor by the
Bolsheviks.

No matter how ignorant the Rus-
sian workers were at that time (and
uneducated they still are), they have
managed to grasp one thing: They
must have control of the factories and
not men who have never seen the
inside of a factory in all their
lives. The workers thought at
that time, and are still thinking now,
as we shall prove it later, that while
those men may be a very good diplo-
mats they cannot, under any circum-
stances, manage factories.

The Bolshevik Party undertook the
most impossible of tasks. They them-
selves had little practical experience,
and yet they undertook to run all and
everything. In this respect they have
been severely defeated. Their slogan
that the workers must have control
over the factories was left unfulfilled.

The workers never obtained such con-
trol and have not got it to this day.
Are you inclined to doubt it? Well,
read ahead.

Towards the end of May, 1921,
while I was in Moscow, there was held
in that city a Convention of the All-
Russian Trade Unions. At that Con-
vention, Tomsky, the former Presi-
dent of the Trade Unions, brought in
a resolution to the effect that the
workers obtain from the Communist
Party the right to have control over
and to manage factories, foundries
and workshops. This resolution was
adopted unanimously by all the dele-
gates and Tomsky was very happy.

Do you know what happened the
following day, after the resolution
was adopted? Read this with open
eyes.

A strict order came from the sanc-
tum sanctorum, from the Kremlin—of
course, from the President of the
People's Commissaries, to the effect
that Tomsky's resolution be forth-
with thrown out, as through its adop-
tion the Soviet rule is exposed to
grave dangers. The delegates became
very alarmed, of course, the resolu-
tion was withdrawn and the Republic
was saved.

Do you for a moment suppose that
Tomsky had meant ill by his resolu-
tion or that he was a counter-revolu-
tionist? Perish the thought! He
was a loyal and honest Communist.
Tomsky, the Communist, who had
nevertheless understood what the Rus-
sian workers wanted, would not ge-
nerally any longer at his post. He
forthwith resigned, both as President
of the Trade Union Congress and as
member of the Communist Party.

Such are the facts and they speak
for themselves. In Tomsky's place
there was lodged a certain Losovsky,
a person who can write "theses,"
(Communist literature is, as a matter
of fact, flooded with theses) on
every subject under the sun, but when
they want to do practical work they
turn to capitalists in other countries.)

You can now understand how mat-
ters stand with the workers in Soviet
Russia and the fact related above
covers, we believe, all the questions
that we placed at the top of this ar-
ticle. The third slogan of the Bol-
sheviks has not materialized and the
workers have no say in the manage-
ment of the factories. The workers
do not control the shops where they
work and the workers do not control
industry.

Some might ask: Well, if this be
the case, who are the controllers of
industry in Russia? To this we re-
ply: The Communists. But they
will ask again: Are not the Commu-
nists the representatives of the
workers, why find fault with this?

Well, perhaps there would be no
fault found with this, if the workers
could be satisfied. But what in-
case the workers are not? Suppose
the workers object to this? The "ig-
norant" workers of Russia desire to
be the controllers in shop and fac-
tory; they want to manage industry
in Russia, and the Communist Party
denies it to them. Do you grasp the
situation? These are the facts and
they cannot be denied.

I asked a number of conscientious
Communists in Russia why the factory
management is not turned over to the
workers and I received in reply: The
workers are not capable yet to man-
age industry. How does this answer
suit you? The Russian workers are
not able yet to run factories and with
such workers they wanted to inaugu-
rate a Communist society. Is not
this a tragedy-comedy? Is not this the

greatest joke in human history? But
who can laugh at this, surely not I.

The result of such factory adminis-
tration as exists today can be easily
imagined even by those who never
visited Russia. The workers feel like
perfect strangers; they have nothing
to say, and are, in consequence doing
everything contrary to the wishes of
the Communist Government. Mean-
while the results are appalling, in-
deed.

There remains but one more ques-
tion to be answered. Are the work-
ers the dictators in Russia?

I can read the astonishment on the
faces of my readers. What a stupid
question, they will exclaim! Of
course, who else is dictator in Russia
if not the workers? Well, be patient
with me, and before you form a hasty
opinion, listen and think it over
calmly. Perhaps, then, we shall un-
derstand each other. As I stated
above, the purpose of these articles
is to tell the truth and to throw light
upon what it transpiring at present
in Russia. There is enough lying be-
ing done about Russia in the capital-
ist press and those lies are well paid
for. But the truth must be told by
someone! And I want to tell, and
I will tell it as loud as my voice can
carry: The workers are not the dic-
tators in Russia!

I, too, believed—only a year ago—
that in Russia there reigns the dic-
tatorship of the proletariat. I lived
there and I found out to my greatest
chagrin and disappointment that it is
not so. These rules in Russia a pow-
erful dictatorship, that is true, but
the workers are not the dictators.
The Communist Party is the dictator
over the Russian proletariat.
Ask a Communist in Russia, for
instance, whether the workers are the
dictators of Russia, that is, whether
they rule Russia, and he will answer
forthwith in the negative. Moreover,
he will add—we Communists rule over
Russia now just as in America the
Republicans rule the country at pres-
ent. That, of course, means the dic-
tatorship of the proletariat.

Thus speak the Russian Commu-
nists, and if you so desire, you may
agree with them. I cannot do it, and
I wonder who can. Indeed, this dic-
tatorship of the proletariat has cen-
tered me and many others who have
visited Soviet Russia from America
and from other countries into "her-
etics" concerning the entire rule of
that land.

(More in the next article.)

THE NEWEST UNITY CENTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL

Last Monday, a class in English
was opened in the eighth and last
Unity Center of the International.

It is located in Public School 147,
Bushwick Ave. and McKibben St.,
Brooklyn, and is convenient to those
of our members who reside in the
Williamsburg section.

An excellent teacher has been se-
cured and our members are promised
thoroughly competent instruction in
English.

In a few weeks a class in History
of Industry and Trade Unionism in
the United States will be opened in
that center and will be free to all
members of the International. There
will also be a "gym" class for our
members.

The Educational Department hopes
to make this center one of the strong-
est of its activities.

Members of the International are
urged to join the class next Monday,
when the Unity Center reopens for
its second week.

Admission is free.

THE PRINCIPAL ISSUES OF THE STRIKE

Continued from Page Six

tocol agreement and become practically the bosses of the organiza-
tion. They have, at one time, become arrogant enough to
dictate even who should be one of the chief officers of the
organization. They have failed. Then they have decided to
break the protocol arrangement in the hope that the Union
would fall to pieces afterward. Failing in this, they entered
into an agreement with the Union, but not for long. In 1916,
they had locked out the workers and were defeated by the
Union. Then came 1919 and the Union had won the week work
system and an agreement was entered for three years.

But the agreement did not last long. In 1920 the employers
abrogated the agreement, while the Union was growing stronger
and stronger. Last May the bosses did not dare to undertake
the fight, but on the quiet were forging their weapons against
the Union. They have organized an "international" of em-
ployers' associations and have tried to poison the opinion of the
public against the workers. Then, at a moment which they
deemed opportune, they declared war against the Union in the
arrogant confidence that they could re-introduce piece work,
longer hours and deliver a death blow to the organization of
the workers.

The pernicious aim of our employers is clear and written
large throughout this brief history: They want to destroy the
Union at all events. This is the issue of the present fight and
the workers are fully aware of it. And because the issue is so
clear and big, the chances of the employers winning this fight
are nil. The workers will fight for their Union to the last drop
of blood. The end of the conflict will probably see the end
of the Protective Association, but our Union will come out of
this storm and stress even stronger and more virile. Such were
the results of all its preceding fights and such will be the
result of the current conflict.

THE STAGE

Arnold Daly and Blanche Yurka will play the leading parts in "The Wife With a Smile," to be produced by the Theatre Guild at the Garrick Theatre November 23.

The cast of "The Varying Shore," in which Elsie Ferguson will appear, will also include: Charles Francis, Wright Kramer, Paul Evenden and Elvira Day.

Robert Hilliard, in "The Littlest Girl," will begin an engagement in Shubert vanderbilt at the Forty-fourth Theatre during the week of Nov. 21.

A series of Schubert song recitals are planned for Sunday afternoons at the Ambassador Theatre, where the Schubert opera, "Blossom Time," is being played.

Rachel Crothers' newest play, "Everyday," was presented at the Bijou Theatre on Wednesday night of this week. The cast includes Tallulah Bankhead, Henry Hall, Lucile Watson, Minnie Dupree, Frank Sheridan and Don Burroughs. "The Skirt," now at the Bijou, will be withdrawn this week.

Cable advices state that Hall Caine, the English novelist, will take passage for America in November. The Goldwyn studio is soon to launch a production of the author's powerful novel, "The Christian," on a big scale. The scenario has been completed by Charles Kenyon, playwright and scenarist, and is awaiting the final approval of the author. The script recently returned from England with some suggestions by the author.

It has not yet been learned whether the Hall will visit Los Angeles or whether he will transact his business in New York. He is known to have expressed a desire to come into intimate contact with motion picture production methods.

Beginning another season at 133 Macdougall Street, the Provincetown Players will present a new play by Susan Glaspell, entitled "The Verge." For the principal role they have succeeded in persuading Margaret Wycherly to join the organization. As to the play, it concerns a woman who

"sees life with a clarity which sees no satisfaction in which to rest." It will be offered for two weeks.

For their third week at the Century, E. H. Sothern and Julia Marlowe will revive "The Shrew." Mr. Sothern, of course, will again be the Petruchio, and Miss Marlowe the Katherine. "The Merchant of Venice" will follow a week later.

Mr. Brady, with his fondness for the Saturday night premiere, presented Grace George in "Marie Antoinette" as the final event of last week. The play is of highly mysterious origin; it is adapted from the foreign, and the original author wrote under the nom de plume of Edymar. The background is that of the French Revolution; Miss George, of course, will be seen as Marie Antoinette.

Charles Cherry is the leading male figure, and the cast also enlists the services of Fred Eric, Walter Ringham, Douglas J. Wood, Harry Daube, Betty Wales, Florence Edney and a long list of others.

"The Title" is a comedy by Arnold Bennett, and was presented in London more than a season ago. In "The Title," according to the announcement, Mr. Bennett "turns his light best trenchant pen to the subject of the bestowal of honors, a sacred British institution." It was originally planned to send the play on a Canadian tour, on the theory that Canada looks favorably upon all things English, but the Canadians are now being made to wait.

Lumsden Hare acts in the leading role, and the company includes Seel Johnson, Sheila Courtney, Neel Tearle, Robert Harrigan, Ernest Cosart, Emily Lorraine and Agnes Atherton.

MUSIC NOTES

Richard Strauss, conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra, gave the second local concert of his present American tour Tuesday evening, Nov. 15, at the Metropolitan Opera House.

"Faust" will be the first popular Saturday night opera, with Mmes. Easton, Ellis and Beret, Messrs. Chamble, de Luca, Rothler and d'Angelo, conducted by Mr. Wolf.

Miss Farrar, it is announced, will sing again in "Madame Butterfly" on Thanksgiving afternoon, Nov. 24, with Mmes. Fornia and Egner, Messrs. Martinielli, Scotti and others long familiar in that most popular performance of many recent seasons at the Metropolitan. The American prima donna also opens the company's Brooklyn series within the present week in "Carmen."

"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci" will be sung at the first Sunday night "opera concert," November 20, the former by Peralta, Arden, Perini, Kingston, Chalmers, Mr. Bamboschelli conducting; the latter by Sundelius, Crimi, Danie, Meader, Laurenti, Mr. Moranzoni conducting.

Ruth Draper, fresh from foreign triumphs, will be heard in dramatic recital at Town Hall on Friday afternoon.

Arthur Middleton, baritone, is singing the first part of this month in the states of Oklahoma and Nebraska.

The Melodrama of Armistice Day

By NATHANIEL BUCHWALD

Last Friday was a day of worship, prayer and melodrama. It was Armistice Day, and the President of the United States spoiled a perfectly good anniversary by proclaiming it a day of silent devotion and putting a damper on the spirits of his beloved fellow citizens. Things are gloomy enough as it is, and if Mr. Harding had consulted a mental hygienist before composing his Armistice Day proclamation he would have issued a much cheerier appeal to the people or none at all.

We need not go very far back into history to prove that the people, when left alone, know how to take care of their own holidays, and that spontaneous popular celebrations do not exactly run in the channels of official verbiage. Armistice Day of 1918 was celebrated, oddly enough, three days before the signing of the armistice pact, and the volcanic burst of mad, unreasoning joy was the most impressive anti-militarist demonstration that ever had occurred anywhere on earth. It was an uncomfortable affair, too, that taxed to the utmost the canny of the preachers and editorial writers, who goaded the people to a war frenzy. Here it was—that fierce tornado which shattered to splinters all the elaborate structures of "patriotism" by terror, which tore to shreds the net of hate-propaganda in which the souls of the people were enmeshed. The people tore loose from the chains of patriotism by intimidation and flung to the teeth of those to whom it may concern their hatred of war, their hatred of this particular war, their profound indifference to the "civilization" that was ostensibly being saved, and their contempt of the slogans and catch words that had been let loose upon the simple souls in an effort to hood moral justification to this most infernal of all wars.

The people spoke in the unsmooth, incoherent accents of passionate joy, that was also flaming hate, and the agents of Mars, whether in frock coats or military jackets, trembled in their ministries or military headquarters, for they knew they were defeated, crushed and damned for all time. This is history, and history has an inconvenient habit of repeating itself. Perhaps it was to obviate the repetition of this particular bit of history that the President of the United States, together with high dignitaries of other countries, diverted Armistice Day from its natural path and prevented the sentiments of the people from running their true course. Mr. Harding acted the unimpressive in staging a stupendously silly melodrama with a lot of sob stuff and plenty of tinny heroics, and it must be admitted that the show was a success, at least in so far as it killed the chances of a spontaneous popular demonstration against war and political humbug.

Armistice Day was also the eve of the opening of the Arms Conference, and this circumstance made the memory of the slaughter hailed on November 11, 1918, the more poignant. The wounds of the war and the industrial anemia that has followed like a plague in the wake of the war, and the cruel disillusionment of those who had accepted the great carnage as a needed blood-letting, and discovered only too late that it was a wanton blood spilling—all this has produced a collective state of mind surcharged with a deadly hate of war and things martial, Mankind, white-bled, tortured, crucified, despoiled mankind is yearning for peace, is yearning to be freed for all time from the dreadful nightmare of militarism.

But those who shape and bid the

destinies of the nameless millions are in no hurry. They will give ground only when absolutely necessary, and as little as possible. They will stage a show of disarmament as a measure of safety for their own cause. Universal disarmament is hardly desirable at the present moment, we are told by the spokesman of a nation that misrepresents its idealism in "a war to end war."

The big scene in the Armistice Day melodrama was as devoid of meaning and sincerity as are the cheapest movie thrillers. The multitudes were once more fooled by a preposterous performance that passed currency as a national demonstration. The Unknown Hero stuff once more brought into being the sinister sham of military spectacles, the hollow pretense of idealism that the servants of Mars find it so essential to display. Think of the incapacitated ex-hero of the world war watching the spectacle of the listening to the extenuated language pouring forth from the lips of those who have so cruelly betrayed his hopes. With hundreds of thousands of ex-service men starving, with government agencies cynically callous to the plight of those who were deceived into fighting somebody's battles; with the ravages of war unhealed and the pitiful condition of the erstwhile idolized young boys unhealed—what mockery, what heart-piercing sting, what sacrilege there is in the mummery of hallowing the memory of the Unknown Hero!

Happy, indeed, is he, the Unknown Hero, that he accepted the lot of the unknown, the living heroes. Were he of the latter, he would, perhaps, beg his bread on the Boverly or join the brotherhood of the destitute in Bryant Park, or despair would toss him upon the crest of the crime wave.

Armistice Day was proclaimed a national holiday, but the day was sacred to Mars. The orations, for all their sonorous language, sounded no hopes of a world made safe for peace. In glorifying the Unknown Hero "as the symbol of the highest devotion to an ideal," they glorified the warrior, they glorified the moral loftiness of war. The tenor of the speeches, the spirit of the celebration and the general atmosphere artificially created painfully reminded one of the insane war days. In the minor tones of the reprieve a sensitive ear could clearly discern the glaring flourishes of the bugle.

Thus was staged the Armistice Day melodrama, or, if you wish, the prologue to the disarmament comedy.

REGISTER FOR THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY AT ONCE

Members who wish to join the classes in the Workers' University are urged to register at once. This will decide matters for us. If we know in advance how many intend to join the University, it will enable us to arrange the classes accordingly. It will also save the time of the students on the day the University opens, since they will not have to register on that day, and will avoid any unnecessary rush.

Every student must have an admission card. Students can secure cards at the office of the Educational Department, 31 Union Square, Room 1003, where they will secure all the information about the classes.

Remember that the courses start on Saturday, November 20, at 1:30, at the Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 16th Street.

Tell your fellow workers about it.

Equity CLOTHES

J.P. Friedman & M. Senter

WE specialize in men's and young men's clothes at reasonable prices. Our clothes are fashioned by the leading designers of the country, including the famous

"Skolny Clothes"

Workmanship equal to the best Fifth Avenue tailors. Fit assured by expert tailors. Material absolutely guaranteed.

Try us and be convinced.

ONE FLIGHT UP

158 W. 44th Street

(Next to Clarence Hotel)

OPEN EVENINGS

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

PROFITEER CONTROL CAUSES HIGH PRICES

The great corporations of this country "have been exercising a sinister influence not only on public opinion, but they have been so potent in the councils of the great leaders of political parties that they have dictated their own terms and their terms were unconditional surrender," said Senator Reed in directing the revenue bill.

"There is today a peculiar reason which emphasizes the enormity of this policy. It is found in the fact that every farmer in the United States is selling everything he produces at less than pre-war prices, and he is buying his necessities in a market controlled by profiteers, and no reasonable man can deny the statement. Why am I warranted in saying that? Wool is selling for less than it has sold for in the United States in the last 20 years. The price has gone down to almost nothing, yet every woolen garment costs two or three or four times what it did before the war.

"What is the cause of that? Is it on account of an increase in wages? Wages have advanced somewhat, but wages are now declining and rapidly declining. Making every allowance possible for increased costs, there is such a gap between the price of the raw material and the price of the finished product that it is perfectly manifest that there must be an enormous profit realized."

ANTIS REFUSED SOLDIERS

Governor Hart, of Washington, has denied the request of anti-union coal owners for soldiers to break a strike of their employees. Sheriff Starwich, of this county, told the governor there is no need for troops and that he is aided by others of the Miners' Union in preserving the public peace.

The miners are striking because coal owners reduced wages in violation of an award made last year by the government's coal commission.

ANTI-UNIONISTS WARNED TO STOP LURING WORKERS

The city unemployment committee, of Dallas, Texas, appointed by the mayor, has notified the employers' anti-union association to stop advertising for workers to come to this city.

Eastern and western newspapers are publishing advertisements of the anti-union association for workers to come to Dallas, where they will find plenty of work. This city is crowded with out-of-workers as a result of this attempt to flood the labor market and lower wages.

Every member of the mayor's committee condemned the practice and the secretary was instructed to notify the anti to discontinue their campaign.

DEFENDS CORN BURNING

In a starving world the Department of Agriculture defends the burning of corn for fuel, because of the low price farmers are paid for this grain, and because of the high price of coal.

Corn burning in the west will be general this winter, and the department explains that this is all right—that corn at 30 cents a bushel equals coal at \$15 a ton. It is stated that corn will probably be used in the country towns because of the high price of coal, and that there is an efficiency in this method as it saves hauling coal.

In defense of this destruction of a food, the department points to corn burning in Argentina, South America, a country that imports its coal and raises more corn per capita than any other nation.

2,973 KILLED, 206,000 HURT WORKING MINERALS IN 1920

Accidents in mines, quarries and metallurgical plants in 1920, exclusive of blast furnaces in the United States, caused the death of 2,973 employees and the injury of 206,000, according to the bureau of mines. Based on a standard of 300 working days per man, the statement said: "For every 100 employees, 3.19 were killed and 221.25 were injured."

The figures do not indicate the large number of slight injuries causing a loss of time of less than one day. In these industries 1,088,000 were employed last year, with an average of 257 working days per man.

Officials of the A. F. of L. have called the attention of the department of justice to the flogging of John E. Winstanley by a Florida mob, who took the unionist from a train and after beating him, threatened his life and left him for dead.

Winstanley is a representative of the International Union of Timber Workers. While on a train near Sherman, Florida, he was seized by a mob, thrown into an automobile, followed by another auto, filled with thugs. After a journey of several miles Winstanley was taken from the auto and placed across a railroad tie, when he was flogged.

It is believed the mob can be punished by federal authorities for violating the United States law against the forcible removal of a passenger from an interstate train.

BUT WE HAVE NO CLASSSES

Just when every 100 per cent American has concluded his campaign on the evils of class propaganda, along comes the Middle Class union, which has been chartered by the state. The new organization has a fine program. The Declaration of Independence and federal constitution will be put back in the running, the interests of taxpayers will be protected, the public will be guarded against oppression in every form, the ballot will be purified and a general moral uplift will ensue.

ROADS PRESS WAGE CUTS

Railroad managers are urging their demand that the remainder of the 20 per cent wage increase be taken from employees. Last summer the railroad labor board removed approximately 12 per cent of this advance, and the railroads faced a strike when they recently attempted to wipe out the remainder. The strike order was withheld when the labor board agreed to pass on the managers' demands after other matters now pending were disposed of. As this meant postponement, the employees recalled the strike order.

The railroad managers, however, are insistent, and at a meeting of executives of eastern roads, in New York, it was agreed to hold meetings with representatives of employees to attempt to agree on the proposed cut. If these conferences fail, the managers will call on the railroad board. It is evident the managers have concluded that the big stick policy will no longer suffice, and they are making some show of observing the Cummins-Noch law.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR

The announcement has been made by the International Labor Office, established in connection with the International Labor Organization under the League of Nations, that, the British Government will not ratify the eight-hour day convention adopted by the International Labor Conference at Washington in 1919, on the ground that the present industrial conditions in Great Britain render their adoption impossible. It is suggested that instead the whole question should be reconsidered at a future conference.

PRISON REFORM

An interesting report will be published in January by the Prison System Enquiry Committee, of whom the chairman is Sir Sydney Olivier, and the secretaries, Mr. Stephen Hobhouse and Mr. Penner Brockway, both of whom served long sentences as conscientious objectors during the war. It is understood that the report will condemn the present prison system as dehumanizing, degrading, wasteful and destructive of self-respect and self-expression. The silence rule, the dress, the food, the sanitary arrangements and the whole regime stands condemned in this report, which has been drawn up of representatives of most diverse points of view.

BACK TO THE ARMY!

Hunger was always the best recruiting agent, and the gentleman whose job it is to find soldiers in Barrow-in-Furness knows it. He complained to the chairman of the local Board of Guardians that he has noticed "the large number of young, smart, unmarried men who have applied for relief." For these men, the Army, which "offers so many valuable advantages to men who are medically fit and up to standard" is obviously "the best place to-day."

LINGUISTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL

A noticeable feature of Labor and Socialist International Conferences is the linguistic powers of many of the foreign delegates. The majority of them speak French and German, and not a few speak English also. Hjalmar Branting and Camille Haymans, two of the outstanding leaders of the Second International, have at least four or five languages at their command.

At the recent consultation between the British National Executive and the Executive Committee of the Vienna Union, Ledebour, who belongs to the German Independents, addressed the meeting in English and German, and Longuet spoke in French and English.

Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P. is one of the few British Labor leaders who speaks French and German, and he is very much at home in gatherings of foreign Socialists.

ARE CLERKS POOR?

Black-coated trade unionists are now in the thick of wage reductions. Some municipal employees are faced with reductions of as much as 33 to 59 per cent of their whole salary, and in certain cases reductions are now being proposed in spite of the fact that no increases had previously been given. In this connection it is worth noting that Sir Alfred Mond thinks that clerks are not workers. Justifying the stopping of the big London housing scheme near Alford, he contended that the houses were for clerks and not for the working class.

JAPAN

OWN HALF JAPAN'S WEALTH.

It is stated that a group of 23 Japanese business men, now touring the United States, represent "one-half of the entire wealth" of their nation. Virtually every member of the delegation is a director of five or six concerns, besides being actively engaged as the managing head of two or three more. Half of the members are bank directors or presidents.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE—A COUNCIL OF ACTION

The formation of a socialist Council of Action within the Little Entente, the object of which is to blockade Hungary, through the workers stationed on the Magyar frontier rather than allow the return of the Hapsburgs is announced. Their manifesto authorizes the Prague government to undertake whatever measure it sees fit in order to strike at the Hapsburgs.

FRANCE

A CLEARING HOUSE FOR RAW MATERIALS

The National Council of the French Miners' Federation has passed a resolution requesting the Committee of the Miners' International to take steps towards the creation of an international clearing house for raw materials, and especially for the exchange of coal, in order to restore the industries of the world to their pre-war condition, and combat the evil of the unequal changes. . . . If a gesture of warning to the various governments does not achieve the creation of such an international body for the exchange of raw materials, general action of a more definite character is suggested. The French miners insist on the importance of this step in the workers' campaign for disarmament and against war.

GERMANY

DROP OF MARK HITS GERMAN LABOR

The catastrophic fall of the mark continues. At the same time, German mining and industrial shares have risen by 30 per cent, and some cases by 50 per cent. It is difficult to say whether the Geneva decision on Upper Silesia causes the panic among small investors of the middle class, causing them to throw away marks and rush for foreign currency, or whether German Big Business is using the political crisis to depress the mark with a view to higher exports profits. In any case, within 24 hours the standard of living of German labor has dropped by 30 per cent.

UNITED AGAINST MONARCHISTS

The German, Austrian and Czech Socialists have just held a conference in Berlin, at which it was decided to take common action in the event of the Monarchists attempting a new coup.

Educational Comment and Notes

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY BEGINS ITS SESSIONS ON SATURDAY, NOV. 26, AT 1:30 AND SUNDAY MORNING, NOV. 27, AT 10:30

We expect many of our serious and earnest members to come to the classes in larger numbers than before. The courses which are offered are very interesting.

The subjects are varied and cover the field of Labor and Unionism, Economics, Psychology, History and Literature.

Each member can select whatever appeals to him or her, and devote attention to that particular subject.

No matter what your taste or interest is, the Workers' University furnishes something to satisfy it.

We expect to make this the most successful year in our existence. The descriptions of the courses follow, and we hope that they will be read by all of our members.

Announcement of Courses, 1921-22—Workers' University (First Term)

Saturdays, 1:30—Tendencies in Modern Literature, Mr. B. J. R. Stolper, commencing Nov. 26.

Study and appreciation of such recent German novelists and dramatists as Hauptmann, Sudermann and Schnitzler. This is to be followed by a consideration of American writers such as Poe, Walt Whitman and Mark Twain as well as Sinclair Lewis, Floyd Dell and Eugene O'Neill.

Saturdays, 2:30—The Policies of American Trade Unions, Dr. Leo Wolman, commencing Nov. 26.

It was pointed out last year that the problems of each union depended largely on the industry in which it grows up. This idea will be carried forward in this course by studying the trade unions in basic industries and by explaining how they have come to be what they are. It will then be possible to concentrate on the women's clothing industry and on the problems of the trade union there. It will appear that certain tendencies can be observed in the growth of the American Labor Movement. It will be the purpose of this course to examine then the more important of these tendencies, such as workers' control, to show how far they have gone and how far they may be expected to go.

This course will be given by Dr. Leo Wolman with the assistance of the following:

Heber Blankenhorn—The Labor Movement in the Steel Industry;
R. W. Bruere—The Coal Industry and the United Mine Workers;
Thomas J. Curtis—Compensation;
Carter L. Goodrich—Workers' Control;
Morris Rothenberg—The Law and Trade Unions;
Benjamin Schlesinger—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union;

Benjamin Schlesinger—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union;

N. Wolfe—The Auditing Department of the I. L. G. W. U.;
Savel Zimand—Workers' Councils in Germany and others;

Saturdays, 2:30—Social and Industrial History of the U. S., Dr. H. J. Carman, commencing Nov. 26.

A study of the social development of the U. S. and of its industrial growth, due to the introduction of machinery. Special attention will be given to the effect of industrial changes upon the lives of working people and of the way in which these have affected the development of the Labor Movement in the U. S.

Sundays, 10:30—Applied Psychology and Logic, Mr. Alexander Fichandler, commencing Nov. 27.

Study and analysis of important laws underlying human conduct and reasoning. The application of such laws to the problems which confront workers in their life at home, in the factory, in the union and in their social activities. An attempt to train workers to "think straight" and to understand the motives which prompt people to act as they do.

Sundays, 11:30—Current Economic Literature, Mr. A. L. Wilbert, commencing Nov. 27.

A study of recent important books on current economic and labor problems. These books will be summarized and discussed by the class.

Sundays, 11:30—Public Speaking, Gustav F. Schulz, commencing Nov. 27.

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

Speech-making is an art. Like every other art, it can be mastered only by abundant practice. As much time as possible, therefore, will be devoted to actual practice under all three of the above heads. Classroom instruction in the theory of the art will be restricted to brief explanations and criticisms. The student will be expected to work up the theory for himself by faithfully following text-book assignments. When necessary, instruction will be given individuals whose work presents special problems.

(Second Term)

Among the additional courses to be given during the second term are the following:

1. **Social and Industrial History of Europe and America, Mr. Lawrence J. Saunders.**

This course will attempt to explain some dominant institutions and ideas of this present civilization in terms of their past. Special attention will be given to the spread of industrial society in Europe and America and the rise in such a society of the influence of labor, science, woman, and of the way in which these have

Social and Industrial History of the United States

Why We Should Study This Course

By DR. H. J. CARMAN

Probably at no time in the history of the world has mankind faced more intricate and insistent problems than at the present time. On every hand social, economic, political and educational difficulties confront us. More and more, and especially since the World War, the rank and file of mankind are looking toward America to take the leadership in the solution of these great problems of war, industry, democracy and education. They are not looking to any one particular group in America, but to all Americans for this leadership. If the people of America—whether at the present time they be factory workers, farmers, members of the professions or of some other economic or social group—are not only to assume this leadership but to do their part in solving the great social and industrial problems which press for solution in America itself, it is highly important and necessary that they be acquainted with the social and industrial history of America.

The old saying that "knowledge is power" was never more apt than at present. Every man and woman should know how and why our present society and industrial organization in America came to be what it is. We should endeavor to understand why we have industrial classes, why American capital is centered in the hands of a few, of the position, why we have a railroad problem, why the majority of the people of America are concentrated in cities, and why many of these are without landed property; why we have great industrial organizations, combinations and protective tariffs, why in recent years there has been a growing tendency in the United States toward industrial democracy, and why America has embarked upon the policy of economic imperialism. These as well as many similar questions merit our study. In other words, it is of primary importance that we explain the present in terms of the past. Once we have done this we shall be in a better position to comprehend the present-day social and industrial problems, and to do our share in intelligently working out their solution.

The first topic for discussion will be:

I.—Why We Have Industrial Classes in America.

1. What Are the Industrial Classes?

- (a) The proletariat or workers.
- (b) The bourgeoisie or middle class.

(1) The lesser middle class, e. g., shopkeepers.

(2) The greater middle class, e. g., merchants, manufacturers and bankers.

(c) The agrarians or farmers.

(d) The professional group.

2. No sharp dividing line between some of these classes.

(a) Effect of increase of population and decrease of free land or westward movement upon class advancement.

(b) Present distribution of class groups.

3. How these classes or groups originated.

(a) The people who first came to America, 1609-1800.

(1) Why they came:

(a) Because of economic misery at home.

(b) Opportunity in new country to make a decent living and perhaps acquire riches.

(c) To escape religious persecution.

(d) Some came for adventure.

(2) Why do people come to America today?

(3) How the first people earned their living:

(a) Mostly by farming. The farmer a jack-of-all-trades.

(b) Some by fishing and fur trade.

(c) Some by trade or commerce.

(d) No manufacturing as yet.

(4) Were there classes among first people who came?

(a) Farmers, traders, ministers, lawyers, etc.

(b) The beginnings of the industrial revolution in America, 1800-1860.

(1) Meaning of the term "Industrial Revolution."

(2) Early development of certain industries.

(a) Textile industries:

(a) Importance of invention of cotton gin by Eli Whitney, 1793.

(b) Rapid rise of factory towns which produced cotton and woolen goods.

(c) Effect of early textile industry upon prosperity of South and West.

(b) Coal and iron industries:

(a) Their importance for machinery and railroad.

(b) Early and rapid growth of Pittsburgh.

(c) Who owned the mines?

(3) Social effects of the industrial revolution.

(a) Development of factory labor class.

(b) Growth of factory towns.

(c) Stimulated immigration.

(d) Made Negro valuable as a slave.

Readings—Van Meter, "Economic History of the United States"; Carman, "The Industrial History of the United States."

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

affected the development of the Labor Movement in European countries, with special reference to England.

2. **The Co-operative Movement, Dr. J. P. Warbaso.**

A study of the aims, principles, organization and methods of the Co-operative Movement, the difference between Consumers' and Producers' Co-operatives, and its relation to the Labor Movement.

3. **The Psychology of Trade Union Organization, Mr. Ordway Tead.**

4. **Other Courses will be announced later.**

Registration

Members are requested to obtain cards of admission immediately at the office of the Educational Department, 31 Union Square, Room 1002.

DR. BARNETT L. BECKER

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Cloak and Suit

It was a wonderful demonstration. The cloak and suitmakers kept streaming out of the factories for almost two hours, young men and old; young women and old women. Yet there need be no surprise about this. What else could have happened in view of the arrogance of the Cloak-makers' Protective Association. What other answer could there have been but a demonstration by this stream of humans who were given slavery as the alternative for freedom. The issue—piece work, 48-hour week, and the right of arbitrary discharge. No opportunity for a peaceful adjustment was given the cloakmakers. Hence the strike of such stupendous proportion.

As to the cutters—they were there 100 per cent at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. And what a fine spirit! There was no grumbling, no questioning, but an optimistic determination to see the thing through until they secure victory. Arlington Hall, where the cutters congregated, was overflowed at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The men registered and waited for their strike cards.

On Tuesday, November 15th, there was a tremendous gathering of the striking members of Local No. 10, and they were addressed by Elmer Rosenberg, that valiant friend of Local No. 10, who can always be found when it needs him. David Dubinsky and Israel Lewin, President and Secretary respectively, were also given a rousing reception under their addresses to the men.

The machinery for conducting the strike and for making settlements went like clock work the moment there was need for it. The cutters were afforded recognition on almost every committee of any importance. Even, the most pessimistic does not doubt that the interests of the cutters are well cared for, thanks to the unity that exists between them and other crafts as a result of the affiliation of the cutters with the Cloakmakers' Joint Board. Brother David Dubinsky had been appointed on the Settlement Committee. He says that there are some 600 applications for settlements already. However, Dubinsky stated, it will take a few days before shops will be sent back to work. In the meantime, Dubinsky asked the cutters to remember that they are required to report each day to Arlington Hall to have their strike cards punched and answer roll call. This applies to those who are striking as well as to those who were laid off prior to the calling of the strike. All working cards will be issued in Arlington Hall; all complaints should also be lodged at this hall.

In addition to having been appointed on the Settlement Committee, Dubinsky is also chairman of Arlington Hall, Israel Lewin is Secretary. Although Lewin was for quite a time an officer of the Dress and Waist Branch, he nevertheless consented at

one of the meetings of the Executive Board to assist Brother Dubinsky. Samuel Perlmuter, manager of the Cloak and Suit Division, is Chairman of the Finance Committee. Business Agent Isadore Nagler and Executive Board member Sam Kerr, are members of the Hall Committee. Executive Board members Philip Hansel and Benjamin Rubin are members of the Organization Committee.

Waist and Dress. Anyone who was present at the meeting of the Dress and Waist Branch held Monday evening, November 14th, at Arlington Hall, could have seen at once the spirit of these men on the first day of the calling of the cloak and suit strike. In his report of the month's activity in this branch, the manager pointed out that the spirit of hostility that has taken hold of the Cloak Protective Association is by no means lacking among the employers in the dress and waist trade. And he, therefore, urged the members present to a very keen watchfulness.

During the course of the meeting Brother Charles Stein was granted the privilege of the floor for five minutes, during which time he read and introduced the following resolution:

"Whereas, our International was forced to call a general strike against the vicious attempt of the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association to abolish week work and other conditions in the industry which were gained through many years of hard and incessant struggles; and,

"Whereas, any degree of success on the part of the manufacturers would weaken our organization, and inevitably react against all other trades under the flag of our International,

"Be it resolved, that we, members of the Dress and Waist Division of Local 10, I. L. C. W. U., assembled at a meeting on Monday, November 14, 1921, hail our International and all striking workers for their wisdom and courage in accepting the challenge of the manufacturers. We especially call on our brother cutters to hold high the standard of our International and that of Local 10 in the present struggle, as they have always done in the past and,

"Be it resolved, that we pledge ourselves to cheerfully give all assistance within our power to our brothers and sisters on strike, and

"Be it further resolved, that our President be, and hereby is, instructed to forward or read copies of this resolution to all strikers."

There was no time for the recognition by the chair of a motion to adopt the resolution unanimously. No sooner was its reading finished when there was heard at once a lusty "Aye" for its adoption.

Brother Harry Berlin, President of the Dress and Waist Joint Board and delegate to that body from Local No. 10, in discussing the activities of this organization, said that affiliation of the cutters with the Joint Board has done more to cement the relationship of the workers of the various crafts than dozens of resolutions and motions that were passed and adopted in previous times. He said that every

day find the workers in the dress and waist trade standing up and fighting for and with the cutters.

Miscellaneous

A very important meeting of the Miscellaneous Branch will take place on Monday evening, November 21st, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, at 8 o'clock, where the members of this branch will make their nominations of officers for the ensuing term. It is very important that a large number of members attend, as the present situation which faces the members will be discussed and the situation of the next year will also

be taken up. The members will have to acquaint themselves with the form of organization of Local No. 10 for 1922.

General

The attention of candidates who are running for the various offices in Local 10 is called to the fact that, according to the amended constitution of Local 10, no candidate's name will be placed on the ballot unless a blank resignation is signed 10 days preceding the election. Anyone who fails to comply with this will not be placed on the ballot in the election on Saturday, December 17, 1921.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10 ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Nominations for Branch and General Officers for our Local for the coming term will be held during the month of November

Elections: Saturday, December 17th, 12:30 to 6 P. M., at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place

MISCELLANEOUS: SPECIAL - Monday, November 21st
GENERAL: - - - - - Monday, November 28th
CLOAK AND SUIT: - - - - - Monday, December 5th
GENERAL: - - - - - Monday, December 12th

Meetings begin at 7:30 P.M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place
Cutters of All Branches

should secure a card when going in to work and return it when laid off. They must also change their cards when securing an increase.



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DR. S. MERMELSTEIN, 392 Grand Street, Between Clinton and Suffolk Streets. 27 Street side ad. above '22