

Secretary Mackoff, of the Joint Board has made all arrangements for a big attendance, and he expects that every Chairman in the trade will not fail to come to this highly important meeting.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By MAX D. DANISH

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

IS the world at large beginning to come to its senses? Is the post-war nightmare beginning to give way to the rule of reason?

These questions inevitably come to one's lips after perusing the call to the world-wide economic conference issued by the Supreme Council to take place in Genoa next March. The call includes Russia and Germany, and is, therefore, a clean-cut reversion of policy on the part of European leaders who have heretofore sought blindly to rule and ruin, in total disregard of the economic debacle in Central and Eastern Europe.

The call for the conference contains a number of very significant declarations. It, first of all, abandons for all time the arrogant assumption by the "victors" to dictate the form of government that the defeated or otherwise vanquished peoples of Europe might choose for themselves. It also establishes, once for all, the principle that the paralyzed life of Europe can only be revitalized by a common effort of all the nations.

In themselves, these declarations are well enough. Translated in plainer words, they are a recantation for the horrible things committed since the Armistice by the "victor" nations. They are a downright recognition of the futility of the effort to collect colossal indemnities, where the collection of such tribute is not only impossible, but destructive of the prime elements of life.

Nevertheless, we permit ourselves to be skeptical even of this conference. The Anti-Armament Conference that has not yet closed in Washington, assembled under so much drum-beating and fanfare, has resulted so far in a near-fizzle. And who can say, with any degree of certainty, that the Genoa Conference, which, in spite of the presence of delegates from Germany and Russia, will, after all, be dominated by leaders of the old type, will produce greater results?

Yet, with all that, it is an event of great magnitude, this call for the Genoa Conference. Whether it will really succeed in stabilizing conditions in Europe or not, it is certain to do away, in a considerable degree, with the hatreds and the spirit of revenge that have filled every nook and corner of the old world, since 1914.

THE FREE IRISH STATE

AFTER weeks of excitable debate, the Irish Dail, or Republican Parliament, has finally adopted the peace terms offered to it by Britain, and the Free Irish State is now a reality.

No doubt, the irreconcilables within and without Ireland will yet keep the new domain in a state of agitation and nationalist turmoil for a long time to come. They constitute a sufficiently strong minority, and apparently have the will and the energy to do it. As far as the Irish labor movement is concerned, this is, indeed, a regrettable fact. There seems to be little doubt that during these years of fighting for a Republic or a Free State in Ireland, the Irish labor movement has suffered. The energies of the nation, that of the working class, were absorbed in this fiery fight and the final settlement of the conflict. The winning of the Free Irish State was valuable to the workers of Ireland, perhaps, principally because it could now give them the opportunity to direct their attention to their own great fight, the strengthening of their lines, the development of their movement, and the increase of their influence upon Irish economic, industrial and political life.

But the fires of factionalism are still burning within the Irish nation, as a result of the friction between the two dominant opposing parties, those for the treaty and those against it, and they do not bid well for the Irish labor movement. We are afraid that it will continue to spend its efforts and wander in the labyrinth of national strife. The sooner these fires are extinguished, the nearer the day for the rational and rapid development of the working class in Ireland!

LUSK IN THE LIMELIGHT AGAIN

WHEN the stars set their course against a fellow, it's no use saying life becomes just one annoyance after another.

Just think of it! Only a year or so ago, Senator Clayton R. Lusk, he of inquisitorial anti-radical fame, who had made the throwout call of Socialists from the Legislature an annual pastime, was basking in the radiance of universal recognition for his super-patriotic services. President of the Senate and candidate for the next gubernatorial nomination, there was little in the trough that his heart could desire and not get. Such were the rewards of witch-hunting and Socialist bashing!

Then came that nasty story about the silver-set gift from the hands of appreciative New York police detectives. Like a mist vanished all the Lusk glory, and all his political chances disappeared like thin air. The saving lines of all his friends and political bedfellows were of no avail. Over night Lusk became a has-been.

There is a cynical assumption among politicians that the public's memory never goes back further than one week. Apparently on this theory, Lusk, instead of being tried on charges of bribery, was left in the Senate in the hope that the short-minded public will somehow or other forget and forgive. And now comes another story—Lusk is again being asked to explain whether or not he has been offered a \$100,000 bribe to work for the sidetracking of the movie-censorship bill. And the issue is being forced not by Socialists—heaven guard us!—but by the minority leader of the opposing party.

We will call it just a case of "hard Lusk." In view of the tremendous services rendered by Senator Lusk to his countrymen, his sedition-chasing, his "suppressing" of the Rand School, his "cleansing" of the public schools of radical teachers—his fellow legislators really ought not to annoy him with such minor matters as "silver sets" and "movie bribes." Have not these legislators any sense of patriotism left in them at all?

DEBS AND RUSSIAN AMNESTY

IN many centers abroad, reports seem to prevail that Eugene V. Debs is to leave soon for Russia to work for the release of the thousands of political prisoners, offenders against the Communist regime, who are languishing in the prisons of Moscow and other cities.

We don't know how much truth there is in these rumors. It is, however, certain that thousands of Socialists-Mensheviks, Syndicalists, Socialists-

Revolutionists and Anarchists in the huge Datsky prison in the city of Moscow, have gone on a hunger strike, demanding trial or release. The leading representatives of these anti-Communist factions of Russia are in jail. The "Freiheit," the leading organ of the German Independent Socialist Party, has published the following appeal to the Socialists of the entire world to bring pressure on the Soviet government to stop the deportation of prisoners, and to compel the release of all political prisoners.

The appeal of the Russian Socialists and trade union leaders languishing at Butyrka, as well as in other Soviet jails, will meet with the sympathetic response of the proletarian in the whole of Western Europe. The conditions under which they suffer are constantly growing worse. The widely advertised amnesty granted by the Soviet government on the last anniversary of the October revolution benefited only members of the White Guard, forgers and similar elements. These elements were given their freedom, while Socialists, workmen and trade unionists, the victims of the Extraordinary Commission's administration of justice, continue suffering.

The "Freiheit" asserts that the Soviet government has now worked out a plan for the exiling of the leading political prisoners to the waste regions of Russia, where they will be transferred to typhus-ridden jails, left to die of hunger. The politicals are now on a hunger strike against these deportations.

Again we say, we do not know whether these statements are one hundred per cent correct or not. The fact, however, remains that the Moscow jails are filled with political prisoners, and this is a blot upon the Russian regime that can be removed only in one way: The sufferings of the political prisoners of Russia must be brought to an end.

American Socialists and radicals who are demanding amnesty for political prisoners in America cannot do so with "clean hands" unless they at the same time demand from the Soviet government that it release every Socialist or other political opponent in jail in Soviet Russia!

Events of the Week in Cloak Strike

(Continued from Page 1.)

forced 35,000 workers into idleness for a period of two months. Even if work should be resumed tomorrow, under the terms of the existing agreement, the workers will have lost millions of dollars in wages. This loss is directly attributable to the present act of the Protective Association. In justice to its members and as a warning against light-hearted violations of industrial

agreements by employers for all time to come, our workers must insist that counsel be taken to institute procedures to recover from the Protective Association and its members, the full amount of damages sustained by the workers on account of the strike, which will be recovered upon them.

The decision of Judge Wagner will be hailed as important by organized labor throughout the whole length and breadth of the country, and will set a valuable precedent for all similar cases.

THE OPINION OF SAMUEL UTERMAYER

The decision is gratifying, but not unexpected, and is supported by an opinion of signal force for all workers in the logical deductions. We are entitled to assume that this determination will end the strike and will result in returning the workers under the existing contract.

The concluding paragraph of the opinion in fact requires that this be done. It requires that the employers, the members of the Protective Association to cease setting under the resolution of the Association, the 48-hour week, because of which the men went on strike. It is what is known in the law as a mandatory injunction, as dis-

gusted from all public prohibitory injunction.

As law-abiding citizens the manufacturers will now doubtless bow to the mandate of the Court, that the contract is a vital and existing agreement that has been violated by them and observed by the Union.

As a firm believer in and life-long champion of organized labor, I am gratified by my colleague Mr. Hillquit, as to the justice, wisdom and efficacy of the injunction in labor disputes, and insist that the workers of the case fully justify my point of view.

Let us hope, for the sake of all concerned, that we have now seen the end of this unfortunate strife.

A STATEMENT BY MORRIS HILLQUIT

The most direct and practical effect of Judge Wagner's decision is that it establishes judicially and authoritatively the fact that the employers in the cloak industry have wantonly violated their collective agreement with the workers.

The decision is also an important moral victory for organized labor as a whole. Many employers and particularly associations of employers, have of recent years sought to establish a sort of judicial feudalism over their workers. For the slightest infractions of their contracts of employment, or for any alleged infractions of what all employers and elusive "property rights" of the employer, workers and labor unions have been hauled before the courts, summoned, rebuked, enjoined and restrained, while employers could disregard their own contractual obligations towards workers without incurring any legal sanction. Judge Wagner will offer such employers food for interesting and profitable reflection.

But such as I am gratified by the legal victory of the cloakworkers in this case, I have by no means been converted to the opinion that restraining injunctions are the proper method of adjusting industrial disputes. While such injunctions are issued by the score against labor unions and are growing ever more sweeping in their scope and drastic in

their provisions, it is an act of self-restraint and poetic justice to hurl one of such missiles against its inventors.

But organized labor will not be content reconciled to the use of injunctions in labor disputes because it may occasionally serve their own ends. Injunctions against employers can never be as drastic and deadly as those issued against workers. When an employer's association is restrained from holding meetings in furtherance of a conspiracy to break a bread of employment with workers, the members of the association, comparatively small in number, can find hundreds of ways of circumventing the prohibition. When an association of workers, the members of the association, comparatively small in number, can find hundreds of ways of circumventing the prohibition, it is a death-thrust to their struggle. When an employer's association is restrained from extending its funds in aid of a conspiracy, its members can still continue the fight with impunity. The same cannot be said when a union is prohibited from paying strike benefits, even temporarily, the workers are in many cases literally starved into submission.

One of the principal merits of the precedent established in the present suit is that it will tend to make injunctions less popular with employers. I hope it will lead to a radical limitation, and eventually the complete abolition of judicial interference with labor disputes by the means of injunctions.

THE CONTRACTORS' INJUNCTION A "DUD" SO FAR

Elsewhere in this Journal we have already pointed out how the "American Association" had become a playing-in the hands of the "Union fighters" from the Protective; how they have permitted themselves to

pull chestnuts out of the fire for those gentlemen.

Last week the American Association applied for an injunction against the Union for alleged breach of contract, and was successful for a brief space of time in obtaining an

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Untermeyer's Address at Meeting Of General Strike Committee

Mr. Untermeyer was introduced by President Schlesinger with the following remarks:

Before presenting to you Mr. Untermeyer, I just want to say a word or two in reference to our esteemed guest. It was in the year of 1916, when we were engaged in the famous fight against the Association, that a committee was organized in the city of New York, composed of prominent men and women, to aid the strikers. The Chairman of that committee was the old Mr. Jacob H. Schiff.

I remember one particular day, when I was sitting in my office, the telephone bell rang and Mr. Untermeyer spoke to me. I never had the pleasure of personally meeting Mr. Untermeyer up to a few weeks ago. The first words he asked were: "What can I do for your strike?" I replied: "The best thing you can do, Mr. Untermeyer, is to connect yourself with the committee." And the next thing Mr. Untermeyer told me was that he will send me in a contribution every week as long as the strike will last. And let me tell you that even when the activities of the other citizens on the committee ceased, Mr. Untermeyer's contribution continued to come in until the very last minute.

In this present strike, after Commodore Hilkut and myself discussed the entire situation, and came to the conclusion that something must be done to hold the manufacturers responsible, we decided to approach Mr. Untermeyer, and ascertain whether he would do this work for the Union. As far as a retailer is concerned, we felt that none would be too high; but here we were agreeably surprised, for Mr. Untermeyer said: "Yes, I am willing to join you in making an attempt to hold the manufacturers responsible, but under one condition—that there will be no offer of retainer."

Now, I need not tell you how glad we felt that we were able to secure Mr. Untermeyer's aid in connection with our present strike; not because he refused a retainer—not for that—but for that retainer would not have made much difference to him, but it was the spirit in which the offer was made—and the effect it has produced during the last few weeks.

It gives me great pleasure, brothers, to present to you the man who has helped us in the past, and who is doing such great work for our struggling people. (Tremendous applause.)

UNTERMAYER'S ADDRESS

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: "I think, my friends, Mr. Schlesinger, in that whole-hearted, impulsive way of his, has very greatly overrated any services I have done for you or your Union. I don't think I am entitled to any great credit for doing this work without any fee. In the first place, I don't need it; perhaps if I had needed it, I would have taken it. If I were a man who has to make his living at the bar, I would still have had all the sympathy for the cause, and would have had to take the fee; so I don't feel I deserve any credit—on the contrary, if for-

time has favored me—it is very little, indeed, for me to do.

"I want to congratulate you, in the first place, upon the kind of President you have. I think he is the most able negotiator I have met in a long time. It is a positive pleasure to work with him and to observe the workings of his brain. I will put him up against any member of the New York bar and give the other fellow ace and spades besides. Whatever success you have had; whatever victory—whatever may be the strength of your Union, you in no small measure owe it to Mr. Schlesinger, for the work he has done; and the way he sits down on a proposition when he knows that his Union does not want it. He is just dedicated to his Union. It is a liberal education to work with him. And I want to congratulate you one and all upon the splendid and orderly way in which you have conducted this strike, which has brought to you the sympathy and respect of the entire country.

Someone, I think, has mentioned here something about an injunction. Well, where is that injunction? Hilkut has been chaining it all day, and he telephoned me tonight that he gave up the struggle. Now, the law really provides that when an injunction is issued that the papers be served; but this is a sort of mythical paper; it seems to be a newspaper proceeding. But, seriously speaking, the way this so-called injunction has been handled, and the methods that have been adopted in publishing it, are a great disgrace to the administration of justice, and somebody is going to be held to account for it. I don't think the courts are going to permit their solemn mandates to be treated in this way in which this injunction has so far been treated. But, my friends, don't take it seriously. This is merely a document that has been served without the knowledge of the other side, and I don't think a court will be found that will grant it. I doubt whether the document in that form ever will be issued, whatever it may be. Until we get rid of it, we are going to obey it. But I don't think it will be any very great trouble or source of anxiety to you to obey it, because it is not going to last very long.

"Now, I have been in this fight with you because I believe you are right. I went into it because it is a public service, and my side of this situation and of this case has satisfied me to such an extent that if any man ever tells me that labor unions break contracts and employers keep them, I will know what to think of that man, because to my mind no more flagrant violation was never encountered than that which has led to this strike.

"I believe you are making a great fight, and not only for yourselves, but for your wives and children, when you set your faces grimly and fight the return of piece-work. Those days of human slavery are gone for all time, and I think, as I look at you, representative men of this Union,

that you can be counted upon to make that fight to the last ditch, and you will find not only public sentiment, but public help if you should need it in that fight, because it is a struggle for decency, for citizenship, for right living, for the chance to live and not merely to exist for the small profits of other people.

"I have always been a believer in organized labor, for thirty years or more. I have fought its fights whenever an opportunity presented itself; but lately, in the last few months, I have had an object lesson that confirmed me in my belief, because I have been conducting an investigation into the building trade unions. I found in these unions some abuses that grew up in every institution, but for every abuse that I found in the Union I found a worse one in the employers; and for everyone of the few labor leaders who had proven recreant to their duty and betrayed their trust, I found a hundred of the employers violating the law and betraying the State out of pure greed.

Events of the Week in Cloak Strike

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as parte restraining order from Justice Almon Hinkley, a Buffalo Judge sitting in New York, against the Union. For a while they thought that they had struck a powerful blow at the workers and created consternation in their ranks.

Their joy, however, has been short-lived. To begin with, after they got it, the manufacturers did not know what to do with it. They seemed to have become so overjoyed about it that they forgot to serve the Union with it, or were very reluctant about it. At any rate, while they furnished it to the press, neither the officers nor the attorneys of the Union were ever served with it, though they have made a very strenuous effort to locate it.

The upshot of the whole thing was that after Messrs. Hilkut and Untermeyer, attorneys for the Union, appeared on Tuesday morning at Judge Hinkley's court and presented to him a few of the true facts in the case, he immediately ordered the suspension of the writ, making it operative until a hearing upon it will be held sometime later before another judge.

The dramatic bubble of the contractors, aided, abetted and procured for them by the attorney for the Protective Association, Mr. Steuer, has thus burst in a very humiliating way.

HISTORIC MEETING OF GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE

The meeting of the General Strike Committee on Monday evening, Jan. 9th, at Bryant Hall, will remain one of the most memorable ones in the history of this strike.

The entire day of Monday was full of fearful and stirring moments in the strikers' camp. The news of the forthcoming "injunction" of the contractors' association has filled the strikers with indignation. In the early hours of the morning a remarkable picket demonstration, one of the most impressive ever held during this strike, took place in the cloak district, and during the entire day num-

berless meetings were held in all the halls. When the roll-call was taken, not a man was found to be absent. President Schlesinger, after a brief speech informed the delegates that he expected Samuel Untermeyer to come to this meeting to pay his first visit to the leading committee of the strike. After he had called upon all the chairmen of the various strike committees to render reports, President Schlesinger delivered a masterly presentation of the events of the last two weeks and drew a graphic picture of the status of the strike. His talk was greeted with salvos of applause as the members of the General Strike Committee approved unqualifiedly the position of the leadership of the strike in every step taken in connection with it.

Mr. Samuel Untermeyer appeared promptly at 9 o'clock, and his appearance was the signal of a remarkable outcome. The General Strike Committee rose like one man to honor the man who has taken up their fight with the courts against the agreement-breakers of the Protective Association, and listened with bated breath to every word he said, punctuating his remarks from time to time with applause. The reader will find Mr. Untermeyer's speech in another column of this issue.

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FRANK MORRISON ADDRESSES STRIKERS

On Tuesday last Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, came from Washington to address the cloak strikers of New York, and has delivered a number of speeches in the various halls where the strikers are gathered. He was received with remarkable enthusiasm wherever he appeared.

Before he left for Washington, Secretary Morrison made the following statement to the press:

I am confident that the cloak strikers of New York will achieve a signal victory. Their spirit is invincible, and their history is a record of steady advancement and industrial and economic progress.

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On the Free Irish State

By NATHANIEL BUCHWALD

Some such outburst on the following is in order:

Let him lift the cup (of ginger ale) and drink to the Irish Free State! At last the emancipation of Erin from the British yoke is an accomplished fact. At last the heroism of the Irish has been rewarded by the most precious human possession—liberty. Hail to free Ireland! Hooray for De Valera—

Oh, I beg your pardon! Merely a slip of the tongue. I forget that De Valera isn't in it at all. That is, he is and he isn't. He is not a signatory to the treaty with Great Britain, and to this extent he isn't in it, but he is still a powerful factor in Irish politics, and his hat is still very much in the ring.

That De Valera does put a damper on one's spirits, You can't very well go wild over the Irish freedom when one of its most noted champions is hanging crepe on the whole business. You begin to suspect that something is the matter with the treaty if pretty nearly a half of the Irish Parliament is against it. We, outsiders, cannot, perhaps, appreciate the delicate points that sting the honor and the conscience of so many Irish patriots, but it is evident that they hurt.

Now, what is wrong with the Irish Free State? Wherein does it fail to fulfill the aspirations of the Irish people? What is there in the treaty to divide the liberated Ireland into two hostile camps? Frankly, we do not know. If it's the oath to the British crown, we don't see why make such a fuss over it. The Irish, who are famous for their sense of humor, surely realize that it is "George the Fifth's" and Lloyd George the other fellow's," or, in other words, that

the British crown is mere ornamental junk. To start a row over a piece of glittering junk hardly does honor to the Irish common sense.

So it is the name "Republic" that De Valera and his followers are after? If so, they are pursuing a phantom. A republic is all right when it is all right, but when it isn't—well, then it just isn't. If De Valera consulted us we would tell him that there is nothing in it. Ours is a republic, yet the Cears and small fry autocrats are doing their damndest to make the people miserable, and they get away with it, too. Gary is an unlimited monarch in his kingdom of steel, which is nominally under the jurisdiction of our Republic, and the infomercial Charles rule with a ruthless hand in the very name of the Republic. So there you are.

Complete independence—Is that what De Valera wants? But this, too, is merely a hollow sound. Ireland cannot be completely independent of Britain or of any other European country. Even if she will get her independence in paper, she will still be but a cog in the machinery of European economy, of British economy. Take Mexico. She is independent in every formal way, yet Mexican affairs are shaped, and determined by a certain neighboring country, which, nominally, hasn't the least authority over Mexico. And if you want political independence reduced to absurdity, take any one European state, take Belgium, for instance. She is independent because it is convenient for her powerful neighbors to recognize her as such. She is independent so long as she does not cross the path of the big bullies. Ireland can, at best, achieve a similar independence,

which isn't worth the paper it is recorded on.

And here I'll call a halt lest I be accused of being enthusiastic about the Irish Free State and the treaty that brought it into being. No person with a sense of political reality can be enthusiastic about the Anglo-Irish pact, for at its very best the pact means nothing. What I do maintain, however, is that a pact creating an independent Irish Republic would mean just as little.

The treaty is all right in so far as it ride Ireland of the coarser, more brutal forms of British domination. It surely is a gain for the Irish to be rid of the Black and Tan, of the arbitrary rule and the reign of terror which Britain has maintained in Ireland. It surely is a credit to the Irish patriots to have fought so heroically for the liberation of their country from the regime of oppression and humiliation. But in the nature of present-day Europe this is all that the Irish could gain politically. Republic or "Free State," Ireland could not possibly have obtained her freedom from the economic oppression of Britain, which is the very crux of the matter. More than that, Ireland never fought for her economic independence, realizing as the Irish did, that this would be a mere chimera.

The thing is simply this: After having gained her political freedom Ireland is confronted with the classical puzzle: "Now that you've got it, what are you going to do with it?" Freedom from England was a goal while it was out of reach. Now it is an achieved fact and as such it has lost most of its glamor. It is now clear for every Irishman that something more than a treaty is needed to bring about a change for the better in his daily, matter-of-fact life. It should also be clear to the Irish leaders that other goals must be aimed at, new visions ought to be created for the future of Ireland.

Some of the leaders shrink this fact, for others it is too much. They have lived so long under the spell of the struggle for political freedom that they simply "formed a habit" and cannot contemplate a state of affairs in which the struggle against British rule is not the major factor. The momentum of that struggle has not quite spent itself, and, impelled by it the leaders "carry on." The wrangles between the "De Valera faction" and the Griffith following will, for a time, furnish a new channel to the struggle for freedom. The masses of the Irish people will, for a time, continue to focus their attention and pin their hopes on the outcome of the internal struggle over the political forms of their country.

But pretty soon the hard realities will jar them out of their befuddled state. They will come to realize that no form of political government will solve their real difficulties. The farmers will begin to regard their problems in terms of land to till; the farm hands and the factory workers—in terms of wages and conditions of toil. It will dawn upon the masses that they have still to gain their real freedom, their emancipation from the landlord and the autocratic employer. The struggle for freedom within the Irish Free State will become the rightful heir to the struggle for the political freedom of Ireland, and it will be no less brutal on one hand and heroic on the other. The coming struggle within Ireland will be recorded in terms of strikes and lock-outs, in terms of labor unions and aggregations of capital, in terms of industrial democracy versus industrial autocracy. The struggle for the Irish state, brought about by the common struggle for political freedom will, in time, be disrupted by the potent economic factors which make for social strife. The class war will soon break out in Ireland and will determine the history of the Irish people, as it does with all peoples, in all lands.

In the Cloak Trenches

By FANNIA M. COHN

"Well, the cloakmakers of New York are in the trenches. They are filling 25 halls daily; the cloak factory district is crowded with pickets, young and old, men and women, Jew and Gentile. The machinery for the carrying on of the great fight is in perfect shape, and is equipped with every device that a modern army requires for the prosecution of its aims. Each sub-committee is actively on the job, seeing that the work assigned to it is done properly.

The many fights that the cloakmakers have gone through in past years have developed among them a number of men who are competent to lead an army of workers to victory. The rank and file knows it, and shows unlimited confidence in the "war cabinet" which it has picked to wage this struggle.

The meetings in the halls are unusually interesting. Each speaker seems to realize that one cannot talk to the cloakmakers of today in the same vein and manner as they had been spoken to years ago. The days of "God, heaven, of meaningless, flowery orations are gone; the cloak strikers of today wants a discussion of the issues of the fight in a sensible, logical and thorough manner. They will listen to the history of their Union, to an honest appraisal of their past efforts and achievements, and only an earnest and a well-posted speaker can gain their applause.

The entertainments, the concerts, and theater performances that are being arranged for the strikers have become one of the real necessities of the strike. Humor, song and wit make for better spirits, and add to

the courage and the ardor of the soldier in the fighting lines. One must bear in mind that most of these strikers, these fifty thousand men and women, have had a hard and early beginning of a life of toil; that in the small and large Ghetto towns they were looked down upon as the parasites, the under dogs and the non-descripts.

In the New World, however, things have changed greatly. Among the great masses of immigrants there are found a large number of professional men, physicians, lawyers, pianists, journalists and business men who recall, not without pride, that they were at one time tailors. Some of them mention along with it that they used to be the first members of the Cloakmakers' Union and have helped to build that organization. Others were old-time dressmakers, wrapper-makers and other sort of "makers," and they point to the prominent place occupied today by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The present strike of the cloakmakers is truly regarded as one of the most important they have ever waged; the press is full of it, and as one journalist remarked to me the other day, "Your workers are taking the front pages of the press; all other local events pale in comparison, and we writers derive a great deal of joy and inspiration from it."

The individual cloakmaker fully realizes that as a single worker he could not have made such headway, he couldn't have built up such an organization. Hence his pride in his Union and his readiness to defend it with his life blood. That explains why the entertainers in the halls, the

actors, the singers and the speakers like so much to appear before the strikers. There is communion of spirit, of enthusiasm between the audience that is seldom obtained elsewhere; there is so much respect and love and genuine admiration that compensates greatly and calls for the best effort. And one must remember that most of the strike halls are not well adapted to the rendition of music.

A few words to the strikers. A strike is a hard and trying ordeal.

LAST MEMBERSHIP FIGURES OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF GERMAN TRADE UNIONS

According to the "Korrespondenzblatt" of the General Federation of German Trade Unions, the membership of the Central Unions at the close of the third quarter of 1921 was as follows:

MEMBERSHIP.		
Males	Females	Total
6,238,966	1,682,966	7,921,752

These figures show an increase as compared with the second and first quarters of 1921.

The figures for the second quarter were, respectively, as follows:

6,193,373	1,634,432	7,827,805
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And for the first quarter:

6,161,510	1,660,169	7,821,679
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In the third quarter of 1920 the membership was as follows:

6,254,415	1,673,192	7,927,607
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Whereas in 1920 the increase was irregular and spasmodic, the membership in 1921 has so far shown a steady increase.

These figures do not include the membership of the other so-called independent unions, which would bring up the total to about 11,000,000.

HACKENSACK WORKERS WIN AGAINST OPEN SHOP

The Italian colony of Hackensack was full of excitement last week on account of the strike declared against the factories which wanted to adopt the open shop policy.

It is only a short time since the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union began to organize the Italian girls of Hackensack, but it seems that they have pretty nearly all of them in the Union. It was due to this extraordinary effect and success of the Union that when the battle was declared in New York last November the girls of Hackensack answered unanimously to the call of their Union, quitting work. And as almost every Italian home had one or more of their members on strike, the "Little Italy" of Hackensack was all in excitement.

It is gratifying to notice that all of these girls have already returned to work as their employers have signed an agreement with the Union giving the workers more money. In the shop of H. Feldman, 20 Fair Street, where forty girls are working, the Union secured an increase of \$2. so that all its members are very glad of this first success and victory.

News from Cleveland

THE NEW AGREEMENT

After three months of negotiations we have signed the agreement in the local cloak industry on the first of January. It would, perhaps, be more correct to state that after three months of discussion we have renewed the old agreement, adding to it a number of improvements.

The principal points of the agreement are:

A scientific standard of production, adapted to local conditions, with a guarantee for each worker to receive not less than the minimum wage, and for the more skilled and faster workers to receive above this minimum.

A guarantee of 41 weeks of work during the year, i. e., each employer deposits every week a sum amounting to 7 1/2% of his pay roll, which accumulates as a guarantee fund for the 41 weeks of labor. In the event that the employer cannot furnish the above-given number of weeks, the worker is to receive two-thirds of his minimum pay from this shop-fund until the 41 weeks, guaranteed by the agreement, are completed.

No manufacturer is permitted to make his work in a contractor's or a sub-manufacturer's shop which is not unionized and has no agreement with the Union, regardless whether this contractor has his shop in the city of Cleveland or in the nearby towns. This point about the contractors or the sub-manufacturers is a very important one as it gives the Union an opportunity to control these small shops and to keep a check upon their growth.

The wages are to remain the same. Next April the wage-question will be taken up by the Board of Arbitration, which will determine the wages for the next six months.

In general, the agreement appears to be quite a satisfactory instrument for collective bargaining between the workers' organization and the manufacturers' association. The majority of the cloak employees of Cleveland have stayed in the Association and will work under the terms of this

PERILSTEIN

agreement. Some manufacturers, however, have resigned from the Association and the Union is forced now to wage a fight against them.

EMPLOYERS WHO LEFT THE ASSOCIATION

Four manufacturers have resigned from the Association because they wanted to break with the Union completely. One of these firms, Polk and Firestein, has later signed an individual agreement with the Union—and is now working. The most important of the firms on strike is the Landeman-Hirschheimer Company, one of the oldest and biggest cloak firms in the country. It employs about 200 workers inside and about 150 outside shops. The firm also has a number of small shops in the vicinity of Cleveland, and besides buys a lot of garments, as a jobber, in New York City. In addition to this firm, we also have on strike the Bloomfield Company, a skirt shop employing 75 workers, and the Mishantz Bros. shop, employing 40 persons. The latest move on the part of the Landeman-Hirschheimer Co.'s firm was to make the workers sign individual scab-shop agreements, the type of an agreement against which the Miners' Union is now waging such a bitter fight in the coal fields of West Virginia. This type of an agreement has made its first appearance in our trades in the city of Toledo, where the cloakmakers are now engaged in a bitter and heroic fight against the local employers.

The strike in the Landeman firm is but two weeks old, yet the firm has formed a net of small outside shops in a lot of suburban towns near Cleveland. The Union has sent committees to these towns, and is now engaged in making known to the workers in these shops the state of affairs in Cleveland, and is endeavoring to make them join the Union. To do so our troubles, we have now a new city administration in Cleveland and a new chief of police of the "reform" type. So far, however, they have not

succeeded in "reforming" any of the criminals and henchmen that ply their trade unmolested in our city, but they have turned their attention principally against the strikers, and are making their lives miserable. Nevertheless, these annoying details do not in any way deter us from our work, nor do they dispirit the strikers.

The cloakmakers from the Landeman shop and from the other struck shops are old-timers in the trade, and they have learned to appreciate the difference between a union shop and a non-union shop. The workers will not give up their Union under any circumstances. They have energy aplenty, and we shall have money, too. The strike is only two weeks old, and yet a number of our members are already agitating for a part of their wages to go to the support of the strikers. If it comes to a pinch, the strikers will receive a substantial benefit and will be enabled to strike as long as it will be necessary.

THE EARNINGS OF MEN AND WOMEN

The equalization of earnings between men and women is one of the most complicated problems in modern industry. In Cleveland, where there are a lot of women in the cloak industry, this question was on the order of the day for a long time. Until now we have had two scales of wages, a higher one for men and a lower one for women. We demanded that the women receive the same wages for the same amount of work, but the manufacturers countered our position with a suggestion that the men's wages come down to the level of the women's scale, or that we eliminate men entirely from the factories. Of course, the absurdity of this idea in an organized industry is self-evident.

As we could not agree on this question with our employers, it will have to be decided by arbitration at an early date.

In a number of cloak shops where, until now, piece work was in operation, they are beginning to work on time, the workers are beginning to work on standards. We are busy

electing shop committees for this purpose. Ordinarily, the standard on a garment is fixed by the engineer, but the workers have a right to reject a standard. At first that it is not the proper one. For this purpose shop committees are being elected in each department to control the standards.

We call them "shop committees on standards." In case of the rejection of a standard by the shop committee, the engineer, who is employed by both parties and the Managers of the Union and of the Association, are called in to decide upon the justice of the workers' claim. In all small shops where the standards cannot be introduced week-work will be the work-system.

THE MUTUAL ASSOCIATION

In addition to the Association of the bigger employers, we have here another Association of the smaller manufacturers. The members of this were negotiating for an agreement with the Association of the larger employers, these smaller employers had begun bickering with us about the terms of the agreement, and are now waiting for the outcome of the strikes which the Union is waging. If Landeman and the other firms, which are involved in the strike, should win, they think they will share in the benefits. If the Union will win, they will have little to lose. After their shops had been called out on strike they, however, assumed a different tone, and it looks as if an agreement will be signed within this week.

As you see, therefore, we are quite busy here in Cleveland. On the one hand, "diplomatic" negotiations and on the other hand strikes, not passive strikes of the milk-and-water kind, but a regular fight in the city of Cleveland and the surrounding towns. The office of the Union is daily filled with active members who are lending a helping hand to the best of their abilities. The season in general had already begun and in a number of shops there is work. In several others the season has not yet commenced, and it is difficult to forecast what kind of a season we shall have. Let us hope that it will be a good one; our members have been waiting for it for quite some time.

The Plight of the French Trade Unions

By MARCEL RENAUD

Subordinating all other activities to efforts to gain seats in the Chamber of Deputies, and paying more attention to politics than to the betterment of the wages and working conditions of the members, the unions of France today find themselves in a pitiable condition. Torn by strife between the Communists and the Socialists, by squabbles between the adherents of Moscow and those of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the labor movement of France is in danger of retrogressing to its place of twenty years ago, when the General Confederation of Labor had 200,000 members and no influence or power.

Immediately after the end of the war the General Confederation of Labor had a membership of 2,000,000. Its power was great in all sections of the country. There was a spirit of solidarity and proletarian enthusiasm that had never been known before. Organization was the watchword in every branch of labor. Prison wardens and turnkeys organized in unions in the wave of sentiment for unity that swept the country.

Perhaps the growth was too fast for the welfare of the movement. Almost with the moment that the

Confederation reached the 2,000,000 mark its disintegration began. Instead of pursuing a sane and constructive program, directed to bettering wages and working conditions in the shops and factories of France, a demand was made for immediate social reconstruction, the internal strife. With the social revolution about to be realized—as they thought—the right wing Socialists, the left wing Socialists, the Revolutionary Syndicalists, the Communists, Anarchists and others demanded that their program be followed to the march to the Co-operative Commonwealth. Each group fought the others at union meetings and at fiery demonstrations in all the industrial centers.

The greatest blow to the labor movement came in May, 1920, when the railroad workers struck in their movement for nationalization of the roads. The Communist group was in control of the Railroad Workers' Union at that time. Many veterans of the labor movement opposed the strike movement, because of the hostility of the public and the government.

The government crushed the strike in the most violent manner. Hundreds of the strikers were arrested,

and the leaders were sentenced to long terms in prison. Twenty-five thousand strikers were discharged and blacklisted. The membership of the Railroad Workers' Union was reduced from 350,000 to 60,000.

The collapse of that movement for immediate nationalization did not quench the ardor of the Communists. The continued demand for alliance with the Third International provoked fights at union meetings that gradually drove away hundreds of thousands of members. All thought of betterment of wages and working conditions was forgotten. All energies were devoted to wrangling about the respective merits of different political philosophies.

The General Confederation of Labor, which corresponds to the American Federation of Labor, expended all its energies in fighting the Communists. Even now they declare that betterment of economic conditions must be postponed until the question of internal discord is settled. Many local unions have come out with declarations that they will support the Moscow International. The Confederation Executive Committee declares these must retract or be disciplined.

As soon as the crisis is past the French unions hope to enter upon constructive reforms in the economic conditions of the members, and plan to change the character of the unions. Perhaps a beginning will be made in the introduction of social programs in the trade union activities. There

probably will be a change in the English type of unions, which are powerful, despite the continued post-war unemployment. The dues of French unions cover only the cost of publicity, organization and administration. There are no large staffs of organizers, no strike funds, no preparation for great contests with the employers.

An example of the difference between the French labor movement and that of the United States was furnished by the action of Leon Jouhaux, Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, last summer. When the unions of the United States were preparing for a national struggle against the introduction of the "open shop," the officials of the French Confederation were most interested by the fight between Germany and the Allies over the partition of Silesia.

Instead of remaining at home to lead the workers in a national movement for better wages to meet the increased cost of living, Jouhaux went to Silesia to make a personal investigation of this political mixup. The Confederation issued a lengthy report on the Silesian tangle, of great value, of course, as a political document, but of no benefit in the movement to stay the disintegration of the French labor movement.

Some explain the drop in membership of the French unions to the temperance of the French workers. They are individualists. It is explained, and recent dictation from

(Continued on Page 10)

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE CONTRACTORS' "INJUNCTION"

Things are shaping themselves as if made to order in the cloak-makers' strike. Even the injunction proceedings started by the New York cloak contractors against the Union, which certainly cannot be credited to the International, fit in so well into the entire frame of this great strike, as if they had been planned and carried out by the leaders of the Union themselves.

The fact is that the last few weeks of the strike have been a sort of dull. The strike ceased to be the sensation of the day and disappeared from the first page of the newspapers. Newspaper reporters have been besieging the office of the International daily as before, but it would seem, that the very orderliness and the precise, methodical swings of the huge strike machinery have, for the time, taken out the "sensational" side of the conflict. Its efficiency, tactfulness and effectiveness, indeed, have made the great cloak strike a little tedious for the outside world. What kind of a strike is it, anyway, in which a few dozen are not arrested or beaten up daily? What kind of a strike is it where strikers are not compelled to beg for public sympathy, in spite of the fact that it had lasted nine weeks already? Couldn't the fight be made a little more "interesting"?

And as if to meet the need, a group of cloak contractors, who style themselves by the high-sounding name "The American Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association," have come forth and supplied the "interest." They have just gone ahead and applied to the courts for an injunction against the Union on the allegation that the latter had broken its agreement with them. Could any one desire a *licetel issue*?

The entire story is replete with humorous incidents that could find appropriate place in the funny page of any newspaper. We shall, nevertheless, dignify it by editorial discussion.

To begin with, let us point out the rather remarkable fact that until this late hour these contractors haven't had it even in the farthest backs of their minds to undertake a fight against the Union. For, who are these contractors, anyway, in our industrial scheme of things? An anomaly, a superfluous hybrid, the tool of the manufacturer who has become tired of the business of dealing with the workers directly and who has therefore picked some among the more unconscionable of the shop crew to do the "dirty work" for him. Later on these "enterprising" individuals, the boot-lickers of the "legitimate" manufacturers, open up a little shop on the outside, making up the cut garments sent down to them from the offices of the cloak employers. These penny-chasers have always been regarded by the Union as a plague in the industry, and the organization has always sought to control their destructive influence upon the workers and the trade in general. For a time the Union would not deal with them at all; the cloak manufacturer had to guarantee to the workers the security of their wages and was made responsible for work conditions and standards in the contractor's shop before the Union would permit the workers to be employed by him.

In the run of time the Union has succeeded in safeguarding the interests of the workers in the contractors' shop. Quite naturally, when this strike broke out, the cloakmakers did not anticipate trouble from the contractors' quarters. They expected that the contractors would declare their willingness to work under the old conditions, providing they would obligate themselves not to work for struck firms. It appears, however, that they have forgotten their proper place in the industry and, like the frog in the fable, began puffing themselves up to a bursting point. The Union, of course, ignored them and now, after eight weeks of striking, when the world has almost forgotten that such an animal like an "American Association" exists, they burst forth with an application to the courts for an injunction against the Union!

The best bet in well-informed circles is that the entire affair is the handiwork of the "Protective Association." Owing to the fact that the "Protective" itself cannot seek an injunction against our Union, it is claimed, they have made use of the "American" to pull chestnuts out of the fire for them. We cannot, of course, state this with certainty, as we haven't the facts on hand. But anyone who knows the contractors' association as intimately as we do, can hardly fail to come to such a conclusion. The Protective Association,

with Mr. Steuer at the head, have been looking eagerly lately for a possibility to "clip the wings" of the International, something that would break down the morale of the rank and file and discourage the leadership. An injunction, if not by the Protective, at least, by the "American," would do the trick. And these fellows from the contractors' group don't have to be coaxed to do the will of their masters from the "Protective," either. They only have to be told to!

Then came the problem of a judge. And a hard problem, indeed, it was! What New York judge, who has any familiarity with the issues of this strike and the temper of public opinion regarding it, would be found to issue an injunction to these contractors, the tools of an organization who have themselves been enjoined by the order defeated the entire plan of the bosses. The astute lawyer of the manufacturers, Mr. Steuer, has made a diligent search and located a judge who had come all the way from Buffalo to sit temporarily in the New York Supreme Court. He told the judge that his clients of the "American Association" represented invested capital amounting to 10 million dollars and that they were doing an annual business of 200 million dollars. When the judge had heard that the interests of such industrial magnates were threatened with irreparable damages he, of course, couldn't withstand the temptation of granting an *ex parte* order to them.

Their triumph seemed complete. The bomb, prepared in the darkness, was thrown into the camp of the strikers, swung high into the air—but landed a dud. They have simply overreached themselves, these poor simpletons, and made a laughing stock of themselves. The judge, under the impression that he was dealing with regular employers who were faced with a great conspiracy, issued the temporary writ in a most drastic form. Not only was picketing forbidden, strike benefits stopped, but even the right of holding meetings was denied to the strikers. The over-dramatic nature of the order defeated the entire plan of the bosses. As soon as the terms of the injunction became known to the public, a storm of indignation swept the city and the press. The result was that before it was even served, Judge Hinckley suspended the operation of the injunction and left the entire matter to the judge that will preside next week at the hearing of the contractors' application. The plans of the "American" have thus been brought to naught, so far. Their "injunction" is a stillborn infant and the workers picket, receive their strike benefits, and assemble peacefully in hall bars to discuss their strike and its developments. We do not think that the strikers are in the least worried that an injunction, if granted, would have aided the manufacturers in getting scabs or in having their work done. Neither this, nor any other change of attitude on the part of the workers is ever likely to take place as a result of an injunction. The bosses, however, badly wanted to get some sort of a "moral" victory and this was so cruelly denied to them! Their injunction "surprise" turned out to be a bubble.

What concerns the argument of the contractors' association that the Union had broken the agreement with them, we wish to say the following: There's not a shadow of substance to it! The Union has an agreement with these contractors, that's true, but that agreement contained a clause which expressly prohibits any member of that association to do any work for a firm on strike. When the general strike in the New York cloak industry was declared on November 14, the workers employed in the shops of the "American Association," who are practically all engaged in making cloaks for the members of the "Protective Association," left their shops. Had they remained in the contractors' shops, the entire strike would have been a farce, of course. The Union has, therefore, broken no agreement with the contractors. The Union was always ready and is now ready to send its members back to work in the shops of the contractors, provided they do not work for the members of the Protective Association.

We are certain that when these facts are brought out in their full clarity to the judge that will preside at the hearing next week, the application of the contractors for an injunction will be denied.

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE CLOAK STRIKE

We entertain no doubts in the victorious outcome of the New York cloak strike and, of course, we regard this victory as the most essential thing in connection with this conflict. We, nevertheless, want to point out a certain activity that has made itself very conspicuous during this strike, which has its great worth and value regardless of the outcome of the struggle. We mean the very extensive educational work conducted by the Committee on Speakers and Entertainment, in the form of lectures, mass meetings, concerts and various other educational features that are drawing the attention of thousands upon thousands of strikers daily.

The issues of the present conflict are very grave and they require very diligent and careful discussion. Never have the cloak-makers had such an opportunity to penetrate into the problems of their industry and the problems of the workers' movement in general, as they have during this strike. These problems are being discussed at meetings of the General Strike Committee, at the meetings of the various local executive boards, and at the mass meetings of the strikers in the halls. The strike has caused masses of men to pay earnest attention to problems which they have regarded with indifference heretofore. And this is one of the important gains we have achieved in this strike already. The Cloakmakers' Union may come out of this strike impoverished in its treasury, but richer in spirit and collective intelligence. And this is an asset that must not be underestimated in its ultimate effect upon the tens of thousands of the men and women that take part in this strike and who form the mass of the membership of our International.

Deflating Minimum Wages French and German Trade Unions to Co-operate

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

Director Department of Records and Research, I. L. G. W. U.

The California Manufacturers' Association has petitioned the Industrial Welfare Commission to reduce the prevailing minimum wages for women workers in the state. Under the Minimum Wage Law, the rate is fixed at \$16. The employers aver that the existing minimum rates for women and girls make for a higher manufacturing cost and that foreign and eastern competition is threatening California industry.

California has been notorious as a hunting ground for open shop and labor hating employers. With wage cutting as the order of the day throughout the country, the California employers would not be outdone. In fact, they propose to lead in this field. They have combined to attack even the minimum rates of wages which the unorganized women workers of the state have secured through the operation of the Minimum Wage Law.

In their petition to the Industrial Welfare Commission which supervises the operation of the Minimum Wage Law, the California Manufacturers' Association presents a very original argument in behalf of their proposal to reduce the existing rates, i. e., that a lower minimum wage for women would increase employment, make it steadier, and therefore increase the earnings of the workers. In reducing the wages of his workers, the eastern manufacturer is usually moved by the same humanitarian motive. He also advances the claim that the workers will, in the long run, earn more under lower rates of wages by making use of an economic formula which, on the face of it, sounds plausible.

THE BASELESS ARGUMENT

The stereotyped argument of the employer, eastern and western alike, runs about as follows:

"The consumers have gone on strike. They refuse to buy things at the prevailing high prices."

"Production is checked and unemployment follows."

"The workers' earnings are either partly reduced or altogether wiped out. If a reduction in the prevailing rates of wages is effected, the decrease in cost of production will allow the sale of the product at lower prices."

"The consumers will renew their patronage, a demand for the product will ensue."

As a result, employment will increase and the workers will be given the opportunity to earn a living.

The enlighten workers, however, know that the employers' argument is merely propaganda for public consumption. Instead of assuming the role of benefactor to both the consumers and his workers, his real aim is to maintain and, if possible, to increase his profits.

WAGE CUTS RESISTED

The "strike" of the consumers is nothing more than the inability of the masses of the people to obtain the things which they need now as much as they did during the period of so-called prosperity.

The prevailing unemployment which has curtailed the earnings of the workers, is a result of the dislocation in industry and commerce traceable directly to the post-war conditions throughout the world.

Wages enter but little into the cost of production and a ten or twenty per cent reduction in wages

could only slightly affect the selling price of commodities.

The wasteful process of production and distribution which is prevalent in our industries and the profiteering of the manufacturers, the retailers, and the legions of their intermediary agents, are responsible for the high costs of production and unreasonably high prices.

The workers and their families who constitute the great majority of the consuming public, do not, at the present time, manifest an eager "demand" for necessities, because their earnings do not permit them. A further reduction in their wages would still more cut their buying power and they would be buying still less of the things they need. "Overproduction" and "underconsumption" are the economic terms which could be employed to explain the present cessation of industrial activity.

The vicious circle of the capitalist system is particularly evident during the periods of industrial stagnation and general unemployment.

The organized workers are fighting the wage cutting campaigns. Wage standards already secured and standards of living attained as a result of increases in earnings are defended through the power of their organizations. Unorganized workers, however, are at the mercy of their employers and the prevailing public opinion, created by the latter through the press, which is influenced and controlled by them.

The California women workers, largely unorganized, are themselves powerless against the combined attacks of the Manufacturers' Association. The State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, have, however, taken up the cudgels of the women and girls employed in California industrial and mercantile establishments. They are conducting a campaign against the reduction of the prevailing minimum standards and are preparing data to prove that women workers cannot maintain themselves in health and decency on less than \$16 a week. The manufacturers, on the other hand, are demanding a reduction of \$2.50, which will leave the minimum wage at \$12.50 per week for women and minors under eighteen years, who come within the purview of the law.

THE 1920 BUDGET

The present minimum rates of \$16 which the Welfare Commission ordered to be paid to experienced workers in industrial and mercantile establishments, \$12 to inexperienced workers and \$10.50 to young learners, were based upon a budgetary study which the Commission conducted before rendering its decision. The final budget prepared on the basis of that study, was as follows:

Cost per year	
Food	\$220.43
Rent	100.92
Clothing	
Shoes, 2 pair	17.50
Corsets, 2 pair	2.50
Petticoats, 3	5.00
Stockings, 3 pair	6.00
Nightgowns, 3	5.40
Underwear	9.50
Dress, one half	15.00
House dress or apron	3.00
Coat, one half	22.50
Suit, one half	20.00
Sweater, one half	3.75
Hats, 3	15.00
Gloves, 2 pair	4.50
Handkerchiefs	2.40
Kimono	2.00
Waste	10.00
Rubbers85
Repairing shoes	2.50
Cleaning and Repairing	4.00

154.50

The restoration of the devastated areas of the north of France "is a task which calls for immediate execution; it is a task which demands real proof of international understanding; not for mere palaver and sentimental claptrap, but for downright hard work."

In accordance with the spirit of these words, which were uttered by Dr. Wagner (the well-known leader of the German Union of Building Guilds), the French and German trade unions have long since considered the question of the practical co-operation of the German workers in this great task. In this connection we have only to recall the plans of both the German and French building trade operatives which were indorsed last spring by the National Trade Union Federations of both France and Germany. The International Federation of Trade Unions has from the beginning taken a keen interest in these endeavors. In March last it sent a delegation to the north of France. This delegation made a careful investigation into the extent of the devastations as well as the difficulties of restoration. At its conferences of March 14, 15 and of March 31 and April 1, which were especially devoted to the discussion of these questions, the International Federation of Trade Unions strongly advocated that this problem, which is of utmost importance for the peace of Europe, should be regulated on an international basis. As the opposition of the government and their nationalistic supporters was still too bitter at that time, the immediate success of this policy of peaceful co-operation was not very great. Nevertheless, this policy did not fail to which, in the opinion of experts, have its effect. In the meantime, the governments have given up their uncompromising attitude, and, as, for instance, in the negotiations between Leuchow and Rathenau, they have come nearer the standpoint adopted by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Thanks to the initiative of the

Miscellaneous—

Carsfare	56.50
Medical and dental	25.00
Vacation	25.00
Amusement	12.00
Laundry	15.00
Sundries	7.50
	121.00

Total

Even a superficial examination of the above figures, which served as the basis for the \$16 wage award last year, will reveal the low standard of living provided in that budget. A self supporting woman was expected to spend \$7.68 a week for her food and \$3.09 for rent.

The total annual budget for clothing was \$156.50 or \$3.01 a week. A comparison of the provisions in the clothing budget with the actual needs for a woman to maintain her decency and self respect would require a much larger allowance. Very few articles of clothing and only of the cheapest kind can be obtained on the provided sum.

Only ten cents a day was allowed for carsfare. The cost of medical and dental aid during the year was estimated at \$25, or an average of fifty cents per week. An equal amount was allowed for vacation.

Twelve dollars a year or twenty-two cents a week was allotted for amusements and recreation. This would enable the woman worker to visit a moving picture show only once a week. A higher grade of amuse-

ment could not be thought of with only twenty-three cents to be spent for this purpose. If the California woman worker went to a dance one week and spent more than a week's allowance on recreation, she would probably have to be satisfied with seeing the moving picture heroes ride by in automobiles and forego watching their performance on the screen that week. They are fortunate to live in California, where the moving picture entertainers make their habitat.

The California Commission did not explain how a woman, working, for example, in stores, could keep her clothing in clean and proper condition with but thirty cents a week allowed for laundry expenses. The allowance of fifteen cents a week for sundry other expenses not enumerated in the budget completes the American standard of living which the California working women were expected to maintain.

It is this munificent allowance of \$16 per week for experienced workers which the California manufacturers are asking the Industrial Welfare Commission to reduce. The manufacturers believe that a wage of \$12.50 a week would be sufficient. The workers who are fighting the reduction maintain that even \$16 a week does not enable a self-supporting woman to live in health and decency. The budget quoted above is sufficient proof of that.

American Periodical Literature

By DAVID F. BERENBERG

1. THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

America reads. Everybody will tell you that. In fact, it is one of the proudest boasts of the 100 per cent patriot that America is a literate country. It is—within reason, and always allowing for the gross illiteracy of the South.

But America does not read books. It is too busy for that. Books make demands on our thoughts; they call for effort; they require time. America will not put forth that effort as long as there are ways of evading it. And if the evasions do not exist, it will spend twice as much effort, if need be, to invent a method of evasion. There must be some way of putting information into tabloid form for the rapid consumption of the poor, tired reader. Some way of dressing it up so that the eye can catch—or deceive itself into thinking that it has caught—the idea.

The daily newspaper, with its thousand catchpenny devices, is not an American product. England has it—it is even possible that England invented it. France, Germany, and Germany, too. But in its imitation on the meaning, less sensation of the moment, in its avoidance of thought and in its perversion of feeling, the American daily press is an improvement on the others.

The newspaper seems designed to prevent thinking. Everything is so arranged, displayed, cartooned, tickled, that it can be absorbed at a glance. Day after day the appearance of the popular newspapers is the same. Cut out the date line, and it is impossible to tell whether the paper before you is today's or last week's, unless you look closely, and unless you really know something of current history.

The newspaper is the product of an evolution. It began as a pamphlet. In its earliest days men like Addison and Steele spoke to the intellectual world of London through their pamphlet gazettes. The modern newspaper has changed greatly from these early and very dignified beginnings. But it retains some of the characteristics of its antecedents. For the millions that could not be persuaded to read a book the newspaper is the only road to the world of thought. This phase of newspaperdom is often overlooked by facile critics of newspaper style and make-up. The first page is given the "once-over" in the morning, on the crowded train. At night, after the day's work, the carefully folded newspaper is brought out again, and read slowly, word by word, literally from cover to cover. Nothing is skipped in this second reading except the editorials. Even the advertisements are studied. (That is why great merchants are willing to spend absurd sums for space in the popular dailies). Often the paper is read aloud, slowly, in the peculiar drone common to the barely literate. Thus the family circle feels the touch of the outside world. Thence the illusion of knowing is fostered.

It is for the intimacies of the family circle that the newspapers run their "special features," "Mutt and Jeff," "Advice to the Lover," "Picture Puzzles," "The Confessions of a Wife." It is through mediums of this sort that the discoveries of science and the reasonings of philosophy trickle down—oh, so thinly—to

the masses. Exaggerated? Not at all. This is the literature the masses read.

And what is in this literature? Everything! Sooner or later Mr. and Mrs. Jarr discuss every idea that is current in the great world. So does Dr. Crane. So does Beatrice Fairfax. And in sum they all say the same thing, each in his peculiar manner. For the newspapers are the priests of things as they are. However different they may appear to be, they are at bottom the same. Everything is discussed—from Freud to the Ziegfeld Follies. Radical in tone the discussion may be; the conclusion is always conservative. For the newspapers are written by standpatters for standpatters. The worst of the conservatives are not the publishers of the daily news sheets; they are the readers. These readers are conservative like Monsieur Beaudet, even as to the position of the furniture at home.

The people don't want news, and they don't want editorials. That explains the immense circulation of the Hearst papers and of the Illustrated News. Beatrice Fairfax sells more papers than Arthur Brisbane; Doty Dimple's bare legs on the front page of the News are better still. But Beatrice Fairfax provides Brisbane with his audience. If Brisbane had an idea; if he were really trying to accomplish something, what a chance he would have. But the function of the Hearst papers is to sell—not to accomplish something.

The daily newspaper is bad, degraded, low. It appeals to a low order of intelligence. It appeals to every mean passion. It plays to the sex-instinct; to love of brutality; to the mob spirit. It takes up every passing fad, and drops it as soon as people tire of it. It robs people of its capacity to think, of the ability really to feel. With the rapidity of a roller-coaster, it shunts the reader from the higher to the lower. It hides its stagnation under an illusion of speed and color. It is rotten, rotten, rotten! And yet, the people read it. Worse! They refuse to read anything better. Between a good paper that seems dull, and a vicious one that seems lively, the people seem unanimously to choose the worse.

And newspapers, like everything in these days of capitalist enterprise, exist to make profit for their owners. It is commonly thought that newspapers mold public opinion. Doubtless they do. Doubtless, also, they yield to public opinion, if yielding means increased circulation and greater profits. Of course the newspapers are engines of propaganda, but they do not seem to be primarily for that. They are, first and last, parts of the great game of advertising. As such they need circulation, and then more circulation. And they will sacrifice propaganda to circulation, if need be.

There are exceptions to this. There are news papers that exist for a special propaganda only. But these take a leaf out of the book of the others. They, too, play the same circulation-alluring tune.

The power of the press is great. Not so great as some people think. Even Hearst could not elect himself Mayor of this town, with all his papers. But it is great enough. There is room in this country for papers that will utilize this power honestly

Louis Mann will end his engagement in "Nature's Nobleman" at the Forty-eighth Street Theater this week, and Fritz Leiber will come to that house next Monday for two weeks of Shakespearean repertory.

"The Critic," by St. John Ervine, is being produced at the Belmont as a curtain raiser to "The Steamship Tendency."

"The Idle Inn" with Ben-Ami is to be withdrawn from the Plymouth this week, thus adding another artistic failure to the season's many fatalities.

The senior class of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts will present "Kitty Mackay," a three-act comedy by Catherine Chisholm Cushing, at its first matinee of the season next Friday afternoon at the Lyceum Theater.

The East-West Playmen will present four one-act plays, "The Magnanimous Lover," by St. John Ervine; "The Wonder Hat," by Ben Hecht and Kenneth Sawyer Goodman; "The Little Stone House," by George Calderon; and "The Pot Boiler," by Alice Gerstenberg, at the Metropolitan Auditorium, beginning next Saturday evening.

"The Claw," with Lionel Barrymore in the leading role, begins its last two weeks at the Broadhurst Theater.

The first showing of Thomas Wilfred's color organ took place at the Neighborhood Playhouse Wednesday evening, with Mr. Wilfred in charge.

Andreyev's "The Thought" will be produced at the Yiddish Art Theater next week.

The Provincetown Players will present a bit of one-act plays at their theater next Monday night. On the program will be "Footsteps," by Donald Corley; "A Little Act of Jus-

tice," by Norman C. Lindsay, and "The Stick-Up," by Pierre Louÿs.

ADOLPH LEWISOHN'S GIFT

Fund for Chamber Music Educational Course at Hunter.

Adolph Lewishohn, donor of the City College Stadium and chief sustainer of Summer concerts there in recent years, has given to Hunter College, the city's higher institution for women, the nucleus of a fund to establish what will be known as the Lewishohn Chamber Music Educational Course. The new gift is in memory of Mrs. Lewishohn, who was a graduate of the school at Park Avenue and Sixty-eighth Street, formerly the Normal College of New York. Dr. Henry T. Fleck, head of the Music Department of Hunter College, will open the recitals on February 2, free to the public, as a part of the regular evening sessions there. The course is designed for persons who do not play or sing, but who wish to learn how to listen to classic trios, quartets and quintets with intelligent appreciation.

NEXT WEEK'S METROPOLITAN OPERAS

Following Ferenc Vecsey, Ponelle and Harold at next Sunday's "opera concert," the Metropolitan's tenth week will open with "Die Walküre" on Monday, sung by Jeritta, Matzenauer, Sembach and Whitehill, Jeritta, Gigli and Scotti have a special matinee of "Tosca" next Wednesday, while "Don Carlos," in a new four-act version, is announced Wednesday night, with Ponelle, Gerdon, Martiniello, De Luca and Didur. Titta Ruffo, recovered from long indisposition, is to appear Thursday in the season's first "Barber of Seville," with Cora Cassa, Chassine and Mardones. On Friday "Faust" will engage Farrar, Martinelli, De Luca and Whitehill. Chappalin sings a fourth and last "Boris" at the Saturday matinee, with Matzenauer and Pertile, and that evening adds "Le Roi d'Ys," with Alda, Ponelle, Gigli, Danise and Rothier, for the benefit of the French Hospital.

THE THREE BALLS

No, not the famous paraphernalia of the pawnbroker's sign, no, no!

We have in mind the Three Costume Balls, the three unique, most original and most beautiful events of the season. This year they come stepping on each other's toes—offering a choice that would baffle the most fastidious.

On Friday, January 13, tonight, in point of fact, there will be "pulled off" the Anti-Superstition Ball of Good Morning, Art Young's own annual swing. They will face the Jinx and will chase the evil spirits at Tammany Hall—beginning at 10 o'clock, and remember, fair or storm, it's going to be the night of the big gun!

Get your tickets either at the gate or the office of Good Morning, 7 East 15th Street.

And on that same night, at the Yorkville Casino, on East 86th Street, there takes place the Liberator Costume Ball, hilarious, surprising and original as usual, a great night for the rebellious New Yorker. Floyd Dell has written the outlines of a play—a satire on the great liberators of our day—Volstead, Luak and Sumner—and is starring Eastman, Robinson and Giovannitti and other notables. Each one has composed his own lines.

Tickets can be had either at the gates or the office of the Liberator, 138 West 13th Street.

And last, but not least, on Friday next, January 20, the Greenwich Village Ball, the incomparable annual gathering of the denizens of the Village: writers, artists, actors, celebrities and near-celebrities, which takes place at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street, under the capable and experienced management of Miss Cynthia White.

and cleanly. Attempts to provide such papers have failed. In every case failure followed on a refusal of their sponsors to recognize the infantile character of the minds they were dealing with. This failure is fatal. People don't want ideas. They want pictures. If the pictures carry ideas,

so much the better. But beware, lest there be too much idea, and not enough picture.

In the meantime the daily raps will go on, and for a long time thereafter. For America reads. It doesn't matter what! To read—that is the great thing!

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

COAL MINERS ARE WARNED THEY WILL BE ATTACKED

From England comes a warning to the United Mine Workers of America that coal owners are preparing to attack them all along the line at the expiration of their wage agreement next March. Other trade unions may also be involved.

The information is forwarded by Henry Evans, English correspondent of the United Mine Workers' Journal. He is well-known to older American trade unionists because of his association with the movement on this side of the water.

"I have information at hand," he writes, "that there are several persons over here representing some of the largest financial, industrial and commercial interests in the United States. These persons represent districts that are entirely under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America. They are seeking and gathering up all information from employers in the various mining districts concerning the wage reductions that have taken place during the months from July to November. Every detail is given them from the employers' combine.

"These people are out to break up the United Mine Workers of America and every other labor union, if it is possible to do so. Their method is to work short time and starve the workers before they fight them, which was done over here before our 13-weeks' stoppage in the summer. We were properly cleaned up before we started to fight."

HERD STRIKEBREAKERS

"The fifteen wholesale bakers who are attempting to destroy the Bakers' Union in Chicago have made the regulation move in every anti-union campaign—started a 'labor exchange.' This is a polite term for herding strikebreakers. These private labor exchanges have long been looked upon as a favorite method of destroying the last vestige of a worker's self respect by supplanting the union headquarters as an employment bureau.

The employers are attempting to enforce wage cuts and establish anti-union conditions, followed by a complete monopolization of this industry. Nearly all the firms involved control an extensive shipping trade, and include the Gordon Baking Company, Ward Baking Company, Schulze Baking Company, Gremman Cake Corporation and Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company.

STANDARD OIL PROSPERS

Being "smashed" by the United States Supreme Court has not affected the prosperity of the Standard Oil trust. This corporation is now operating in units, which report a combined profit for the year 1920 of \$405,918,545, after all taxes have been paid and liberal deductions made for depreciation, etc. The combined earnings in 1912 were \$178,372,047. This increase for all companies of \$227,546,498 in 1920 represents a gain of 130 per cent.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey shows the biggest profits. It earned more than any other corporation, Standard Oil or otherwise, in 1920. Its profits of \$164,461,409 in 1920 were but \$14,000,000 less than the entire Standard Oil group in 1912. They were 370 per cent greater than the \$35,107,887 profits reported by the New Jersey unit in 1912.

Standard Oil of California was the second largest earner of the group in 1920. Its \$41,655,254, compared with \$7,106,156 in 1912, is an increase of over 480 per cent.

SELL WHEAT DIRECT

"For the first time in the history of American agriculture, farmers have sold their wheat direct to Europe without the aid of brokers, commission agents or other middlemen," says the All-American Co-operative Commission's news service.

"The steamer Texan has left Portland, Ore., with 40,000 bushels of wheat for London and Antwerp, shipped by the northwest wheat growers, the farmers' co-operative marketing agency of the four northwestern states. While this is the first co-operative shipment of wheat to the center of the world's grain market, the northwestern farmers have already shipped nearly a million bushels of wheat to the Orient under special contracts. The valuable connections thus established will save hundreds of thousands of dollars for the farmers in commission fees and speculative profits and at the same time reduce the cost of wheat flour to the consumer by eliminating the speculative element."

"FAIR" PROFITS ARE MADE

In a wrangle in the House over the American valuation plan that some tariff advocates favor, Congressman Furney, who is supporting the plan, scored importers for profiteering. He said one Chicago department store charged \$5 for a knife which can be bought in Germany for 2.6 cents.

HUGE PROFIT IN ICE

In eight years the American Ice Company has put back into its business a surplus profit of \$3,915,896.

For 1920 this trust announces a clear profit of \$1,158,605, and a surplus of \$559,292. The profits and surplus are exclusive of taxes and all other charges.

CHAMPIONING THE FARMERS

Warning farmers against any organization that would shackle them to the "interests" Senator La Follette, in a formal statement made public what he described as a brief report of the action of the conference held secretly at the Racquet Club in Washington, December 9, which he branded "as a conspiracy to betray not only the farmers, but the consuming and producing millions of the nation."

CURE IN EMPLOYERS' HANDS

Samuel A. Lewishon, of New York City, who resided at the opening of the annual meeting of the American Association of Labor Legislation, declared that "aside from the question of seasonable unemployment, any attempt to diminish the force of cyclical depression must come primarily from both financial and employing groups. Labor is a negligible force in effecting the phenomenon."

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

EDUCATION IN DANGER

A manifesto has been prepared by the Teachers' Registration Council in London, to be signed by prominent citizens, protesting against the proposed economies in public education, which are regarded as a national danger. The manifesto declares that knowledge should be regarded as a necessity for all and not a luxury for the few; that it is the strongest safeguard against civil disturbance and strife, that the Education Act of 1918 has never been put in force and the newly awakened desire of the working people for further knowledge is therefore left unsatisfied. The manifesto, when signed, will be sent to the Government.

WORKERS' FAMINE RELIEF

Edgar T. Whitehead, British member of the International Workers' Famine Relief Committee, reports that his Committee has taken over the Kanan Province where they are daily feeding 225,000 persons—a greater achievement than any other relief organization except the Hoover Commission. The death-rate there from famine and typhus amounts notwithstanding to 50,000 a day.

The Friends' Relief Committee state that in the comparatively small district taken over by them, 500,000 people must be fed, or a decision must be taken as to what proportion of that number must be left to die for want of funds.

IS ENGLAND SINCERE WITH GERMANY?

There is a suspicion in some quarters that Britain is merely using Germany to bring pressure upon France, and that even when that purpose has been achieved, Germany will be abandoned. Even if the London ultimatum were really relaxed, Germany would have to make concessions, including railway denationalization, hitherto successfully resisted by the proletariat. . . . Stinnes' policy is to attract Labor everywhere to national policies, thus Balkanizing the proletariat, and to internationalize capital.

AUSTRIA

A SOCIALIST ECONOMIC CONFERENCE?

Meanwhile, during this interesting wrangle between diplomats, the International Bureau of the Vienna Union of Reconstruction is taking steps to organize a European Conference of Socialists and Labor Parties, in order to discuss the economic situation and the reparations problem. The idea emanated from the French, which is interesting under the circumstances; and the Conference, if held, will take place shortly in Paris, and will represent workers of all the countries represented by the Peace Treaty.

IRELAND

IRISH LABOR ON THE TREATY

A significant statement by Irish Labor in their "Voice of Labor" breaks for the first time the silence they have preserved throughout the negotiations. Speaking of the danger of a split in the Sinn Féin Party, they make an earnest appeal for at least retaining the industrial ranks unbroken by keeping views on the Treaty, whether in speech or action, "out of the unions as organizers." The editorial goes on to say that the warning is given—"only because we know that while there are many to champion the national cause there are few to champion Labor's cause or devote themselves wholly to the working class."

EGYPT

FLAMES OF REVOLT IN EGYPT

For weeks Egypt has been without a Cabinet. The situation is impossible as it stands, yet any attempt to end it might precipitate a crisis. Egyptian opinion is dead against the formation of a new Cabinet, which, under Lord Allenby's letter would exist only to register the will of the British Government. All the newspapers flame with denunciation of any Egyptian who would be traitorous enough to try to form a Ministry under such conditions.

RUSSIA

RUSSIA AND INTERNATIONAL HELP

The nineteen societies from various nations that are helping the famine-stricken districts of Russia have issued an appeal to the world, in which they point out that Russia cannot restore her ruined economic situation and provide her peasants with needs and agricultural implements without the aid of international credits on a large scale. They add that there is no question in this of giving alms to Russia, as Russia will be able to return what may be given to her for the development of her productive strength.

INDIA

NON-CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT GROWS IN INDIA

In India the news that steps are being taken by the Viceroy towards a round table conference with the Nationalists in order to effect a truce shows the strength of the non-co-operation movement under Gandhi, which has succeeded in seriously embarrassing the reception of the Prince of Wales. It is high time that some steps should be taken to meet the very serious situation brought about, not more by the success of the non-co-operation than by the foolish and panic measures of repression taken by the authorities to crush what is uncrushable in the usual foolish manner of unlimited arrests and imprisonments. As Gandhi says in a manifesto: "Free life is impossible under the present Government. We shall have to stagger humanity, even as South Africa and Ireland—with this exception; we will rather spill our own blood, not that of our opponents. This is a fight to the finish."

CALCUTTA DOCK WORKERS STRIKE

Among the arrested non-co-operators in India is the son of Mr. Gandhi, their leader, who has been sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. Meantime, 8,000 coolies are on strike in the Calcutta docks, and the students in some colleges have resolved not to attend classes until January 8, or any functions connected with the Prince of Wales' visit.

Educational Comment and Notes

Masses or Classes

In arranging plans for effective labor education, it is frequently difficult to decide which method is best suited to its purpose.

Several ways have been tried. Some of them seem to be successful and some are not.

Past experience has shown that there are two methods by which it is possible to reach the rank and file. The first, and what seems to many to be the most popular and effective, is that of appealing to large numbers of workers, gathered in one place at one time. At such a gathering a competent speaker addresses the audience on an important and vital topic. After the address, questions are asked and answered.

The second method is that of class instruction. Small groups are organized and meet regularly and frequently. They have the same instructor at all sessions and the period is spent not in lecturing, but rather in discussing the subject. The teacher presents facts or theories, the students accept or disagree, as the case may be, and the subject is thrashed out.

Which of the two is the better? The answer is that both are good. But each accomplishes a different purpose.

When large groups of people are assembled, there is generally a pleasant and instructive time for the audience, but there is little opportunity

for intensive and thorough study.

On such occasions a stimulation of interest, a provoking of enthusiasm, but not much of systematic education.

However, it must be remembered that this method is very important and necessary. There are many people who have not the time or opportunity to devote themselves to serious study. In their case such lectures are useful, because they give information in a pleasant and attractive form.

In the case of small groups, it is clear that there is greater advantage, from the point of view of giving workers thorough and extensive information on important subjects.

It is true that in this case large numbers are not reached. It is also true that a comparatively small group receives advantage which ought to reach many more. It may be also said that small groups attract only those individuals who consider themselves superior to their fellow-workers, and that, therefore, such classes are not really democratic.

But a little thought shows that small classes are very important in labor education.

First of all, they are thoroughly democratic, because their doors are open to all. The hope of the labor movement is that all those who have the desire and ability to avail themselves of educational opportunities will do so. For that reason, small

WEEKLY CALENDAR

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Saturday, January 14th

Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 16th Street
1:30 P.M.—B. J. R. Stolper, "Modern Literature"—Frank Wedekind.
2:30 P.M.—A. L. Wilbert, The Engineers and the Price System—Thorstein Veblen.
2:30 P.M.—Leo Welman, Accidental Origin of Some Trade Unions in the U. S.

Sunday, January 15th

10:30 A.M.—A. Fischander, Psychology, the Individual and the Group.
11:30 A.M.—H. J. Carman, Social and Industrial History of the U. S.—The South and the Plantation System.
11:30 A.M.—G. F. Schulz, Public Speaking.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, January 16th

East Side Unity Center
8:30 P.M.—Solon De Leon—Industrial Crises.
Second Bronx Unity Center
8:30 P.M.—Max Levin, Industrial Workers of the World (1905—).
Brownsville Unity Center
8:30 P.M.—Margaret Daniels, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Tuesday, January 17th

Waistmakers' Unity Center
8:30 P.M.—Max Levin, Industrial Workers of the World (1905—).
Harlem Unity Center
8:30 P.M.—A. L. Wilbert,

Bronx Unity Center

8:30 P.M.—Solon De Leon, Industrial Crises.
Lower Bronx Unity Center
8:30 P.M.—Theresa Wolfson, Rise and Fall of Knights of Labor and Beginnings of A. F. of L.

Friday, January 13th

Brownsville Unity Center
8:30 P.M.—Margaret Daniels, Applied Psychology.

classes are organized wherever possible, and there is no bar to those who wish to enter.

All that is required from workers is willingness to attend the classes. No previous education or advantages are necessary. These classes are, and should always be, democratic.

Secondly, small classes are important, because they prepare workers to influence their fellow-workers outside. The subjects taught are of vital importance to the labor movement. The discussions in the class are related to the experience of workers. The students are therefore enabled to go out among their fellow-workers in the shop and union, and convey to them the important information which they receive in the classroom.

Thirdly, the small classes in labor schools should not, and in most cases, do not, give the student training which may be utilized by him for per-

sonal advantage. No student in a labor class should be helped to become a dentist, lawyer, accountant, or physician. The class should only help him to become a better union man and a better fighter for his own organization and the labor movement of the world.

If conditions are favorable, that is, if there is the necessary financial ability, and if there is nothing to distract the workers from education, as in the present industrial crisis, both methods of labor education should be followed. Large masses of workers should meet frequently for the purpose of entertainment and instruction, and thus develop solidarity and common purpose. At the same time, they should meet in small groups for serious study.

But, in both cases, there must be but one aim constantly before their eyes—a greater and stronger organization of workers to bring about a better world.

From a Letter by J. M. MacTavish

(General Secretary of the Workers' Education Association of England)

December 1, 1921.

"Thanks for announcement of courses for 1921-22. Your invitation to criticize is kind, but only 'toils rush in where angels fear to tread.' Our aims are the same, but the actual labor conditions and traditions are so different that criticism from this side would be an impertinence. I am pleased, however, to note the extent to which labor history, institutions and problems dominate the courses. On this side academic-minded people frequently deplore this. They don't understand.

"Thanks for article in New Republic. It shows that your work is gripping public interest. But be careful. Prove that the wage-earner wants education and are capable of running their own educational movement and benefiting by it, and all sorts of people, from most interesting and different motives, want to come in and save them the trouble. This isn't criticism; it is a fact, at least on this side. In addition, there is a serious danger of adult education becoming a cult. The only way to avoid tendencies and influences that are liable

to side-track (so far as our own work is concerned) is to see that it is workers' education controlled by themselves.

"It is pleasant to know that my articles (which appeared in 'Justice') were enjoyed, and discussed with interest. But I would have liked very much, indeed, to have received some criticisms. The views expressed are entirely my own and, therefore, I feel quite sure that I am right, but just because of that there is a great need for some person to come along and prove that I am entirely wrong. (Mr. Spencer Miller sent me a supply of the leaflet.)

"Congratulations on the report of your conference. It is excellent and will stimulate in the right way.

"Here, as in the U. S. A., unemployment is seriously affecting our work. Still, there is no setback. We still expand.

"There is nothing new to report with regard to the W. E. T. U. C. developments, other than that several trade unions are seriously considering schemes and may come in next year."

Where Do You Come In?

It is notorious that New Year's resolutions are easily made and easily forgotten.

We want you to make a New Year's resolution, but you must not forget it. We want you to resolve that you will show your appreciation of the importance and value of Labor Education by doing something personally to help it along.

You can join one of the many classes which are offered to you. You can urge your fellow workers in the shop and union to join these

classes.

You can talk about these classes to your friends, wherever and whenever you meet them.

You can ask for reports on our educational work at the meetings of your Local Union. You can urge the educational committees to co-operate more fully with the Educational Department.

You can put your shoulder to the wheel. Every individual can contribute some help in a big movement. Do it with Labor Education.

The Plight of the French Trade Unions

(Continued from Page 5.)

their unions. But the Italian workers are perhaps more individualistic, and have contended to maintain their unions in the face of violent opposition from employers and gunmen of the White Guard.

The realignment of the Third International, and its abandonment of a number of its demands for immediate revolutionary action by the workers of the world probably will have a soothing effect on the turbulence in the French unions. This most pessimistic admit that out of the welter of discord there certainly will appear a revival of the French labor movement which will bring great changes to the economic condition of the workers of all trades.

France has been more fortunate than other European countries in the post-war reorganization. There has been less suffering from unemployment because France is primarily an agricultural country. Unemployed men and women left the industrial centers for the farms, where workers were in much demand because of the

enormous war losses. In none of the climes of France are there bread lines, no national panic as in England, because of fear of uprising of the jobless.

The need for reorganization of the labor unions has been driven home so forcibly by the loss of more than 1,000,000 members in two years that soon all energies will be devoted to organization campaigns. With the return of the men and women who have dropped from the labor organizations, the General Confederation of Labor will be in a position to demand government measures for the betterment of wages and working conditions.

The first government action to be demanded probably will be for nationalization of the coal mines. It is hoped nationalization will bring about better conditions for the miners and better production of coal for France.

PATRONIZE
"JUSTICE"
ADVERTISERS

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

(Minutes of Meeting, Jan. 4, 1922)

Brother Berlin in Chair

The Unity House Committee reported and recommended the following:

1. That we purchase for \$25 tickets for a recital given by a certain Mr. Salzinger, an artist, who contributed his talent free of charge at the Unity House last season.

2. In regard to the ball which was arranged by the former Unity House Committee for Washington's birthday, a committee consisting of Brothers Reiff, Riesel, Mackoff and Sister Chanowitz, were appointed to make all necessary arrangements in order to make that ball a success.

(a) After due deliberation, the committee decided that the price of tickets to that ball should be 50c, and hat check 25c, and in order to have control of the tickets, a committee consisting of Brother Riesel and Sister Levine were appointed to have charge of the tickets.

3. Brother Rothenberg, of Local No. 22, was elected as Chairman, and Sister Winnick as Vice-Chairman of the Unity House Committee.

4. Sisters Switzky, Silver and Matyas were invited to attend the meeting of the Unity House Committee, with the result that the committee, consisting of Brothers Rothenberg and Mackoff, were appointed to go over to the Unity House in order to acquaint themselves with the necessary repairs, and Sister Switzky was invited to go with them.

5. The question of engaging a manager for the Unity House was taken up and a sub-committee, consisting of Brothers Riesel, Reiff and Sister Levine, were appointed to look for a suitable person to be manager of the Unity House.

6. In the meantime, the Secretary was instructed to make arrangements with Sister Switzky for the purpose of taking over the records as soon as possible, and Brother Riesel and Sister Levine were appointed on this committee.

7. The Unity House Committee also recommends that the entire profit of this ball should be contributed to the Russian famine sufferers.

(a) Brothers Rothenberg and

Mackoff were appointed to be on the Publicity Committee, it being understood that expenditures for advertisements should not exceed \$200.

(b) Sister Hirsch and Brother Reiff were appointed to have signs printed about the ball and have them placed in the Union offices.

(c) On the Music Committee, Sister Hirsch and Brother Reiff were appointed to engage the necessary musicians for the ball.

(d) Brother Riesel was appointed as Floor Manager and Brother Reiff as assistant.

8. The Secretary was appointed to be a member on each committee of the ball.

9. In order to make this ball a success, it was decided to invite the local educational entertainment committees to co-operate with this committee, and they should be invited to attend the next meeting of the Unity House Committee.

Upon motion, the recommendations of the Unity House Committee were approved.

5. The report of Brother Horowitz, Manager of the Association Department, covers a period from November 14 to December 17, 1921. During that period the Union has filed with the Association 331 complaints and the Association lodged against the Union 37 complaints. There were 19 complaints of cutters and 33 complaints from pressers. The cases were adjusted in the following manner:

167—Favor of the Union.

76—By mutual consent.

60—Withdrawn.

111—Dropped.

3—Referred to lawyer.

3—Favor of the Association.

Upon motion, the Board of Directors recommends that a meeting of the Conference Committee be called for the purpose of attending the conference with the Association, and that the report of Brother Horowitz be approved of.

Brother Nachman, Manager of the Independent Department, reported that the Association of Waist Manufacturers is pressing for a conference with the Union, and he advised

that the Joint Board appoint a Conference Committee to take up with the Waist Manufacturers' Association its claims.

Upon motion, the Board of Directors recommends that the Joint Board request the Conference Committee to attend to same.

Brother Halperin, General Manager, reported that the Association of Dress Manufacturers is hampering and putting many obstacles in the way of adjusting complaints of our members. According to his observation, the deputy clerks of the Association are slackening on the job. Very, very often, our Business Agents are idling around, due to the fact that they cannot get the clerks of the Association to go out with them on cases, and Brother Halperin called the attention of Mr. Rubin, Manager of the Association, several weeks ago, who answered him on one occasion that some of their clerks are busy with a certain affair which the Association has arranged. In the course of time he found out that while it was true that the Association arranged an affair, yet in the meantime some of the Association clerks were busy engaged in soliciting new members for the Association, and according to information received, about 50 of the independent shops joined the Association of Dress Manufacturers.

He, therefore, with the assistance of Brother Horowitz, had a little conference with the Association, including their President, Mr. Cohen, on whom we served notice in undisputable terms, that unless we have our complaints attended to properly without being hindered by the Association clerks, that we will be obliged to take a firm stand on same.

The President of the Association pleaded that he did not know about this neglect on the part of the Association clerks, and in the presence of the Union representatives instructed the chief clerk of the Association that, hereafter, all the grievances presented at this conference should not occur again, and that the clerks of the Association should be on the

job in order to go out with the Union Business Agents.

Brother Halperin further stated that the Association adopted a new policy about wages due to our members, that is, whenever the clerks of the Association with the Business Agents of the Union are taking up a case about collecting wages, and in cases where the clerks of the Association agree that the claim is a justified one, nevertheless, they refuse to sign the case, giving the reason that if they sign the Association is responsible for same before they get the money from their member. Brother Halperin advises that same should be taken up by our Conference Committee.

As to the doings in Local No. 66, Brother Halperin reported that according to information received by him from Brother Wolinsky, Manager of Local No. 66, for the last few weeks there is a sign of improvement in the embroidery trade. That the local succeeded in placing a great number of their members at work in Union shops, and, according to reports from workers of various shops, some have begun to work full time, and that we succeeded in completing the necessary affidavits in connection with the injunction of the Neutral Embroidery. Besides, Local No. 66 is attending to the routine work. Brother Halperin concluded with the hope that better days are coming for our members who are engaged in the embroidery industry.

Brother Halperin also informed the Board that, according to a decision, we are making plans to have a Shop Chairman meeting held shortly in Beethoven Hall, and in order to acquaint himself with the doings in the shops, he is sending out letters to Shop Chairmen to come to see him daily, which will enlighten him about the actual doings in the shops at present.

Communication was received from the Unemployment Council, in which they gave the Joint Board the names of the number of labor organizations affiliated with them.

A lively discussion arose and, upon motion, the decision of the last June Board meeting, to leave our affiliation with them in abeyance, was carried.

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

7 EAST FIFTEENTH STREET

COURSES BEGINNING IN JANUARY

ENGLISH—Four New Classes Beginning January 2

ENGLISH A AND C—7:30 P. M.

ENGLISH B AND D—8:40 P. M.

Each Three Sessions a Week—Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Fee \$3 a month, \$7.50 for three months.

ORGANIZATION METHODS

JOSHUA LIEBERMAN

Mostly practice work—application of parliamentary law, conduct of meetings, and observation visits.

Jan. 9 to June 13—Mondays, 8:30 P. M.

Fee, \$6.00

TRADE UNIONISM F

SOLON DE LEON

A study of various types of labor organizations, function of federations, etc.

Jan. 6 to March 24—Fridays, 8:40 P. M.

Fee, \$4.00



Your Boy's Future!

Your boy's future, well being and position in life may depend upon the attention you pay to his eyes now.

Eye-strain is the cause of headaches, poor memory, ill temper, dullness, etc. This usually causes indifference in your child's studies and his school attendance, which in turn has its effects later in life.

Take no chances. Bring your boy to one of our offices, where a scientific test applied by our highly skilled optometrist will determine whether he needs glasses or not. If he does, our well equipped optical department will fit them properly.

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The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

This week saw the new administration at work under the arrangements which were decided upon by the members, through the amendments to our constitution. The General Manager, while he has not yet taken up with the Executive Board any of the matters affecting the organization, has spent the two weeks, in addition to conducting the affairs of the striking cloak cutters, in making a survey of the situation in all of the divisions.

The new Executive Board held its first session on Thursday, January 5. Due to the fact, however, that the President, Brother Samuel Perlmutter, has not yet appointed any additional members to serve on the Executive Board, the Board therefore did not select its officers. The Chairman will make his appointments of the additional Executive Board members, as stipulated by the constitution, at each branch meeting to be held during this month, so that at the beginning of February the Executive Board will have its full quota, and will be in a position to elect its officers.

As soon as the new Executive Board will begin functioning, the Manager will very likely then render an extensive report on the conditions in the trades controlled by the various branches of the Union, and will recommend necessary measures. The Manager is compiling reports now, and will, at the end of the month, be in a position to know the situation.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The strike in the cloak and suit trade continues with the same vigor on the part of the men and the same determination as was displayed on the first day of the calling of the strike. The Manager, who is also the Chairman of the Hall, Brother Dubinsky, is giving up most of his time to the affairs of the cutters who are still on strike, the majority of whom are out against the Association houses. Practically all of the men who came out on strike from independent houses are back at work, their shops having settled.

The methods of handling irregularities are those that have been instituted during the first days of the strike and are still in effect. These have been found to be so efficient that no changes are being made. Last Monday a meeting of the cloak and suit branch was held. In spite of the fact that the strike is on, the cloak and suit cutters felt obliged to attend the meeting in order to receive the reports of the Executive Board, many of which dealt with questions affecting the situation and the men. The members also looked forward to receiving a report of the Manager or the members of the Strike Committee. However, due to the fact that a very important meeting of the General Strike Committee took place, a report was therefore not rendered. It is possible that this will be done at the regular meetings of the strikers in their hall.

Manager Dubinsky has secured a report in the raincoat making trade. He finds the trade well organized, but very dull. He has secured a list of the shops and intends to have them controlled as soon as the opportunity affords itself. A number of strikes are being conducted at the present time against employers who have violated agreements. Although the agreement in this trade does not expire until August, 1922, still there are a number of matters to be considered by the members. A report of

the entire situation will be rendered in the very near future.

WAIST AND DRESS

Members of this division will recall that a conference was held with the Association. The meeting concerned itself with a general discussion of the conditions in the trade. It ended, to the surprise of the Union representatives, with the handing of the "bill of grievances." The membership will, no doubt, appreciate the astonishment expressed by the Union. Upon a close scrutiny of the "grievances" they were found to be nothing more nor less of very radical modifications of the present agreement. As an instance of this, it is but necessary to mention that the employers sought to modify that clause which compels them to give or buy their work from union shops.

At the close of the conference the Union asked that it be given the opportunity to consider these "grievances," and that it also be afforded the opportunity to present a similar bill to the employers. What this bill will be left to the judgment of the members, as it will be safe to predict that the members will arrive at the proper conclusion.

The delegates elected by the members in the last election were received and seated by the Joint Board. Manager Dubinsky was not present at this meeting, due to an important meeting of the Strike Committee in the cloak trade. However, it is expected that he will attend the next meeting, and will therefore be in a position to render a short report of the situation in this trade to the membership meeting of this branch, which will take place on Monday, January 16.

MISCELLANEOUS

The cloak strike, for the present, prevents Manager Dubinsky from spending all of his time in the office. In spite of that, however, he has made arrangements for the control of the cutters working in the white goods industry. Although this trade is very dull at the present time, indications point, nevertheless, towards a good deal of organization work. The great tide of immigration has emptied a number of boys into this trade.

Arrangements have also been completed with the Joint Board in the wrapper and kimono and children's dress trades for a control of the shops. Of course, this work will not be done at present. Just now the agreements in the children's dress trade have expired. The Manager of the Joint Board, Harry Greenberg, has sent letters out to all employers in this industry, informing them of this and calling upon them to sign new pacts.

Some have responded, but, due to the slackness, many shops are shut down and will not sign up for this year until they start their factories. In connection with this, Manager Dubinsky has prepared a letter to be sent to wrapper and kimono and

NOTICE Cloak Cutters

On Strike—you must register on Fridays in order to receive benefit on the following week. Should you fail to register on Fridays you will not be entitled to benefit.

DAVID DUBINSKY,
Hall Chairman.

children's dress cutters, informing them of the creation of the Joint Board and their duties towards it. The men have also been instructed to

answer all calls for shop or special meetings, at which questions pertaining to the renewal of the agreement will be taken up.

A Unity Ball for the Hungry of Russia

By CELIA CHANOWITZ
(Member of the Unity House Committee)

The Waist and Dress Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union has arranged a Unity Ball to be held at the Star Casino on the Eve of Washington's birthday. The purpose of the ball is as follows:

First. We want to see our membership, meet face to face, in its hundreds and thousands. We want to see them as often as possible—under one roof, in one place. Under the strains of music we may hope to forget our troubles, our antagonisms and the grind of the daily struggle—be it even for a while. Moreover, meeting of new friends and comrades gives new courage, new inspiration to carry on the fight.

Second. There is a message that we have to deliver to our members: Our Unity House has achieved fame all over the world. We must keep up the standard which we have gained and retain it on the same high level. Next summer, as during the preceding one, the Unity House must be the place of rest and recreation for the thousands of members of the International Union. But that is not enough. The Unity girls and boys are not absorbed in themselves alone. The proceeds of this ball on the Eve of Washington's birthday will go to the aid of the sufferers of Soviet

Russia. Every penny netted at that affair will mean a mouthful of food to a hungry soul whose very life hangs on that morsel of food that may come from this "land of plenty."

Our International has recently sent a large shipment of food to hungry Russia. Another shipment, we hope, will be made soon. Money is needed, and every little bit helps. We want to give all the profits that might be realized from the coming Unity Ball to the aid of the starving population of Soviet Russia. It depends now on the co-operation that our members will give us. This is a test of how much those who profess to sympathize with the cause of the unfortunate Russian workers really mean when they say. They can prove by making this ball a great success, and by enabling us to send a large shipment of food to Russia on the money thus realized.

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Exclusively

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10 ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Waist and Dress Monday, January 16th
Miscellaneous Monday, January 23rd
General Monday, January 30th
Cloak and Suit Monday, February 6th

Special Order of Business at Each Meeting:

*CHAIRMAN WILL APPOINT ADDITIONAL
MEMBERS TO EXECUTIVE BOARD

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

CUTTERS OF ALL BRANCHES

should not fail to secure a working card within twenty-four hours after going to work. Those who hold "one-week" or temporary cards should not fail to change them for permanent ones if they are working.

Dress and waist cutters who are working should not fail to change the present white cards, which they hold, for new ones that will be issued on and after January 15. Dress and waist men who will be found working on the present white cards after January 15th will be disciplined the same as those without any card at all.