

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

—Job 27.6

# JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. IV. No. 9

New York, Friday, February 24, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

## NEXT CONVENTION WILL BE HELD IN CLEVELAND

### International Sends Official Call to Local Unions — Secretary Baroff in Cleveland to Make Arrangements for the Gathering

The referendum vote on the city for the next International Convention was concluded last week. Cleveland, Ohio, one of the three nominated cities, won out by an overwhelming majority, with Cincinnati next, and Baltimore a poor third.

In accordance with the provision of our constitution, President Schlesinger and Secretary Baroff have issued the call to the convention and forwarded it to all affiliated locals. The convention, the sixteenth in the his-

tory of our International, will begin on Monday morning, the first of May, 1922, and will last the customary two weeks.

Secretary Baroff left on Thursday for Cleveland to make the final arrangements for the convention, which includes the hiring of a suitable meeting place, the reservation of proper hotel accommodations for the delegates, and many other requirements. As the last meeting of the General Executive Board the following Com-

mittee on Convention Arrangements was elected: Secretary Baroff, Vice-President Schoolman, of Chicago; Vice-President Perlestein, of Cleveland, and Vice-President Seidman, of Cincinnati. This committee will work with Secretary Baroff to complete all details in connection with the convention.

#### THE CONVENTION CALL

The following is a copy of the official convention call, addressed by the (Continued on Page 7)

### VICE-PRESIDENT SIGMAN GOES WEST

First Vice-President Morris Sigman of our International left this week on an organization tour. He will visit Baltimore, Toledo and Chicago.

In Baltimore there are a number of disputes pending between the cloakmakers and several firms, which need adjustment. As Vice-President Sigman has been instrumental in settling the recent controversy in the Baltimore cloak trade, his presence there will surely bring about a straightening out of these disputes.

In Toledo the situation is much graver. There is some friction there between the cloakmakers and the employers, in addition to a strike conducted by the union against one cloak shop. In Chicago, Brother Sigman expects to settle amicably the differences that have arisen recently between the local Joint Board and the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, No. 100.

### New York Cloak Joint Board Issues Call for Reserve Fund

In accordance with the decision recently adopted, the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union in New York City has set Wednesday, February 15, as the first day for the payment of the assessment for the raising of the Million Dollar Reserve Fund. On this occasion the Board has published the following call, which was sent to every member of the Cloakmakers' locals in the Greater City:

#### Dear Members:

We are standing upon the threshold of great events. The agreement which our employers were compelled to live up to, owing to our unity and solidarity, will come to an end next June. We need not tell you what our employers are capable of; you know their methods in the past, and you know of their aspirations to bring the Union down on its knees before them. They have not yet given up the idea of stabbing our organization in the back at the first opportunity.

The last general strike, which is still fresh in our memory, has shown how it is important for our organization to be on guard and well prepared. If, notwithstanding the fact that we were well prepared financially, they have launched a powerful attack against us, you can imagine how strong their appetite to destroy us would be were we financially and morally demoralized!

We are on the threshold of great

events. Our employers are again sharpening their teeth. Their defeat in the last strike would not let them rest. They believe now that the Union is weakened after the long fight, and they can deal us another blow.

Such are their plans. Our Union, however, is wide awake, and is making its plans in advance, too. The Joint Board has decided to raise a big fund—a million dollar fund. This fund must be collected in the course of a few weeks. Keep in mind that the success of the next negotiations between the Union and the employers—if any there be—will depend upon the financial and spiritual preparedness of our organization. You are, therefore, called upon to begin paying up at once the assessment of \$20, at \$5 per week, if you choose to do so.

We desire to tell you that we seek no war in the industry. We shall, however, not give up a single one of the work conditions which have been won by you after years of toil and sacrifice!

The Million Dollar Fund must be raised in full and at once!

With fraternal greetings,  
THE JOINT BOARD OF THE CLOAK, SKIRT, DRESS AND REEFERMAKERS' UNION.

L. PINKOFKY, Chairman.  
Ph. KAPLOWITZ, Treasurer.  
I. FEINBERG, Gen. Mgr.  
L. LANGER, Secretary.

### Week-Work Decision Stirs Workers in Waist and Dress Industry

One of the most important decisions of the last meeting of the General Executive Board at Atlantic City, was beyond doubt, the one pertaining to the beginning of a widespread campaign in the waist and dress industry all over the country for the introduction of week-work. This campaign is to be launched in the early future under the personal direction of President Schlesinger.

The introduction of week-work in the waist and dress industry means, to a large degree, the revolutionizing of production methods in that industry. In addition to the expected opposition from the employers' side, an extensive campaign of education will have to be conducted among the workers in the industry, as was the case prior to the introduction of week-work in the cloak industry.

There are, no doubt, a great many workers who still nurse the old-fash-

ioned fallacy that a piece-worker is a "free person," and that a worker is subject to more stringent regulations. Such wisecracks there have been in the cloak industry too, but they have disappeared now, after the introduction of the week-work system. Today, the cloakmakers are ready to fight to the last for the week-work system, and after a thorough-going campaign of enlightenment it can be expected that the waist and dressmakers will become just as ardent adherents of the week-work system as the cloakmakers are now.

The campaign for week-work will be launched very soon. From now on it will become the slogan in the industry and part and parcel of every agreement concluded with the employers. It is the duty of the more intelligent workers in the industry to spread the message of the coming change among the masses in the trade.

### Chicago Political Conference Adjourns Without Results

We have received the following telegram from Vice-President Schoolman, who has been asked by President Schlesinger to represent him personally at the Chicago Labor Political Conference:

"CHICAGO, February 22, 1922.

With the exception of Warren M. Stone of the Railroad Engineers, there were represented at this political conference all the prominent leaders of American unions, of a number of progressive organizations, and a large number of progressive and liberal persons.

The conference opened on Monday morning with speeches delivered by labor leaders and other invited delegates. There was a very marked sentiment for the organizing of a separate labor party during the early

sessions of the conference. But this sentiment has given way to the old notions of 'punishing our enemies' and rewarding our friends' which have been so futile and sterile in the past.

A number of prominent Socialist and labor leaders have striven to prove that only independent political action would accomplish results for labor in America. The majority of the delegates, however, have been swayed to the idea that an attempt must be made during the next congressional elections to support liberal and favorably inclined to labor candidates on the old party tickets. Failing this, it was decided that another big conference be called next December and a Committee of Fifteen was appointed to issue the call for this conference."

### International Office Moves to New Home This Week

The issue of Justice is the last one to be published from 31 Union Square, the home of the General Office of our International union for the last five years. Next week's issue will appear from its new headquarters, 2 West 14th Street, New York City.

The beginning of the huge task of moving the General Office into its

own home has already begun and will be completed by the first of March. By that day all the departments will have been installed in their respective places in the new building and put in regular functioning order.

The official opening of the new home of the International, the Ladies' Garment Center Building, will be announced at a later date.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By MAX D. DANISH

### UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS WORSE

UNEMPLOYMENT is still a very, very grave problem in New York, as well as in other cities—big and small. The broad lines, in point of fact, have been increasing in length during the last month, and, while the majority of these silent applicants, particularly in the big cities, are jobless soldiers, there are among them also high-class clerks, salesmen, and other professional men out of work.

In one church unemployment bureau in New York City 7,500 ex-service men registered since last September, are still out of work, and the effort to reindustrialize the former soldiers is not making any progress. It is particularly significant that unemployment among veterans includes all grades—twelve Majors, five naval commanders, twenty-seven Captains, and nearly one hundred Lieutenants having applied in that bureau in the last four months, *several* without any results. Many of these are in an absolutely destitute condition.

And in the light of these staggering facts comes the announcement from Washington that the Kenyon Unemployment Bill has been killed in the Senate, after an amendment had been adopted which practically destroyed the measure. It will be remembered that the provisions of the Kenyon Bill were drafted from recommendations of the much-heralded Harding Conference on Unemployment. These provisions were designed to make possible long-range planning of all public works. The amendment which emasculated it exempted from the bill all river and harbor developments, flood control and expenditures on irrigation projects, after which it was sent back to the Committee on Labor to die a peaceful death.

We never expected much from the Unemployment Conference. Nevertheless, even skeptics had thought that the Kenyon Bill, which intended to release considerable funds for the construction of public works in slack times, would be adopted in an effort to afford some relief to the millions of destitute unemployed. The heartless slaughter of the Kenyon Bill is but an additional index of the utter callousness and brutal indifference which the present Congress has maintained right along towards the life working masses of the country.

### THE MINERS' WAGE CONVENTION

THE Miners' Wage Convention at Indianapolis adjourned last Saturday, after adopting wage demands calling for the continuation of the present wages in the bituminous coal fields, with the six-hour day and five-day week. The Convention declared for a "general suspension of mine operations," if no agreement is reached, such action being subject to a referendum vote of the membership of the United Mine Workers of America to be held prior to March 31.

The Convention was marked by a heated and tumultuous fight, conducted by the supporters of Alexander Howat, the rebel mine leader of Kansas, against President Lewis and the administration. During this fight, which threatened to absorb the entire attention of the convention and to sidetrack the wage problem for which the Convention was called, the pendulum of victory swung back and forth from the administration forces to the hosts of delegates supporting the Kansas leader who demanded that the expulsion of Howat and of the Kansas miners be aired on the floor of this Convention. In the end Lewis won out by a slender majority. The insurgents, backed by the large Illinois district delegates, however, launched broadside after broadside against the Senate Committee's report and succeeded in overturning the committee's recommendation of the "eight-hour day underground." Sweeping aside all argument to the contrary, the delegates, by a heavy majority, adopted the six-hour work day and five-day week, and demanded that the administration support it to a finish fight in the negotiations with the operators.

The preliminaries in the coming conflict between the miners and the mine operators have thus come to an end. After having fought out their differences on the convention floor, the half million miners of the country now stand united as one man to back up their demands. The Miners' Union will attempt at once to open up negotiations with the coal operators, and will make every possible effort to reach a satisfactory agreement by April first and avert the possibility of a conflict. The miners' demands for a six-hour work day and a five-day week, while seemingly radical in its nature, is, nevertheless, the direct result of unemployment which has prevailed among the miners in certain sections for a long time, and it is advanced in the confidence that the shorter hour work day will enable more men to get employment in the mines and stabilize conditions in the industry, even though it might reduce the annual earnings of some of those miners who have had, in the past, work all the year round.

### POCKETING AUSTRIA

FOR the last two years Austria has been making the rounds of the capitals of Europe, begging to be swallowed, hoof, tail and bonanza. It seemed, however, that no one was particularly anxious to swallow that famished skeleton which passes under the name of Austria in Central Europe these days. And Austria was left to die for herself, to die in a literal sense, economically, spiritually and physically.

Now a light appears flickering on the horizon. A nation was found, true, a small and as yet hardly a self-supporting nation, that is willing to become the economic "guardian" of ill-fated Austria. Czechoslovakia, which is supposed to have a keen interest in Austria's restoration, is reported to be ready to accept mastery of the national economy of Austria in lieu of a fair-sized loan to Vienna as a working capital.

It is not pretended that the motive is anything but self-interest. The Czechs want, it is said, to put Austria on her feet in order to do business with her. Of course, it does not require a political wizard to divine that behind the Czechoslovak proposal there is foreign finance—English or French, or perhaps both. Prague is probably being used as a screen behind which the swallowing of Austria by powerful allied banking interests will be consummated.

Which makes very little difference, after all. Ever since the Armistice Austria has been upon the auction block. Until now, there was not even a

buyer in sight. Having plumbed the depths of degradation, Austria apparently is now willing to offer up everything and all in order to give work and some bread to her starving masses.

### JAPAN BARS BIRTH CONTROL

THERE is nothing particularly astonishing in the report from Tokio that Margaret Sanger, the Yankee apostle of birth control, has been barred from preaching her ideas before eager Japanese audiences, or even from entering Japan.

It is true, Japan's problem, for the last couple of decades, is overpopulation. This "overpopulation" has been the principal motive behind the "Drang nach Westen"—the steady and irresistible flow of the Japanese masses into the neighboring lands on the Asiatic mainland, China, India and our own Pacific coast. Back of this exodus are the military and imperialist ambitions of the Japanese rulers who have fostered this irresistible flow as a means of conquering Asia for Japan.

Why should the Japan of today desire to curtail the size of the Japanese family and thus kill the chances of spreading Nipponese influence in Siberia, China and elsewhere? Smaller families may mean smaller incentive to emigrate, a greater share of comfort to those at home and a general all-around upbuilding of intelligence.

Verily, there is no place for birth control ideas in Japan. And yet, they report that this subject is arousing the keenest interest among the Japanese population. There are, probably, already domestic apostles of birth control in the making in Japan who will spread the ferment among the abject Japanese masses, along with other ideas of rebellion that are finding ready ground in Japan of today.

The exclusion of Margaret Sanger was as good an advertisement for birth control as could be desired. Perhaps it is better that it was so.

## With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

(Minutes of Meeting, Feb. 15, 1922)

Brother Berlin in Chair

At the opening of the meeting a committee from the New York "Call" appeared before the Board, on behalf of the pending anti-strike bills in the New York Legislature. The committee informed the Joint Board that the entire English daily press, with the exception of the New York "Call," is giving no publicity of a nature which would enlighten organized labor about the dangerous weapon the employers will have over organized labor, if said bill should become a law. The New York "Call" is giving as much publicity on this subject as it possibly can, but it fails to reach the desired number of workers. Therefore, the committee appealed to the Joint Board that we make special efforts to help the New York "Call" become an affair to us as our own organization affairs. They therefore

suggested that it would be just that our members assist themselves with one-half an hour's labor a year, which should be given to the New York "Call." By doing this, the Board of Managers of the New York "Call" will be in a position to enlarge its circulation.

Upon motion, the request of the committee was referred to the Board of Directors.

The following communication from the Women's Trade Union League was read:

Please send a telegram to the Labor and Industry Committee of the Senate, and one to the Insurance Committee of the Assembly, asking that you stand for the measure which will prohibit all profit-taking insurance companies from operating under the Compensation Law.

The State Federation of Labor also

(Continued on Page 4)

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## Paper Mill Strikers Show Yankee Spirit

By J. CHARLES LAUE

One of the longest strikes on record, and one of the most staunchly fought, is that of the paper mill workers in upper New York state, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, who have been out for ten months in 33 mills of the International Paper Company. This concern by its control of one-third of the supply of news print paper, dominates the industry, and is known as the Paper Trust.

There are 8,000 workers involved, scattered in about 30 towns and villages, the bulk of them members of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, both organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Paper Trust has declared war upon the organized workers in the industry by breaking off ten years' relations with the Union and instituting the "open shop." It is a war to the end and apparently, with entire communities brought to the lowest subsistence level by the Trust's brutal attack on the workers during the period of industrial depression, which favored the employers last spring.

Since May 1, 1921, the strike has been in progress without any sign of weakening on the part of the paper mill workers, who have conducted their fight so far without the gradual weakening of the ranks which so often marks the progress of strikes of long duration.

Jeremiah L. Carey, President of the Papermakers, and John P. Burke, President of the Pulpmakers, are intensely proud of the record of their organizations in the ten months' battle.

The fight is costing the mill owners approximately \$1,000,000 a month, and in addition to the \$10,000,000 gross loss while the strike was raging, they have had to float a bond issue of \$12,500,000. Now the Trust is making desperate effort with imported strikebreakers from the city and its special flying squadron of foremen and "straw" bosses sent from mill to mill to resume operations with sufficient efficiency to supply some of its principal customers, the great metropolitan newspapers.

Early in the controversy over the readjustment of wages in the paper industry the unions were successful in reaching an agreement with the independent mills, with the result that these are operating with union men at about 50 per cent of their capacity. A lift in the economic depression is expected to ease the burden of the long struggle of those workers by giving more business to the union mills that are competing with the Trust.

Strikers in these country towns have an advantage over the city workers while the mills are running

and when a strike is in progress, although there are also drawbacks resulting from their isolation from the labor movement and the labor press. Every one is known in town, the children go to the same school, the wives gossip about family affairs, and the local scandal. The mill town is a real community. There are a surprising number of Socialists still left among the workers from days when the party flourished up state and in New England.

To become a scab in that community is to commit har-kari. To be against the strikers would cost the local merchant, the doctor, the lawyer, the local newspaper publisher his clientele; hotel owners will not serve the scabs, nor will the daughter of a striker be seen sitting in the same bus or trolley car with a strike-breaker.

So the company goes to the city to get its scabs and to keep them away from the local community it houses them among the rolls and stacks of paper print, feeds them on the premises and protects them with armed men, who watch the surrounding hillsides. In many instances, injunctions have been granted the International Paper Company, preventing all picketing. In one town in Vermont the President of the local union was sent to the penitentiary for six months for shouting "scab" and thereby violating an injunction.

The monotony of the long drawn-out contest has been varied by regular entertainments and fairs that the strikers have put on. One of the most unique developments in any strike is the minstrel show that the Palmer Falls, N. Y., strikers have produced. With every performance the show has drawn capacity audiences.

The word "rat" is a synonym for "scab" in the strikers' vocabulary, which will explain the popularity of this lyric sung to the familiar tune of "Turkey in the Straw" by the minstrels:

"Rats in the pantry, rats in the wall, Rats in the barracks, rats in the hall, Rats in the store room and rats in the swill,

That's how the I. P. runs the mill."

One of the most remarkable strikers is a Salvation Army Major, who puts all of his religious fervor into the fight, and is the poet laureate for the 8,000 men. He was recently sent on tour of the strike towns to sing his songs of victory for the Union, based upon Salvation Army spirituals.

These paper mill strikers of up state and New England are showing the real Yankee spirit by their tenacity and courage in the face of privation and suffering, and although it is not commonly recognized, they are making a fight for the entire labor movement. Members of "out-of-town" committees of the International who have tried to organize shops in these sections know how vital it is to have the local labor movement alert and ready to help organize non-union shops of New York manufacturers.

## Creating Industrial Revolt

I. L. JUBE

The proposed Duell-Miller bill, which, its sponsors say, will eliminate strikes and other industrial disturbances, has within it the seed of more industrial turbulence than was created by the now infamous Allen law of Kansas. The Duell-Miller bill aims to establish an industrial court, with almost unlimited power.

Under its terms, strikes and all other organized efforts on the part of the workers to improve their living conditions are taboo. It virtually conscripts the workers, seeking to keep them in the factories and shops while their grievances are being considered by the Supreme Court. Except for this (the Kansas law provides for a special industrial commission) it follows closely the lines of the Kansas anti-strike law.

It will be remembered that when Governor Allen originally broached the establishment of an industrial tribunal in the State of Kansas both he and the interests for which he spoke gave wide publicity to what they termed "a panacea for all industrial ills." It was moreover proposed that other states copy the law of Kansas, and for all time eliminate the fearful results of industrial warfare. The state of New York, through some of its legislators, proposes to go the Kansas set one better. They mean to improve on the achievements of the industrial cure-all foisted upon the workers of Kansas by its Governor and predatory interests. It would, therefore, be well to consider some of the ramifications of the Kansas Act.

The accomplishments of the Kansas Act are now well known. It has not only failed to solve the problems existent at the time of its passage, but has created new and more involved situations. Its most significant result has been the virtual forcing of thousands of men and women to organized and deliberate violations of an existing code of law. For the first time in the history of the State of Kansas a substantial group of its citizens has declared war on a law and its enforcement. Thousands of ordinarily law-abiding citizens, most of them of American lineage, have adopted the methods of civil revolt in order to obtain redress for their grievances.

The industrial status of Kansas, and in a like measure the situation in the coal regions of West Virginia, serve to prove the futility of government by injunction. Even more does it show the ever increasing resentment of labor toward those who attempt to prevent it from using its organized efforts for better wages and improved working conditions.

If the industrial and political solons of the State of New York would look into the future—visualize industrial conditions after the passage and enactment of the Duell-Miller bill, there would be doubt as to its even being reported out of committee. It might even be suggested that the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, which is sponsoring the bill, send a committee to investigate the industrial state of mind in Kansas. Of

course, Allen and his publicity committee might construe this as a doubt of their veracity, but the investigation might be of the informal and under-cover variety with which the New York Board of Trade and Transportation is more or less familiar.

The committee of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation might mingle with the miners and other workers, and obtain first-hand information on the reaction of the workers toward the Allen Law. They might make a survey of the industrial center of Kansas, where they can interview the groups which are at this moment waging a relentless war on those who would deny them their fundamental rights. They might mingle with the thousands of working class women who are in revolt, and who have succeeded in beating back hordes of strikebreakers. They would find a much different Kansas than has been pictured in glowing terms by Governor Allen. They would find a Kansas which has become a breeding place for strikes, hatreds and industrial revolt. The committee would find that all this has been possible in a state which is predominantly agricultural, where the agrarian workers have not as yet found a common ground for active co-operation with the industrial worker. It is reasonable to assume that the failure of the anti-strike law in an agrarian state precludes its failure in an industrial state such as New York, with a million and a half industrial workers.

Such would be the findings of a committee bent on getting at the truth. If the New York Board of Trade and Transportation and the politicians at Albany feel they can cope with a replica of this attitude, multiplied ten times over, they are welcome to the law—and its passage. They are especially welcome to the revolt which is sure to follow, bringing in its wake industrial destruction, and the dissolution of the established machinery and methods for the solution of our industrial ills.

There is, however, very little possibility that our wise men at Albany will be permitted to do an incredibly stupid act as to pass the Duell-Miller bill.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York has already called upon all workers and fair-minded citizens to oppose the enactment of the bill. Not only those unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but every independent union, and hundreds of public-spirited organizations will insist on being heard, and will undoubtedly make their protest felt. A hearing has been set for March 1, at which the workers of the state will make emphatic protest against any curtailment of their right to combat the open-shoppers of American industry. Labor is literally up in arms even before the bill has been reported, and will beyond doubt repeat its past victories in defeating measures drawn after the same pattern and sponsored by the same interests which have proposed the Duell-Miller bill.

## JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Office, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y. Tel. Subscription 1126.

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Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year

Vol. IV. No. 9

Friday, February 24, 1922

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1907, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 23, 1918.

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# A Panic-Stricken Congress

By NATHANIEL BUCHWALD

Grand shows and carefully staged "dramatic" encounters we have had many at Washington, but it is years since the people have witnessed a genuine panic in the halls of Congress.

And a panic there is. No other word would better characterize the state of affairs in Congress or the state of mind of the "people's servants" from the President down.

Mortal fear has seized the lawmakers of our nation. There is a bluegone swinging menacingly over the political head of every one of them. The present Congress is threatened with annihilation.

"A bonus or your political life!"

The classical ultimatum of the footpad has been slightly altered to suit the time and place, but its substance is the same, and a chill runs down the Congressmen's and Senators' spine at the sound of it. It's an ugly alternative, compared with which "the devil or the deep sea" is a mere trivium.

The part of the hold-up man is played by that gallant band of knights known as the American Legion. They have been biding their time, amusing themselves by setting up a super-government and running towns and counties to suit their whims, or arranging hunting parties with "radicals," "Germans," "slackers," "agitators" and "reds" as prospective game. But now the hour has struck, the time is most auspicious for the "big event"—the hold-up of the government, or the people, or both.

The Legion must have its way, there is no reasoning about the fairness or expediency or wisdom of a bonus for all service men. You may as well argue ethics or manners with a gentleman operating in a dark street against a defenseless pedestrian.

Make no mistake. The Legion is opposed to force and violence, save now and then to instill in the radicals

a respect for law and order. The Legion does not threaten physical harm to a single Congressman or Senator, no matter how blither his stand against the "bonus" may be. The only thing the Legion does threaten is assassination at the polls, by means of the ballot, in approved American fashion.

Now, there is the usual hold-up psychology at play; the victim is not quite sure whether the hold-up man will really carry out his threat to kill, but he cannot take the chance of refusing the roll, for his very life is at stake. Perhaps the Legion is boasting of more than it can do. Perhaps it cannot control and determine the coming election. But supposing it can?

It is in this supposition, well founded or not, that makes the politician's blood run cold. It is this supposition that is responsible for the indefensible bonus idea. As a piece of rational legislation the bonus has not a leg to stand on. The assertion that it would cure unemployment is too preposterous to be seriously refuted. The way to cure unemployment is to provide employment; no other way has been or ever will be devised. Alms or hold-ups won't alter the conditions that make for unemployment. Besides, it is highly disingenuous to advocate the bonus as a lift to the unemployed. The fact is that it is demanded for all ex-service men, whether employed or not, whether in need of aid or not. By far the larger half of the demobilized 14 or 15 million are either employed or in no need of work for a living. At its best the bonus is a reward of soldiering, and at its worst it is a stupendous election bribe.

The very panic that has broken out in Congress over this unspeakable measure is proof that the country at large does not want it. If it were merely up to our lawmakers the

bonus would have long been enacted.

If public sentiment were in favor of such a bribe to the ex-soldiers men the politicians in Congress would make the most of such a sentiment, they would get on the band wagon and whoop up the show. But the public does not want the bonus, and Congress knows it only too well. So it's a case of "be damned if you do and be damned if you don't." The big thing is to win the coming election. If the bonus is pushed the Legion will support those who passed it, but the plain citizen, that unknown quantity of every election, will not. To him the bonus will mean so much more to pay out of his earnings. It matters little in what form the billions required for the bonus will be raised, it is the consumer that will ultimately pay. Formidable as the Legion may appear in the eyes of the Republican politicians, the country as a whole is a still greater power at the polls, and the administration is confronted with the choice of falling out either with the people or with the Legion.

You will notice that the leaders of both parties in Congress are voiceless in their support of the bonus. This, they hope, will put their party in good with the Legion. The Republicans would gladly make a party issue of it, but the Democrats refuse to be maneuvered into a position of hostility to it. The obnoxious measure has thus gained the practically unanimous support of Congress, though every Congressman and Senator hates the idea of it heartily enough.

When it comes, however, to raising money for the bonus, each party is trying to play safe, not to antagonize the merchant who makes the bonus, nor to offend Big Business, not to increase the burden of taxation for the worker. But the only way not to antagonize the taxpayer is not to make his burden heavier, i. e. not to make him foot the bonus bill. So there is your vicious circle.

Attempts have been made to fool the consumer into buying the elec-

tion for the Washington politicians. A plan was devised to tax certain commodities, such as automobiles, tobacco, and others; to impose levies upon such business processes as real estate sales, stock transfers, cashing of checks and to increase the parcel post rates. The merchant would pay the taxes, but not out of his own pocket, for he would charge it up to the consumer, and "with interest." But the Chambers of Commerce and the automobile magnates and the farmer organizations have raised a howl. Business is bad as it is, they protest, and if you will impose additional levies upon business transactions, the prices of commodities will rise and the few available customers will be frightened off the market.

The scheme was quickly abandoned by the leaders of Congress. But no other scheme is available. The same arguments apply to any other form of raising the huge amount required. President Harding dashed the hopes of the loan advocates by announcing his opposition to such a move. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon thinks a loan at this time would throw the finances of the country out of gear and result in a calamity for business. There remains the general sales tax, but the sales tax is about as popular with the people as a "dry" agent at a booze party.

All of which has precipitated a panic in Congress, and there is a mad scramble on the part of our lawmakers for positions of safety. They realize only too well that whatever the outcome, there will be hell to pay.

Particularly pitious is the plight of the Republican administration. Its leaders realize only too well that the party in power will have to answer for the bonus one way or another, and they furthermore realize that no matter which course they take they are heading for the rocks. We might have derived some cheer from the impending defeat of the Republican party in the coming elections if not for the cheerless prospect of a Democratic victory.

## With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

(Continued from Page 2)

requests that all organizations protest to Governor Miller, Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y., and to your Representatives in the Assembly and Senate, against the repeal of the law which prohibits that the state printing be done in prisons, except for use of state charitable institutions and the Prison Commission."

Upon motion, it was decided to send one telegram to the Labor and Industry Committee of the New York Senate, and one to the Insurance Committee of the Assembly.

A communication was received from Local 113, Mount Vernon Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, applying to the Joint Board for affiliation. It was decided to refer this request to the Board of Directors.

A communication was received from the Friends of Soviet Russia, in which they request the Joint Board to endorse the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia, and further request that it co-operate in the following ways:

1. By formally affiliating with the Friends of Soviet Russia.
2. By calling upon our membership to donate a portion of a day's pay to Russian Famine Relief.
3. By calling upon all affiliated bodies to take similar action.

The Joint Board, considering our activities on behalf of the Russian famine sufferers, decided to place the

communication from the Friends of Soviet Russia on file.

A communication was received from Rose Schneiderman, President of the Women's Trade Union League, which, in substance, reads as follows:

"The Legislative Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League of America is calling a conference of women trade unionists, to be held in Washington, D. C., on Sunday, February 19, 10 A. M., at the headquarters, 143 New York Avenue, N. W. We ask your organization to send a woman delegate to this conference so that we may secure united action on the question of the amendment proposed by the National Woman's Party, which we believe endangers industrial legislation for working women."

Upon motion, the request of the Women's Trade Union League was granted, and Sister Margaret Di Maggio was elected to represent our Joint Board at Washington, D. C.

The report of the Board of Directors of February 14 was taken up, and upon motion, the following was approved:

First. That we participate in the celebration of the Meyer London Fiftieth Anniversary Committee. A committee, consisting of the following was chosen: Local 10, Brother Berlin; Local 22, Brother Becker; Local 23, Sister Chanowitz; Local 60, Brother Jasper; Local 46, Brother Niesel; Local 29, Brother Columbus, to represent our Joint Board at the mass meeting to be held at the Lexington Opera House on Saturday

evening, March 4, and also attend the banquet in honor of Comrade Meyer London, which will be given at Beethoven Hall, on March 10.

Second. That we contribute \$25 to the "Messenger" Magazine, a publication devoted to the welfare of the colored workers.

Third. That we purchase for \$10 tickets for the ball to be given by the Jewish Orphan Asylum, of which Judge Gustave Hartman is President.

Fourth. That we elect a Relief Committee of three members, for the purpose of giving relief to those workers who were called out on strike.

Upon motion, the following were elected as the Relief Committee: Weinberg, of Local 22; Riesel, of Local 61; Egitto, of Local 89.

Brother Riesel informed the Joint Board about a hearing which will be held in Albany the 1st of March, in regard to the Anti-Strike Bills. He said that it is advisable to have organized labor present at said hearing. Upon a motion made, Brothers Antonini and Wolinsky were elected to represent our Joint Board at that hearing.

Brother Hochman, Chief Organizer, reported that since January 20 180 shops which were called down on strike settled independently or joined the Association of Dress Manufacturers, and some shops are still on strike. Besides that, Brother Hochman reported that a conference was held with the Jobbers' Association, which resulted in reaching the following agreement:

First. That each and every member of the Jobbers' Association is to sub-

mit a list of their union and non-union contractors to the Union.

Second. That each and every jobber is to immediately withdraw work from any contractor who is not in contractual relations with the Union.

Third. Mr. Siegel, President of the Jobbers' Association, pledged himself to co-operate with the Union representatives to the fullest extent, that is, that all the work made for the members of the Jobbers' Association should be done in union shops only.

Fourth. That the clause in our agreement, in regard to embroidery, which should be done in union embroidery shops only, was embodied in an understanding reached at this conference. In order to prove their good faith, the Association requested their President to make a statement to that effect in the public press.

In conclusion, Brother Hochman urged the Joint Board to encourage the organization work with more vigor. He announced that within the next few days new circulars will be ready for distribution, and hopes that the organization Committee will receive the necessary addresses to carry on the work to organize the non-organized workers.

Brother Hochman's report was approved.

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



# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Office: 21, Essex Square, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Stuyvesant 1122.

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A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year

Vol. IV. No. 9

Friday, February 24, 1922

Entered as Second Class Matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

## EDITORIALS

### A DAMOCLEAN SWORD

The growing insistence for the incorporation of trade unions appears to have on the surface, at least, a certain aspect of justification. Why, indeed, should labor unions be an exception. Why should they be allowed to form a so-called "state within a state"? Why should the State be able to dictate and supervise the management of a bank or of any other corporation and be barred from looking into the management of a labor union? Why can the State compel a bank to give a public accounting of its business, whenever called upon in the "interest of the public," while it cannot perform a similar function with regard to trade unions?

We admit, there are, here and there, a few so-called trade unions for which such outside interference would be a blessing in disguise. We have in mind "labor" organizations owned body and soul by a clique of rowdies, to get rid of which it required, for instance, such a huge outside effort as was exerted by the recent disclosures of the Lockwood Committee. For such unions, existence under the general corporation laws would, perhaps, be desirable—if these petty labor Tzars would not succeed somehow or other to convert this law into a dead letter. Such unions, however, are an exception. They strike a cancerous growth upon the labor movement which must, sooner or later, amputate them at any pain or cost. The very fact that the labor movement of this country, in spite of all obstacles, continues to develop and grow, is proof that basically it is healthy and strong. A labor union, though of outward similarity with a corporation, is distinctly different from it. A corporation is a soulless organization. A corporation with a soul would lose its reason and chance for existence; a union is an organization with a soul par excellence. For the soulless corporation, the law and its supervision is of extreme importance. It acts in lieu of the soul, as it were, and keeps it within reasonable sound bounds. In the case of the union, however, this legal surveillance would be only a demoralizing factor. It would deaden the soul of the labor union, which is the very basic element of its existence and without which the most conservative and backward of them cannot function.

A visit to a meeting of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union or the General Executive Board of our International, for instance, would be illuminating proof of this soulfulness of a labor organization. The activities of a true union are so widely divergent that one really finds it hard to distinguish where its function as a labor organization ends and its activities as that of a public institution begin. Watching such a labor union at work at close range, one perceives the most concrete proof that all that concerns humanity in general, all its problems and wants, are the concern of the union. There is not a cause of importance that such a union does not respond to.

Millions of peasants are stricken with famine in Russia. Immediately it becomes the affair of the union, and tens of thousands of dollars are being raised for the amelioration of this catastrophe. Somewhere a labor educational institution is being formed; a newspaper of friendly attitude towards labor is being launched; they need money and they appeal to the labor union, which in the majority of cases responds generously to this appeal. Miners are starving in the hovels of West Virginia; political prisoners are languishing in jails, victims of mob hysteria. Again the Union responds liberally. Legal guardianship would rob the Union of its spiritual existence and would leave it in the paralyzing, dull, soulless atmosphere of a corporation. A union, indeed, must be a great deal more than a combination for selfish, egotistic purposes. The strict bounds of the law would wither the flower and the spirit of the labor movement and would make it valueless and worthless.

There lies the menace of the new legislative plans that are being forged by our masters and their servitors. This danger consists not only of the fact that a labor union would not be able to call a strike without the consent of a court—something which, by the way, will never happen. But even if we were to admit, for the sake of argument, that the intervention of industrial courts would not result in economic loss to the workers, its strangling ramifications, its prohibition of strikes would make the existence of the unions impossible. It is true, a great many unions are not fond of striking and are doing their best to find other means for settling their disputes with employers. The fact, however, remains that such unions *can* strike, if they wish. The new law, however, would make this wish a crime and would thereby deal a mortal blow to the union.

The planned new laws would also totally eliminate that budding and inspiring growth within our labor movement which takes form in sympathetic strikes, strikes not for selfish, egotistic motives, but for the support of groups of other workers or general humanitarian and altruistic causes. It would also

outlaw strikes for organization purposes, to bring within the fold of the union unorganized workers in a given industry. The strike, it must also be remembered, has been much more than a weapon for economic betterment. It has had a very important additional function for the workers. It has served to remove racial prejudices within the working classes, and has taught the men and women of labor how to fight and win—a priceless lesson of unity and solidarity. Only recently we have heard of a colored dressmaker, one of our Philadelphia girl-strikers, who had made an impassioned speech to her sister strikers, calling upon them to donate a dollar from their meagre strike benefits for the famine sufferers of far-away Russia. This wonderful expression of the highest form of generosity is the outgrowth of the atmosphere and sentiment that pervades every labor fight, every struggle of the workers.

The labor movement will not abandon its idealism and become the submissive object of legalistic surveillance. Such "guardianship" would spell its moral and physical death.

### THE GREAT TEXTILE STRIKE

Our nearest kin, our brothers, the weavers—without whose work no cloaks, suits or waists can be made—are now on strike.

They are fighting against a substantial reduction of wages and a material increase of work-hours. The textile mill owners of New England have cut down one-fourth of the textile workers' wages and increase their hours from 48 to 54 per week. Fifty thousand weavers are already on strike, and it can be expected that their numbers will be greatly augmented very soon.

The strikers left the mills with the grim determination to win the fight. If they continue the conflict with the same tact and solidarity as they have displayed in the early stages of the fight, they will win their just battle, sooner or later. The members of our International surely regard their fight as their own, and will undoubtedly aid them.

We are equally sure that the entire labor movement is in full sympathy with the strike of the textile workers, and will help them to the fullest extent. The principal thing is the fight must be conducted with deliberation and cool-headedness. The strikers must not permit themselves to be provoked into foolish acts by the spies and the agents of the bosses who are, probably, on guard for every opportunity to convert this struggle into a bloody carnage. The weavers have gone through numerous conflicts already, and we hope that they have learned the art of effective and compact fighting. We congratulate the striking textile workers of New England upon their courage in having gone out on strike for the defense of a humane standard of living, and we are confident that their complete victory is in sight.

### THE PHILADELPHIA WAIST AND DRESS STRIKE

Our International has a number of large-scale conflicts to its credit. We do not believe, however, that all the big fights we have had in the past can be compared in endurance and true heroism to the fight of the waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia.

The terms "courage," "fearlessness," and similar other expressions pale and lose their appeal to our imagination when placed side by side with the behavior of these Philadelphia girls. They have been in this fight for a half year, and one can easily imagine the want and the destitution which this protracted conflict has brought to hundreds upon hundreds of them. The strike has cost the International over \$200,000, even though the strikers get only very small strike benefits. In addition, the so-called "public" Philadelphia, as it is expressed through its newspapers, has been right along, if not antagonistic, at least callous and indifferent towards the girl strikers.

Add to this the relentless persecution by the police and the local courts, and one can easily visualize the immensity of that fight. Truly, no matter what its outcome, this fight will remain one of the most beautiful pages in the history of our International.

### LOCAL NO. 20 INSTALLS NEW OFFICERS

It was real pleasure to have been present last week to the installation meeting of officers in Local 20, the organization of the Waterproof Garment Workers of New York. It is our impression—judging by the calibre of the unpaid officers—that No. 20 is one of our best locals and it is equally obvious to us that it owes a good deal for its present condition to the work of its former manager, Brother Wexler, who has made himself beloved and respected by the members of his Union and very much respected by the employers in the industry. From the many speeches delivered from the floor we have also gleaned that the average intelligence of the membership of this local is of a high order, and that, no doubt, has contributed to the success of the organization. It was true delight to have listened to their talks as well as to have taken part in the friendly gathering which took place in a restaurant after the meeting had come to an end.

While the Executive Board of the local remains, on the whole, unchanged, Local 20 has a new Manager in place of Brother Wexler, who has resigned—Brother Arthur A. Samuels. Brother Samuels is one of the oldest and best known members of the organization, and we are certain that the mantle of Brother Wexler could not have fallen on worthier shoulders. Brother Samuels is known to us for a number of years, and we have nothing but kind words to say about him. We are confident that he will have the solid backing and confidence of the entire membership of the local.

We wish Local 20, its Executive Committee and its two managing officers, Brothers Samuels and Freedman, to continue piling up a record of excellent achievement as they have done so well in the past.

# At The Last Quarterly Meeting Of The G. E. B.

By S. Y.

In the opinion of the writer, Atlantic City is a poor place for amusement in winter. The Boardwalk, that famous attraction of multitudes in the summer, is well-nigh deserted on wintry days. Nevertheless, this sea-side resort held a particular attraction for the members of our General Executive who met there last week. It was at Atlantic City, we must remember, that the cloak employers of the country had met together last October and founded their nationwide association. At that meeting the plan for destroying the cloakmakers' unions was laid, and the reintroduction of the piece-work system, the increasing of hours from 44 to 49 per week, and a reduction in wages were decided upon.

Sure of their strength and confident that they are the masters of the situation, they have decreed in high spirits the elimination of the union and of union standards in the cloak industry. Through the noise and clamor of the waves that beat unceasingly against the Jersey shore they have heard nothing but the words: "Victory, victory over the union!" In their ecstasy, however, they must have missed the whisper of the waves! And when the members of our General Executive Board came to Atlantic City on February 12, they have heard different sounds, and different words. Through the sleet, rain and storm to them the waves were saying: "Bravo, cloak-

makers! You have won a great and notable victory!"

Yet, we wouldn't want the reader to conclude from this that such a feeling of vindictiveness has found any expression at the meeting of the Board. To be sure, the Board wasted no time dressing the recent activities of our International in any beautiful verbiage or high-falutin phraseology. It saw new work in front of it and went to it at once. The first two meetings of the Board were attended, by our counsel, Mr. Morris Hillquit, whose presence aided a good deal in giving the required clarity to certain very complex problems.

The first question tackled by the Board was the one relating to the prospective investigation of the cloak industry of New York by the Federal authorities. A few additional words anent this very important point would not, perhaps, be amiss.

Two years ago, our International adopted at its Chicago convention a resolution in which the Federal authorities in Washington were called upon to make a thorough investigation of the cloak industry. Charges have been hurled against the workers that they were the profiteers in the industry and were getting rich at the expense of the helpless public. The manufacturers, it was stated, were mere angels in comparison with the workers in the cloak trade. To bring this base slander to an end, the convention adopted the resolution and forwarded it to Washington. It received no reply to it, and

the matter has lain dormant ever since.

Only when the last strike broke out and the manufacturers began to scent defeat, they commenced to knock at the Washington doors asking for Federal investigation. The Government, however, did not wish to undertake anything before obtaining the consent of the union, particularly after the union had won its court victory over the employers. Only after the strike had ended with a victory for the workers, did the manufacturers declare that they would want an investigation in the industry, its findings to form a basis for a future agreement with the union—after the expiration of the present agreement.

This request was received by the Washington authorities with considerable interest, and Secretaries Hoover and Davis, of Commerce and of Labor, have notified President Schlesinger that the Government is ready to make the investigation on the basis of the co-operation of the Manufacturers' Association, the union and the Governmental agencies. President Schlesinger replied thereto that he was not opposed to such an investigation and that, in point of fact, our International had itself demanded it from the Government two years ago. It depends only on the nature of the investigation that the Government has in mind. If the investigation is to consist only of a superficial examination of the conditions in the shops, of the workers' wages and of the work-hours, it would be a useless undertaking which would not get the consent of our International. Only a thorough-going investigation involving the raw materials, the manufacture, the merchandizing and the selling of the garments and every other factor of importance entering into the production of cloaks, could receive the sanction of our organization.

The reply of Secretaries Hoover and Davis was that it was such an investigation as indicated by Pres-

ident Schlesinger that they have had in mind, and requesting that a list of names of several impartial persons be presented by the union to the secretaries from which they might select the union's representatives on the investigation committee. To this latter President Schlesinger replied that he would present the entire matter to the next meeting of the General Executive Board which is to be held shortly.

A very extensive debate arose on this subject. Who would be these impartial persons that the International should recommend as its representatives on the investigation commission? Of course, it is important that the investigation be conducted in a spirit of thorough impartiality,—but who in these days of heated partisanship and slanders can be designated as an "impartial person"? Then, it must be kept in mind, that these designees must be persona grata in the eyes of the Government, too. The union, on the other hand, cannot leave the fate of its tens of thousands of members in the hands of persons of whose sympathies or understanding of the true problems in the cloak industry it may have any doubts whatever. All these elements make the choice of the union's representatives on this commission a very difficult and arduous task, particularly in view of the fact that the employers are already trumpeting in their press about a victory resulting to them from this investigation. Of course, this "victory" will, we know, turn out to be as much of an illusion as all their former "victories." But it emphasizes the care and the sagacity which must be exercised in this matter.

As a result of these discussions it was decided to leave the entire matter in the hands of President Schlesinger and that meanwhile another letter be sent to Washington reiterating the scope and the width of the investigation as originally proposed by the union. Only when undertaken and carried out on that scale will the union consider to take up any responsibility for the outcome and for the findings of this commission.

(Continued Next Week)

## Next Convention Will Be Held in Cleveland

(Continued From Page 1.)

General Office to all the locals of the International:

To the Officers and Members of Affiliated Locals—Greetings:

Pursuant to our constitution, we herewith issue a call to our next convention—the sixteenth in the history of our International Union—to be held in the city of Cleveland, beginning Monday, May 1, 1922, at 9 A.M. The past two years of the existence of our Union have been years of defensive fighting.

During these two years, a number of important battles have been fought in every branch of our industry throughout the country in the defense of our hard-earned standards of work, for the retention of the week-work system, the 44-hour week, and our wage scales—contests which have invariably ended in victories for our organization, and have served to strengthen our position.

Our work, however, is far from done. The march of events has brought forth, and is daily bringing to the front, questions of great importance to the welfare of our workers and the prosperity of our Union. These questions of policy and prac-

tice require for their solution the collective wisdom of our membership, and these your General Executive Board will lay before the sixteenth convention of our International—the supreme delegated body of our Organization.

It behooves you, therefore, to send your ablest, most experienced and tried members as delegates to this convention. Let no motives of false economy deter you from sending your full quota of delegates. Remember that the strength of an organization depends upon the wisdom of its laws and policies and the efficiency of its administration.

To be entitled to representation, the per capita, assessments, and all other charges must be paid up until April 1, 1922. Enclosed herewith please find a number of credentials and duplicates to which you are entitled.

Hoping to meet your delegates in the city of Cleveland, on May 1, we remain, with best wishes,

Fraternally yours,

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER, President.

ABRAHAM BAROFF, General Secretary-Treasurer.

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## MEYER LONDON

Will be Celebrated at a

## Mass Meeting Saturday Evening, March 4

## At Lexington Theatre

51st Street and Lexington Avenue.

Prominent Workers in the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Will Speak. Names of Speakers Will Be Announced Later

A Grand Public Banquet has been arranged for  
FRIDAY EVE., March 10, at BEETHOVEN HALL,

210 East 5th Street, New York.

A. S. NEGIN, Secretary

MEYER LONDON ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE.

61 Canal Street, New York City.



# American Periodical Literature

By DAVID P. BERENBERG

## VI. THE LABOR PRESS

Labor long ago ceased to expect fair treatment at the hands of the press. The lesson was learned in the days of the Reform Bill (1833) and a little later, in the Chartist movement, when the papers, like everything else, fell into the hands of the rapidly growing bourgeoisie. Nor has anything happened in recent labor history to give labor more confidence in the integrity of the press. If there is any possibility of telling a story in two ways, and if one version is even slightly unfavorable to labor, that is the version that the papers will carry.

As soon as labor began to realize, even dimly, the vast strength of the daily and weekly newspaper it put its own papers into the field. This was not done without a great deal of effort and sacrifice, and in the face of a determined and resolute opposition. The world at large hardly realizes the debt it owes to the early labor movement in England in putting the newspaper within the reach of the masses.

Newspapers, when they first appeared, cost three pence or four pence (the nominal equivalent of six or eight cents in our money, but actually, considering the time, much more). At a time when the daily wage of a skilled machine worker was two or three shillings a day, it was obviously impossible for him to buy papers, even if he had been able to read. The urge to know what was going on in the great world was very strong; the French Revolution of 1789-92 had caused a wave of excitement and enthusiasm to spread even to the poorest and most ignorant workers of England. Not being able to read, and not possessing funds sufficient to pay the high price of the papers, the workers formed clubs, in which the news was read aloud, once a week. The government did not like this, and to stop it put a tax on newspapers that brought the price up to seven pence. Not satisfied with this, the government used the famous combination laws to break up the club meetings.

The situation so created started one of the most interesting fights in labor history. This fight—conducted by the barely conscious new proletariat in the thirties of the last century—ended in the establishment of the penny press. The result of this fight was the establishment of a remarkable series of papers that fought the battle of Chartist to the end of that movement. Chief among these were the "Poor Man's Guardian," and "The Northern Star."

Those of us who are interested in the growth of a real labor press in the United States will be interested in the history of these papers. There is not a difficulty confronting us today that did not confront our predecessors who edited the "Northern Star." Lack of funds, misrepresentation, libel suits, even jail terms—all were present. And then, as now, the worst enemy of the labor press was the indifference of those very workers whose interests the labor papers sought to serve.

The labor press in the United States falls into two distinct groups: (1), those conducted by independent groups for labor generally, and (2), those conducted by labor organizations for the benefit particularly of their own members. Each of these groups is of course subdivided, along

lines determined by tactics, policies and personalities.

Among the papers conducted by groups outside the actual circles of organized labor, the most important tend toward the Socialist point of view, where they do not actually endorse it. It is impossible, in this article, to discuss such papers as the "Butte Bulletin," "The Seattle Union Record," and the Milwaukee "Leader" in detail. The general outlines of the problems they face are the same, and in the main they handle them in the same way. These are probably the most successful examples of their style, and their success, such as it is, is due rather to the use of the same devices used by their bourgeois competitors. As has been pointed out in a previous article, the working class in this country will not read a paper that does not give them "Mutt and Jeff" cartoons or their equivalent. The chief value of such papers—and it is not my desire to underestimate or overestimate their value—lies in the specific services rendered to labor in times of strike, or in other crises. These papers can always be counted on to present the case of labor, in local disputes, and, of course, in the nation-wide conflicts. They also carry many articles on economics, labor history, labor education, etc., of great value to the growing working-class movement.

In the same general class, but doing its work rather differently, is the New York "Call." It is easy to list the shortcomings of this paper. It would not be half so easy to do without it. It is not difficult to set back and in a superior manner point out that a paper of such limited circulation cannot deeply affect the currents of public opinion. Yet the hard fact remains that in innumerable strikes, notably in the recent strikes of the cloakmakers and of the Men's Garment Workers, the publicity given to the case of the workers in the "Call" has forced other papers to give similar publicity. For no paper wants to be "scooped"—especially by such a paper as the one we are discussing. Not to understand this phase of journalism in America is not to understand journalism at all. Every paper wants to print what it considers news. News of interest to labor is not "news" so long as there is no public to which such news appeals. But if a single paper gives prominent publicity to some piece of labor news it may come to the attention of more than just the few readers of that particular journal. An embarrassing situation may then arise. Inconsiderate people may begin to ask, "Why did not the —, or the —, carry this bit of news?" The existence of the "Call" creates precisely this situation in many cases. If the "Call" performed to other service it would be invaluable for this alone.

But apart from this, the daily news notes of the labor world, which no other paper carries, are a great service to organized labor. So are the educational articles; so are many of the editorials.

It is unfortunate that so much that is good should be tied up with so much that is weak and sometimes childish. The labor press has yet to learn that the exaggerations of the capitalist press cannot be met with counter exaggerations; to argue the hopes of the workers beyond any possibility of realization is a psychological crime. Always after such hopes are awakened, their failure brings in

## THE STAGE

There will be three matinees weekly of the "Chauve-Souris" at the Forty-ninth Street Theater hereafter. They will be given on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

Dennis King has been engaged by the Theater Guild for the Shaw cycle, "Back to Methuselah." He will play Cain "In the Beginning," and Strephon in "As Far as Thought Can Reach."

Mary Shaw's announced revival of "Mrs. Warren's Profession," planned for tomorrow at the Punch and Judy, has been indefinitely postponed. "Ghosts" closed at the Punch and Judy on Saturday instead of being continued until tonight.

Charlotte Greenwood appeared for the first time in "Letty Pepper" last night in Atlantic City. The play is a musical version of Charles Klein's "Maggie Pepper."

Barney Bernard will be seen in Keith vaudeville in "The Birthday," by George B. Hobart.

Jack McGowan has been engaged for "The Rose of Stamboul," coming to the Century.

Robert Edmund Jones and Cleon Throckmorton will design the sets for Eugene O'Neill's play, "The Hair Ape," which will be produced next month.

The Morningside Players will give their second program of the season at the Brinkerhoff Theater, Barnard College, on February 28 and March 1. They will present three short plays.

### CHICAGO FAREWELLS

"Thais" occurs a second time, with Namara new as heroine, assisted by Ritch and Dufrance, on Friday evening.

"Rigoletto" is repeated at the final Saturday matinee, when Mason, Schipa, Schwarz and others will take their leave.

"The Love of Three Kings" will ring the Manhattan curtain down on Saturday night, with Garden, Johnson, Baklanoff, Lazari and Polacco.

Starting another week in Philadelphia, the company is to appear also in Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Helena, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver and Wichita, closing its tour April 23 at Chicago.

Mengelberg will again conduct at the Philharmonic performance on Sunday afternoon, February 26, also in Carnegie Hall. His program for this concert includes Bizet's Suite "L'Arlesienne" No. 1, the three orchestra sketches of Debussy entitled

its wake a train of depression which is not shaken off for a long time. The "Call" has been guilty of this—as has probably every paper devoted to the interests of labor. It is easy to understand why this is the case. The error arises out of a very natural desire to be optimistic in the face of a difficult situation, and to encourage the workers. We have yet to learn moderation in this, as in other things. There is still another type of "labor paper" published outside the act-

"The Sea," and Schubert's Seventh Symphony, in C major.

The Philharmonic Society will give four performances of Mahler's Third Symphony, the first to be at the Metropolitan Opera House on Tuesday evening, February 28, the next two at Carnegie Hall on Thursday evening, March 2, and Friday afternoon, March 3, and the fourth at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Sunday afternoon, March 5. Mengelberg will conduct and the Society will have the assistance of the St. Cecilia Club of women's voices, Victor Harris, conductor; Father Finn's boy choir from the Paulist Choristers, with Jolia Clausen as the contralto soloist.

### METROPOLITAN OPERA

"Lucia" will be another special matinee on Friday, with Galli-Curci, Gigli, De Luca and Marlonas. "Cavalleria," with Jeritza and Chamlee, and "Pagliacci," with Bori, Salazar and Scotti, are paired Friday evening.

"Faust," with Farrar, Martinelli and Rothel, will be sung a third time at the Saturday matinee.

"Die Walkure," with Easton, Matzenauer, Kingdon and Whitehill, has a fifth performance Saturday night.

Gregory Matsuzewitz, the concertina artist, will make his American debut on Saturday evening, February 5, 8:30 o'clock, at Town Hall, 113 West 42nd Street. Mr. Matsuzewitz will be assisted by Vera Smirnova, soprano, who will sing Russian folk songs. The program includes selections from Kreisler, Tchaikowsky, Debussy, and others.

Tickets may be secured at the office of the Educational Department, Room 1003, 31 Union Square.

### CO-OPERATIVE MOVING PICTURE THEATER

It is possible for the audience to run the show. A fine-looking theater building was erected and is owned by the people of New Athens, Ill., on a co-operative basis. Mr. Wuens, the manager of the local co-operative store, took the initiative and put the proposition up to the members of his society and the rest of the citizens of the little town. There was not a decent show house in the community, and he proposed that the citizens who liked shows should put up the money themselves and build one. Thereupon \$15,000 was raised in cash, a mortgage loan of a similar amount was secured from the local bank, and the theater became a fact. Four nights a week the society runs a moving picture show, charging only ten cents admission. The profits now go to paying up the mortgage. On the other two nights of the week the theater is rented to outsiders, sometimes to regular theatrical road shows, which hitherto had never been able to visit the town. The interior is beautifully fitted up and seats 700 people. Similar co-operative theaters may be found in Beuld and Staunton, Ill., and in Newmansonton, Pa.

ual limits of the organized labor movement. A number of small cities, and some large ones, have papers run by former labor leaders, often with the endorsement of the local central bodies. The general effect of these papers is very bad. They frequently become pawns in some game of local politics. By taking the "standpat" attitude in matters of general economic theory, they hopelessly compromise their usefulness in any specific crisis.



# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### FEDERAL JUDICIARY AND BIG BUSINESS

An alliance between the federal judiciary and big business was charged on the floor of the United States Senate by Mr. LaFollette, who declared that courts are stripping the workers of their weapons of defense that their spirit may be crushed and a new generation of serfs may be bred.

"No such powerful combination has ever been arrayed together for an evil purpose in the history of this country," said the Wisconsin law maker. "In comparison with it, the slave power, with its representatives sitting in the Senate and House, and with its spokesman as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court delivering the Dred Scott decision, pales into insignificance by the record that is being made by the federal courts in our time."

In protesting against wage reductions, Senator LaFollette said:

"When the workers are well paid and steadily employed, there is prosperity and a good market, not only for merchants, but for farmers and manufacturers as well. When half the workers are on the streets seeking employment and the other half are being paid wages insufficient to maintain a decent standard of living, there is commercial and agricultural stagnation and depression which all the unemployment conferences and agricultural conferences in the world cannot relieve or even appreciably relieve.

"This is the great economic truth which every statesman must realize. It is so self-evident that a child in grammar school can understand it. And yet it is ignored and violated every day by those who are now in control of the destinies of this nation."

### START "COMPANY" UNION

The Borden's Farm Products Company has organized a company "union," following the end of a strike of its milk wagon drivers. The company's publicity agent says employees are "enthusiastic" over the new "union," whose main feature is a string of red tape, starting with local committees in all branches. These committees may recommend to the superintendent of the branch affected, then to the district manager, then to the personnel department, then to the district committee, and then to the president of the company, who is the court of last resort.

### OHIO MINERS STARVE

Nurses and relief workers who have penetrated into the coal mining camps of the hills in the Hocking Valley report literally hundreds of cases of destitution among the families of the coal diggers. Families have been found, scores of them, with no food in the cupboards; barefooted children in rags, huddling around wood fires, as they even have no fuel coal.

All the mines are practically idle because of no orders, and the savings of the miners have long since been exhausted.

### SHORT HOURS AN ANTIDOTE

Short hours is an antidote for the monotonous employment on automatic machinery, said Miss Mary McDowell, of Chicago, in a speech in this city.

"The old creative interest of making something has no longer a place in the modern industrial worker's scheme of things," she said. "Each worker has an infinitely small part in making the article and this part is done over and over again—thousands of times during the day, with an automatic machine.

"This sameness and lack of mental stimulation causes a numbness of the mind, which will, in time, cause the worker to deteriorate."

The speaker said that the remedy for this condition is shorter hours. "We must shorten hours for the industrial worker. This applies especially to women," she said.

### PAINTERS' NEW HOME

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers has issued a beautifully printed brochure descriptive of their four-story office building erected in New York City.

The building is in the Italian style of architecture—peculiarly appropriate for the home of an organization interested in the decorative art. It is stated that the "color effects attained in the building are evidence that this age has developed not only marvelous materials to work with, but the artistic genius to put these materials together with fine harmony.

"The whole appearance of the Brotherhood building exterior suggests at once those precious advantages in modern design and arrangement over much that is ancient, with respect to convenience, lighting, ventilating and sanitation."

### ENFORCING THE COMPENSATION LAW

Employers of New York who failed to protect their employees by carrying insurance as required by the state workmen's compensation law are being sought out by Industrial Commissioner Sayer. The campaign will be kept up until every employer within the scope of the law shall have provided protection for his workmen.

### HAVE YOU DOUBLED YOUR WAGES?

The American dollar in New York City is worth 53.7c compared with 1914 value, according to the newest reports of the cost of living compiled by the Department of Labor. Incomes must be larger by about \$50 for each \$100 received in the pre-war period.

### COSSACKS IN MARYLAND

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, got into the fight yesterday that organized labor is making against the state police of Maryland. In a letter to Henry F. Broening, President of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers expressed opposition to the consubstantial bill now before the Legislature legalizing the state force. "Such a law," he declared, "would not only endanger the rights of labor, but of the great masses of the people of Maryland."

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### INDIA

#### BRITISH CIVILIZATION

"Non-Co-operators are being flogged in prison. If they swoon under the torture they are flogged again after they recover consciousness."

This is the terrible revelation made in a letter from the imprisoned editor, Desai, which has just been published by Gandhi.

In spite of their agony, he writes, the men never ceased to shout "Hurrah for Gandhi!"

The Government issues a denial, which is taken for what it is worth.

The spirit of the Non-Co-operators is akin to that of the early Christian martyrs. Extraordinary scenes have been enacted in Lucknow, where volunteers in crowds offered themselves for imprisonment, even trying to enter prison vans on the streets. Everywhere there is a great rush to join the Prohibited Volunteer Corps.

### AFRICA

#### SOUTH AFRICAN BOSSES REFUSE TO ARBITRATE

The general strike in South Africa was caused by refusal of employers to arbitrate, says Trade Commissioner Perry J. Stevenson, at Johannesburg, in a cable to the department of commerce.

The original strike started when the coal miners were asked to accept a five-shilling wage cut.

Without complications, says the Trade Commissioner, the situation would have been readjusted, but when the Chamber of Mines refused to arbitrate and the gold miners went out on sympathetic strike the long-standing color problem was injected into the controversy, making the adjustment more difficult.

It is stated that the mine owners do not desire to remove the color bar. What they want is greater production either through the employment of more native labor or more hours per day for white laborers.

### RUSSIA

#### MORE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONS

A new insurrection against the Soviet authorities in South Russia has been planned, and will—if the project does not go amiss—be launched at the moment when the Genoa Conference is in session. The Rumanian town of Bendari has been selected as the center of the movement, and machine guns, cannon and small military formations are being concentrated there.

It has already been determined that the Ukrainian royalist, Skoropasky, is to participate in the projected gamble. As tentative leader of the "insurrection," the French have suggested Grekoff, a notorious pan-Russian General, who now graces Vienna with his unsolicited presence.

By way of encouragement, the French military mission in Rumania has offered the armored cruiser Marabashiti to the Ukrainian reactionaries. The vessel is now anchored in the Black Sea. An attempt is also being made to bring these plans into accord with the schemes of General Wrangel, who is expected to lead his remaining forces in a descent upon the Kuban or Caucasian regions.

### MEXICO

#### FRIENDLY PLOTTING AGAIN?

Another investigation into alleged propaganda that would interfere with relations between this country and Mexico was asked for in the House today. Representative Connolly, of Texas, has a resolution urging an inquiry into accusations that certain American organizations are seeking to overturn the Obregon Government. Representative Benham, of Indiana, introduced today a resolution asking the foreign affairs committee to conduct an investigation of the activities of individuals and organizations in behalf of the Mexican Government.

### CHINA

#### "UNLAWFUL"

The Seamen's Union in Hong Kong, whose strike has tied up numerous ships, has been declared by Sir R. E. Stubbs, Governor of the colony of Hong Kong, to be an unlawful organization. The police have seized the Union's headquarters.

### ENGLAND

#### CAPITAL AND LABOR

Fred Bramley, speaking at the week-end, said that the capitalist class had come out of the war with 5,000 million pounds more than when it entered it, while the wage bill of the working classes had decreased by 9,000,000 pounds a week.

#### VOCATIONAL INVESTIGATION

In order to increase the output of industry and cause an increase of good-will, the Industrial Fatigue Research Board of England has just issued a scheme of the investigations which it feels to be urgent if the recruits of industry are to be suitable for the tasks they take up. Tests are the basis of the plan so that each recruit may be set at a task that is agreeable to him.

### JAPAN

#### WORKERS' EDUCATION

An institute for workers' education has been formed at Tokyo, consisting of five departments.

Mr. Banji Suzuki, formerly honorary President of the Yui Kai, is concentrating on making the project a success, and already a Japanese Labor School has been started, with 160 students, whose ages vary from 19 to 60.

The subjects taught include industrial politics, factory management, jurisprudence, labor legislation, psychology, political economy, sociology, social politics, social theory, history of trade unionism and the Labor movement.

## Educational Comment and Notes

### Course in Applied Economics

By SOLON DE LEON

#### OUTLINE OF LESSONS GIVEN AT THE UNITY CENTERS OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

##### LESSON 1

##### INDUSTRIAL WASTE

1. There are certain fundamental wants of man. Among these are:
  - 1) Wholesome food
  - 2) Adequate housing
  - 3) Adequate clothing
  - 4) Education, including books, news, lectures
  - 5) Recreation and play
  - 6) Public health work
  - 7) Art, including music, painting, literature, theatre
2. Engineers are learning that industry as at present carried on, is very inefficient in serving these wants. There is a great waste of:
  - 1) Labor of hand and brain
  - 2) Materials
  - 3) Power
 (Stuart Chase, "The Challenge of Waste to Existing Industrial Creeds," Nation, February 23, 1921)

3. Wastes occur in:
  - 1) Technical methods of production
  - 2) Methods of distribution
  - 3) Uselessness, adulteration, or harmfulness of the product
  - 4) Unemployment, or waste of human time
  - 5) Waste of human life, limb or character
 (Spencer "Wealth from Waste," ch. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; Veblen, "The Engineers and the Price System," ch. 5)
4. Technical study of six representative American industries in 1921 showed that the amount of waste in their operation was
  - 1) Metal trades, 29 per cent waste
  - 2) Boot and shoe manufacturing, 41 per cent
  - 3) Textile manufacturing, 49 per cent
  - 4) Building industry, 53 per cent
  - 5) Printing, 58 per cent
  - 6) Men's clothing manufacturing, 64 per cent waste
 (Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of Federated American Engineering Societies, "Waste in Industry," ch. 2)

5. Waste in production arises from:
  - 1) Low production caused by faulty management
  - 2) Interrupted production caused by idle men or machinery
  - 3) Restricted production intentionally caused by owners, managers, or workers
  - 4) Lost production caused by sickness or industrial accidents.
 Over half of this waste is due to management, less than one-quarter to labor.
 (Committee on Elimination of Waste, ch. 2)
6. In the men's clothing industry 75 per cent of the waste was found to be due to management and 16 per cent to labor. In that industry the main causes of waste due to management are:
  - 1) The sell-then-make policy
  - 2) Lack of standardization of appliances, conditions, work and method
  - 3) Inefficient planning and administration
 (Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry, ch. 2)
7. According to the estimate of a prominent engineer, Walter Polakov, if waste were done away with, the necessary work of the world could be finished in four, or perhaps two, hours a day.
 (Wood, "The Great Change," ch. 9)

Lord Leverhulme, the British soap manufacturer, says that "we might, with the means science has already placed at our disposal, provide for all the wants of each of us in food, clothing and shelter, by one hour's work a week." (Spencer, "Wealth from Waste," foreword)

CAUTION! This is not a complete lesson. It is merely a suggestive lesson.

## Public Speaking in the Workers' University

One of the most valuable classes conducted by the Educational Department of the Workers' University is that in public speaking.

A great many of our members have considerable information on subjects of interest to their organization. Frequently at meetings of the local unions they have valuable ideas and suggestions which should be presented to their fellow members. Unfortunately, however, in many cases, people who have these ideas have not the ability to express themselves so as to attract and keep the attention of their audience.

This is very unfortunate because much good could be done for the unions if all ideas could be heard

and understood, and then, perhaps, followed up. The class in Public Speaking aims to remedy this particular defect. Those of our members who have some ability at speaking and wish to develop it to a higher degree, should avail themselves of this opportunity. The class has an excellent instructor, Mr. Gustav Schulz, who has taught public speaking for many years in our University, and also in the College of the City of New York. He has been very successful with his students, and can be of great help to all who want training in public speaking. This class meets on Sundays at 11:30 in the Washington Irving High School.

## WEEKLY CALENDAR

### WEEKLY CALENDAR

Workers' University

Saturday, February 25

Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 16th Street

- 1:30 P.M.—B. J. R. Stolper, "Walt Whitman."  
 2:30 P.M.—Dr. Leo Wolman, "Wage Policies—Minimum Subsistence—Minimum Wage."  
 2:30 P.M.—A. L. Wilbert, "The Human Factor in Industry," Frankel and Fishler.

Sunday, February 26

- 10:30 A.M.—A. Fichandler, "Fugacity, Submissiveness and Leadership."  
 11:20 A.M.—Dr. H. J. Carman, "Manufacturing 1860-1922."  
 11:30 A.M.—G. F. Schulz, "Public Speaking."

### UNITY CENTERS

Monday, February 27

East Side Unity Center

- 8:30 P.M.—Solon DeLeon, "International Trade and the Worker."  
 Second Bronx Unity Center  
 8:30 P.M.—Max Levin, "International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—Aims, Organizations, Policies and Activities."  
 Brownsville Unity Center  
 8:00 P.M.—Margaret Daniels, "International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—Aims, Organizations, Policies and Activities."  
 Waistmakers' Unity Center  
 5:30 P.M.—"Physical Training," Miss Mary Ruth Cohen, Director.

Tuesday, February 28

Waistmakers' Unity Center

- 8:30 P.M.—Max Levin, "International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—Aims, Organizations, Policies and Activities."  
 Bronx Unity Center  
 8:30 P.M.—Solon DeLeon, "International Trade and the Worker."  
 Lower Bronx Unity Center  
 8:30 P.M.—Theresa Wolfson, "Specific Problems of Organization in Trade Unions Today."

East Side Unity Center

- 8:00 P.M.—"Physical Training," Miss Eva Cohn, Director.

Wednesday, March 1

Harlem Unity Center

- 8:30 P.M.—A. L. Wilbert, "The Factory as a Modern Economic Institution."

Friday, March 3

Brownsville Unity Center

- 8:30 P.M.—Margaret Daniels, "Applied Psychology—The Unconscious."

## Courses in Yiddish

It was very gratifying to note a large number of men and women assembled last Friday, February 17, in the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 166th Street, to take part in the first lesson on the History, Problems and Aims of Modern Trade Unions. This series of lessons is given by Mr. Max Levin, one of the most experienced teachers connected with the Educational Department. It is one of the many courses planned by the Educational Department to reach those of our members who do not know enough English to take advantage of our classes in the Unity Centers and the Workers' University.

We cannot overemphasize the importance of these lessons, particularly because they are given in Yiddish. The membership of the International is predominantly foreign born. To many of them Yiddish is the only language which they know. But they are American workers and participate in American life. Most of them have economic and political power. They must use that power intelligently.

The International realizes that it should reach these great numbers.

The courses in Yiddish are offered because we want all our members to obtain the information which every class conscious, intelligent worker should possess.

We hope that this course at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center will be attended by many more. We hope that those who attend will listen carefully to the presentation of the subject by the instructor and will participate in the discussion.

We also hope that we will have an opportunity of giving more courses in Yiddish in different parts of the city. Every local union should make it its business to arrange a course of this sort for its members. It may be but a single lecture on some particular problem of the history of our organization, or it may be a series of two, three, or four connected lessons on a similar subject, but the officials of the unions must realize that it is their duty to bring our educational facilities before their membership.

We must all realize that no organization can rise above the character of the rank and file. The more intelligent the membership, the better and stronger the organization.

### COURSE ON LABOR PROBLEMS IN YIDDISH IN HARLEM

The course of four lectures given by Max Levin in Yiddish on the "Problems, Objects and Aims of Modern Trade Unions," will be continued Friday evening, February 24, 8 P.M., at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 166th Street.

Those members of the International who attend this class will receive a mimeographed outline of the lesson in Yiddish. This will be of considerable assistance to them in following the teacher. Admission free to members of the International.

### HALF-PRICE TICKETS

By arrangement with the management of the Greenwich Village Theater, 7th Avenue and 4th Street, members of the International may secure tickets at half price for John Galsworthy's "The Pigeon." Allowance slips may be secured at the office of the Educational Department, Room 1003, 31 Union Square.

PATRONEZ  
"JUSTICE"  
ADVERTISERS

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

**CLOAK AND SUIT**  
The following is the third installment of the report rendered by General Manager David Dubinsky, at the last meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division. The final installment of this report will be printed in next week's issue of JUSTICE.

**"SETTLED SHOPS"**  
Upon the settlement of a substantial number of shops, an Investigation Committee of five men was appointed to investigate these shops. This number was later reduced to a committee of two. A complete canvass of 700 shops was made. Upon investigation it was found that many of these had not yet started in to work. The investigation related mainly to the enforcement of the rule that cutters should be employed in all these shops. The findings showed that—  
Cutters working without cards...26  
Bosses cutting .....11

The men who worked without cards were ordered to secure them, and were also instructed as regards this rule. Of the 11 shops that were found by the committee where the bosses worked, and where no cutter was employed, 6 shops were given the proper instructions and 5 were referred to the Joint Board for action. Out of these 5, 3 shops were called out on strike again, while the other two promised to employ cutters. The committee followed those up and took the proper action in all cases.

We have received 91 complaints against settled shops, classified as follows:

- No cutter employed .....20
- Non-union men .....9
- Men without working cards .....16
- Member of firm .....5
- Scabs employed .....5
- Boss cutting .....16
- Striking cutters working without permission .....3
- Non-union men denied working cards and working .....3
- Violating other rules .....11
- Time and a half for overtime .....1
- Called on strike again .....2

Out of the 29 shops against which we received complaints that there were no cutters working, 15 men were employed with working cards and 5 shops were stopped. Of the 9 shops which employed non-union cutters 4 complaints were unfounded and the balance of 5 was referred to the Joint Board. Out of the 16 complaints relating to men employed without cards 9 were unfounded and 7 men were stopped in order to take out cards. Of the 16 complaints against bosses cutting, it was found that in 7 shops there were cutters employed, 4 bosses were found to have been cutting their own samples. These cases were referred to the Joint Board. In the balance of 5 shops there was no work. The 3 non-union men to whom cards were denied were stopped off. Of the 3 strikers who went to work without permission, one man was given a release and was allowed to work, and the other two were bosses.

**WORKING CARDS**  
Up to the last day of the strike there were 1,216 working cards issued. And for the three days after the settlement of the strike, while the strike headquarters were still maintained, there were 896 cards issued. This makes a grand total of 2,106 working cards issued.

STRIKE-BENEFIT		
Date	Number of Men	Amount Paid Out
Dec. 19, 1921.....	1,359	\$9,059

Dec. 29, 1921.....	1,083	7,211
Jan. 5, 1922.....	1,135	7,579
Jan. 10, 1922.....	1,066	7,110
Jan. 17, 1922.....	961	6,431

Total amount paid out...\$37,390  
It is necessary to say here a word concerning the paying out of strike benefit. The responsibility was very great. It took three days to pay out one week's benefit. The question as to whether relief should be paid out in the cutters' own strike headquarters, or whether the cutters should receive their benefit in the halls of the other strikers also confronted us. We insisted, of course, in line with our desire for efficiency and expediency, that the strike benefit be paid out in our own hall. The method of paying the money out also received commendation, and in the case of a separate hall for the cutters. In this case, too, the opponents of this idea were finally compelled to admit that it is the best plan, and that we were to be congratulated upon our efficient method of conducting the strike.

It should be known that were the benefit to be paid out in another hall, it would have been impossible for our Strike Committee to have done the work half as well as it did, since it would have been necessary for the committee to give up half of its time in the halls in which benefit was paid out.

**WAIST AND DRESS AND MISCELLANEOUS**

A joint meeting of the Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Division of Local 10 was held on Monday, February 20, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place. The order of business for the evening included the reading of the reports of the Executive Board, the Manager's report, and a short review of the last meeting of the General Executive Board held in Atlantic City, which was given by Brother Max Gorenstein, Vice-President of the International, who was in town.

The minutes of the Executive Board in most of the cases did not evoke much discussion, excepting the case of Max B. Gollin. Mr. Gollin was at one time business agent and also manager of the Waist and Dress Division of our local, and subsequently went into the dress contracting business. During his stay in business, Mr. Gollin was charged with various offenses, such as doing work for striking concerns, not permitting committees of the Union to go up to his place of business to investigate, etc. Mr. Gollin appeared before the Executive Board and requested permission to rejoin the organization on payment of the regular reinstatement fee charged resigned members. The Executive Board decided, however, to charge him a reinstatement fee of \$50. The recommendation of the Executive Board in this case was not concurred in by the body, in view of the fact that there was not sufficient proof presented to the Executive Board to substantiate the rumors. A motion was therefore made on the floor that this case be referred to the Executive Board for further consideration, and that Brothers Friedman, Cohen and Amico, of the Joint Board, be summoned as witnesses.

Brother Dubinsky rendered a short report on the situation in the Waist and Dress industry, which covered the period of the two months while he has been in office. He finds the situation very deplorable, as there are a number of cutters who have been out of work for many months, and all his efforts to place these cutters on jobs are futile. Brother Dubinsky further states that the Organization

campaign, which was undertaken by the Joint Board in this industry, has given him hope that he will be in a position to place a number of cutters to work in the newly-organized shops. However, he finds that in all of these shops only twenty-nine union men were employed and about twenty non-union men, who have since been permitted to join the union. The rest of the shops have no work or work part time. Brother Dubinsky has filed about seventy complaints with the Waist and Dress Joint Board with reference to these shops doing their own cutting, and was able to adjust four, i. e., to place cutters to work. As to the remainder of the complaints, the Business Agents found that there was no work in these shops at present, and those that are working employ two or three operators, and they, in turn, work part time.

Brother Max Gorenstein, Vice-President of the International, spoke briefly on the doings of the last meeting of the General Executive Board of the International, which was held in Atlantic City. One of the questions, he stated, which took up considerable time was the investigation suggested by Secretaries Hoover and Davis, with reference to the Cloak and Suit industry.

The General Executive Board also took up the Philadelphia strike, which is in its twenty-sixth week, where between 1,200 and 1,500 girls are still out on strike against the Waist and Dress Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia. However, the spirit of these strikers is still unbroken. The General Executive Board decided to continue the fight against these manufacturers until it will have been completely won by the Union.

It is needless to say that Brother Gorenstein's address was of very great interest to all those present, and in concluding his remarks Brother Gorenstein expressed the hope that the waist and dress situation, which is in very bad straits, not alone in this city, but throughout the country, due to the lack of work, will improve rapidly, and that the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U. will find all the workers in this trade employed.

Brother Perlmuter, President of the organization, appointed Brother Max Cooperman, No. 6964, to serve on the Executive Board for the year

of 1922, in the place of Brother Sidney Rothenberg, whose resignation has been accepted by the body. He also appointed Brother Isaac Fendler, No. 4343, to serve as member of the Executive Board from the Miscellaneous Division, in place of Meyer Zuckheim, whose resignation has been accepted; and Joseph Klein, No. 4822, to serve as a delegate to the Joint Board of the miscellaneous trades.

Brother Dubinsky also reported that he finds an improvement in the situation in the Miscellaneous trades, and that as soon as Brother Shenker will get back to the office he expects to institute a thorough control of all shops under the jurisdiction of the Miscellaneous Joint Board and Local No. 62.

**WISDOM FROM GERMANY**  
During the session of the Reichstag, November 17, the Minister of Public Economy, Herr Schmidt, responding to the complaints against those who were exploiting the misery of the public, made the following remarks concerning the co-operatives: "The consumer has within his grasp a weapon which is very powerful, with which to defend himself against the exactions of business; it is the co-operative organization. Let him make use of it. He can be sure that the little that he gives to the co-operatives will not go toward the payment of tithe to commercial speculation."

"I see the position of the consumers reinforced by means of the consumers' co-operatives and the network of their organization. I wish to call attention to the co-operatives, which, through their development, are competing against the commercial interests in cutting down high prices. This practice of self-help, this education of the consumer is, in my opinion, worth infinitely more than all the laws and all the penal decrees."

BUY

**WHITE LILY TEA**

**COLUMBIA TEA**

**ZWETOCHNI CHAI**

Exclusively

**CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10**

**ATTENTION!**

**NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS**

General .....Monday, February 27th

Cloak and Suit .....Monday, March 6th

Waist and Dress .....Monday, March 13th

Miscellaneous .....Monday, March 20th

**Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.**

**AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place**

A Special Cloak and Suit Meeting will be held on Saturday afternoon, February 25th, at Arlington Hall, at 2 P. M., where the new assessment levied by the Joint Board will be taken up.

The Regular General Meeting will take place on Monday, February 27th, at Stuyvesant Casino, Ninth Street and Second Avenue, instead of at Arlington Hall, as usual.

# THE CLOAK STRIKE DAY BY DAY

## A Chronological History of the Recent Conflict in the Cloak and Suit Industry

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This record of the outstanding events of the last great nationwide strike in the cloak industry, day by day, has been compiled from most authoritative and reliable sources. It will be continued on this page in the next two issues of JUSTICE. We suggest to our readers to clip these pages for reference purposes.—Editor's Note.

### II. THE STRIKE

(Continued from Last Week)

Nov. 25.—State inquiry into strike begun. Counsel for Union and Association break breach of contract. Counsel for Union calls broken contract fundamental issue in strike. Union announces the preparation of papers for injunction suit.

—R. Sadowsky, one of the largest manufacturers of cloaks and suits, settles with Union.

Nov. 26.—Philadelphia Union and Association hold final conference in attempt to avoid conflict by establishment of impartial machinery for adjudication of grievances.

—Union asks postponement of inauguration of piece-work system in Chicago to allow time for conference with manufacturers.

Nov. 26.—Having failed to settle amicably the dispute with the manufacturers, the Philadelphia workers begin strike at 10 A. M.

—New York manufacturers give full power to Secretaries Hoover and Davis to settle strike.

—Union announces that injunction proceeding will be started immediately.

Nov. 29.—Chicago manufacturers refuse request of Union for delay and announce that piece-work will be introduced on December 1.

—Several Philadelphia manufacturers settle with the Union.

—Supreme Court Justice Guy grants temporary injunction against Protective Association charged by Union with the violation of the existing agreements.

Nov. 30.—Association seeks modification of injunction. Court refuses to vacate or modify injunction.

Dec. 1.—A message of greetings and wishes for a victorious conclusion of the strike was received by the Union from the Secretary of the International Clothing Workers' Federation with headquarters at Amsterdam, Holland.

—Five thousand Chicago garment workers strike against the installation of the piece-work system.

—Philadelphia tie-up continues. Twenty independent firms settle on Union terms, repudiating the piece-work program of the Manufacturers' Association.

—Counsel for Union and Association agree on interpretation of provisions in injunction. Under the preliminary writ granted by the court, (1) individual employers are not restrained from operating their factories on the piece-work basis and 49-hour working week; (2) employers individually and collectively are restrained from advising other employers from breaking the agreement with the Union, providing for week-work and other conditions of employment; (3) the Union has recourse, under the law, to monetary damages against all manufacturers violating the agreement; (4) members of Protective Association are free to settle with the Union without fear of discipline from the group of manufacturers which has promoted the attack upon the Union and has violated its contract with the workers.

Dec. 2.—Several cloak manufacturers settle with Philadelphia and Chicago Unions upon conditions which prevailed before the strike.

—In communication to Secretary to Labor Davis, Union reiterates stand that it will not submit controversy to arbitration unless provisions of existing agreement are restored and the workers returned to work under old conditions.

—Union announces that it will sue employers for loss of workers' earnings during the strike.

Dec. 3.—Union receives message of fraternal greetings and offer of support from President Samuel Gompers in behalf of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

—Inquiry into controversy by New York State Industrial Commission is postponed pending the determination of the Union's application for a permanent injunction restraining the Association from violating the agreement.

—American Association retains Max D. Steuer, counsel for the Protective Association, as its legal advisor, indicating its disposition to enter the struggle against the Union on the side of the Protective Association.

—A. Portfolio & Co., one of the largest cloak and suit establishments in New York, settles with the Union. Settlement Committee of Union announces that over 400 shops, employing about 12,000 workers, have made settlements with the Union.

Dec. 5.—Court adjourns hearing upon application for permanent injunction for one week upon request of counsel of Union and Association.

Dec. 6.—Union issues statement dispelling rumors of negotiations for settlement of controversy, maintaining that no settlement can be effected until all the provisions of the 1919 agreement are restored and all the workers returned to their shops. Union counsel instructed to continue preparations for court hearing on application for permanent injunction.

Dec. 7.—Counsel for Association advises its members to "obey the injunction in letter and spirit."

—General Strike Committee meets to review progress of strike and to consider plans for relief of families of striking workers. All union officials connected with the strike resolve not to accept their salaries for the duration of the strike.

—Chicago Union announces that over 1,000 workers have returned to their shops on union terms.

—1,500 striking workers have returned to settled cloak shops in Phila-

delphia. The Garment Manufacturers' Mutual Association, consisting of sub-manufacturers and contractors in that city, announces that its members will resume operations under old conditions.

Dec. 8.—Foremen of Chicago cloak and suit shops vote to join in sympathy strike with garment workers, following a demand of their employers that they take the places of the striking workers.

—Union reaches agreement with Philadelphia Ladies' Garment Association (local jobbers) to supply work only to shops which have settled with the Union.

Dec. 9.—Union counsel declines to accede to the request of counsel for the Association to further postpone argument on the injunction. The Association counsel is asked to supply Union with answering affidavits.

Dec. 10.—Union announces that 480 shops, employing over 16,000 workers, have signed agreements providing for the reintroduction of the conditions which prevailed before the strike.

—Association files answer to Union's application for permanent injunction, charging the Union with breach of contract, and declaring the 1919 agreement inoperative since 1920.

—American Association declares that any settlement of the controversy between the Union and the Protective Association must consider the interests of the sub-manufacturers.

Dec. 12.—Hearing before Supreme Court Justice Wagner on permanent injunction. Counsel for Union and Association argue for their respective clients. Court withholds decision. Union and Association given time to submit further affidavits.

—Philadelphia cloak manufacturers meet with Chamber of Commerce and adopt plan for open shop in the industry.

Dec. 13.—Union announces that it will pay benefits to striking members beginning Monday, December 19, at the rate of \$7 a week for married men. The relief is to be paid from treasury of Union and from 10 per cent assessments on earnings of workers who returned to settled shops.

—American Association announces that it will co-operate with Protective Association to effect the changes in the industry against which the Union members struck on November 14. It will also aid the Protective Association in the legal proceedings in which it is involved.

Dec. 14.—Union publishes list of 700 settled firms for guidance of jobbers.

Dec. 15.—Montreal strikers are enjoined from picketing.

—St. Louis cloak manufacturers defer installation of piece-work system.

Dec. 16.—President Schlesinger meets with Chicago Dress and Waist Manufacturers on renewal of agreement.

—The Union announces the settlement with several members of the Protective Association. Settlements also reached with many independent jobbers.

Dec. 17.—Los Angeles cloak workers strike against installation of piece-work system. Manufacturers threaten with open shop.

—Samuel Untermeyer, special counsel for Union, is challenged by anonymous manufacturer to investigate "autocratic unionism" in the cloak and suit industry.

Dec. 19.—Union announces that it would welcome inquiry into its methods and practices, and denies allegations in manufacturer's fictitious letter. The manufacturer whose name was signed to the open letter to Samuel Untermeyer denies having sent it.

—Protective Association files final papers in injunction proceedings with court.

—Brooklyn cloak manufacturer obtains temporary injunction restraining Union from interfering in the conduct of his business.

—Conference between President Schlesinger and Chicago cloak manufacturers fails to settle controversy, although Union was ready to submit the question of productivity to arbitration if the manufacturers would withdraw their demands for the introduction of piece-work, an increase in hours and a reduction in wages.

Dec. 20.—Chicago dress manufacturers extend agreement with Union for one month as Union officials, occupied with cloak strike, cannot devote time for consideration of new agreement.

—Max D. Steuer, counsel for Protective Association, makes public plan for immediate settlement of strike by proposing (1) that an impartial board of three, composed of one representative of the Union, one of the Association and an impartial person, shall determine within four weeks whether there shall be a decrease in wages; and (2) that an impartial board of seven, composed of two representatives of the Association, two representatives of the Union, and three persons selected by the Department of Commerce shall report by June, 1922, when a new agreement will have to be negotiated, on recommendations that would stabilize the industry.

—Union's comment upon Steuer's settlement offer reiterates demand for reinstatement of all provisions of 1919 agreement before workers would consider dissolution of strike. The plan is declared to be too general, evading the most important issues in the controversy, and failing to offer a practical program.

(To be continued next week)