

Convention Proceedings—First Day

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. IV. No. 19

New York, Friday, May 5, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

International Convention Opens in Cleveland

President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor and Warren S. Stone, President of the Brotherhood of Engineers, Are First to Greet Convention—President Schlesinger Acclaimed by Delegates in Enthusiastic Outburst—Speakers and Delegates Accord Him Tributes for His Tireless Work in Behalf of All Workers—General Demand That He Remain as President of Union—Convention Greet Striking Miners, Textile Workers, Socialist Party, Workers' Circle and Other Groups

First Day—Monday Morning Session, May 1, 1922, 10 A. M.

The Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was opened by President Benjamin Schlesinger, at the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Auditorium, Cleveland, Ohio, on May 1, 1922, at 10 A. M.

The formal opening of the convention was preceded by the rendition of several musical selections by a band. All throughout the session music was played, after each speaker, to the delight and appreciation of the audience.

John G. Owens, the Secretary of the Central Federated Union of Cleveland, was introduced as Temporary Chairman.

Brother Owens: I wish at this time, as representative of the labor movement of the City of Cleveland, to welcome you to our city. You have one of the most active organizations in the needle trades, and I trust that the time is not far off when all the needle trades will be housed in one organization. (Applause.)

Secretary Owens concluded his remarks by referring to the open shop movement, which he claimed had acted as a boomerang to the employers, while it had at the same time solidified the workers.

Warren S. Stone Is First Speaker

The first speaker introduced by the Chairman was Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Brother Stone: It is a very great pleasure to me this morning to come before you and welcome you, not only to the city of Cleveland, but to this auditorium. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers own this building and they do not owe a cent on it. (Applause.)

I want to impress upon you two things: First, the power that you hold in your hands. There is not a thing within the bounds of reason, either state or national, that you could not have if you only would use the power that you hold in your hands. Labor is never going to come into its own until it quits following a political party, and votes for the man regardless of his party. You get exactly the kind of government you vote for. Forget there is such a thing as a party. Vote for the man regardless of his politics and then you will get some results.

Another problem that is before you is the question of wages. There is no use giving a 10 per cent increase in wages if your cost of living goes up 20 per cent at the same time. The Labor party in England has gone 100 per cent ahead of us. They have established a minimum standard of living, and let the wage be what it may to create that.

Endorses Labor Union Co-operatives

Brother Stone endorsed the co-operative movement among labor unions. He cited as an example of what co-operation can do, the Bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which within the period of a year has accumulated deposits of over \$15,000,000. He stated that if the unions would co-operate in a financial way they would, within ten years, control the financial policy of America.

Brother Stone concluded his remarks by urging the delegates to forget factional strife and petty politics and advised them to get behind their officers regardless of personal feelings.

At the conclusion of Brother Stone's address a delegation from the Women's locals of Cleveland brought two large baskets of flowers to the platform amidst great applause.

The next speaker introduced was Brother Joel Levine, Chairman of the Joint Board of the Cleveland Ladies' Garment Workers, who welcomed the delegates to the city of Cleveland in the name of the Joint Board. He wished the delegates success in their proceedings. The next speaker introduced was Henry W. Raisne, editor of the Weekly Bulletin of the Cleveland Federation of Labor. Brother Raisne brought the fraternal greetings and well wishes of the labor movement of Cleveland to the convention.

President Schlesinger Assumes Chairmanship

President Benjamin Schlesinger thereafter assumed permanent chair-

manship of the convention and was greeted with an ovation of cheers and applause, everybody rising.

President Schlesinger's Speech

President Schlesinger: I thank you very much, delegates, for the reception you have accorded me. I also wish to thank Brother Owens, the Secretary of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, as well as Brother Stone, the President of the Locomotive Engineers, and Brother Raisne for the welcome they have given us.

I hope that when the convention will be over we shall be able to prove that we have lived up to the test of meeting the problems that we now have in our industry, and that they will be solved to the benefit of all the workers in the industry.

This is our third convention in the city of Cleveland. Our first Cleveland convention was held in 1903 and the second in 1914. I can recognize among the delegates many who were delegates to the 1914 convention, but from those who were delegates to the 1903 convention there is only one present here, and this one is not a delegate, either, though a member in good standing of our International from the first day it was formed.

It will, I am certain, be worth while for the delegates to this convention to hear from your Chairman, the only one here who was present as a delegate at this Cleveland convention, a brief review of the conditions under which our workers lived and worked at that time, a review that will give you, who were spared the bitter experience of the first years of the existence of our International, a picture of the great strides which our organization has made during these nineteen years.

Describes Conditions of 1903

I shall not burden you with a long speech, but shall give you instead the following few extracts from the general officers' report to that convention:

"The sweating system is raging in all its fury in our industry. Ninety-five per cent of the shops in our trade are actual pest-holes, and the other five per cent are also more fit for the housing of animals than for human beings to work in. The sweatshop menaces not only the life and the health of hundreds and thousands of workers, but is a danger to the community in general. All who buy garments made in these pest-holes are in danger of becoming infected with every kind of disease.

"The workers in the shops squabble and wrangle among themselves continually and there is hardly a shop where they get along in harmony. For this the piece-work system is responsible. Under piece-work it is possible for the employers to smother every spark of unity among the workers, and as this system gives them the opportunity to play favorites in the shops and to single out and punish other workers at will.

"One of the curses of our industry is the long work day. There is no end to the length of the work day. There are shops where they work sixteen hours a day. The average work hours are fourteen a day, or ninety-eight hours per week. In many industries in the country the work hours are only fifty, and in the building trades only forty-eight per week. It would be a great blessing if it were possible to reduce the work hours in our trade, at least, to ten per day, or sixty a week, and, although we do not foresee the possibility of achieving this in the near future, it would be advisable that this convention decide to conduct a strong agitation for it.

"Recently a new evil has invaded our industry. It first began in the skirt trade, and has now spread to the entire cloak trade. It is, namely, the innovation that operators must have their own machines. In order to get a job, an operator must bring along his own sewing machine. This has converted our workers in the shops almost into chattel slaves. It is natural that, rather than to drag his machine along with him in search of a new job, a worker would stand for a lot of abuse and mistreatment in the place where he works.

"And when we add to it the sub-contracting system among the pressers, the low wages, the terror of the bosses, and above all, the indifference of

the masses, we cannot help being pessimistic. But we must not, nevertheless, despair of the final possibility of organizing the masses of workers in our industries."

Such were the conditions in which our workers have found themselves in 1922, when we came to our first Cleveland convention. We had, at that time, less than two thousand members all over the country, and even that membership was not of a permanent kind. Each season the workers of a few shops would go out on strike, would pay in a small initiation fee into the union and become union men. In most cases these strikes met with failure and the strikers would abandon the union right after they had lost the strike. The union consisted at that time of a handful of workers to whom the union idea was a religion and who persistently kept on stirring and rousing the conscience of the masses. If not for this handful of devoted union men, who know how many years it would have taken to awaken the masses of our workers!

Reviews Struggles of 1910-1921

Our second Cleveland convention, in 1914, was held four years after our workers had already torn asunder the chains of industrial slavery which bound and oppressed them for a generation. The heroic strike of the New York cloakmakers of 1910 not only abolished most of the evils from which they were suffering, but has given them a strong faith in organization and unity. That strike not only established a 56-hour work-week and did away with the system which compelled cloakmakers to have their own sewing machines and move them from shop to shop; it not only abolished sub-contracting among the pressers, but also compelled the employers to recognize that they cannot lord over their workers like autocrats, and that the workers must not have less to say about the conditions under which they are to work than the employers. That strike has actually taken the cloakmakers out of bondage and given them their liberty.

The 1910 strike, however, changed the work conditions of the cloak industry of New York only. In all the other markets, outside of New York, the conditions of semi-slavery continued. When we assembled at Cleveland in 1914, New York was the only market where our workers were organized. In Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati, in Canada, and on the Pacific Coast, we either had no organizations at all or had weak and ineffective small locals. Many of the delegates to this convention will probably recall the bitter and unsuccessful strikes our International had waged from 1911 to 1914 in the cities of Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cloak and waist centers. We came to Cleveland in 1914 with a big and powerful organization of cloakmakers in New York, but with very few active organizations in other cloak markets or in the other trades in the ladies' garment industry.

Today, in 1922, we come to this convention in Cleveland with strong and influential organizations all over the country. The cloak industry is practically 100 per cent organized. There is not a cloak market where the work conditions are not under the influence and control of our organization, and the same is true, to a large extent, in the dress trade, the raincoat industry, the embroidery trade, the waist trade, and all the other trades under our jurisdiction. In the most important cities these trades are well organized and their work conditions are dictated by our International.

Schlesinger Makes Stirring Plea for Unity

The last two years have been terrible years for the workers of America. Capital has let loose all its fury against labor, and many unions, old established organizations, have had to give up, under this violent pressure, several of their former gains and achievements. Our International steadfastly retained all it had won for our members. Our International, notwithstanding slight losses here and there, is today just as strong and powerful as it was two years ago at our Chicago convention. We have assembled from all over the country to take stock of our activities and to work out plans for the future. The near future is very grave. Our employers, who have attempted to lower our work standards even during the last two years, when we had agreements with them, will surely try it again when these agreements expire.

Our strength lies in our unity. All our gains are the result of our solidarity. Yea, the delegates to this convention, must bend every effort to the end that unity and harmony, in the loftiest sense of the word, prevail at this convention. Such a spirit is bound to find a true response among the masses of our workers. Only such a spirit can weld our ranks even closer together and make our organization invincible.

Speech of Samuel Gompers

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, was next introduced. He was greeted with tremendous applause.

Brother Gompers: Mr. President, Delegates to this Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Union: When invited by the officers of your organization to come to this convention and address the delegates, I hesitated not at all. I simply tried to find a way by which I could dispose of my other engagements in the interest of our great movement, to come here. And let me say to you that I find it a great pleasure and a splendid opportunity to be here, for I not only want to convey to you a message of welcome and greeting of the entire rank and file of the organized labor movement of America, but to tell you in addition, something of the great problems with which the labor movement of America is now confronted.

I listened with deep interest to the brief portrayal of conditions in the various branches in your industry as recited by President Schlesinger in his address. I doubt if there is any man outside of your industry who was quite so closely associated in the struggles of your men and women as I was. I doubt if there was any one outside of your industry who shared with you the trials and tribulations in the early struggles of your men and women. The one great difficulty which stood in the way of your progress was, first, the failure to sustain the effort made in the struggles after the contracts were over. I know how bitter were the sacrifices made by the men in the early days of this industry in modern understanding of what the developments of that industry meant. I remember with keen appreciation the tremendous strike of the cloakmakers and all allied branches of the industry. It was in 1910, the strike to which President Schlesinger referred to in New York and its vicinity. I know that I was consulted as to what should be done at that time and the advice was given and cordially received by those then in official power in your organization, fragmentary and weak as it was. It was at that meeting, the great overflow meeting, in Madison Square Garden in New York, to which I was invited to speak, and which meeting I did address either on the 4th of July or a day or two after. And at that meeting I made a declaration that the men of labor can win a contest from two points of view, one, when the organization is so enriched with funds that the members engaged

in a great strike can be sustained for almost any length of time; and the other is when the men of labor are so impoverished by industrial conditions that the conscience of the people of a community and a country will be shocked and bound to concede righteous conditions. (Applause.) And I took occasion then to declare that in my judgment the worst conditions in the cloak and suit industry, in the ladies' garment industry, had passed, and that now an industrial revolt had taken place, and the misery shall be a condition of the past. The present must be fairer and brighter for the wealth-producers of the industry. (Applause.)

Gompers Congratulates International

During my long life I have not witnessed a greater demonstration in New York or elsewhere than was the one to which I have just referred. The contest was long drawn out, but the beginning of a new era in the life of the workers of the men engaged in your industry had been inaugurated; and so on and so on; feel more to move, toward improvement to improve, until today I say to you, Mr. Alexander and without the slightest flattery, that the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America is as strong and powerful and influential as any other labor organization in this or in any other country. (Great applause.)

May I, before I conclude the expression to which I have just merely referred to, say to you that I know I speak with authority for the five million organized workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I bring to you at your convention their fraternal greetings and best wishes for your continued progress and success (applause), and as I have officially communicated this message, I want to say this, not alone as President of the American Federation of Labor, but as a man and a union man, I join most heartily in the greeting and wishes. (Applause.)

It is quite true that your organization, like all the other organizations of toiling men and women of America, has a problem confronting it that requires the best thought, the most united action in spirit as well as in fact. Nothing can stand between labor and the degrading process of lowering our standards of life and work in freedom, nothing can stand, nothing stands between us and that condition except the power of our organization. (Applause.)

Let the employers learn that we are divided amongst ourselves, that we lack the spirit of unity and solidarity, and I assure you, I swear that as sure as the sun rises and sets, we will be set against each other, and instead of defending, instead of moving forward, we will be driven back, back, back to the old conditions of the sweatshop, of slavery, and misery. (Applause.)

I have not any doubt that quite a number of employers in your industry will for the present say, "We don't want to go back to the old conditions of the industry." Well, that may be the opinion and the honest opinion of some. But the opinion of others is that we have grown too powerful, we have grown too influential. We are enjoying too much of the conditions which make it a little better for our lives, for our work, and we are too darn independent.

The reference made by the brother of Cleveland in his address to you this morning, when he said that the men of labor of Cleveland no longer fear the employers—well, I think I may say without exception, that the American Federation of Labor, through its consistent and persistent noble course, has aroused in the hearts and minds of American workers the spirit of intelligence and independence, and no longer as in the past, today we stand erect. The men of labor who were typified by that picture and that poem, "The Man With the Hoe," the man with bent back and with a receding forehead and with all the wrongs of the ages written upon and etched into his very countenance. No! The American labor movement has helped to instill into the hearts and minds of the working people their right place in the civilization of our time and made them realize that they are sovereigns, in addition to their being wealth-producers, that they are men equal to any other men in all America, looking the whole world in the face, willing to bear the burdens which may come, but insistent that the wrong too long endured, and the rights too long denied the least thing that may divide the principles of our America; looking the whole world in the face, accounting nothing less than freedom, justice, democracy and humanity as the guiding principles of our everyday lives! (Great applause.)

You have won a great victory against the would-be contract-breakers in your industry, and, as has already been told you, these contracts will soon expire and the question of the new relations or the new agreement, will require the attention of your union.

Appeals for Harmony Among Workers

Delegates, I am trying to speak to you with a heart overflowing with emotion and with a mind working faster than I give expression to in words. If ever in your life, if ever in the history of your industry, there was a necessity for unity and harmony amongst yourselves and your organization, this time is now at hand. (Applause.) To me it is a matter of indifference what questions are your points of difference, but let me say this, that no man in your industry is justified, or can justify his conscience if he injects in your movement any organization the slightest thing that may divide your judgment and your action. (Applause.) You cannot afford to permit yourselves to be placed in such a condition that will put you in opposite camps upon any question which may weaken the effectiveness of your organization. In all past periods of industrial depression there has been a sort of scamping among the forces of organized workers, a running away from issues, a fear to meet an issue, and a weakening of the ranks. But I may say this to you from my observation, not only general, but particular, that never in the history of industry of our America when an industrial depression or crisis existed, were the men and women of toil so thoroughly fearless, so determined in maintaining the spirit and the principles and the power and influence of the organized labor movement as now. Certainly, it is true that the fight in several industries is on; the miners, 600,000 miners—some say suspended work, some call it a strike. I think I am justified in saying that it is a lockout. The mine owners had an agreement with the Miners' Union, before March 31 of this year, providing that they would meet in conference for the purpose of negotiating a new agreement. The mine owners refused to enter such an agreement. The miners could not be expected to go into the mines and work without knowing what they were going to receive in wages, hours and conditions of employment. And so they said that they were going to wait until, as a result of a conference, they might negotiate and understand what the terms of their labor shall be, what the reward shall be for the service they performed; and they are now out on strike.

Expresses Hope for Miners' Victory

And I know this, that I bespeak for your delegates and officers of this

convention, and for the rank and file of your organization, as I bespeak for the great labor movement of America, the hope, the sincere prayer, if need be, for the triumph of the miners' cause. (Hearty applause.) Another situation is that of the men and women in the textile industry. A little over a year ago a reduction was posted, a reduction of 25 per cent, and the textile workers accepted it. Then there were smaller reductions following, in the course of a month or two, and nearly three months ago there was again posted a further reduction of 20 per cent. The textile workers, under the jurisdiction of the United Textile Workers of America, resented the last and went on strike. They are still on strike and are living upon about as much as the clockmakers lived years ago when they were on strike—the shadow of a loaf of bread (laughter). When the mill owners found that the textile workers were so easy in accepting the 25 per cent reduction in wages, it encouraged these exploiters—it was easy. (Laughter.) And they then, as I say, posted another, or promulgations, it makes no difference what they are called. They did not come as a result of a consultation with the representatives of the textile workers—it was a proclamation, a ukase, a bull, coming from the authoritative source of a pontiff: "Your wages on and after this day will be reduced 20 per cent."

Well, they were stung to the quick, and they are fighting not with full treasures, but with hungry stomachs; but they are fighting, and by the gods, I believe, and hope, that the conscience, not only of labor, but the conscience of the public, the people of America, will come to their rescue and secure the final triumph of the rights of the textile workers of America. (Great applause.)

Diseases Impending Struggles

In several other trades, similar or nearly similar, conditions prevail, and even in the wonderful craft of the art of granite cutting—no one doesn't know that this splendid organization is in a contest in nearly every center where granite cutting is an industry, both in the shops, in the quarries, near the quarries and on buildings, and this organization is now fighting for its life and its men in the mountains in California, in Georgia, in the shops of the East and throughout the country for months and months without a dollar received from any source, solely upon their grit, determined that they shall never surrender, even if death be the only other alternative.

Men and women of this convention, I want to impress upon your minds the conflict in which we are engaged, but in spite of the concentrated power of the captains of industry in all trades and the wealth of the princes and manipulators of finance in Wall Street—in spite of them all, I repeat that the men of labor of America are standing erect, and if the fight is to be continued until the end, then we say, "Lay on, MacDuff, and damned be he who first cries, hold, enough!" (Applause.)

I say to you—advisedly and through you to whom it may concern, that the employing interests and the financial concerns had better not try to drive the bargain and their momentary advantage too far. The tide of industry will change. Those of the workers unorganized now will know and feel the tremendous burden which has been imposed upon them, the great wrong which they have been made to endure, and they will not hesitate when they have employment to join and ally themselves with us in the movement, to rescue anything and everything which may have been taken from them.

For your organization let me say this: I have no particular interest in its internal affairs. I have a deep affection for your organization and for your men and women. It has grown upon me for the struggles which you have made and the sacrifices which you have borne to form a solid army of organized workers, capable of defending your rights and your interests, bringing light into the homes and into the lives of the members of your industry.

My affection for your organization is not platonic. It is deep, and my purpose is to impress upon you the need of greater unity, if that is possible, greater harmony in your judgment, not upon any question of philosophy, not in speculative theory, but as a militant fighting organization, so that you will be stronger than ever, to meet the new problem which immediately confronts you.

Regrets Schlesinger's Intention to Withdraw

I want to say this further: I have heard with deep regret the statement attributed to your honored President and my friend, Benjamin Schlesinger, and that is that he was considering or partly had made up his mind to retire from the office of President of your organization. Now, Schlesinger and I have always been good friends. Never mind what differences there are existing between us. He knows that whenever I was asked, or if it was suggested to me that I could be helpful in any way to the organization, locally or internationally, or in any conflict in which it was engaged, I never hesitated a moment and did the best I could to be helpful. Friend Schlesinger and I at times did not agree, and at conventions of the Federation sometimes he voted for me President and sometimes he voted against me. (Laughter.) It made no difference to me. My position in the labor movement is this: As a worker at my trade for over 26 years, as a union man, I have never thrust myself on the movement, but, perhaps, someone saw in me a little ability, or, perhaps, deluded in the idea that I had some ability, they asked me to act as Secretary of my local union, as President, as delegate to the convention of my International union, elected to office not only by the convention in the early days, but by the referendum vote of the membership, selected as President of the American Federation of Labor, and so year after year. I remember the year 1894, when the convention at Denver changed my administration and elected someone else as President. During that year I wrote, lectured, never having anything in mind other than the guiding principle of my life, the interests of the great mass of the working people of America. And at the next convention a number of men came to me individually, because I never attended a caucus in my life, and wanted me to run for President again. I told them I had received all the honors, if there were any, in that, and as far as responsibilities—I never felt freer in all my life than during the year I was not President of the A. F. of L. "But," said they to me, "there is a clean-cut issue. The man who is now President believes in compulsory arbitration. You are the most pronounced exponent of opposition to compulsion of labor and you must accept." I could not help it. I felt that I could not permit the head of the A. F. of L. or the A. F. of L. itself to commit itself to compulsion or compulsory labor. And so I was elected President of the Federation, simply to assume all the responsibilities and duties which devolved upon that great office.

President Schlesinger, there are times in the life of an organization

when no man dare retire! (Deafening and prolonged applause.) I don't know how long the A. F. of L. will tolerate me (laughter), and I tell you in all candor, so far as I am personally concerned, I don't care a snap of my fingers, and when I am no longer President, and if I still live, I will have to go to work at something to earn a living. (Laughter.) But this I feel, that the American labor movement took me from the factory after my 26 years of work at the bench and said, "Now, you do so and so. You speak for us. Where do we not have the opportunity of speaking for ourselves, you speak for us. We have not the opportunity to write. Well, you write for us." For the first four years in the Federation there was no salary, because they didn't have a cent. I gave all the time I could; occasionally I took a half day from my work to go home and do some of the correspondence with my pen, and you know what that means. (Laughter.) I shall never forget the wonderful luxury I experienced when I got the first stenographer for the Federation.

Well, after four years, they provided a salary of \$1,000 a year and the President was required to give his entire time to the Federation—no eight hours for him. At any rate, I worked as best I could, gave all the service that was physically and mentally possible, and I am glad to admit that this gave me opportunities of acquiring information and knowledge and understanding, and I doubt whether there has been a day in all my life but that I have learned something. You see, I admit I don't know it all. After we begin to know things we begin to understand how little we know in comparison to what there is to know. Of course, those who know it all cannot learn anything because they know it all. (Laughter.)

As time went on and my experience became greater and wider, and my information and understanding became more grounded, I felt that inasmuch as the men of labor of America had given me the opportunity to acquire this experience and knowledge and information, that it was not my private property, but that it belonged to them. (Applause.) And that is perhaps the primary reason why I am still President of the A. F. of L.

Compass Pays Tribute to Schlesinger

And I say to you, President Schlesinger, that all the information which you have acquired, that all the experience which you have gained, and the wonderful leadership which you have demonstrated in bringing this great organization to the triumphant point at which it is now, means that you must continue to lead to be true to the men and the women of your industry. (Great applause.) No man in the leadership of any great movement has been accorded a more genuine appreciation, reception, and ovation, than you have received from the delegates to this convention this morning. They know that in your hands their interests will never be frittered away, nor will they be bargained away, that you will do the best that is in you for them, no matter what inconvenience may occur to you; it is the sacrifice which a warrior makes for the great cause in which he believes. Even death has no stings for a man whose conscience is free. I am confident that yours is. I am certain that whatever difference of opinion may exist that the respect for you and the confidence in you is unalloyed, come what may. (Applause.)

I realize that I have spoken at considerable length and probably altogether too long. I want you, delegates, to manifest the necessity of maintaining a united and solid front. Differ, if you will, upon matters how to make your organization a better fighting machine for the interests of the working people in your industry. Vie with each other to do that, but don't inject anything that is calculated to create bitterness, hostility or division. That is the point that I want to leave with you particularly.

For your consideration and the cordiality of your reception let me express my great gratitude and appreciation, and let me wish for your convention the highest degree of harmony possible among humans, and for your organization a permanent onward growth in numbers, in influence and in power that you may make your great contribution to this great movement of ours, the great American labor movement under the leadership of the A. F. of L. the day for which the philosophers have dreamed and poets have sung and the mass of workers had to struggle and bear the scars of battle, that this new day, the better day, the brighter day, when the whole world shall be brothers in this human family, shall be brought nearer to us. (Prolonged applause, everybody rising.)

Convention Sends Greetings and Congratulations

Secretary Baroff: I move that this gathering send telegrams of greeting and congratulations to the Socialist Party Convention in Cleveland and to the Workmen's Circle Convention in Toronto. (Seconded and unanimously carried.)

Delegate Langer: I move that telegrams of encouragement and a promise of support be sent to the striking miners and striking textile workers. President Gompers: May I request that it also include the granite cutters?

The motion as amended was unanimously carried.

Vice-President Nimfo: I move that this convention express its appreciation to the speakers who came to this convention today. The motion was unanimously carried.

Vice-President Baroff announced that the delegates were invited by the Jewish Daily Forward to attend their 25th anniversary and jubilee at Masonic Temple that evening. Tickets were distributed to the delegates.

The meeting thereupon adjourned at 12:30 P. M. to reconvene Tuesday, May 2, at 9:30 A. M.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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B. SCHLESINGER, President. R. YANOFFSKY, Editor

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

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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EDITORIALS

THE REPORT OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

We have before us the report of the General Executive Board to the Sixteenth Convention of our International Union, now in session at Cleveland, Ohio. It is a substantial book of more than one hundred and thirty pages, which treats in a terse, though comprehensive manner, every phase and form of activity of our great Union.

This report consists of two parts: the general report, which is rendered in the name of the entire Board, and the financial report submitted by General Secretary Baroff. We shall first touch, in a few words, upon this statement of our finances, which we cordially recommend for close study to our delegates.

A cursory examination of the figures submitted by the Secretary-Treasurer of our International, is likely to give the erroneous impression that our International has a surplus of \$146,000. A closer survey of the figures will prove, nevertheless, that this surplus is far from real. If all the debts and obligations owed to our International by our own and outside organizations would have been met, we might probably show such a surplus. As it is, counting the tremendous expenditures which we were compelled to incur for the support of strikes during the last two years, the balance sheet of our organization shows a heavy deficit. It must be kept in mind, too, that a great many of these debts are quite hopeless. It would be idle, for instance, to expect that money loaned to the New York "Call," to the Rand Radio, and similar organizations will ever be returned to us.

So, while theoretically we may appear rich, we are in reality quite poor, and our delegates will do well to give this matter thorough consideration. There are some definite recommendations contained in the General Report for the relief of the financial status of the International. And let them further bear in mind that no work in the future, on a substantial scale, is possible, without giving the incoming General Executive Board the means of carrying them out.

Says Secretary Baroff in his report: "I am certain that this Convention will have a number of resolutions calling upon the incoming General Executive Board to carry on an organization campaign on a larger scale. Let the delegates bear in mind that these resolutions will remain a dead letter unless, at the same time, the incoming general officers will be given the funds which are necessary for such work."

This is a prosaic statement, shorn of flowery trimmings—yet how true and irrefutable it is. We are confident that the incoming General Executive Board will assume eagerly and with a ready spirit the numerous important pledges and mandates which the present Convention will delegate to them. The International officers, however, must not have their hands bound and spirit damped at the very outset by the knowledge that the financial burden of the organization has not been relieved by the Convention, and that for the lack of means to carry out these mandates they must perform remain a "dead letter."

As we proceed to the main report of the General Executive Board and read it chapter after chapter, industry after industry, and local after local; as we draw in our minds a concrete picture of these various battles fought by our International during the past administrative term; the victories scored, the occasional losses, and we as strike a summary of these impressions—we cannot escape a sense of genuine pride not unmixed with real gratification, over our present standing. This feeling is augmented in particular when we come to judge the status of our International by comparison with the conditions of other labor organizations, having in mind the industrial crisis which still holds the country in its grip to this day. We cannot, naturally, ascribe this rather fortunate condition of our International to the goodness of our employers. They have surely done their best to break down our work standards and to lower our living conditions, even if they have failed in their attempts. Of course it was the workers in our industry, solidly organized and imbued with a fiery spirit of resistance, that are to a large extent responsible for the fact that we have retained our work conditions intact. But above all, we state frankly and without fear of contradiction, it was the leadership, the consistent and unwavering policy adopted by the leaders of the organization, that was responsible for this united front and unified victory.

Let the delegates to this Convention and the membership of our Union in general keep this fact fully in mind. Let them remember that in order to steer successfully a big organization like ours through the rocks and shoals of modern industrial warfare, good professions, intentions and phrases are not enough. What is required is genuine ability, and indefatigable readiness

to apply this ability, backed by solid experience and seasoned generalship.

The supreme importance of getting rid of and destroying the spirit of demagoguery, the spirit which breeds hatred, suspicion and undermines the very backbone of the organization, becomes even more emphatic after reading the account of the history of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York during the past two years and its present condition. It is a chapter of unmitigated shame and heart-burning chagrin, these pages of strife, disruption and confusion that have all but destroyed the waist and dressmakers' organization in New York City. We certainly do not want to open old wounds, and we would gladly relegate to the past these sad pages in the hope that they might serve as a warning and a lesson to the future, a warning to the workers in our industry in general not to be misled and diverted from their genuine economic and trade union interests by outside meddlers, but to strive to protect their own organization in and outside of the shop by every ounce of strength at their command.

OLD AND NEW RESOLUTIONS

A number of the resolutions adopted at the Chicago Convention of our International have not been realized. Some of them were undertaken, but carried out only in part. We have written about it in the columns of JUSTICE on more than one occasion. Such was, for instance, the plan for a Needle Trades' Alliance, which came to an early end for causes not of our making. The proposal to start union-owned factories and stores remained inoperative for the well-known fact that industrial conditions would not permit to carry it out. It is to be hoped that the delegates to this Convention will concur heartily with the recommendation of the General Executive Board that these plans be readopted, and that they be carried into effect at the first favorable opportunity.

They are very important resolutions and are based upon a genuine understanding of organization needs. If the past two years were not favorable for their achievement, the next two years may see them started on the road of realization.

The report of the Board contains a very valuable contribution towards the problem of unemployment insurance which merits the keen attention of the delegates to this Convention.

The average worker in our industry goes without work and wages for at least one hundred days in the year. If he has saved up enough during the period of employment to barely carry him over during the lean days, he is fortunate. Often, however, his wages during the active periods of work are barely sufficient to cover his immediate needs, and in such cases unemployment means untold misery. The chapter on unemployment insurance in the report points out that the systems of unemployment insurance in vogue may be divided into two general classes: governmental and private. It goes on to say that as far as the United States is concerned, governmental action for the relief of unemployment is out of question at this time, or in the immediate future, and that members of our organization can look to unemployment insurance as a concrete and practical proposition only on the basis of a private arrangement. It emphasizes the point that it would be impracticable to consider any co-operation with our employers on the basis of joint contributions, as that would imply a joint administration of the fund, and would very likely prove to be an abundant source of embarrassment and irritation. It would also largely hamper the freedom of action on the part of the workers and put them in a position of greater dependence upon the employers.

We quote from the report: "If provisions against unemployment are to be made in favor of the workers in our industry, such provisions must be made directly by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It is an important and complicated undertaking, and may involve a radical change in the prevailing system of dues payment by the members. In all likelihood, it would be found most practical to do away with the present system of uniform dues and to substitute for it contributions proportionate to the earnings of the members, something in the nature of an income tax, a system which may seem more burdensome for the members at the first glance, but which may prove of inestimable benefit to them in the long run."

We heartily concur with the recommendation of the Board that a practical plan of unemployment insurance, based upon the actual conditions in our industry and the situation of our Union be worked out by a competent staff of experts and specific recommendations on the subject be submitted to either a referendum vote of the membership or to a special convention called for that purpose. It is a project of tremendous importance which involves one of the most burning problems for the workers in our trades.

The report contains a great many more lessons which should be kept fresh in the minds of every one of our delegates and of the members of our International in general. It certainly contains the sum total of the wisdom and experience gathered by our organization during the past several years, and for that matter, during the whole span of its existence. The final paragraphs of the report, which we reproduce in full below, give a graphic resume of the whole situation in a few pithy phrases:

We are proud of the two last years—yet this should not weaken our vigil over the present situation and the immediate future. The critical period of the American labor movement is not yet over. The campaign of organized capital against labor is still in its full swing. The pending colossal fight in the coal industry is probably the decisive battle in this campaign. The conflict in the textile industry is still raging and peace is not yet

Organizing the Negro Workers

By J. CHARLES LAUE

A growing problem for the American labor movement is the need for not merely organizing the Negro workers, men and women, but developing leaders of their own race to inspire these workers to insist on getting the same wage for the same work as the white person.

There are very few Negro labor leaders of prominence, although there are a large number of intellectual leaders of this race, especially in the radical movement. We have had prominent musicians, actors, poets, preachers, publicists from the Negro stock in America, but so far no outstanding figure in the labor movement. The explanation for this is that the more progressive unions do not draw the color line, for these organizations a worker is a worker and all belong to the same union, with white officials as a rule.

In the last five conventions of the American Federation of Labor, attended each year by an increasing large number of Negro delegates, every effort has been made to break down the barriers against the colored workers where they still exist, and much progress has been made.

The Negro problem is important also to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for it is in the needle trades, next to the tobacco industry, that the Negro women are finding the most continuous factory employment, although they are found usually in the less skillful branches. This is due to the fact, that, as newcomers in industry, these workers have not yet developed the factory sense, and not to any inherent inferiority. The Negro in this country has always been a toiler and a hard worker. He had to be to live.

No separate study is available just now on the exact number of Negro workers in the garment industry. Based on the last estimates, there are at least 1,000 Negro women in the waist and dress industry that are members of Locals 22 and 25 of the International in New York City. There are several hundred in Chicago and about as many in Philadelphia. Most of these workers are employed as finishers and drapers. Only a week ago a rousing mass meeting in the Harlem district was held by the waist

and dressmakers to stimulate the union spirit among the colored folk.

The big influx of Negro workers into the International occurred during the war period, when the migration began from the South, where there was wholesale recruiting of workers. The importance of this problem for labor organizations, especially those dealing with women, is that work for wages is much more widespread among Negro than among white women.

In 1910, 2,013,561, or 55 per cent, of the 3,680,535 Negro females, 10 years of age or over were gainfully employed, while only 20 per cent of the white females were working for wages. By far the greatest number of Negro women wage workers at that time were engaged in agricultural, domestic and personal service, according to the census reports.

But the last twelve years has made a great change, for thousands of Negro women are in factories to stay, despite the exploitation to which they have been subjected. They are comparatively better off than working "out."

The traditional woman-employing industry is garment making, where 75 per cent of all the women in manufacturing industries were concentrated before the war. As white women advanced industrially their places were filled by newcomers from the South, instead of Europe, due to immigration restrictions.

Negro women migrated in largest numbers to those cities which they knew afforded a chance for better conditions. Industry was in many cases not ready to receive these workers, however, and many were thrown back into domestic service.

Many of the younger women who received some education in the primitive Southern schools went into the shops, having overcome the timidity which was the first drawback in acquiring the speed and assurance necessary in a factory. Employers found them well mannered and docile, although slower than the white workers, and quickly took advantage of their ignorance, especially when they were employed on piece work.

In a recent investigation conducted by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, Mary Ander-

Amnesty Demonstration Planned for May 20th

Chicago.—In order that 1,000,000 persons may sign an appeal to President Harding urging the release of 113 remaining federal war-opinion prisoners, and that this appeal may be presented to the President before he leaves Washington for his summer vacation, May 20 has been set aside by the General Defense Committee of Chicago as National Amnesty Day.

May 20 falls on Saturday, and that day committees in at least 300 American cities will station volunteer workers with placards and petition blanks wherever crowds gather—at the entrances to parks, entrances to baseball grounds, theater exits, the gates of big factories, at the doors of railroad stations, at subway entrances and at the foot of elevated railway stairs.

The placards will point out that all the 113 federal political prisoners are now serving time solely for the alleged expression of or holding of an opinion and not for any overt act, this by reason of a reversal by the appeals courts of certain sections of the trial

courts' verdicts; that all other nations have released their war-opinion prisoners; that all spies convicted in the United States have long been freed; that all conscientious objectors have been let go; that the espionage act has been repealed; that peace with our late enemies has been declared, and trade with them resumed.

The Chicago group included delegates from the Chicago Federation of Labor, Ladies' Garment Workers of America, Women's Trade Union League, Socialist Party of America, Farmer-Labor Party, and the General Defense Committee. Energetic co-operation in the big drive for amnesty is being given nationally by the Federal Council of Churches, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the World War Veterans, the Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle, the United Mine Workers of America, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, Workers' Defense Union of New York, American Civil Liberties Union, and Women's International League.

sen, director, shows that employers were ready to discriminate against the colored worker, and it was found that in many establishments the sanitary provisions were neglected.

The 1910 census showed that about 38,000 Negro women were employed as dressmakers. At least 100,000 are now employed in all branches of the clothing industry, it is estimated, although the white women are employed on the skilled and better paid work. Manufacturers found the new kind of workers especially adaptable as pressers.

As a general rule, however, the Negro women were paid less for the same work than the white women received. Most of them received sums that were below the minimum wage to live on decently. According to the recent bulletin of the Women's Bureau, at least 73 per cent of the Negro women were employed on occupations whose performance is divided into a busy and a dull season.

The fluctuation in wages and in sen-

sions is a harder problem for these workers than for white women, for the Negro woman is usually the last hired and the first laid off.

The most skillful trade that Negro men are employed at is cooking. The best organized branch of the International Seamen's Union is that of the cooks and stewards, and a large number of these are Negroes. Large numbers of Negro workers are also found in the construction industry and such rough labor as transportation, freight handlers, longshoremen, firemen, oilers, and mining.

During strikes they have been found simple in their faith in the union and loyal to the last, there being instances in strikes where the Negro workmen were the first to go out and the last to return. There is great field for inspirational work of the trade unions among this large section of the American working class which will yield tremendous advantage in the struggle to obtain a better living for all.

certain in the railway industry of the country. All these conflicts and struggles are bound to have their influence upon the development of our situation.

The General Executive Board feels confident, after our experiences of 1920-1922, that we possess the strength to defend our position against further attack; that we have the ability, the enthusiasm and the fighting spirit that make an army invincible. It is only necessary that our members appreciate the situation well, appraise carefully the gravity of the moment, the state of affairs in the country in general and in our industry in particular.

We do not know what our manufacturers are planning. Our duty is to be always ready for the most extreme, for the worst. This is a time when we must constantly feel in a state of war, prepared to enter the trenches every minute or march to the front. The events of the last two years can serve us as a source of courage and as a guide for further action. We have won our most important battles because we were united and well disciplined, well prepared materially and morally. And if we are to be sure with victory in the future, we must be just as prepared as we were in the past.

Let us hold dear and sacred our organization. Let us remember that each and every position we had won in the past was gained at the cost of anguish, tears, and sufferings. And above all—let us not forget that the conflict between capital and labor goes on ceaselessly, and that the slogan of a victorious army is: "Ever forward! Ever onward!"

Unity, discipline, faithfulness—these are the moral weapons of our Union. Defense funds—these are our material weapons. Let us strive with every ounce of strength we possess that this arsenal of our moral and material strength may always grow and grow. Let us be ready to repulse every attempt to wrest from us the positions we have gained.

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Extracts From Report of Educational Committee to the Convention

Character of Our Education

In deciding upon the character of the instruction to be given in the classes of the Unity Centers, Workers' University and the Extension Courses, the Educational Committee had to adopt a definite policy. Our courses could be filled mainly with propaganda, advocating directly a change in our economic order. We decided, however, that this is unnecessary. We know that our members have participated in the numerous struggles of our organization, and have learned from bitter experience that the existing economic system is unsatisfactory and should be improved and changed.

Therefore they stand, consciously or unconsciously, for the reconstruction of society, and they strive toward a new life, and they dream of a world where economic and social justice shall prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as a cooperative commonwealth, where love, friendship and fellowship will replace selfishness. To attain this end we thought it would be necessary not to only accumulate knowledge for its own sake, because this would not be labor education, and we decided that the subjects for study in workers' classes must be selected with the definite object of giving our members the mental and moral equipment which will best enable them to be useful to their class and which will inspire them to disinterested service to the labor movement, and to give such service our members must receive the kind of education that will strengthen and broaden character, develop discrimination and create in them the ability to form sound judgments when they are confronted with serious problems.

We felt that the best way to accomplish this is to give our members a body of information and incontrovertible facts which they can utilize in their economic and political activities on behalf of the working class.

In accordance with this policy, our classes in history, economics, trade unionism, etc., furnish our members with means of facts. These are presented in such a way as to show how the present economic order is organized and how it works. We feel convinced that with this information in their possession, workers can plan their activities with greater chances of success.

That this policy is sound is evidenced by the fact that it has gained the approval and confidence of all who attend our classes. No matter what their particular personal, economic or political beliefs are, they receive our instruction with the knowledge that they are being told facts as they are.

Content of Our Education

We realize that at present our main function is the teaching of social sciences, such as labor and unionism, economics, industrial history, social psychology, etc. These subjects are of pre-eminent importance, because they deal directly with our present social and economic order. Without a good education along these lines it is impossible for our members to understand how existing economic conditions can be changed with the least difficulty and with the greatest possible success.

But we also recognize that our members are interested in other things besides their economic and social problems. They are human beings endowed with the irresistible human desire for play, joy and happiness. They are men and women who are interested in life as a whole. They

seek to satisfy this interest, and turn wherever they can to do so.

We realized the fact that the union is the forerunner of the Workers' Commonweal. We satisfy their desire not only for the social sciences, but also for the best of literature, the truths of psychology, the beauties of music, the joys of dancing and play, the pleasure of social gatherings and the delights of nature.

The unions of today can accomplish all this, but to a very limited degree. However, the day will come soon, we hope, when labor unions will be able to satisfy all the desires of their members.

Outlines and Text Books

One of the most important features in our educational work is the preparation

of outlines of all our lessons. These outlines are prepared by the teacher, mimeographed, and a copy is given to every student. The outlines contain a summary of the entire lesson. Students keep them and the end of the year have what may be called a condensed text book on the

subject. That these outlines are valuable is proved by the fact that many students come to the office with requests for outlines which they have either mislaid or did not receive. At the end of last season many had to be reprinted because of the great demand.

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DRESS AND WAIST MAKERS, ATTENTION!

In view of the fact that many dress and waist shops do not employ Union cutters, and the embroidery used in some shops is also produced in non-Union embroidery shops, it was decided that wherever such violations shall be discovered the Shop Chairmen will be held responsible for it, and will be brought before the Grievance Board of the Union.

JOINT BOARD OF THE DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION

M. K. MACKOFF,
General Secretary.

JACOB HALPERN,
General Manager.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

THE FOURTH WEEK IN GENOA

ACCORDING to predictions of expert observers in Genoa, the end of the fourth week of the conference is bound to bring definite results. What these results will be the predictions are less confident. The long-awaited Allied memorandum is scheduled for delivery to the Russian delegation within a few days, but all advance indications are that the terms will be unacceptable to Russia.

It is generally admitted that the allied ultimatum to Russia has overshoot the mark. Its uncompromising severity forms no working basis for an understanding. Lloyd George seems to have recognized this when he wrote to George Clucherin to the effect that he will make a private understanding with the Russians if the other Allies persist in their obstinate opposition to compromise.

That Great Britain may follow Germany in reaching a separate agreement with Russia is confirmed by the dispatch to the New York World, that British interests get virtual control over the oil fields in Russia. This valuable concession to English interests will doubtless be followed by an official treaty between England and Russia, even if France decides to leave the conference. It is interesting to note that representatives of the American Standard Oil companies have been maneuvering for this concession but they have been outwitted by their British competitors.

Secretary Hughes has reaffirmed the old stand of the American Government with regard to Russia. In reply to the presentation of resolutions by the Women's International League, the Secretary has again repeated the legend that America will not recognize Russia until a government capable of "discharging international obligations" will be established. Meanwhile, Bakhmeteff, of Kolchak fame, is the recognized "ambassador" of Russia, as Mr. Hughes has declared a few weeks ago.

It is interesting to note that Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, has issued a statement a few days ago, commending Secretary Hughes for his statesmanlike Russian policy. He urged the American Government not to recognize the Soviet Government until freedom and democracy, as we have it in this country, is established in Russia.

THE MINERS' TRIAL

THE very opening of the miners' trial in Charleston, West Virginia, revealed the nature of the Government in that state. The information came from no other than Governor Morgan himself, the chief witness for the prosecution. The chief executive of West Virginia admitted that a private government resting on the notorious "mine guard" system exists inside that state. He admitted that the governmental machinery of the state had so broken down that he was compelled to substitute martial law for civil government. Incontrovertible evidence was submitted by the miners' counsel to the effect that the Governor had violated his pledges to end the "mine guard" system. He was shown to be a lackey to the coal barons.

To be sure, these are no new discoveries. But to be able to introduce these facts as evidence in one of the courts of the state is certainly a legal victory for the miners.

Outside of West Virginia the miners are conducting a stubborn fight and are keeping their ranks intact. The pinch of the strike is beginning to feel more and more. Industries are compelled to cut down production. The coal barons are growing more restless and weary. They are therefore resorting to their customary tactics of arming thugs and gangsters on the one hand, and trying to get the courts to issue injunctions on the other. In one of the coal centers in Pennsylvania, a group of sheriffs and private detectives fired into a group of men, women and children. Meetings of miners are prohibited in many parts of the state. The coal barons are seeking to intimidate the miners into submission. But their policies will prove as ineffective as they are brutal.

CHILDREN'S AMNESTY CRUSADE

"I NEVER saw my father"; "My mother died of a broken heart"; "We are innocent victims," were some of the inscriptions on the banners carried by the child crusaders who traveled half way across the country to plead with President Harding for the release of their fathers who were jailed during the war under the Espionage Act.

But President Harding refused to see the children. It is because the President could not very well explain to the children that their fathers were guilty of the "crime" of believing that the war was fought for other reasons than justice and democracy? Is it because the President could not face children who fathers he keeps jailed and gagged because of their opinions? The children were prevented last Sunday from entering the church where the President was worshipping. Was it because their presence in the church would gloriously emphasize the contrast between the Sunday church piety and the ruthless prosecution of free thought?

The Attorney-General, however, has delivered himself in the following words: "I am aware that the most severe punishment comes on the families of all men sent to prison and I deeply sympathize with them." But his sympathy isn't worth much to those who are in prison or to the children. The platonic sympathy of jailers only helps to emphasize their brutality and ruthlessness.

CIVIL WAR IN CHINA

OVER a thousand dead and wounded are reported as a result of the first few days' battle in China. Foreign legations and foreign business houses and institutions are sheltering themselves under the flags of their respective nations. The American legation has even gone so far as to request Washington to send a warship to China.

The war in China is not a sudden and unexpected outbreak. There are two hostile governments in China, one headed by General Chang Tso-Ling, who controls Manchuria, the other headed by General Wu Pei-Fu, who controls the Central provinces. Chang is an ultra-conservative, a monarchist, and a pup-Japanese. Wu is a liberal, forward-looking, and anti-Japanese. Wu became popular among the liberals in China two years ago, when he led the attack on the pro-Japanese Anfu Government. Wu is fighting for a united, liberal China. Chang is said to represent Japanese interests. The issue, therefore, is clear cut.

The Socialist Party Moves Forward

By A. T.

The tenth convention of the Socialist Party of America opened in Cleveland on Saturday, April 29, and for the ninth time since the Party has been holding conventions, Morris Hillquit was chosen Chairman.

A number of very important decisions were arrived at, among which were the decision to join the Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties, the European group representing the Centrists; the passage of a resolution providing that "the International Executive Committee be authorized to select delegates to attend the next meeting of the convention called by the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Such delegates to have no power to commit the Socialist Party to any policy, but only to report with recommendations to the next succeeding International convention," a resolution providing that state organizations of the Socialist Party may co-operate with the organizations of labor and working farmers within their state in independent political action. This resolution and the rights given state organizations were contingent upon a number of conditions, aiming to maintain the integrity and standing of the Socialist party as a political and economic entity.

The first and last of these three resolutions were introduced by Morris Hillquit and developed a great deal of discussion. On the question of joining the Vienna Union there were a number of Socialist delegates who were this time, as in the last two conventions, hesitant about affiliation with any of the European International. The Hillquit resolution providing that "the Socialist Party of the United States apply for immediate affiliation with the International Working Union of Socialist Parties" was carried. This occurred on the first day of the session. A great deal of optimism was expressed for the future of the Party and for its ability to revive its membership, reorganize its local and conduct campaigns on the large scale of past years.

The second resolution was in keeping with the decision of the last convention, which instructed the National Executive Committee to make a survey of the various labor groups interested in independent political action and see if a basis for co-operation with these groups can be arranged. As is well known, a conference of labor leaders and the Socialist Party was held in Chicago recently and a decision arrived at to hold a larger convention some time this year. The decision of the Party at this convention is in keeping with its last decision, and is undoubtedly a step forward toward organizing labor for independent political action.

The resolution permitting state groups of the Socialist Party to affiliate with farmer and labor organizations has become the basis for a great deal of discussion not only in

Socialist circles, but in all labor circles as well. A great many interested people express fear that the party may become enmeshed in political bickering and deals which will cause it to lose its class aspect. Most people, however, consider this step of the party one of the most progressive moves it has made since its inception as an organization. The hope is expressed that this resolution may form the basis of a powerful labor organization not only in this state, but in every state where a degree of sympathetic understanding between the Socialists and the Laborers exists.

The last day of the convention marked a determination on the part of the delegates assembled to renew activities in combatting the reactionaries outside the Party, and the apathy and morbidity within the Party. The delegates realized that the latter is a greater menace to the solidarity and the existence of the organization than the former. It called upon all members of the Socialist Party to take up anew the cudgels for working class emancipation, to become more actively affiliated with their branch and local organizations, and to prepare to wage a tremendous congressional campaign this fall.

One of the last acts of the convention was the election of a new National Executive Committee, which consisted of Morris Hillquit and B. Chas. Vlodok, of New York; W. A. Henry, of Indiana; James H. Maurer, of Pennsylvania; George E. Roewe, of Massachusetts; and Victor Berger and Edmund T. Melms, of Wisconsin.

The convention also adopted a series of resolutions urging immediate political amnesty; it denounced the American Imperialist efforts in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Mexico and other Pan-American nations; declared that Soviet Russia be recognized forthwith; granted "a-m-n-i-a" to miners and expressed hope for their complete victory; and urged the necessity of forming a strong Pan-American Socialist Movement.

The convention was addressed by a number of speakers representing various groups of labor. Among these was Robert Haberman, a fraternal delegate from the Mexican Socialist Party, and Abraham Baroff, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Brother Baroff made a strong plea for unity. When introduced by Chairman Roewe, he said: "I couldn't resist the temptation to visit the convention of my Party. We are here on the same mission, to fight for the interests of the workers. I came here with the congratulations of the 145,000 workers in our organization, and I am glad that the call for unity and harmony of the working class movement has gone out in your resolution to affiliate with Vienna. It is about time that the work of destruction cease, and that we get together for our great aim, the emancipation of labor."

MAY DAY, 1922

MAY DAY, the international labor holiday, has been celebrated this year in face of many odds. The industrial depression and its accompanying evils, unemployment, wage cuts, open shop campaigns, etc., put the labor movement on the defensive. The workers had to exert all their energies to keep the gains. It was no time to formulate new demands or to forge ahead toward fresh victories. The labor movement had to lie and wait for the dark clouds to pass.

The labor movement in Europe did not fare better. In England, France, Italy and Germany, the workers were forced to retreat. Only a few short years ago labor was on the verge of ruling Europe; today, no such hopes are entertained for the immediate future. British labor does not command the same strength and hope it did a year ago. Soviet Russia is still a Workers' Republic, the only one in this world, yet it was forced to compromise with capitalist countries, and allow capitalism to raise its head in Russia.

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By SAM R. SHENKER

GENERAL

For the present, the deliberation and the solution of the problems affecting the members of all the branches in the ladies' garment industry have been transferred to Cleveland, where the delegates of the Sixteenth Biennial Convention are meeting.

Any one familiar with the present situation in these trades can readily understand that the convention will hardly take up matters that will affect the organization in the distant future. The recent attempt on the part of the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association to sweep aside present labor standards is evidence of what the International is confronted with. From what can be gleaned of talk in various trade channels, it appears that the recent attempt is not the last one. The situation in the waist, dress and miscellaneous trades is also of a nature that calls for an immediate strengthening of the fighting resources of the International.

The reason that there are no actual signs of all this is that most agreements have not yet expired. Hence, the organization's resources will no doubt be taxed to the utmost, in order that the standards that are now prevailing may be maintained. It is for this reason that those who are keeping in close touch with the affairs of the International feel sure that the convention's time will be taken up with immediate problems.

This situation has naturally caused a number of locals to urge upon President Schlesinger to remain as their head. To make a change in the presidency of the International at this time would be a calamity, is the opinion of these locals.

During the early part of this week newspapers carried reports of the address by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, during the course of which he said: "I say to you (Benjamin Schlesinger) as President, as a union man, as a man with your great experience, knowledge and leadership you have shown in bringing up this organization, you must continue to lead and be true to the men and women of the organization. You have their confidence. They know that in your hands their interests won't be frittered or bargained away."

Statements and rumors of the likelihood of Schlesinger's not being a candidate for the presidency are by no means idle talk. A statement by the International's President in the "Call" on Sunday last appeared, in which he (Schlesinger) was emphatic in his refusal to be President again.

That Schlesinger is wanted, and that it would be detrimental to the International were he to persist in his refusal is evidenced by the publication of resolutions in which the present head of the organization is urged to accept, and which carry instructions to delegates to work towards this end.

At the last meeting of the Executive Board, which was held on Thursday, the acting General Secretary was authorized to inform Brother Sidney Rothenberg that his resignation, which was tendered on Tuesday, April 25, for the reason that he is leaving for Europe, was accepted with regret, and that he be thanked for his services as general and branch officer of Local 10.

Sidney Rothenberg joined the union on May 17, 1916, just seven years ago. From almost his obligation as a member of Local 10 to the

present day he was active. He allied himself with that group which subsequently succeeded in ousting from office the reactionary element which was greatly hindering the work of the local. Rothenberg was one of those who constantly advocated the closer alliance with our Joint Boards, feeling that in this way the interests of the members would best be served.

In June, 1917, two years after he became a member, he was elected to the Executive Board from the Waist and Dress Branch. In December, 1917, he was elected as business agent for the same branch. He was a delegate to the fourteenth biennial convention of the International, which was held in Boston in 1918. In June of the same year he was re-elected Business Manager for a six-months' period. In December, 1919, he was elected President of Local 10.

In the memorable dress and waist strike of 1919, when the unions in these trades put up that wonderful fight for the 44-hour week, Rothenberg played a very active part. Though not a paid officer, he devoted a great deal of his time to the strike, doing some valuable work. In 1920 he was again elected a delegate to the fifteenth biennial convention of the International, which was held in Chicago. On December 27, 1921, he was elected an executive board member for the ensuing term, but resigned the early part of the present year, due to his need for more time to wind up his affairs preparatory to leaving for Europe on May 13. Brother Rothenberg's return to Europe is prompted by no other motive than that he has his parents there. Asked as to whether it was merely a visit, he replied that for the present his intentions are to stay there permanently. However, he said, that if conditions warrant, he would return, but that it was a matter of speculation.

Rothenberg has taken sides in all of the union's battles, which naturally made him unpopular with some members, as is the case with all men who are in public light. In spite of that, however, his departure is regretted by the great bulk of the membership of Local 10, particularly in the dress and waist branch, where he was most active.

A group of his friends have arranged a banquet for him, at which he will be tendered a rousing send-off. A number of prominent men and women in the Ladies' Garment Workers' union will be present. The banquet will take place Friday evening, May 5, at the "Russian Bear Restaurant," 201 Second Avenue.

At the same session of the Executive Board the acting General Secretary was authorized to send the following telegram of greeting to the sixteenth biennial convention of the International:

"International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Convention, Locomotive Engineers' Building, Cleveland, Ohio:

"Greetings:

"Heartiest congratulations to the officers and delegates of the sixteenth biennial convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. May your deliberations result in the successes that have been for International's during the past years. It is the fervent wish of the cutters of New York City and vicinity that the present gathering of the representatives of our organization, meeting to consider problems affecting the thousands of members, shall succeed in preserving the hard-won and necessary gains. They hope for the strengthening of our International to meet in the future, as it has

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met in the past, the onslaughts of the reactionary elements. "Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union, Local 10.

"MAX STOLLER, President.
"SAM R. SHENKER,
"Acting General Secretary."

WAIST AND DRESS

The slackness in these trades still prevails. Of course, no week passes by without half a dozen strikes. These are declared against shops which fail to live up to the agreement, and new shops which open up to take the place of the contracting shops which go out of business.

The dress trade seems to be growing from bad to worse. There are scores of shops that go out of business, and scores of them that are being set up within a short time. As bad as it is for unionization purposes, it is still worse for the control of union shops. It is becoming a habit with some unscrupulous employers to keep workers waiting two or more weeks for their wages and then closing up their shops over night and disappearing. Within the past few weeks a number of such cases have been reported to the union.

Some jobbers who are supposed to be the more responsible factors in the trade are also adopting unscrupulous tactics. Julius Hochman, Manager of the Independent Department and General Organizer of the Dress

and Waist Joint Board, reported at a recent meeting of this body that these gentlemen, in order to evade union conditions, are no longer satisfied with maintaining two sets of books, one set being for the union, in which union contractors are recorded, and the other set is a record of nonunion contractors. The union was able, in the past, to detect this duplicity by means of the check book, in which are recorded payments to contractors. Lately, however, the investigators of the union have found double sets of check books.

All this is making it quite difficult for the union to control the shops. Solutions without number have been suggested and carried out to cope with such problems as described here, but to little avail. It is hoped that the convention will adopt some measures towards unification, towards the centralization of the local unions so that the human and financial resources at the command of the unions may be combined, with a view to coping with the unscrupulousness of many of the employers in these trades.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Cloak and Suit Monday, May 8th
Miscellaneous Monday, May 15th
General Monday, May 22nd
General Monday, May 29th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place