

Convention Proceedings

"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. 20

New York, Friday, May 12, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

International Holds Interesting and Stirring Sessions

Delegates Addressed by Hillquit, Cahan, Vladek, Ervin and Others—All Make Special Plea That Schlesinger Continue Office—Also Appeal for Unity in Ranks—Hundreds of Telegrams Greeting and Congratulating International Received—Over Two Hundred Resolutions Introduced.

Greetings From Labor Throughout Nation

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY, MORNING SESSION, MAY 2

The second day of the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union witnessed an avalanche of telegrams and messages of greetings from working-class groups throughout the nation. The session was called to order by President Benjamin Schlesinger at 9:30 A. M., and Secretary Baroff immediately proceeded to read the telegrams, all of which were greeted with hearty applause. Space does not permit the quoting of all the messages, but the following fraternal greetings from large bodies of workers roused the delegates exceedingly:

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, SECRETARY-TREASURER AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA:

"Accept cordial greetings from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Your conventions are always followed with great interest by our organization. There is a strong bond of solidarity between the membership of our organization and that of yours. In this day of ruthless open-shopism, with all that it implies, progress made by a labor organization is a source of encouragement greater than under normal conditions. The achievements of your organization have added strength to the labor movement generally. We send you hearty wishes for a successful convention. May this biennial gathering be a new mile-post on the road to the emancipation of labor."

M. ZUCKERMAN, SECRETARY UNITED CLOTH HAT AND CAP MAKERS:

"Hearty greetings from the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. We congratulate you on your glorious achievement, and express the hope that your convention will pave the way for continued success in your struggle for the advancement of the labor interests of your membership and the general labor movement. May your convention further cement the ties uniting all organizations of the needle trades."

JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION:

"Joint Board Furriers' Union greets the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at their sixteenth biennial convention. The amazing growth and splendid accomplishments of your organization have been a source of inspiration and guidance to other labor organizations. May you continue your splendid defense against the onslaught of the employers and your remarkable constructive and education work."

JOINT BOARD CLOAKMAKERS' UNION, NEW YORK:

"We greet all the delegates to the sixteenth biennial convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. May the spirit of harmony reign over your proceedings and unite you into a solid front against the employers."

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, PETER MONAT, SECRETARY-TREASURER:

"Accept our fraternal greetings and best wishes for a successful convention. May your deliberations result in strengthening and uniting your forces more than ever before. Long live the international solidarity of the workers. We hope that the day is not far when the clothing workers of all branches of the men's and women's industry will be united in one powerful organization."

BOSTON JOINT BOARD CLOAK AND SKIRTMAKERS' UNION:

"Our heartfelt greetings to the delegates of the sixteenth biennial convention I. L. G. W. U. May your deliberations be guided by the spirit of progress and light, and may your efforts be of benefit to the working class."

WM. F. KEHOE, SECRETARY, CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK:

"May I extend to yourself and colleagues the hearty wish that the convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union accomplish as great benefits to the members and the organized labor movement as it has in the past years. God speed you to success."

PHILIP KAPLOWITZ, SECRETARY-TREASURER, JOINT BOARD CLOAK, SKIRT AND REEFMAKERS' UNION:

"Glad that I am not with you as a delegate of this historic convention, but fate and a couple of hundred votes decreed it otherwise. May your deliberations and final decisions be in the best interests of our organization and for the maintenance of the conditions we have obtained through great hardships in our industry. And may your work of obtaining greater gains for our members continue as the years go on. To that end the work of this convention should be directed and all personal differences cease with the termination of it, so that the return of the delegates and the newly selected Executive Board bring home peace and harmony in our ranks."

JOINT BOARD CLOAK AND SKIRTMAKERS' UNION, LOCALS 2, 53 AND 69, PHILADELPHIA:

"Greetings! Accept our heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for success

to the sixteenth biennial convention of the I. L. G. W. U. May your deliberations result in the emancipation of the working class."

FROM MOSCOW:

"All-Russian Jewish Public Committee Organization for Relief of Jewish Workers sends fraternal greetings to Congress. Jewish workers of Ukraine, White Russia, thank you for initial proletarian help of the toiling masses of America, and hope brotherly help will come for further economic reconstruction of pogrom victims. Member Premium Raskhes instructed great Congress in name of All-Russian Jewish Public Committee."

Messages were also received from the Cloakmakers' Union, Local 4, of Baltimore; the Boston Jewish Branch of the Socialist Party, the Strike Committee of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, Local 15, of Philadelphia; Raffaele Rende, Editor of Giustizia; Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union, Local 21, of Newark; the workers of T. Klipstein shops of New York City, Executive Board of Local 15, Philadelphia; Executive Board of Local 48, New York; Executive Board of Local 35, National Executive Committee of the Jewish National Verband, Montreal; Cloakmakers' Union, Morris Cohen, Boston; Cutters' Union, Local 53, of Philadelphia; Pressers' Local 12, of Boston; Barbers' Union, Local 755, of New York; Brother Heferling, of Local 17, Toronto; A. Rotter, Business Agent Boston Joint Board; Local 19 of Montreal, Local 24 of Boston, Local 71 of Philadelphia, Embroidery Workers' Local 6 of New York, Local 123 of Paterson, Local 59 of Chicago, White Goods Workers' Local 115, Newark; Proletarian Party, Employees of Klein & Marcan's Cloak Shop of New York, I. Reichelson of New York, Finishers' Local 56 of Boston, Local New York Socialist Party, Local 73 of Boston, Local 52 of Los Angeles, Day Nursery of Daughters of Israel, New York City; Local 56, Boston; Max Kalinsky, New York; Independent Workmen's Circle, Workers of R. Sadowsky's Shop, New York; Local 50 of New York, Jewish Federation; Alfonso Ligneri of Local 48, New York; Branch 755, of Workmen's Circle; S. M. Tucker, New York; F. Nathan Wolf, General Auditor, Workers of the New York Cloak Company, Chicago; Dr. Gethner, Medical Director Chicago Medical Department; Herman Grossman, Cloak Operators' Union No. 1, New York, and Local 24 of Boston.

SOCIALIST PARTY DELEGATION GREETS CONVENTION

A delegation from the Socialist Party Convention, consisting of John H. Collins, Esther Friedman and William H. Henry, were presented to the convention amidst hearty applause. Each in turn expressed the well wishes of the Socialist Party to the delegates. Brother Henry, in addition to bringing the greetings of the Socialist Party, brought the greetings of Eugene V. Debs, whose name electrified the convention and brought the delegates to their feet amidst thunderous applause.

EDITOR OF NEW YORK CALL ADDRESSES CONVENTION

Chas. W. Ervin, Editor of the New York "Call," was next introduced. Brother Ervin said in part:

"It is, of course, a pleasure to speak to a parliament of representatives of the working class. I know how this union has been built up. No ardent public opinion has given you what you have. You have succeeded through your most able leadership, and through the efforts of some men even on the capitalist press (and I honor them for it)—who have been able to put your case squarely, and have created some public opinion—but in the last analysis what you have gained has come from you and from no one else."

CALLS INTERNATIONAL FLAMING TORCH OF PROGRESS

You notice I am not talking revolutionary phrases. I am fed up on those. I have listened to so many gas tanks, long distance revolutionists, swivel-chair revolutionists in the last three years—that I hope I will never have to listen to another. I know that your job is right here. You represent people are the inheritors of the sacrifices of the men and women who have suffered and suffered. This winter you licked your employers. You took their own weapon and had a glorious victory, and yet there are many men who sneer at that now. I tell you, your intelligence, your leadership has been a flaming torch to the working class of this country this year. (Applause.) While others have been going backwards, you have gone on and your job is to keep going on, and prepare for the struggle.

I make a prophecy that you are going into a tremendous struggle as the summer comes on. If your ranks are divided one late, every man and every woman who helps to divide them is a traitor to your organization. (Great applause.) I feel kindly on the subject.

Just as long as you are united, no one can beat you. The needle trades, the

Jewish girls and boys who were despised twenty years ago, are today in the forefront of the labor movement of the world. But the union is only a means to an end, and that end is not merely better wages, better conditions, but the whole value of your labor. Long live the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union! Long live victory for the working class of the world!

I leave this final thought with you. Abraham Lincoln once said: "Beware of divisions among you." The most sacred lie in the world is that it which binds together all workers of all tongues and all creeds. Remember this, if you do you will go home from this convention as the battalions on the first of June and victory for the International will perch again upon its banner! (Great applause.)

AMALGAMATED DELEGATION ADDRESS CONVENTION

At this point a delegation from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Cleveland, consisting of Leo Krayczyk, formerly Under-Sheriff of Milwaukee, and D. Solomon, were presented to the convention amidst great applause.

Brother Krayczyk related, to the delight of the delegates, several of his experiences as Under-Sheriff in Milwaukee. He cited in particular a strike which occurred in Milwaukee in 1920, involving 16,000 workers. When the employers called upon him to protect their property he appointed, to the dismay of the capitalists, as deputies under him, eighty railroad men who were on strike. He urged that future conventions of the labor movement take up the question of having the workers secure the executive power of the land, so that in times of strike the workers would be protected, instead of bullied by thugs who are appointed as Deputy Sheriffs by the capitalists.

Brother Krayczyk concluded his remarks by expressing his sincere hope that the time is not far off when all the needle trades will amalgamate.

Brother D. Solomon extended the greetings of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Cleveland to the delegates.

R. C. VLADECK RECEIVES OVATION

R. Charny Vladeck, the manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, was next introduced, amidst great applause. Vladeck said in part:

"Friends and Brothers: I wish to ask you to believe me when I say that I did not expect to be called to the platform, and that I did not wish to speak. I wanted to ask Brother Schlesinger not to call upon me, but I knew that if I did, that he would know that I wanted to speak. (Laughter.) And I will tell you why I did not wish to be called upon to speak. There are people, especially in the various shades of the Socialist movement, who have never been inside of a shop or a union office, but who, nevertheless, feel that if you should make them up at 3 A. M. and ask them how the International should act in the next strike, they would not wait a second and tell you exactly what to do.

New, I have never felt myself competent enough to give the union any advice. I have a mixed feeling of awe and admiration. I am before a great, strong union, I hear I think of the 125,000 members of the International, I feel—here is a big, huge sea of life.

It is my inmost conviction that for the cause of the working class and for the cause of the revolution, it is more important to have 126,000 working men organized in a union than 120,000 dentists and real estate men organized in a Communist party. (Laughter and great applause.) Life will never be changed by books, by resolutions, by theories. Life is a tremendous thing and rolls on and succeeds by experience.

When I read in the papers that the men of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company voted to accept a cut of 20 per cent, I felt sad and disheartened, and when I watched your struggle, your determination, I was never proud of being an immigrant until I learned you. There was a time when my ideal was to become such a "good" American that nobody would know that I came from a small town in Wisconsin. (Laughter.) But after I came closer to you, and after I read in the newspapers that in a strike involving 600,000 miners, there are, nevertheless, 4,000,000 tons of coal dug out of the ground by scabs, and when I remember that when there is a strike in the cloak shops of New York there are not as many as 400 garments made, I am glad that I came from a small town in Minsk, as most of you do.

With unity, with intelligence, with decision, doing what life demands, we can go onward and upward together, one great fighting family, learning by experience, learning how to become bigger by what life itself will teach us. I thank you." (Great applause.)

Morris Hillquit, in Splendid Speech, Reviews Progress and Goal of Labor; Pays Tribute to Schlesinger

Morris Hillquit was next introduced. He received an ovation, the delegates rising. Hillquit's speech follows: "Comrade Schlesinger, Brothers, Sisters, Comrades, Friends and Fellow-workers in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union: It is also with some degree of hesitancy that I address you this morning. Comrade Vladeck has said that he always feels hesitant when asked to advise organized labor. I feel, perhaps, the same difficulty about it, except that in my case it is my business to advise organized labor (laughter), and whether I can do it well or otherwise, I just have to do it.

Of all the advice I have to do in the course of my professional work, I must frankly admit that nothing is so difficult, and so pleasant to me, as occasionally advising your organization. The International is my favorite client. I have had all sorts of clients, rich and poor, civil and criminal, good and bad and indifferent, but all the rest are a class apart—general practice, petty jurisdiction, if you please (laughter)—that is something entirely different, not because it is very easy; it is not. I have a very hard taskmaster. Our good friend Schlesinger never hesitates, when the interests of the organization require it, to call me up, day or night, and ask that everything else be laid aside and the business of your organization attended and accomplished, if possible, yesterday. (Laughter.) But there is this great compensation, that it is the only kind of work that is creative work. I feel that I am adding, oh, just an imperceptible riddle, just a grain of sand, to the great structure of humanity that is being steadily built up, day by day, hour by hour. And it has occurred to me that, after all, in this miniature, this International is practically an entire world in itself. It has its history, it has its tasks, it has its struggles which you may translate into special terms of your own trade and organization, but which are of world-wide application, for, after all, the same laws apply everywhere.

SLOW BUT CERTAIN PROCESS OF PROGRESS

Progress is awfully slow, yet very fast. The tasks accomplished so far by mankind are very insignificant and yet tremendous, and the achievements, ahead of us very much more so. Do we ever pause to think that the world, as man knows it, is, after all, very new? It has taken hundreds and thousands of years to create the physical world, with all on it and above it. But it is only a comparatively short time that the human race has evolved from our hairy ancestors, and it is only a century or two that we attained to what we call civilization. All these things that make for civilized life, our great cities, our means of communication and transportation, the wonders of electricity and steam power that help us to produce wealth, our whole mode of life has been created perhaps within a century,

a span of time, a minute as cosmic history goes. On the other hand, it is also true that because the process has been fast and the period of civilization small, comparatively speaking, it has remained very largely on the surface. At the bottom we are still, to a very large extent, savages. The time that separates us from our hairy ancestors is very short. We have not had time to develop a really higher non-animal type. We still scarp for a crumb of bread everywhere in every shape and form, just like two dogs fighting for a bone. We are killing each other for this crumb of bread. This frightful bath of blood in Europe, this frightful carnage, the black memory of which we are just about surviving at present, what was it but a gigantic struggle between millions of so-called human beings, for bread, for food, for the material things of life? And when we consider how much more time will have to pass before the human race will be truly a superior race, living in contentment, in co-operation, for pleasure and enjoyment of life, we perhaps will cease to be impatient in our own immediate struggles. And the struggles that we have gone through are, after all, along the same line. They have at times seemed to be overwhelming, overpowering and exhausting, and progress has seemed to be, oh, so slow as to make many of us impatient with our methods, with our procedure. And yet, when I look back some twenty years, no more than that, perhaps twenty-five, and when I think of the workers in your industry as I knew them then and compare their condition in those days with the conditions which you have brought about, I cannot but feel that you have accomplished wonders. It is well at times to pause and compare. "What were the workers in the women's wear industry twenty-five years ago? Immigrants, foreigners, unfamiliar with the language, with the habits and institutions of the country, congregated in a vast gloom in the larger industrial centers of the East, there upon to defend themselves against the exploiters of their own race, an easy prey to oppression, working hours without end for starvation wages, and furnishing the most bountiful crops for sanatoriums, hospitals and cemeteries. Then, just as the swallows of evil became more numerous and smelt to the heavens, a comparatively few of you who had vision got together and organized your union. It was a name, no more than that. You undertook struggles. They were ineffective in the beginning, and again and again the workers were thrown back into misery and destitution. And again and again the men and women at the head of the movement rose after every defeat to new struggles, undaunted of their ideal, confident in their ultimate success, and you built and you built, laying stone upon stone, until today, after a comparatively short lapse of space, you have revolutionized conditions of labor in your industry. You can today tell your fellow-workers in the face and say, that far from being depressed, or wretched, far from being scabs, you stand in the forefront of the gigantic, titanic struggle of labor for freedom and emancipation in this country. (Applause.)

SAYS ALL PROGRESS DEPENDS UPON STRUGGLE

And again, as with the world problems at large, your problem is a simple one. All progress depends on struggle. All success is created by organization. Struggle and organization, those are the laws of life. If the human race today has conquered hostile, dumb nature and has become the ruler of nature, it is because from the first days, from the first halting steps of our savage ancestors, we have been fighting obstacles, fighting unconsciously, fighting all the time from birth until death, with every weapon, physical and intellectual, on every field, industrial, spiritual and every other field of human endeavor.

It has succeeded to such a marvelous extent because the human race from the scattered herds of semi-animal individuals has gradually congregated, solidified, and organized itself into concrete entities. And the same thing applies to your organization. It is struggle that has made you what you are. Struggle every hour of the day, struggle for improvement. It seemed so small, it seemed so insignificant, a fight over 10c on a garment, a fight over a few minutes more of leisure—what does it mean to the life of a worker? But the cumulative effect of these petty fights carried on day after day, consciously, and unconsciously, individually and principally in mass, has shown in the radical change and improvement in the conditions of your workers.

THE GOAL OF THE WORKING CLASS

And you have, by far, not achieved your goal yet. You have only placed yourself in a position to begin the real fight, for, after all, what you are struggling for is to redeem the human life, the human existence in all of its fullness and without limitation; not merely improving your wage conditions, or shop conditions, not only getting a little more leisure, but reaching a point where you, as workers, will at the same time be free human beings in every sense of the term; free to enjoy all the beauties that life has in store for human beings, not only the physical beauties of the world, but all that the human

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mind has created in the shape of arts, in the shape of science, in the shape of defined pleasures, not as slaves, not dependent upon any other fellowmen, but free, independent men and women. And that, my friends, means not merely a few more fights within your industry, not merely a few more strikes within your industry. It means vastly more. It means merging your efforts, your endeavors, with those of the millions and millions of your fellow workers in the same line of industry, and in other industries throughout the United States and then across the oceans all over the world. For only when the entire working class of the world, or at least of all the advanced parts of the world, will stand together as one, determined to redeem this mass from the vestiges of savagery, of exploitation, of oppression, of fights for bread and power, only then will the hour of full emancipation strike all over the world. (Great applause.)

THE MEANING OF "UNION"

There is only one way to achieve it, and that is by union. We have gotten so used to the name "union" that we pronounce it exactly as we say, judge, society, synagogue, church or anything else. It means a card and it means some officers and some rules and regulations. We have forgotten the primary meaning of it. "Union" means unity, one, taking a large mass of people, taking hundreds, thousands, millions of men and women and making one of them. Union means taking a mass of little pygmies, crawling helplessly along, and putting one on top of the other, welding them together, making them larger and larger by accretion, until the million little pygmies stand together as one tremendous, powerful, invincible giant. (Applause.) Union is oneness, and it means not merely physical oneness, but also intellectual, spiritual oneness, a great body composed of hundreds of thousands of small bodies, cells as it were. If each and every one of the cells will draw into a different direction it will be a powerless mass of flesh. It is only when the spirit of the component parts is fused into one great spirit; it is only when the minds scattered all over the cells are gathered together into one great mind that the giant becomes powerful and effective. And that, my friends, is something that we want to remember. For the great struggles ahead of us we will need all the force, all the power, all the intellect, all the idealism and enthusiasm that all of us collectively and individually possess. I do not expect, nor even desire, a labor movement in which there will be no differences of opinion. I do not expect to exclude divergence of social philosophies, social theories, politics, tastes in poetry or in music or in anything else. Divergence must be there. But when it comes to the one point which unites us all, regardless of our theories, regardless of our philosophies, regardless of race, regardless of creed, regardless of language, the one great sacred point, the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, on that point all differences should be submerged by the greater, more powerful, more commanding motive of making a success of your struggles. Comrades, in these hectic, nervous times, in this present world psychology, spirits explode more readily. Quarrels find a readier response. The irritation is apt to be stronger than the sense of interest, the sense of reality, the common ideal which should tie us all together. Let us remember that just as much as we allow disharmony to creep into our ranks, just as much do we remove the day of ultimate success and deliverance of the working people.

HOPES FOR CONTINUED LEADERSHIP OF SCHLESINGER

I have no doubt your convention will realize that, and that whatever differences there may be among you will be varied in the common cause that unites you all. I have no doubt you will leave more solid, more powerful, more determined and better prepared to fight the battles ahead of you than you have been in the past, and I want to assure you that come what may, whatever struggles you may face, whatever little ability I possess, will be cheerfully placed at your feet and devoted to your cause under the leadership I hope, of my friend and true comrade and the man who, above all, has led you to success in your past struggles, Comrade Benjamin Schlesinger. (Thunderous applause.)

B. Chane: I move that a telegram of sympathy and encouragement be sent to Logan County to the West Virginia miners on trial. Unanimously carried.

The session adjourned at 12:20 P. M. to reconvene in the afternoon at 2 P. M.

SECOND DAY SESSION—TUESDAY AFTERNOON

Telegrams were received at the afternoon session from the following: Workers of Steubenville, Ohio; of Brooklyn; Alexander Fichandler, Educational Director of the International; Hyman Horvitz, of Revere, Mass. The convention thereupon proceeded to send the telegram of greetings and messages of encouragement which had been voted at the first day's session. These were sent to Socialist Party Convention, Striking Miners, Granite Cutters, Workmen's Circle Convention and Textile Workers.

Chairman-Breslau Begins Credential Committee Report

President Schlesinger, after that, called upon Brother Joseph Breslau, the Chairman of the Credential Committee, to read the report of this committee.

The report stated that the committee had examined the credentials of 233 delegates. In this work it spent two weeks, acting as an objection and appeal committee.

In the course of its work the Credential Committee heard a great number of objections which were filed against the individual delegates whose fitness to represent their locals at this convention was challenged. It painstakingly and carefully examined the evidence presented in behalf of such challenges or objections, actuated by a spirit of genuine impartiality.

SUBMITS LIST OF DELEGATES ELIGIBLE

The number of delegates against whom the committee received objections and whose seating was challenged may be classified as follows:

1. Those whose eligibility was questioned, but whose seating the committee recommended; and,
2. Those against whom objections were raised, sustained, and whose seating the committee does not recommend.

The following credentials having been examined, the committee recommended the seating of the representatives bearing these credentials of the locals of the International:

1.—Bernard Shane, Abraham Rothberg, Joe Boruchowitz, Jehudah Blieman, Harry Aidenland and Morris Wechsler.

2.—M. Rochester, Max Amdur and George Rubin.
3.—Samuel Lefkowitz, Bernard Chazanawa, Frank Magnavita, Morris Goodman and Sam Breslavsky.

4.—Samuel Kaplan.

5.—M. Cohen, B. Schaffer, Morris Steinberg and Myer Barlow.

6.—Philip Solender, Max Zucker and A. C. Passler.

7.—Hyman Weiser and Fred Monahan.

8.—Benjamin Sachs, Samuel Perlmuter, Joseph Fish, Philip Ansel, Harry Berlin, John C. Ryan, Isidore Nagler and David Dubinsky.

9.—Abraham Belton, William Baran, Harry Chancer and Morris Brass.

10.—Myer Frank and Henry Toomast.

11.—K. Wagner, H. Kruger and H. Kankaloff.

12.—Elizabeth Rudolph, Elias Reiberg, David Bifkin and Samuel Winick.

13.—Morris Leventhal and Joe Stankewitch.

14.—Alfred Rose, A. Rudin and Joe Siegal.

15.—Samuel Presser, Hyman Gordon, Louis Weiler and Arthur S. Samuels.

16.—Abraham Kaplan.

17.—Sonia Farber, Clara Goldberg, Isidore Farbach, Abraham Lupin, Isidore Schenkel and Jennie Schwartz.

18.—Bernard Guttish, Simon Pizant, Louis Pinkusky, Sam Etkind, Nathan Margulies, Harry Greenberg, Morris Bass and Harry Wandler.

19.—John Gilman and Isaac Posen.

20.—Euse Pasella and Lena Goodman.

21.—Nathan Solomon, Aba Katovsky, Sam Nowr, Alfonso Lere, Pietro Ponti and Harry Green.

22.—Hersberg and Harry Bakst.

23.—Ethel Ayer, Carrie Gallagher, Eva Post and Esther Schweitzer.

24.—Dennis Cronin and Ben Bartell.

25.—Harry Levine, Louis Langer, David Weisman, Joseph Breslaw, Philip Levine and Bernard Schiff.

26.—Bernard Schach, Harry Bernstein, Max Censinsky and H. Siatky.

27.—L. Laufman, Sam Ehrenweitz and Barney Bloomberg.

28.—Ida Weisman.

29.—Joel Levine and Jos. Mark.

30.—M. Goldovsky.

31.—Salvatore Nifio, Edwards Molinari, Vincenzo Celeste, Frank Comunale, Vito Catania, Ignazio Chierchiera, Basilio Dvati, Raffaele Kapistat, Attilio Termini and Arturo.

32.—Becky Levy, Philip Goodman, Morris Sirota and Harry Greenberg.

33.—Jacob Lench.

34.—A. Stein.

35.—M. Feinberg and Joe Sladovitz.

36.—Jacob Seidler, Morris Damarsky and N. Ginsburg.

37.—A. Sherr, Adolph Feinman, Rost Jacobowitz and A. Jacobson.

38.—Louis Jaeger and Nathan Schreiber.

39.—Sam Grakin, Yetta Malofsky, Fannie Shapiro, Esther Popowicz and Morris Zeitz.

40.—Titus Lape, Morris Essig and Eli Scheuchman.

41.—Alexander Brick, Max Libow and Samuel Cipos.

42.—Leo Friedman, Joseph Bernstein, Nathan Riesel and Bella Winick.

43.—Leola Fried and H. Elliot.

44.—Anna Schwartz.

45.—B. Korland and Max Gorenstein.

46.—Daniel Goldman.

47.—B. Gilbert.

48.—Roy Glasman, Jack Tycher and Charles Morris.

49.—Morris Greifer, Isidore Graf and Leon Rosenblatt.

50.—Margaret Lombardi, John Columbus, Frank Olive, Margaret M. Maggia, Antonia Crivella, Salvatore Amico and Luigi Antonini.

51.—Isidore Bernadsky.

52.—Louis Galinsky and J. Belfar.

53.—J. Bobin and Charles Kreiner.

54.—Philip Bartel and Nathan Spalter.

55.—Clara Galbin, Dora Lifshutz, B. Fogel, Rebecca Holland and Angelina Novich.

56.—Joe Snyder.

57.—L. Davidson.

58.—Frank Feder.

59.—Perry Schwartz and Fannie Cohen.

60.—Konrad Leske.

61.—Nichols Dietz and Anna La Guardia.

62.—Eugene Cincinco and Nelsberg Weiss.

63.—Joint Board Cloakmakers, New York—Israel Feinberg.

64.—Joint Board Dress and Waistmakers, New York—Jacob Halpern.

65.—Joint Board Cloakmakers, Montreal—Sol Goldberg.

66.—Joint Board Cloak and Skirtmakers, Boston—Abraham Snyder.

67.—Joint Board Cloak, Suit, Dress and Raincoat Makers, Chicago—Hyman A. Schoelman.

68.—Joint Board Cloakmakers, Cincinnati—Sol Feldman.

69.—Joint Board Cloak and Skirtmakers, Philadelphia—Harry Dordick.

70.—Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union, Toronto—N. Freedman.

71.—Joint Board Ladies' Garment Workers, Cleveland—Meyer Peristien.

The following is a list of the total number of delegates in each individual trade all over the country:

Cloakmakers	138
Waist, Dress, Children's Dress, White Goods and House Dress Workers ..	69
Embroidery Workers	7
Raincoat Makers	9
Ladies' Tailors	10
Joint Board Delegates	9

CONVENTION TAKES UP OBJECTIONS TO DELEGATES

The report of the Credentials Committee, thus far read, was unanimously adopted. The convention then proceeded to take up the individual cases of objections to the seating of delegates from various locals, which were reported by the Credentials Committee. The first of these was the objection against Delegates Louis Levy and S. Ornstein, both from Local 1. The Credentials Committee concluded that though the accused delegates had issued leaflets of a slanderous character, thereby endangering the existence of the Union, they had been sufficiently punished by expulsion of two years, and that since their attitude toward the organization had changed, the committee recommended that they be seated. This recommendation was adopted unanimously.

The second objection was against Delegation Kaplan, of Local 1, charged (Continued on Page Four)

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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Labor and Education

By DAVID P. BERENBERG

V. LABOR EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The Rand School, founded in 1906, was the pioneer in the American Labor Educational World. It had the advantage of the experience, and the mistakes of English and continental predecessors. It had, however, to contend with a peculiarly infantile population; with deep-seated prejudices; with artificially created, as well as natural obstacles.

European working classes assume, as a matter of course, a close interrelation of the labor movement and the organized politico-Socialist movement. The first impetus to organization in Europe proceeded from Marx's famous plea to the workers "to unite." Not so in America. A school, therefore, associated in the popular mind with Socialism, a school boldly affirming its Socialist bias, was bound to meet with a cold reception on the part of those whom we sometimes loosely call "the American workers."

Because the impetus to education came from Socialists, the leaders of the "American" workers opposed, for many years, the very idea of "labor education." They could not persist in this view forever. The Jesuitical idea of educating leaders, and seeming to educate the masses at the same time, can be maintained for a while. But if outside forces offer really to educate the masses, then it behooves those on the inside to bestir themselves. It took a long time for this, truth to sink in, but sink it did. Today there is in every center of importance at least the germ of a labor college. Invariably at the head of these schools will be found the most wide-awake—even the most radical—of the workers. This fact is at once the strongest and the weakest joint in the system. Strong, because only "radicals" are able to produce and put into effect a curriculum suited to the needs of the workers. Weak, because radicals are suspect, always; they are easily attacked; the timid are easily kept away from their schools.

The best-known of these schools are at Boston, Washington, D. C., and Seattle. To discuss the personnel and the curriculum of each of these schools is unnecessary. Though situated far from each other—though forced necessarily with varying local problems—their difficulties are essentially the same. They face the same suspicion—the same misunderstanding. Their success is proportionate, perhaps, to the intensity of their zeal—and to the degree of their ability to "carry on," rather than to conditions.

The chief problem which they all face is the failure of their students to understand what it is all about. So many of these students want to be entertained—so many want more information for its own sake—so many want individual and personal advancement—that the schools are compelled to keep going a permanent propaganda addressed as much to the student as to the outside world.

It is this misunderstanding, perhaps, that helped to render ineffectual the work of the United Labor Education Committee of New York. This organization was an effort started in 1920 to supply New York with a labor college. Its aim was avowedly to reach the non-Jewish workers—the conservative organizations. It gath-

ered quite an imposing membership—with a fairly representative committee. It announced an impressive program of "mass education," supplemented with concerts, theater parties, and even a "people's art theater," under eminent directors. Perhaps it undertook too much. Perhaps it overrated the demand for fine music and good theatricals among the native—or at any rate, among the non-Jewish, workers. It soon became apparent that the ornaments—were ornaments. They dropped off. There remained the "mass-education" and the special classes.

The idea of mass-education was heroic. As planned originally, it consisted of half-hour lectures by well-known speakers at local union meetings. The lecturer was to arrive at a stated time, the business of the meeting was to be suspended, and for the time being the meeting was to be turned into a class. It was certainly an idea worth trying—but it was not worth trying unless we were willing to learn from the results of the experiment. The attempt was based on a misapprehension of the desires and the minds of the members of the local unions. To begin with, it assumed a desire to be informed. This assumption was pedagogically necessary—for no one can be expected to learn something he doesn't wish to know. As it turned out, the workers. Where they were not bored with the lectures they were entertained—and it is questionable whether much of educational value was transmitted.

In the second place, the lecturers found, so varied an audience so varied an assortment of intelligence, and so many degrees of preparation, that they were, secretly or openly, appalled by the magnitude of the task they had undertaken. They manfully waded in, to meet the defeat they had anticipated.

I am not prepared to say that mass-educational work has not succeeded. In fact, certain forms of mass-education have succeeded. (Witness the spread of health knowledge through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.) But the value of the particular kind of mass-education undertaken by the U. L. E. C. is exploded.

Then the U. L. E. C. failed utterly to reach the native workers. It is not to be blamed for this. This job will take years—and the work done by the U. L. E. C. in pounding at these doors is part of the necessary preliminary work.

In Pennsylvania the State Federation of Labor conducts lecture courses, wherever local initiative is strong enough to justify the starting of a course. This is mass-education, but the lectures are not undertaken unless it is felt that there is some demand for them.

Through all these experiments the work of labor education moves on, growing in power and dignity as it grows in experience. As it learns to discard its preconceived ideas of the ideals that motivate the workers it deals with; as it learns to base its work on what they are, rather than on what they ought to be, it will gain in effectiveness. It is, of course, discouraging to the enthusiast to discover that the masses of the workers are, after all, human beings molded by their environment. It comes as a shock when we first discover that Marx's law of materialist influence actually works; works to produce people different from the people we imagine. It gives them this shove to the determination to go through with the job no matter what the obstacles. That is the frame of mind the labor educators are reaching in these days.

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

(Continued from Page Three)

with willful distortion of facts and evidences while Chairman of an investigating committee. The committee found the evidence inconclusive, and its recommendation that Brother Kaplan be seated was adopted by the convention.

The committee also found that the charge against Delegate Rosenfarb, of Local 3, with conspiring against the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, could not be proven, and thereupon recommended seating him. Recommendation adopted.

SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST LOCAL 9 DELEGATION

The committee received objections against Delegates Eva Pasho, of Local 9; Benny Adler, Louis Hyman and Sam Silverman, of the same local. In addition to these, objections were received against the entire delegation from this local. The latter were charged with using their official positions in the organization to further the interests of a "slate." They were charged with discriminating in this manner against other members and also with the illegal uses of funds in the election campaign. In the course of the examination by the Credentials Committee, it was brought out that the official General Organization Committee, which is responsible to the local, and which is composed in the main of the delegates elected to the convention, is under the influence of an outside organization and guided by their instructions to the extent that \$125 was to have been drawn from the treasury of the local for an advertisement to be published in the "Freiheit" from which \$50 was to be refunded to this group for the purposes of the campaigns conducted by them. The Credentials Committee reported that a thorough investigation of a charge of this kind requires the investigation of the entire local, since it implicates the Executive Board and the officers of the local. It therefore recommended that the delegation of Local 9 be seated, with the proviso that the incoming General Executive Board be instructed to thoroughly investigate the entire matter. This section of the Credentials Committee report was also adopted unanimously.

The report of the committee relative to the objections against Delegates Hochman of Local 22, Gold of Local 35, and Marcondi of Local 48, recommending that these be seated, was adopted unanimously.

CONVENTION REFUSES SEAT TO SLANDERER

The next item of the Credentials Committee report aroused a good deal of discussion, in which a great number of the delegates partook. It referred to the objection against Delegate S. Rothman, of Local 1, which came from Brother Louis Pinkofsky, President of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union. Brother Pinkofsky charged Rothman with accusing the officers who negotiated the memorandum, with selling the cloakmakers like slaves in Boston were being sold on the market place. During the examination of these charges in Local 1, Brother Rothman was found guilty of slandering the officers of the organization. Brother Rothman claimed, however, that, while he used the phrases attributed to him, he did not mean them in the sense presented by Brother Pinkofsky. The Credentials Committee recommended that Brother Rothman should not be seated as a delegate because it was "of the unanimous opinion that there was no justification for anyone making slanderous accusations against the officers for having signed the agreement in question, thereby creating the impression that the workers had been sold by the officers. . . . THAT it is of the unanimous opinion that a stop must be put to the irresponsible slandering which is causing demoralization and dissension among our members and endangers the existence of our organization." A lengthy discussion ensued, in which Brothers Pinkofsky, Prisman, Feinberg, Ninfo and Dubinsky spoke for the committee resolution, and Brothers Levy, Chasanow and Shane appealed for the seating of Brother Rothman. Upon being put to a vote, the recommendation of the committee, not to seat Rothman, was adopted by 126 to 67.

Mr. M. Raskhes, representing the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee, was introduced and brought greetings from his committee. He urged the International to stand united and to make a great effort for the building up of a workers' government, and made a strong plea for financial help to the stricken Jewish population of Russia.

PEOPLE'S RELIEF DELEGATION ADDRESSES CONVENTION

Alexander Kahn, representing the People's Relief Committee, was then introduced and addressed the delegates on the subject of solidarity and unity. He stressed the point that progress cannot be made without these two requisites. He concluded his address by thanking the International for the help it had given the People's Relief Committee, and expressed the hope that the delegates will endorse the donation of a half day's wage which was recommended at the meeting of the General Executive Board in Atlantic City. His remarks were supplemented by Mr. Meyer Gillis, of the People's Relief Committee, who, after thanking the International for its past donations, asked that further help be given.

Before the session adjourned, telegrams of encouragement were sent to Moscow and Vancouver and Mooney and Billings. The session adjourned at 5:15 P. M., to reconvene at 9 A. M. the following morning.

THIRD DAY, WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION, MAY 3, 1922

The convention was opened by President Schlesinger, and Secretary Baroff began the day's business by reading telegrams of congratulations and brotherly greetings from the following organizations:

TELEGRAMS OF CONGRATULATIONS POUR IN

Finishers' Union, Local 69, Philadelphia; the workers of Elger & Co., Chicago; Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, New York; E. H. Jehurin, of the Naturalization Aid League, New York; Local 82, New York; Local 48, New York; Local 66, New York; Barnet Greenwald, Local 9; members of Downtown Section of Local 48, New York; Local 18, of Chicago; Local 102, of Montreal; Amalgamated Textile Workers of America; Local 61, of Montreal; L. Vanarde, President French Section, Montreal; M. Amos, President Local 13, Montreal; workers of H. Black & Co., Cleveland; Local 12, of Boston; Cutlers' Union, Local 10, of New York; Board of Officials, Joint Board of Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Union, New York; Local 59, of New York; Joint Board of Waist and Dressmakers, New York; workers of Prince & Wolf, Cleveland; Executive Board of Local 3, New York; Labor Age Publication Society; Max Brodfield, Harlem Office of Cloakmakers' Union; Reefer Makers' Union, Local 17, of New York; Ada Rosenfeld, of

Philadelphia; Local 78, of St. Louis; Toronto Joint Board; Joint Board, Cincinnati; Hebrew-American Typographical Union, Local 83, New York; People's Relief Committee, Chicago; H. Kaplan, of Local 15, Philadelphia; Workmen's Circle Sanitarium, Liberty, N. Y.; Socialist Party, first and second Assembly Districts, New York; Italian Branch of the Cloakmakers' Union, Philadelphia; Boston Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 7; Hyman Greenblatt, of Local 25, New York; ex-Vice-President Jacobson, New York; workers of M. Milward, New York; Executive Board of Local 5, Gary, Ind.; Executive Board of Local 20, New York; Israel Horowitz, Waist and Dress Joint Board, New York; Lucy Robbins; workers of Juvenile Cloak Company, Local 17, New York; Local 49, Boston; Elmer Merolla, of Local 49, Philadelphia; A. Rosenberg, ex-President T. L. G. W. U.; William Davis and Mollie Lifshitz, of Local 62, New York; Board of Trustees, Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, Denver; Executive Board, Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, Locals 1 and 9, New York; Shop Delegates' League, Cloak Industry; Charles Jacobson, of Local 25; Students' Council, Workers' University and Unity Centers.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE AND FURRIERS' GREETINGS

The following telegram was also received from the Workmen's Circle Convention in Toronto and the International Fur Workers' Union:

"The Workmen's Circle Convention now in session sends brotherly greetings to the valiant and brave cloakmakers who so heroically fought the battle of labor through all their resistance and won a place of honor among the labor organizations of the world. May your deliberations and another year of your association stand united and help the workers to free themselves from the yoke of their exploiters."

"The Workmen's Circle, 22nd Convention."

"J. BASKIN, General Secretary."

"Please convey to the delegates of your Convention hearty greetings and congratulations upon the wonderful achievements of your organization under your leadership. May your deliberations help to further the great cause of the labor movement."

"International Fur Workers' Union."

"MORRIS KAUFMAN, President."

The convention then proceeded to hear the continuation of the report of the Credentials Committee. The committee first reported on the objections against seating Brother L. Horowitz from Local 1, who is charged with participating in, signing and deliberately covering a dishonest election. At the sessions of the Credentials Committee in New York it was proven to the satisfaction of the committee that Horowitz was aware of the fraudulence of the election, but had kept silent about it for the period of two years, not disclosing it until he had been refused endorsement as a delegate to the present convention. It was also brought out that Horowitz tried to intimidate the members of the Election Board, and the committee felt that anyone connected with dishonest elections should be barred from participation not only in the convention, but in the union itself, and therefore recommended that Horowitz should not be seated. Horowitz being absent at this session, the vote on the recommendation was tabled until his arrival on Thursday, when, at the morning session, Horowitz proclaimed his innocence of the entire matter, stating that he did not know whether the election was legal or illegal, proper or improper, and that he was not in the view of the lack of thoroughness in the investigation of this case, that it be referred to the General Executive Board. This motion was carried and Horowitz was thereupon seated.

DELEGATE SHELLEY IS REFUSED SEAT

Brother Breslau continued to read the Credentials Committee report, and brought up the case of Delegate S. Shelley, of Local 1. Delegate Shelley was charged with entering into a deal with a manufacturer on East Broadway, whereby Shelley was to remove one of the workers, Operator Gifan, whom the firm desired to get rid of. The sum stipulated for this work was \$150 for the job and \$85 for a week's work, irrespective of whether there was work. Shelley admitted that this proposal was made to him, but denied having taken advantage of same or of having even come to the shop. A number of witnesses appeared before the Credentials Committee and corroborated the charges against Shelley, while Shelley did not present any witnesses to deny the testimony presented.

Shelley, in his statement, while admitting that the proposition was made to him, emphatically insisted that he had refused it with disgust. Citing the history of his union activities, he claimed that that was proof that he was not the kind of man to stoop to low practices. An intense discussion took place at the convention, some of the delegates charging that Shelley had been framed up. Most of the delegates, however, took cognizance of the fact that though Shelley had admitted the proposition was made to him, he did not have the proper union spirit in not reporting the charge to his union, thereby, in the opinion of a great many of the delegates, convicting himself of listening to a proposition against a fellow-worker, and failing to report to either his union or the union that the firm attempted to use underhand methods in order to get rid of a worker. Brothers Andrus, Halpern, Fish, Breslau, Shaffer, Heller and Dubinsky spoke for the committee report to unseat Shelley, while Brothers Shelly, Wexler, Berlin, Shane and Lanch defended the accused. This question took up almost the entire morning session, and upon being put to a vote, Shelley was declared unseated by 95 against 79. A further division of the vote was called, with the result that 187 voted for the report of the committee and 77 opposed it. President Schlesinger declaring the adoption of this section of the report.

The session thereupon adjourned, to reconvene at 2:30 P. M.

THIRD DAY, AFTERNOON SESSION

Cahan, Branstetter, Roewer and Algonon Lee Address Delegates

The session was called to order by President Schlesinger at 2:30 P. M., who introduced Miss Margaret Kelleher, who made a stirring and impassioned plea for support of the striking textile workers. Miss Caroline A. Lowe followed, with a request for financial support to the General Defense Committee to help liberate the political prisoners still in jail. Both were assured by President Schlesinger that their requests were referred to the proper committee, and that favorable action would be taken.

After a flashlight photograph of the delegates was taken, President Schlesinger introduced Otto Branstetter, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, who brought fraternal greetings from the Party to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

George Roewer, the Boston attorney of the International, was then introduced and spoke of the reactionary groups which are combatting the

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labor movement and have been doing so since the conclusion of the war. He made special mention of the Chambers of Commerce in the United States which are bent on a program of destruction of the trade union movement, and advised the delegates of the need for greater activity and loyalty than ever before. He spoke of the obligation of our union to show the way to the rest of the labor movement, and expressed his satisfaction of the ability of the International to discharge that obligation.

Roewer was followed by Charles E. Rutenburg, who addressed the convention as a Communist, as one who accepts the leadership of the Communist Internationale. He spoke of the program of the Communist Internationale for a united front, and expressed the hope that the near future will see an organization of all the needle trades, so that the industry will stand as one.

LEE SPEAKS FOR RAND SCHOOL

Algonon Lee, director of the Rand School of Social Science, was next introduced, and said:

"The working class movement first and foremost must be organized to fight in the shop and on the picket line. At the same time the movement is and must be organized upon the political field. We have to build up in every part of the country and of the world to inform the workers of what is happening, how to voice their demands, to help them formulate their opinions and resolves. No matter what else the working class movement is or is not it can never be normal unless it is at the same time an educational movement. I believe that nothing worth while will come about except by conscious and intelligent struggle of the organized workers. I believe only in proportion as you reach the masses and develop their minds in the habit of studying in the habit of thinking, have you made your movement safe."

Lee concluded his remarks by referring to the work of the Rand School, and asking that the International continue to support it financially as it had in the past.

President Schlesinger next introduced Abraham Cahan, veteran editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, who was given an ovation. Cahan said:

"I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the invitation I received from your President to come here and greet you and I thank you again for the warm welcome you have extended. I want to tell you before I begin that I am going to speak about certain phases in the situation in the International. Some outsiders might contend that it is none of my business, that I should not interfere in your affairs, not being a member of your union. I don't think, however, that any of you will say anything of the kind because while I do not hold a card, I nevertheless consider myself as such a member of your organization as anyone else. My friend and comrade, Schlesinger, had told you a little while ago that I had the pleasure and privilege to be one of the three men to organize the first cloakmakers' union in the United States, in a cradle hall which is next door to the Forward building today, about 37 years ago, and I have never left you. I have always been with the International. When I was called upon to deliver speeches or to help along in times of strike and out of strike, I have always been with you. That gives me the privilege, I hope, to speak to you about your own affairs."

SPEAKS OF CONFLICT IN ORGANIZATION

"I know that it would be lack of judgment and courage on my part if I did not speak fairly and squarely this afternoon on what is going on in your organization. I can assure you that it hurts me more than many of your members whom I see

(Continued on Page Seven)

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EDITORIALS

THE NEW COURSE OF THE NEW YORK CLOAK MANUFACTURERS

In New York cloak circles there is persistent talk of a new course adopted by the Cloak Manufacturers' Association. It is said that the former policy of hostility and antagonism towards the workers is to give way to a policy of peace and co-operation, and the election of Mr. Jablow as the President of the Protective Association is pointed to as proof in this direction.

In appraising this talk, we can only say that Mr. Jablow's predecessor, Mr. Louis Lustig, in his capacity of leader of the Association, was far from being a success. The Atlantic City adventure directed against the union work standards in the cloak industry which he sponsored, and which was responsible for the upheaval in the cloak industry last Winter, was a pronounced failure.

But it was more than a failure. It contained also a lesson and a warning that the entire policy of the manufacturers towards the Union and their workers was essentially false. It was built upon a self-assumed supposition that the employers are the only saviors of the industry, the only ones designated to take charge and administer it, work-standards and all, without the least regard for the opinion or the voice of the workers. The practical application of this theory meant antagonism towards the workers and a steady effort to ignore them rather than to co-operate with them. The results of this policy are too well known to require restating. They were certainly costly to the industry, to the workers and to the employers.

The statement of Mr. Jablow which recently appeared in the public press seems to indicate that the Association has decided upon a new course, and that an attitude of peace and co-operation will mark its relations with the Union henceforth. If this statement is true, if it is meant to be carried out in practice, the employers will find the Union ready to meet them in a spirit of co-operation, ready to approach the problems of the industry and to settle them in an upright and equitable manner.

It is not a secret that the principal evil in the industry, which threatens alike the workers and the employers, is the constantly multiplying, at an astounding speed, number of petty shops, the parasitic vermin on the body of the cloak industry of New York. But it is equally obvious that only co-operation between the Union and the employers' Association alone can cope with and solve this problem. Mr. Jablow's statement gives new hope for the attainment of this very much desired co-operation. From this point of view his message deserves our congratulations as well as the congratulations of every well-wisher of our industry.

It nevertheless depends a great deal upon how much of this message is genuine and uttered without a back thought or a concealed intention. We are not eager to be suspicious, but we must be excused if we are inclined to be cautious. Unfortunately, the very recent past has given us sufficient ground for the necessity of being mighty careful in these matters. We may, for instance, think that this message by Mr. Jablow was made with the object of lulling the cloakmakers into the belief that there will be peace in the industry, and that their program of preparedness is therefore rather superfluous. It may also have been intended to have a bearing upon the rumored retirement of President Schlesinger from the International. If there be peace in the industry, the seasoned experience, the generalship and the able leadership of Brother Schlesinger may be not thought as urgent as it would be in a condition of anticipated strife.

Be it what may, the Union will not permit itself to be misled one way or the other. Generally speaking, the motion that President Schlesinger's leadership might be required less in time of peace than in time of war is based upon a misunderstanding. Like our Union, as a whole, President Schlesinger does not seek laurels in war. He has gained his greatest victories for the Union, as is well known to everyone interested in the affairs of our industry, through peaceful negotiations. Our President devoted to his work, and his superb knowledge of our industry has made him the best fitted man to tackle the ills within this industry at the conference table as well as at the head of a striking army of workers.

We repeat again, we are not inclined to suspect the motives of our manufacturers, had it not been for our bitter experience in the past. Let us say, however, if peace, durable peace, is to come to the cloak industry, and if its status is to be raised, it cannot be done at the expense of the workers. This must be accepted by our employers as the principal basis upon which a foundation of peace and good will, of co-operation and co-working in the industry can be reared. The evils that abound

in our trade, the just complaints and grievances must be solved and eliminated, but they must be approached with a broad gauge. The Union will be found ready to co-operate in the interests of the industry in general. No industrial improvements, however, can be made at the sacrifice of the living standards of the workers and at their expense.

WILL PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER REMAIN?

These few lines reflect the personal thoughts and views of the writer only. He has neither consulted President Schlesinger about it nor has he in any way discussed it with him. They are timely, however, because they are on the lips and the minds of everyone who is connected with our industry and with our labor movement in general.

We can freely state that shortly before the opening of this convention President Schlesinger was firmly determined to retire. From a personal point of view the presidency is perhaps holding out no more allurements to him. He has had all the glory and the satisfaction that could be gained from this post of leadership during the eight years of his incumbency of that office. Material consideration could, of course, sway him even less, as he is able enough to earn his means of livelihood at whatever occupation he might choose to apply his unusual abilities to.

He was tired and was seeking a rest from the constant terrific strain which the leadership of the organization imposed upon him. The attacks in certain sheets, the vile, scurrilous back-stabs by irresponsible scribblers, have added to this irritation. We know that he was firmly set against accepting the nomination, but the events of the first week of the convention, it appears to us, have somewhat shaken his resolute decision. And we would not be surprised if, after all, President Schlesinger will be persuaded to stay at the helm of the organization for another term.

The first week of the convention has brought out a striking situation. To begin with, it demonstrated beyond cavil that this persistent and insidious dividing, by certain malevolent influences from the outside, of our delegates into "lefts" and "rights" was largely fictitious. It is preposterous to assume that our International Union would not tolerate difference of opinion—honest, outspoken difference of opinion. What the International, in general, and its leadership in particular, was opposed to, was sham and pretense—a dishonest cloak under which there are hiding petty, reptile feelings or ambitions. And this convention, during its first week, has brought out clearly that this malicious attempt to segregate our membership into warring camps is both absurd and unsuccessful.

And the other thing which must have impressed President Schlesinger was the fact that not only the delegates, but the big membership of the Union, the masses of our workers, are with him to a man. The infamous campaign in a certain section of the press, and the maneuvers to influence the masses against him, have proven a fake and a bubble.

The other important events during the convention's first week were the speeches by President Gompers and Abraham Cahan. Cahan's speech, his impassioned, fervent appeal to our delegates to bury the hatchet of factionalism and to rally to the defense of the unity of the organization, was a master stroke that cemented even stronger the bond of comradeship between delegate and delegate, and filled, as it were, to the edge of the precipice, the artificial chasm which was being assiduously dug by outsiders. Cahan is not an outsider to our workers. He was their friend, co-worker, teacher and defender for several decades past. There can be no doubt that this speech has impressed President Schlesinger, just as it has left a deep mark upon everybody else.

We shall, therefore, not be surprised that Brother Schlesinger will change his mind under the pressure of these events, and will be prevailed upon, in the end, to remain at the head and to lead the destiny of our International for the next two years.

Move to Protect Free Speech in Coal Strike

Violations of the right of free speech and peaceful assemblage during the coal strike will be dealt with vigorously by attorneys for the Civil Liberties Union throughout the coal-mining districts, according to a statement just issued at the New York headquarters of the organization through Prof. Harry F. Ward, chairman and Albert DeSilver, associate director. A circular offering the help of the Union's lawyers and correspondents has been sent to the presidents of all the districts of the United Mine Workers. It reads in part as follows:

"This organization offers to you and your district officials its cooperation in any difficulties during the present strike involving free speech, free press or the right of assemblage. We have an extensive staff of lawyers and correspondents throughout the country with whom we can put you in touch. They will render service in most cases free of charge to

you, or at most for the actual expenses involved in the specific work they undertake. When those expenses cannot be met, we will be glad to raise a special fund to meet them."

The Union has already taken up interference with the right of peaceful assemblage in the non-union districts of central Pennsylvania and in the coal-mining district around Gallup, New Mexico, which has been placed under martial law by the Governor. In a statement dealing with the situation, the Civil Liberties Union says: "We do not propose to see repeated the conditions of the 1919 coal-strike without vigorous protests and action whenever we can get it. During that strike troops were called out in four states, sweeping injunctions were issued against the miners, and meetings were forbidden by arbitrary edicts of governors and sheriffs. We know where trouble is likely to break out and we are prepared to meet it."

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

(Continued from Page Five)

trouble in the International. There is trouble. That fact is very well known. The press of the United States is full of the news that there is some trouble, some commotion, in the ranks of our comrades.

"Schlesinger asked me not to speak about him. I am not going to obey him. I am going to speak about him later on. I will begin first by saying something about it all in the United States. If more facts have been revealed, I will say more about your organization, a good deal of the trouble would not have arisen. I think that about some of the leaders in New York, as well as other places, excellent men, some of the most honest and most devoted men in your organization, by the way, should have been a little more tact in handling the situation which has developed. (Applause). Some of us are bothered. I myself, as a whitehead man and I am glad that most of my work is done by pen because when I write something foolish you can tear it out and write another thing, but when everything depends on your tongue it is very bad, because when one speaks one can never look back so easily.

DISCUSSES INTERNAL SITUATION IN NEW YORK

"I have made a special study of the situation in New York. Some of the members in the so-called opposition speak to me and speak to some of the men and I know something about this situation. Comrades of the opposition, I appeal to you: you will remember it because it will be taken down and be printed in our papers and you will not be able to obliterate it—remember one of the great things that we must try to do in a Jewish union is to get the rank and file to elect their own officers. (Applause). It is the easiest thing in the world for a member of the rank and file in a Jewish union to disrespect his officers. They have not been taught, they have not been disciplined enough. We come from a country, at least many of us, which under the Czar, has had absolute rule of organization. Organization was a crime for which one was sent to Siberia. Organizations were underground and they were connected with the necessity of being ready to die for the cause. They were different from these organizations, which have been developed in England, in the United States and in this country. (Applause). I think that the older than the average, will remember the struggles we had in making the workers stick to their union here and help us to help themselves elected. After a strike was won we used to tell the people that they must elect their own officers. In this country, the most conservative trade union is usually allied to an organization all the more devotedly because it has been victorious. But your people were so lacking in the elementary rudiments of organization that their unions used to fall to pieces just after a strike was won. (Applause). I think that the older than the average was the general attitude. You must respect your officers. If you want another officer, agitate against him during the time of election, but respect him in his capacity as an officer, for he represents you. In the old days an organization never lasted more than a couple of months. The workers hated to pay dues and they were not in a habit of respecting their own officers.

"That was finally overcome, and let us not deceive ourselves. How old is your present union? Twelve years, I believe. For many years you had no real union, and it was of our union that the time that we were in the habit of making of a strike. With other working men it is the other way round. In England when there is a strong organization, they strike, but with us it is the other way round. We first have a strike and then we have a union, just as you come from a new situation where there is no organization, no union, and then we have a union, which is utterly unknown, and I can assure you that Soviet Russia is suffering today from that very same because the people are not in the habit of organizing.

EVERY FACTION WANTS SCHLESINGER

"Now for twelve years you have had a union. Everything was fine. There was no trouble. There is no trouble even today so far as Schlesinger is concerned. Every faction wants him. There is no difference of opinion as to Schlesinger. There is a great deal of trouble going on so far as the other officers are concerned. There are some elements that are stirring up trouble. It is very easy to stir up trouble, particularly at a time when unemployment has reached such a height. You tell anybody who is dissatisfied that so is getting into a way, that is, that he is a rascal and he will believe you. It is the easiest thing in the world to stir up trouble, for a moment the seeds they are sowing the seed of disrespect for your officers. You may score a victory for a couple of weeks, but a month later they will demand that you tell us you and the whole union will fall to pieces. Yours is a tender plant. Your organization is not so old and you are not so sure of yourselves and those of you who are really devoted to your union should think 500 times over when you stir up trouble.

Let us discuss these things together and arrive at a certain measure of reform, but first and foremost bear in mind that your organization must be kept alive and that by stirring up trouble, you are killing your organization. Some people are trying to make a point of election of a new group of officers, and some are trying to understand that it all turns around the question of 'right wingers' or 'left wingers'.

"One of the previous speakers made a very sincere speech which was full of that phrase, 'a united front.' Well, that is what we were after, a united front in the International. You have seen that we are the only ones who are trying to break up that united front? All kinds of elements, some of them perfectly honest and sincere, some of them 'leftists' and other mischief makers, trouble makers, people who have a mind to grind, and some who are the kind of people who speak here and declare themselves a communist, is perfectly sincere, and he is one of the few who we have the greatest respect. He is absolutely sincere and honest, but he is mistaken in his position. But let me tell you that a good many people here, trouble makers, mischief makers, charlatans, are hiding under the same cloak, because that is the cloak rebellion. Rebellion against whom? Against Capital? Nonsense! We all want the worker to revolt against it. But it is rebellion against your union, rebellion against the organization, because they are looking for jobs and money and cannot get. Mischief makers down with them, down with them. (Great applause).

"It is we who want a united front, and it is those people who are hiding under the cloak of that comrades who speak who are doing it. We want more tact and to be a little more comradely and friendly. Don't be too harsh, too irritable.

MISTAKES OF THIRD INTERNATIONAL

"The third International started out by breaking up organizations all over the world. Their 21 points were almost all of them directed toward smashing up the old organizations. What has become of these 21 points? They are in the waste basket. They came to the conclusion that they could not do anything. They were left with the result of a revolution in the United States, and they did the next morning, and little by little they came to the conclusion that they were mistaken and Lenin was the first mad to recognize the situation and say, 'We have made a great mistake in Russia. We thought we were ready for communism. We were wrong. We are not to the top of the hill. It is a great mistake. We have got to pull it down again.'

"They found that it was a mistake. They came to the conclusion that the world situation was not ripe for the coming of a communist revolution, and they were on their guard. We must get something for the working class immediately. And the result is that they have issued a new sort of pronouncement, 'A united front.' That is the united front to which the communist who spoke a little while ago referred. And they are crying out for the communist party in every country, calling upon them to unite with the Socialist party. In Germany there is the old Social-Democratic Party of the Scheidemann wing which carried and called the worst enemies of the workers, and there is the Independent Socialist party and then there are the communists and they called upon them to unite with the Independent Socialist party, but with the Scheidemann, because if there is to be a united front, imagine their saying, 'We must have a united front, but none but communists need apply.'

"You have a handful of communists at this convention. If they were the only ones that were entitled to demand a united front, what would become of the rest of you? They are sending spies to work among you. A detective bureau will tell you that it does not matter if there is some split in the Socialist party, and the right wingers of the International. They send spies among the 'left wingers' and among the honest or those who pretend to be 'left wingers' and whose purpose it is to stir up trouble, to smash your organizations. Anyone of you who is trying

to stir up trouble, is working for the capitalists and not for the working class. Friends and comrades, my heart bleeds at this idea, but I know that everything will come out all right. You should not have allowed a man like Sigman to leave your organizations. The employers have able men. They have one of the ablest workers in the city of New York, their representative. Why so far as Socialists, too, one of the ablest, but they can afford to pay 30 times as much as you pay. You have to keep your able men in your organization. Don't disgust them. Let me say this before I close, that the question of your own country is not the least of your concerns.

DEPLORES LACK OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN U. S.

"This is the most reactionary country in the world. If one-tenth of what had been said to you by speakers during the last three days had been attempted to be said before the average American union there would have been an outcry and the police would have been called upon. A great many of you are citizens of the United States, but you come with a different mental attitude, with a different psychology, with a different training. This country has a different class consciousness far in the background. There is no class-consciousness here, and this is the only country where there is only one Socialist in the legislature, Meyer London, and he comes from the district where the Forward is published and he is a Russian Jew. I was in Berlin a few months ago, and saw the Socialists with some German and Russian journalists and they asked me to account for the fact that this great country has only one Socialist in Congress. I tried to explain it to them and it took me a long time, but they could not understand it. Belgium has a tremendous Socialist party in parliament, and several cabinet ministers. Wherever you go you find a big party, except in America. And so in this country of reaction, a reaction which has been doubled and tripled and quadrupled by the war, here, they don't want a united front. They don't want it in Europe, and they don't want it in America. They don't understand their own International, they don't understand their own party. They don't know what they are talking about, although many of them are sincere.

CALLS SCHLESINGER COURAGEOUS, ENERGETIC AND ABLE

"Why is Schlesinger in this frame of mind? I know that on previous occasions he has been asked to resign and he has refused to do so. Let me tell you, these things aren't any trouble. I see a great deal of Schlesinger. We are old friends and I see a good deal of him. And I tell you frankly he is not a happy man. He is not nearly as happy as he was two years ago. He is miserable because of what is going on. Of his courage and wonderful and energetic and able. He is a man of initiative and wonderful reserve. He took hold of the Forward and made a success of it. He put his shoulder to the wheel and with his tenacity of purpose he made it a success. When he takes up something he develops his entire life to it, body and soul, day and night. But now the situation is one that is a source of discouragement to many. He said to me not long ago, 'It is awfully hard to conduct a great union under the present situation, for you need a lot of judgment and common sense, and you have got to understand the employers, and you have got to know all about it and what they cannot do and where the worker must be strong and where he must use judgment.'

ONLY UNITY CAN SAVE ORGANIZATION

"What is wanted now to save your organization is absolute unity. Stick together, bury your hatreds and try to understand the man who is running your union. Try to understand what is going on in his soul. He is not a happy man. He is not able to understand the situation. He is not able to understand the situation that you will compel him to be president again and he will have to accept, and I know that you will elect him unanimously. You cannot get another man like Schlesinger. And at the present juncture you cannot afford to let him go, but you have got to be able to let him go. He is a man of initiative and wonderful reserve. He has got to make him understand that the situation will be improved and I appeal to you delegates that instead of attacking each other, get together in the interests of the union. Teach your men to have respect for the union, and get together before you leave Cleveland by having this united front and sending a delegation to Schlesinger and making it clear to him that all the mischief that has been done will be no more, and that you are really working amicably together, then everything will be all right and you will have the man you want in office." (Great applause).

The session, upon motion duly made and carried, adjourned at 5 P. M. to reconvene Thursday, May 4, at 9:30 A. M.

FOURTH DAY, THURSDAY, MORNING SESSION

May 4, 1922

MORE TELEGRAMS AND GREETINGS

President Schlesinger called this, the sixth session of the convention, to order at 9:30 A. M., and made way for the reading of telegrams by Secretary Baroff. These have become an institution at the convention, practically every element of the labor movement being represented in the well wishes, congratulations and hopes for supreme success which have poured in on the convention since the opening of its first session. Secretary Baroff read telegrams from the following:

Presidents of Reisman, Rothman & Beiber, of New York; employees of T. Klipstein, New York, Local 131, New York; Mollie Friedman, Local 22, New York; workers of Edelson & Hand, New York; Ladies' Garment Cutters, Local 30, Cincinnati; Children's Crusade for Amnesty, Washington; Fest of Local 23, New York; employees of Kushin's shop, New York; Local 36, of Boston; Alexander Student, of Local 1, New York; Executive Board of Local 29, Cleveland; Brother Stamper, of Local 1, New York; Joint Board of Local 56, New York; workers of D. Pollack, New York; National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League; Russian Red Cross in America; Executive Board, Local 5, Chicago; Downtown Staff, Joint Board Cloakmakers' Union, New York; H. Bernstein, Local 15, Philadelphia; Arthur Romain, Local 81, Chicago; Local 9, New York; Charles Kreidler, Business Agent Cleveland Joint Board; employees of Weinstein's shop, New York; Executive Board Local 90, New York; Sam Reider, Local 26, Cleveland; workers of Nettie Rosenstien, New York; Locals 26 and 27, of Cleveland; Shirley Metz, Local 90, New York; workers of Keller-Kohn Co., Cleveland; Bessie Gorman, Local 15, Philadelphia; workers of F. Britman, Local 90, New York; workers of Zelenko & Moskowitz's shop, New York; Carmelo I. Andoli, Manhattan Bronx and Harlem Office, Joint Board Dress Industry; workers of shop of Madam Cherbin, New York; Arthur I. New York; Executive Board of Local A. A. Jacob Kaplan, Local 23; Abraham Tavim; Officers of the Skirt and Dress Division of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers, New York; S. Goldfies, Local 5, Chicago; Executive Board Local 160, Chicago; Rose Schneiderman; R. Guzman; Socialist Party, sixth A. D., New York; Executive Board Local 23, New York; Cloak Buttonhole Makers' Union, Local 64, New York; Examiners of Reisman, Rothman & Beiber, New York; Joint Board of the Children's Clothing Workers' Union, New York; Local 63, Cincinnati; Harlem Section of Local 48.

MINE WORKERS' FRATERNAL GREETINGS

In addition to the above-named, a reply was received from the United Mine Workers of America to the telegram sent them by the convention during one of the previous sessions. The telegram follows: "Benjamin Schlesinger, President I. L. G. W. U., Cleveland, Ohio: In behalf of the United Mine Workers of America, I thank you for your heartening and encouraging telegram. In reciprocal fashion I extend to delegates attending your convention fraternal greetings and best wishes for a successful and harmonious meeting. (Continued on Page Eight)

The Mine Workers are fighting for justice, freedom, morality and decency. Your expression of interest, support and good-will will help materially.

"WILLIAM GREEN."

Following the reading of the telegrams, Chandler Owen, Editor of the "Messenger," a New York magazine, and National Executive Secretary of the Friends of Negro Freedom, delivered a brief address, telling of the importance of organizing the Negro workers who are being used as scabs against organized labor. He said, in part: "Capital realizes that as long as it can keep the white and black dogs fighting over the bone of race prejudice, the employers can slip up and get away with the meat. The cry about the Negroes being backward is like the old cry of the Russians being backward. They were backward because they were not allowed the opportunities for education and organization. Give us this and we will finally begin to realize that Negroes will take their place with the white workers of the country and bring in a new world of labor, a new civilization, a new democracy." (Applause.)

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE CONTINUES REPORT

The convention then proceeded to hear other sections of the report of the Credentials Committee read by Chairman Breslau. It was at this point that the question of Brother Horowitz, mentioned previously in this resume, was taken up and decided upon.

The Credentials Committee reported, as objection to Delegate M. J. Asplis, of Local 2. He was charged with defiance of a case knowing that his client was guilty; and that he was instrumental in violating the constitution and parliamentary procedure. The committee reported that it could not sustain the charges and recommended the seating of Delegate Asplis. The convention unanimously adopted the recommendation of the committee.

CONVENTION DENIES SEAT TO DISRUPTIVE DELEGATE

The convention then took up the committee report on the case of Delegate Rose Wolkowitz. The committee reported that Sister Wolkowitz had been removed from the ballot in an election held by Local 22 under the supervision of the General Executive Board, on the grounds that her name appeared signed to a leaflet characterizing the General Executive Board and the International as elements using crooked means to prevent the membership from expressing their wishes. When the General Executive Board requested Sister Wolkowitz to repudiate these statements, she refused to do so, and her name was removed from the ballot by the special committee which supervised the elections of Local 22.

The Credentials Committee reported a recommendation that Sister Wolkowitz should not be seated on the same grounds for which her name was taken off the ballot. Sister Wolkowitz disclaimed responsibility for the leaflet in that it had not been authorized by her. Brother Lefkowitz pointed out that Sister Wolkowitz had reiterated her vicious criticism of the International officers in a letter which she sent to the Call subsequent to the appearance of the leaflet. After discussion, in which Delegates Wexler, Shane, Goodman and President Schlesinger partook, the recommendation of the committee was adopted by 132 to 50. At this point President Schlesinger made it very clear that the International and its officers had never dodged making any investigations where charges were presented, and pointed out to Brother Shane several instances where he had called to his office various members involved in charges which were made by a committee from Local 1, but made verbally and not in the proper manner. President Schlesinger pointed out that he had requested the committee to officially make the charge, but had failed to do so. He said that he calls the attention of the delegates to this matter only because some delegates have made statements in the lobby of the convention hall that the President of the International seemed to be dodging a matter that was brought to his attention.

DECLARE ELKIN MORALLY UNFIT

The Credentials Committee then proceeded with the objection against Delegate Elkin, of Local 11, charged with engaging in the preparation of a shop for himself, at a time when he was receiving a salary as Secretary of Local 11, and this immediately after leaving the office he entered a shop well equipped and ready to work; also, that Elkin's practices as an employer were the worst in the history of any employer; that he treated his workers in the meanest possible way by having disputes, strikes and lockouts and constant disagreements with the union. The committee reported that it was of the opinion that Elkin is morally disqualified to act as a delegate and should not be seated. This recommendation was adopted without a dissenting voice or vote.

Case of Ida Rothstein

Charged With Using Destructive Tactics During Union Crisis.
Convention Refuses to Seat Her.

The next objection was that of Morris Stamen, member of Local 22, against Miss Ida Rothstein, of the same local, charging her with creating disturbances and trying, through unscrupulous means and methods, to break up a meeting called by the union to take up a report of a conference held with the Association and the Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union. The Credentials Committee reported that as a result of her action, it was impossible to conduct the meeting or enlighten the membership on the conditions in the trade. It also reported that Delegate Ida Rothstein had been unseated by the Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union on these charges. The committee, therefore, unanimously recommended that Sister Rothstein should not be seated as a delegate. Brothers Sigman and Hochman amplified the charges against Sister Rothstein, they having been present at the meeting in question, and explained that their attempts to bring in the report of the conference with the Association had been frustrated by the destructive work of Sister Rothstein. Brother Sigman related the circumstances surrounding the meeting, and dwelt on its importance because of the pending expiration of the old agreement. He pointed out that though, after great effort, order was restored on a number of occasions, that Sister Rothstein invariably resumed her destructive tactics, and at one point stood up on the chair and proceeded to hoot and jeer, despite the request by some of her own followers to desist. Brother Sigman characterized this demonstration of a lack of unity as equivalent to actual scabbery. Upon being put to a vote, the report of the committee was adopted, 133 to 3.

AFTERNOON SESSION, MAY 4, 1922

The convention was called to order by President Schlesinger at 2:30 P. M., and telegrams read from the following:
Antonio Sessa, Secretary Bronx Section of Local 48; Joint Council of

Miners Expose Contract Breaking Operators

The United Mine Workers of America, through Ellis Searles, Editor of its official organ, has addressed a series of open letters to the Senators and Congressmen at Washington, calling their attention to the real status of the present controversy in the mining fields throughout the nation, and more especially to the causes and effects of their struggles with the coal barons.

One of the letters is an exposure of the campaign of publicity now being waged by the operators through the "Coal Age," the journal of the coal industry. The letter asks: "WHOM DOES THE 'COAL AGE' REPRESENT IN THIS CAMPAIGN OF ATTACK ON THE UNITED MINE WORKERS—AND WHO IS FOOTING THE BILLS?" It then proceeds to prove that the bulletins being sent out by the "Coal Age" are addressed by stenils identically the same as those used by the Pennsylvania Railroad in its anti-labor campaign. The letter further states that the entire campaign against the Mine Workers discloses a remarkable community of interests between the mine owners, the "Coal Age," the United States Steel Corporation, and the Pennsylvania and allied systems.

Another letter addressed to the lawmakers at Washington deals with the breaking of contracts by the mine owners and the arrogant position they assume in connection therewith. This letter explains in detail the reasons why the mine owners forced the present strike in the following manner:

Washington, D. C.,

April 27, 1922.

My Dear Senator:

My Dear Congressman:

Those coal operators who flagrantly and boastfully broke their contract with the United Mine Workers of America by refusing to meet with them in a conference to negotiate a new wage agreement appear to be hard pressed for an excuse for their assault upon the principles of business morality. They agreed in writing at New York on March 31, 1920, that they would meet with the miners before the first day of April, 1922. The contract was as binding as a promissory note. But the operators refused to live up to their agreement and meet with the miners.

WHAT WOULD THE AMERICAN PUBLIC THINK OF A SET OF BUSINESS MEN WHO WOULD RE-

FUSE TO PAY A PROMISSORY NOTE WHEN IT FELL DUE?

These coal operators can offer no valid excuse for their repudiation of their contract. They admit that they broke their contract, and they simply say: "What are you going to do about it?"

The American people do not think well of contract-breakers in general.

At first the operators merely said they had decided not to do what they agreed they would do. This shocking disregard for the principles of business honesty offended the American sense of justice and self-reliance. The operators found that they must have a better excuse for their conduct, so they next said they could not meet the miners because of indictments in the Federal Court at Indianapolis. They said they were afraid to enter a conference with the miners while these indictments were pending.

But Attorney General Daugherty knocked out that excuse by announcing in public interview that there was no good reason why the operators and miners should not meet in a conference; that such a conference would not violate any law, and that the miners and operators would not be prosecuted for holding such a conference.

But even this open assurance from the government has failed to induce the operators to live up to their agreement and keep their word.

The fact is, these gross contract-breaking operators have embarked upon a campaign to break the United Mine Workers of America and destroy the union, if possible. It is all a part of the general scheme of the union-busting faction among the employers of the country to destroy trade unionism in general.

These operators forced the coal miners to strike. The miners did everything in their power to avoid the necessity of a shut-down of the mining industry, and the operators did everything in their power to force a suspension.

THEY HAD MILLIONS OF TONS OF COAL ON HAND, AND THEY WERE DETERMINED TO FORCE A SUSPENSION AND THUS BRING ON A COAL SHORTAGE. THEN THEY COULD SELL THEIR MILLIONS OF TONS OF COAL AT HIGH PRICES AND REAL DIMINISHING PROFITS FROM THIS PUBLIC.

Sincerely yours,

ELLIS SEARLES, Editor.

the Capmakers' Union of New York; S. Albert, Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Boston; workers of Faber & Hein; employers of J. B. Friedman, New York; A. Carelli, Jersey City District of Local 48.

DELEGATE FURER MORALLY DISQUALIFIED

Chairman Breslau continued with his report. He read an objection against Delegate A. Furer, of Local 60, who was charged with working illegal hours without the knowledge or permission of the office of the local. Furer admitted violating the rules, but claimed that he had reported this later to the office. The Credentials Committee reported that Furer's statement was disproven by various witnesses when called in this case. The committee also discovered in the course of a thorough examination that Furer had, when Shop Chairman, overlooked and protected important irregularities in the shop, and that his general conduct in the shop was not becoming a member of the union. Its recommendation that he be not seated because he is morally disqualified, was adopted by the convention.

The case of Delegate Simon Farber, who was charged with transferring himself from Local 60 to Local 25 in an illegal manner, was then taken up. The committee declared that in its opinion Farber had not acted in strict accordance with the ethics of a good trade unionist, but in view of the fact that this happened at a time when Local 25 was being subdivided, it found that this was not sufficient ground to unseat Farber. However, in the course of the examination, it was proven that Farber had not paid any dues from December, 1920, to June, 1921, and again from July, 1921, to March, 1922, the latter being the date of nomination for delegates to the conventions from Local 22. The committee pointed out that this was a distinct violation of Article II, Section 5 of our constitution, and therefore recommended the unseating of Delegate Farber. The committee, however, felt that, while it was not within their jurisdiction to recommend otherwise, because of a con-

(Continued on Page Nine)

stitutional provision, it nevertheless felt that consideration should be given to Farber.

Delegate Halpern thereupon moved that Farber be seated. The motion was duly seconded and carried with a dissenting vote.

The same report was given in the instance of Delegate J. Mann, of Local 53, for not being in good standing for a period of about two years. Brother Andur moved that Delegate Mann be seated, which motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

The same disposition was made of the case of Sister Miriam Levine, of Local 25, who was not in good standing for the period necessary under the provisions of the constitution. Sister Levine pleaded unemployment, and that she had left the city for a period of nine months. Upon motion of Brother Baran, Sister Levine was seated as a delegate.

DELEGATE COHEN ALSO DISQUALIFIED

The objection received by the committee against Delegate Louis Cohen, of Local 60, charging Brother Cohen with having been engaged in buying and selling general merchandise during the last two years, was then read. Brother Cohen claimed that since he was unable to secure employment, and had to make a living, he made arrangements to buy and sell merchandise to private people. During the course of the examination it became very evident that Cohen did not depend on private people, but had been selling to jobbers, and was generally known in the trade as a business man and not as a worker. The committee, therefore, reported its unanimous opinion that Cohen is morally disqualified and should not be seated. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The Credentials Committee thereupon made a recommendation on the method of collecting assessments from the various local unions which for some reason or other failed to pay. On a motion from Delegate Heller, this part of the report was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Breslau reported, at the completion of the committee report, and his motion that the report as amended by Delegate Heller be adopted, was unanimously carried. The Credentials Committee report was signed by Breslau, Chairman; Dubinsky, Secretary, and Elizabeth Rudolph, Morris Essig, B. Schaffer, Fanny Shapiro and Ignazio Chrichiera.

Delegate Bernstein's motion, that the convention extend its thanks to the Credentials Committee and present them with gold badges for the work they had done, was seconded and unanimously carried.

Convention Officially Opened; Schlessinger Appoints Committees

President Schlesinger, at this point, declared the convention officially open and ready to transact all business that may come before it. He proceeded to appoint the following standing committees:

COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT

Israel Feinberg, Joint Board, New York, Cloakmakers.

Local	Local
Benjamin Kaplan	1
A. Sirlin	5
S. Winkler	12
S. Perlmutter	19
E. Reishberg	15
I. Schoenholz	22
S. Etkind	21
L. Langer	33
M. Greenberg	50
N. Reisel	62
L. Friel	66
N. Eisen	67

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

M. Perlstein, Chairman, Joint Board, Cloakmakers, Cleveland

Local	Local
S. Caplan	4
Ph. Solner	6
M. Yanowitz	9
Th. Chasoff	17
Arthur Samuels	19
Simon Farber	22
L. Laufman	37
Joel Levine	42
Frank Comardi	48
J. Lane	52
Tillie Lappe	63
Margaret De Maggio	75
M. Bermdsky	90

COMMITTEE ON UNION LABEL, CO-OPERATIVES AND UNION-OWNED SHOPS AND FACTORIES

J. Halpern, Chairman, Joint Board of Dress and Waist, New York

Local	Local
Max Zucker	9
Eva Ascher	9
Philip Ansel	10
Th. Chasoff	10
L. Golub	15
A. Rudin	18
A. Kaplan	21
S. Near	26
M. Feinberg	26
J. Schneider	56
J. Sheer	59
Bella Winkler	64
Kurland	71
L. Rosenblatt	82

COMMITTEE ON LAW

Local	Local
S. Nifne, Chairman	2
G. Rubin	2
J. C. Ryan	10
I. Gold	12
J. Siegel	18
S. Priesant	23
Spence Lero	26
Carrie Gallagher	29
Dennis Cramer	30
M. Sirota	50
W. Ginsburg	56
W. Friskin	62
J. Tycher	81
I. M. Ashpit	82

COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Sol Feldman, Chairman, Joint Board, Cincinnati

Local	Local
M. Machlin	1
M. Sierberg	5
Fred Monahan	7
B. Adler	9
W. Baran	11
K. Wagner	14
J. Stankewitz	17
Isidore Fabish	23
N. Margolis	23
Isadore Posen	24
Miriam Levine	25
H. Bernstein	25
N. Schachter	60
Rebecca Holland	100

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Local	Local
H. Wander, Chairman	23
H. Aidland	1
B. Chasoff	9
Rose Caplan	10
Joseph Fish	10
M. Bross	11
A. Berkwitz	17
D. Skilvin	16
S. Freedman	29
E. Schweizer	29
Ph. Levin	35
Vita Cotlar	35
A. Stein	53
Margaret Leonard	89
J. Rubin	94

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Local	Local
Jacob Heller, Chairman	17
E. Schae	1
Max Andur	1
P. Magnavita	3
M. Handler	9
H. Slutsky	35
E. Mollesani	48
Esther Papow	48
L. Friedman	66
L. Antonelli	89

H. Berlin	16	H. Dardick	J. B. Philadelphia
J. Hackman	22	A. Snyder	J. B. Boston
I. Pinkowsky	23		

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND REGULATIONS

Local	Local
M. Gerselstein, Chairman	73
Joe Bernshewitz	1
Isidore Nagler	10
Ether Ayan	29
Joseph Gold	26
S. Kirsensberg	27
Arturo Paleoli	48
Adolph Freeman	59
Max Libow	64
Chas. Morris	83
Salvatore Amies	89
Louis Galinsky	92
B. Vogel	100
S. Jeyder	102
S. Goldberg	J. B. of Montreal

SERGENTS-AT-ARMS

Local	Local
Abraham Belsen	17
A. Rudin	18
Nat. Solomon	25

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Local	Local
S. Laksavitz, Chairman	3
E. Rottenberg	1
Meyer Cohn	5
L. Hyman	9
Alfred Rose	18
Leonard	20
Grim Gilman	24
H. Bakst	27
Basilio Desti	48
E. Bickman	63
R. Gilbert	73
Ph. Bartel	98
Fania M. Choh	115
Max Samuels	134
J. B. of Toronto	

COMMITTEE ON BENEFITS, SANATORIUM AND EUROPEAN RELIEF

H. Scheelman, Chairman, Joint Board, Chicago.

Local	Local
Lewis Levy	1
P. Rosenfarb	3
B. Sax	10
H. Chanor	11
M. Frank	12
Bernard Shub	23
Lena Goodman	25
A. Katofsky	26
A. Karlinsky	36
M. Goldowsky	45
Beckley Levy	45
Alex Brick	45
Morris Greifer	82
A. Crivello	89

On motion of Delegate Goldowsky, the committees as announced by President Schlesinger, were accepted by the convention. President Schlesinger then proceeded to read the report of the General Executive Board. This occupied the rest of the session and held the interest of all of the delegates present. At the conclusion, President Schlesinger was greeted with thunderous applause.

Delegate Perlstein, Manager of Cleveland Joint Board, invited the cutters among the delegation to attend a smoket given by the cutters of Cleveland. He also announced that a banquet would be given in honor of all the delegates at the Hotel Statler, on Friday, May 5, and that on Saturday, May 6, the delegates were to assemble at City Hall to be photographed.

By unanimous vote, the delegates decided to send a telegram of appreciation to both Samuel Untermyer and Morris Hillquit for their participation and splendid work in the last cloakmakers' strike.

The convention thereupon adjourned, to reconvene Friday, May 5, at 9:30 A. M.

Brother Goldowsky: I move that the convention accept the committees as announced by the President.

Seconded and unanimously carried.

President Schlesinger next proceeded to read the report of the General Executive Board, which occupied the rest of the session.

At the conclusion of the reading of the report, President Schlesinger was greeted with thunderous applause.

Delegate Perlstein, announced that the cutters were invited to attend a smoket given by the cutters of Cleveland, at Fyithian Temple, 919 Huron Road, at 8 o'clock that evening. He also announced that a banquet would be given at the Hotel Statler, on Friday, May 5, at 8 P. M., and that on Saturday, May 6, the delegates were to assemble at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at City Hall, where a photograph would be taken. From there the delegates would be taken on a sight-seeing tour.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the session adjourned at 5:30 P. M. to reconvene Friday, May 5, 1922, at 9:30 A. M.

FIFTH DAY, FRIDAY, MORNING SESSION

May 5, 1922

The session was opened at 9:30 A. M., by President Schlesinger, and most of it was taken up by the reading of the reports of the Committees on Rules and Regulations and Resolutions.

GROUP OF EDUCATORS GREET INTERNATIONAL

A number of greetings were received from friends and organizations, chief among which were those from Max Pine; a group constituting part of the teaching staff of the Educational Department conducted by the I. G. W. U.; James Duncan, President of the International Granite Cutters' Union; and a group of students, teachers and friends of the Workers' University. The telegram from the teachers was signed by Charles A. Beard, Benjamin B. Kettrick, Harry J. Carman, Leo Wolman, Spencer Miller, Jr., G. F. Schulz, B. J. R. Stolper and Robert Bruere. It expressed the appreciation of the signers for the splendid work which the Union has performed in the educational service of its members, and characterized the efforts of the International as an inspiration to the labor movement of America. They expressed the hope that the International would continue its magnificent work for the spiritual emancipation of its members, which must ultimately help gain their economic freedom.

Other greetings were received from the Galician Branch of the Socialist Party, New York; Executive Board, Cloakmakers' Union, Local 11; Beckie Stein, Local 49, Philadelphia; employees of J. Fripp; Cloak and Skirt Pressers, Local 98, Cincinnati; and J. Rubin, Manager; Charles Fein, J. Warshafsky, J. Keston and I. Jacobs, of the Cloakmakers' Protective Division, New York; Singer Bros' shop and the workers of Rots' Embroidery Shop, Local 66.

MANY DELEGATES ADDRESS CONVENTION

The convention was addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who delivered an impassioned plea for financial help for the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee; D. Bernstein, representing the ex-Patients' Federal Home in Denver, Colo.; Morris Novik, of the Young People's Socialist League, who emphasized the importance of the League to the labor movement; Rose Wolkowitz, of the Political Prisoners' Defense and Relief Committee, who asked for financial support to supply the prisoners with some of the little comforts of life; Harry Kelly, of the Ferrer Modern School, Stelton, N. J., who briefly discussed the work of liberal education at Stelton, and urged the Interna-

(Continued on Page Ten)

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

(Continued from Page Nine)

tional to support the school and also upon a representative to participate in the school's work.

Vice-President Gorenstein, Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Regulations, was called upon to report, and submitted a list of 23 rules for the guidance of the convention. These rules referred to time of opening and closing conventions, procedure during speaking and limitation of same, procedure of presenting motions, amendments and substitutes, a proviso for moving the previous question, registration of delegates for each session, time limit for introduction of resolutions, roll call, and other means of guiding the delegates through the proper conduct of business. Several amendments were proposed and finally the report was adopted as amended. The committee was discharged with the thanks of President Schlesinger.

During the session, 65 resolutions, covering almost every phase of activity in the organization, were introduced by delegates from the various locals. The resolutions were submitted to the various committees appointed for that purpose, who will report at future sessions. The resolutions, as reported out of committee, will be published in these columns.

SIXTH DAY, SATURDAY, MORNING SESSION May 6, 1922

This was the ninth session of the convention, and was called to order at 10 o'clock by President Schlesinger.

Fraternel greetings were received from a number of labor groups, among which were the United Neckwear Workers' Union of America, Cloak Pressers' Union, Local 92, of Toronto; Waist and Dressmakers' Delegates' League of Philadelphia, Local 17; Reefers' Union, New York; Joint Board of Chicago; J. Ginzburg, Chicago Joint Board; L. Finkelstein, of Gerechtigkeit; A. Bahitz, Manager Brownsville Office, Cloakmakers' Union; M. Biallis, Business Agent of Chicago Joint Board; and M. Pollard, of the Philadelphia "Forward."

Greetings were received from the National Women's Trade Union League of America, signed by Margaret D. Robbins, President, and from the Workers' College in Brookwood, N. Y., signed by Tuscan Bennett, Executive Secretary. Both these greetings made a special point of appreciation of the co-operation which the International has extended to them, and expressed the hope that our organization would continue to aid in the future.

CAPMAKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASKS REVIVAL OF NEEDLE TRADE ALLIANCE

The convention received communications from M. Zaitzky, President, and M. Zuckerman, General Secretary-Treasurer of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America, who submitted, in accordance with instructions of their General Executive Board, a memorandum referring to the question of the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance. In a preliminary statement, the Capmakers' officials said that the question of the Alliance would be submitted to our Union as well as to the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and expressed a fervent hope that our Union would see its way clear to make provisions for calling together of the first convention of the Alliance.

In a subsequent statement, the General Executive Board of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union informed the delegation that at a session held Saturday, April 29, it had unanimously decided to extend the heartfelt fraternal greetings of their organization to the officers and delegates of our convention. They took occasion to congratulate the International again upon the great achievements during the last two years, and expressed the thought that the present deliberations of the convention would mark another milestone in the progress of our Union and of the entire labor movement. The General Executive Board of the Capmakers also informed the convention that their invitation for a Needle Trades Alliance specifically instructed them to take the initiative in calling a conference of elected representatives of all the needle workers' organizations, to establish an Alliance of all the needle workers. In accordance with these instructions, the Board deemed it its duty to submit to the Cleveland Convention the proposition that we join them in the formal calling of a needle trades convention. The General Executive Board expressed the hope that were such a convention called, it would be in a position to work out not merely a framework for an alliance, but also a constitution and by-laws and put the Alliance on an effective working foundation. The communication from the Cap Makers' Union was referred to the Committee on National and International Relations, which will report at one of the future sessions.

METZ AND FINE SEATED FOR LOCAL

The convention also received a communication from ex-President Abraham Rosenberg, embodying a set of suggestions for the consideration of the delegates. These suggestions were submitted to the proper committee, which was that on Resolutions.

The convention also received a communication from the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society of Denver, adding its good wishes to the many congratulations which have poured in on the convention from every part of the country. It informed the convention that its new building, increasing its capacity by 250 beds, was now completed and made an appeal for help to enable it to carry on its work.

The convention was addressed by Roy Shanks, of the Co-operative League of America, who explained the aims and purposes of the League, and urged that the International endorse the movement as well as give it whatever aid possible.

The Credentials Committee submitted a special report governing the two vacancies created by the unseating of Brothers Rothman and Shelly, of Local 1, recommending that Brothers N. Fine and Saul Metz be seated from this local. The seating of Fine proceeded without discussion, while that of Metz aroused the objections of some of the delegates of Local 1. After a short discussion, the unanimous recommendation of the committee, to seat Metz, was carried by a vote of 121 to 38.

The convention was then addressed by Michael Gold, of the "Liberator," Theresa Wolfson, representing the Union Health Center; John L. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and B. Cohen, of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Association of California. Miss Wolfson, who is actively affiliated with the Union Health Center, said: "The Union Health Center is helping to keep the

The Building Guilds in England and France

In 1920-21 Building Guilds were formed "first in Manchester and then in many other parts of the country, based directly on the local organizations of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives and the Trades Unions concerned in the industry. This year we can record the successful consolidation of more than 150 local building guild organizations into a single National Guild, which has already upwards of 2,500,000 pounds worth of work in hand. The growth of the building guild movement during the past year has been more astonishing still but for the obstacles placed by the Ministry of Health in the way of its free development. If all the contracts actually accepted by local authorities had been sanctioned by the Ministry the volume of guild work would already have been double what it is today. Up to the present, the great bulk of the work done has been executed for trade unions, co-operative societies and private persons, and the undertaking of private work on a large scale is the most recent phase of building guild development. The quality of the work done has been universally praised, the only complaint being that it is "too good for working-class houses." The economy to the public from the employment of the guild is also undoubted; and it has been shown, so far as the limited period for which the guild has been in operation allows, that men will respond with better work to the stimulus of knowing that the work is worth doing, and that the responsibility for it rests directly upon them.

Many obstacles have been encountered already, and doubtless greater obstacles will be encountered in the future. At present the most pressing need of the building guild, as of other guilds is the need of capital for

development. If the guild is to expand it must purchase plant and equipment on a large scale, and be prepared to undertake any type of constructional or repair work in every part of the country. As we write, the guild appeal for a loan of 150,000 pounds is before the public, and the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives has shown its belief in the guild method by calling upon its affiliated societies to provide the amount required. The need to raise the capital by means of loans (for share capital, involving shareholders' control, is out of the question in a guild enterprise) is one of the disadvantages which attend any attempt to establish guilds under the conditions created by capitalism. Even loan capital has obvious dangers, but the vital principle that control must rest with the workers has been fully safeguarded.

A basic principle of the guild system has always been that all guild workers must receive "continuous pay," and not placed, like wage-earners under the labor-commodity system, at the mercy of bad weather, sickness, or temporary suspension of work. For its full operation this principle clearly requires general application, both over the whole of each industry and over all industries; and in endeavoring to put it as far as possible into practice without awaiting the concurrence either of other industries or of the rest of the building industry itself, the building guild has accepted a serious burden. The principle is, however, vital, and no organization can properly be called a guild unless it recognizes and puts into effect to the fullest possible extent the continuous payment of all who are employed upon its work." (Draft Annual Report of the National Guilds' League—the Guild Socialists—March, 1922, No. 63.)

workers in good health, for this is the thing that will enable them to fight their battles. I hope that every local belonging to the International will help bring about this health consciousness, as well as it brought about social consciousness, for only with healthy workers can we carry on our economic fight."

The balance of the session was occupied by the introduction of 54 resolutions, which were referred to the various committees which had been appointed at a previous session.

The convention thereupon adjourned, to reconvene on Monday, May 8, at the usual hour.

IT'S THIS FRIDAY NIGHT!

CALL
FRIDAY RADIO BALL
MAY 12th
STAR CASINO
107th ST & PARK AVE

The most unusual event this year. Every member of the I. L. G. M. U. from Flapper up to not over one hundred years of age, should be there. Not only up to date, but ahead of date, as the wonderful new "Loud Speaking Telephone" of the Western Electric Co. will be used for the Radio portion of the program on a greater scale than ever before attempted, with M. Discher & Co. (15 West 35th St.), distributors of Western Electric Co. products, personally directing. Radio part of the program from 8:15 to 10:15 P. M. from all points of the compass, and including famous stars like Joe, Diskay, the famous Hungarian Tenor, and the Fordham University Orchestra. Other portions of the program will include Mlle. Felicita Serel, famous Rumanian Beauty, formerly of the Magic Doll Co., now principal dancer at the Century, "Dorsha," unequalled in weird Oriental dancing; Kate Lundin and Teddy Kramer, and Rodger Dodge, of the Paris and Metropolitan Grand Opera Companies, "six feet of life and motion." This portion of the program will occur at such hour as does not interfere with theatre acts of their taking part, and will be under direction of Senia Gluckoff, Premier Dancer of The Follies Ballet, The Hippodrome.

FIFTY CENTS AND HAT CHECK TO GET IN—
NOTHING TO GET OUT!

THE THRILL THAT COMES OVER IN A LIFETIME!

Educational Comment and Notes

MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL

Our educational work is entrusted to the Educational Committee, which is a sub-committee of the General Executive Board. The Educational Committee consists of five members of the General Executive Board of our International.

The Executive Committee, however, is in no position to go into all the details of the actual work connected with labor education. The committee, therefore, while leaving to itself the larger and more general work of planning the educational activities, has created in the office of the International an Educational Department, which is in charge of the entire educational work. This department is managed by a director, who is an educator (Mr. Alexander Fichandler is the present director), and by the Secretary of the Educational Committee, Paul C. Cobb.

This dual management is vital to the work of labor education. For this work requires not only a knowledge of education, but also a first-hand knowledge of labor and its problems, and particularly a knowledge of the workers among whom the work is to be done. The co-management of the Educational Department by an expert educator and an active union worker insures methods suited to the needs of our members, and an education beneficial to our organization and to the labor movement.

DEMOCRACY IN OUR EDUCATION

To prevent the Educational Committee from becoming too centralized and out of touch with the needs of the local unions, we have established a permanent joint conference of the Educational Committees of our local unions. This conference meets from time to time, together with the Educational Director and the Secretary of the Educational Committee. They discuss our educational activities and make suggestions to the Educational Department.

We go further, however, for we believe that true democracy should prevail within the domain of labor education. We believe that the teacher should have a voice in planning the work, and that those who are being educated should also have a say as to what is to be taught.

In the Unity Centers the students elect two members from every class to serve on the Students' Councils. At our Workers' University the students elect three members of each class. The function of these councils is to be in constant touch with the members, take up their suggestions, and keep in touch with the Educational Department. They also participate in the faculty conferences to discuss questions pertaining to our educational activities. Three members of the Students' Councils are on the Executive Committee of the Faculty. These, together with the Educational Department, prepare the curriculum. From time to time the student body also arranges affairs where members and teachers meet socially.

HOW OUR WORK IS FINANCED

From the outset, it has been the policy of the I. L. G. W. U. to appropriate a sum from the treasury of the Union to support the educational activities.

In 1916 the Philadelphia Convention voted five thousand dollars a year for that purpose. In 1918 the Boston Convention voted ten thousand a year. In 1920 the Chicago Convention voted fifteen thousand a year.

Our members are admitted to all our activities without charge. We admit members of other trade unions

at the official request of their organization. This is done for two reasons: First, because we feel that we should demonstrate our solidarity in that manner; and, secondly, we may thus stimulate other organizations to initiate educational activities of their own.

The appropriation is spent directly under the supervision of the Educational Committee. The committee has practiced rigid economy and has, and feels gratified with the returns for the money spent.

UNITY CENTERS ARRANGE HIKE FOR MAY 14

Members of the Unity Center, P. S. 171 and 40, are arranging to spend the day of May 14, in the woods on top the beautiful Palisades. Members of all other centers, as well as those of the Workers' University, are invited to participate in the day's outing.

All those wishing to join are asked to meet at 125th Street Ferry on Sunday, May 14, at 10:30 A. M., and bring their lunches with them.

In case of rain, the same arrangements hold good for the following Sunday, May 21.

RESOLUTION OF TEACHERS

New York, May 4, 1922.

Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, President, 'International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Locomotive Engineers' Auditorium, Cleveland, Ohio. Dear Sir:

We, the undersigned, had an opportunity of teaching members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the classes conducted by its Educational Department.

We wish to convey our good wishes to the delegates of your organization assembled at Cleveland. We wish to express our appreciation of the splendid work which your Union has performed in the educational service of its members. We feel that this work has been of great value in what it actually accomplished for your members who attended the classes, and that it also served to inspire the Labor Movement of America to similar service.

Please accept our congratulations on what you have done. We hope that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will continue, even on a larger scale, its magnificent work for the spiritual emancipation of its members, which must ultimately help to gain their economic freedom.

(Signed)

CHARLES A. BEARD.
BENJ. E. KENDRICK.
HARRY J. CARMAN.
LEO WOLMAN.
SPENCER MILLER, JR.
G. F. SCHULZ.
B. J. R. STOLPER.
ROBERT BEUERE.

MILLION WOMEN WORKERS IN NEW YORK STATE

One of the most interesting phases of the Census of 1920 is the compilation of the number of women workers in the city and state of New York. According to figures submitted by the State Industrial Commission, there are 1,155,948 women employed as wage earners in the State, of which New York City has 64 per cent. The increase shown over the figures of 1910 is 151,560, and has kept up with the increase of male workers. The list also includes 469 postmistresses, 161 undertakers, 87 teamsters and 85 doing the work of switchmen.

The Labor Movement in India

By CLARENCE W. WRIGHT

Revolutionary tremors which have shaken the great Indian Empire from its Northern Himalayan boundary to the industrial centers on the sea, have brought about an increased interest in the newly-formed labor organizations. Through the labor unions the millions of miserably paid men and women believe they will be able to escape from their British exploiters.

The revolutionary movement of today is similar to that which swept India in 1857. Then Hindus and Mohammedans united in support of princes and nobles who fought to safeguard their own interests against encroachments by the British East India Company. The part of the masses in 1857 was to fight in support of the comparatively few native rulers who actually took up arms against the British. The revolt was confined chiefly to Northern India, with the large Eastern and Western Presidencies of Bombay and Madras but little affected.

Today the revolutionary movement is as great in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras as in Bengal. The revolutionary propaganda of the idealist Mahatma Gandhi has spread all over India. With Gandhi are young Indian Socialists who have studied economics and labor organizations in England, France and the United States.

As in 1857, the Hindu revolutionaries have Mohammedan allies, led today by the Ali brothers. While their principal demand is for the restoration of the Caliph and Sultan in Constantinople, the agitation of the Mohammedans has gained greater force with the support of labor organizations which hope to better wages and working conditions in the period of change.

India is so far from the United States, and so few Hindus or Mohammedans from that far country ever reach here that few realize the international importance of an uprising of the workers of India. There dwells a gigantic army of toilers whose wages for a month are less than the daily wage of a skilled New York garment worker. The Mohammedan population in this great empire of 315,000,000 inhabitants numbers 75,000,000. The enormous size of the country may be judged by the fact that there are more Moslems than Germans in Germany, more Moslems than Japanese in Japan, more Moslems than whites in the British Empire and nearly as many Moslems as there are whites in the United States. In addition there are 127,000,000 Hindus.

America first learned that the workers in this gigantic country are being organized, in spite of governmental opposition, when B. P. Wadia came here to attend the League of Nations Labor Conference in Washington. He is the President of the Madras Labor Union, with which are affiliated the Madras Tramway Men's Union, the Rickshawwalla's Union, the Madras Printing Press Labor Union and the Railway Workshop Union.

The Madras labor organizations had their beginning in April, 1918. Wadia was interested in the workers when collaborating with Mrs. Annie Besant in home rule propaganda. Two textile mill workers begged him to do something for the suffering laborer. He visited textile mills at Perambur and there saw for the first time the revolting conditions under which the workers were compelled to bolt their food at the lunch hour. More gatherings of workers were held and on April 27, 1918, the Madras Labor Union was organized.

After organizing the Indian work-

ers, Wadia was sent to England in 1919 to represent Indian labor before the Labor Party Conference, the Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress. In November, 1919, he was in Washington representing India at the International Labor Conference.

Perhaps in no country of the world are working conditions worse than in India. Textile factories still have the twelve-hour day. Children between 9 and 14 are employed six hours a day. Many workers live in villages several miles from the factories in which they are employed and must leave their homes at 4 A. M. and walk to the mills so as to be at the gate at 5:45. They leave the mills at 6 P. M. and reach their home only in time to eat their miserable food and go to bed.

Wages are so low that the workers are unable to purchase food as wholesome as that served in the vile prisons. In Madras the average pay is about \$5 a month for a textile factory worker. Two weeks' wages, and sometimes more, is withheld as an inducement to the worker to remain on the job.

That there has been some improvement, in working conditions, even though workers are starving at their toil, is shown by the 1908 report of the India Factory Labor Commission. The Commission found workers compelled to toil seventeen and eighteen hours a day in spinning factories, twenty to twenty-two in rice and flour mills, and fourteen to fifteen and a quarter hours in textile mills.

The wages everywhere are so low that the workers are forced to turn to money lenders for necessities. Under the burden of the debt and enormous interest they continue until death frees them from all troubles, or until they are fortunate enough to commit a crime for which they can be sent to prison, where nourishing meals, rest and freedom from exploitation are found.

Stock in the Central India mills, which had an original value of 500, is quoted at 2,610. The stock pays a dividend of 80 per cent.

The miserable wages are not due to the lack of prosperity in the textile industry. The Khatan mill pays a dividend of 120 per cent. Shares that were purchased at 1,600 are now worth 3,700. The Sholapur mill pays a dividend of 100 per cent. Shares of this mill, which had a value of 1,000 originally, are now quoted at 7,500.

These are not isolated instances of enormous returns. British capitalists have squeezed millions from the starving Indians, backed by the British troops which have terrorized the mill workers when they dared to protest against their miserable lot.

President Wadia, of the Madras Labor Union, has great hopes for the future of the Indian labor unions. In an article on the aims of the Indian Movement, he writes:

"I believe that the Indian Labor Movement, unspurred by Western materialism, is capable of fulfilling the mission of India, the spiritual mother of the Aryan race. It can kindle in the heart of the labor movement, the world over, the light of the spirit which shines steadily in the midst of strife and brings power and peace; which mere increase of wages and mere improvement of working hours is incapable of bestowing. Freedom born of self-respect, confidence, self-realization, is true freedom. The Indian labor movement, achieving by spiritual means its own freedom, can hold it aloft for the benefit of others. Having gained its own soul, it will enable others to gain theirs."

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

GENERAL

By the time this copy of JUSTICE reaches the hands of the members, the delegates to the International Convention will be preparing to return. That Local 10's delegation will have an interesting report to make is without question, as the present convention was of extraordinary interest from the point of view of internal affairs of the International.

At the time of writing it was still speculative as to the outcome of Local 10's resolution with respect to the amalgamation of the two dress locals, 22 and 25, and their control by the Cloakmakers' Joint Board. There was a great deal of speculation as to who would be Local 10's Vice-President. From early reports, David Dubinsky, Manager of Local 10, was spoken of as a possibility.

One of the important matters which took up a great deal of the convention's time was the matter of unity and harmony. From what could be learned of the reports coming in, this was probably one of the reasons why Benjamin Schlesinger would not again lead his name as the next President of the International. Hence, many men, prominent in the International, among whom was Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, exerted their influence towards securing harmony, with a view to getting the International held to continue during the next term.

A "Unity Committee," composed of two factions, was chosen by the rank and file of the delegates. One group was composed of Bernard Shane, of Local 9, and Kaplan, Levi, Aldenland, Nachland and Hyman, of Local 9. The other group was composed of Israel Fineberg, Manager of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board; David Dubinsky, Manager of Local 10; First Vice-President Morris Sigman, Breslau, Heller, Halperin and Langer, heads of the various locals comprising the Joint Board.

What the outcome will be will not be known until the last days of the convention. In the meantime, these two committees, as well as the various committees appointed to take up and bring in recommendations on the many resolutions which were introduced at the convention, are working tirelessly well into the nights, with a view to solving the many problems confronting the International.

Every one of Local 10's delegation was appointed as a member of some committee. Samuel Perlmuter serves on the Committee on Officers' Report. Philip Ansel has been appointed on the Committee on Union Labels, Co-operatives and Union-owned Shops and Factories. John C. Ryan is a member of the Committee on Law. Joseph Fish is a member of the Committee on Education. Harry Berlin serves on the Committee on Resolutions. Isidor Nagler is on the Committee on Rules and Regulations. Benjamin Sachs is a member of the Committee on Benefits, Sanatorium and European Relief. David Dubinsky, as is known, was appointed in this city to serve on the Credentials Committee, which finished its report on the second day of the convention.

As was mentioned here, most of the matters taken up are not yet disposed of. Their outcome is still a matter for debate. And it is very probable that the next general meeting, which will be held Monday, May 29, will, for the greater part, be taken up with reports by the delegates. This, in addition to the regular business, will make the meeting one of exceptional importance.

It is very likely that Local 10's delegates will come back with having to

their credit two Vice-Presidents. Max Gorenstein, who, as is known, is a Vice-President, will without doubt be re-elected. Although he was elected a delegate by the Boston Cutters, it is still a fact that he is a member of Local 10. And what with the strong likelihood of Dubinsky's election to the Vice-Presidency, it will be the first time that Local 10 will have two Vice-Presidents of the International, which is a rarity among the locals of the parent organization.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The situation in the Cloak and Suit industry is, in spite of an apparent calm, in an unsettled state. About all that can be said for the present is, as the Association tried lately to make the Union believe, that the change in the administration of the Protective Association is less warlike than that which preceded it. George Jablow, of Aaron Goldstein & Co., was elected Chairman of the Board of Directors, to succeed Louis Lustig. Lustig, it will be recalled, was the minister of the Association's war department of the past administration. It was he who led the recent attack on the Union. From what can be learned of those who are acquainted with Jablow, they say that he is a mild nature. Whether this change will mean anything as regards amiable relations in the future is uncertain. However, the Union is skeptical of all statements pointing to this. While the Cloakmakers desire peace, they will not for a moment forget the last fight.

In the meantime, however, the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union is by no means lulling itself into a state of false security. It is proceeding very energetically in its collection of the \$20 assessment towards the strike fund which is raising with a view to meeting another onslaught.

In so far as the office of Local 10 is concerned, shop meetings are still held daily, and cutters are urged to pay up their assessment. These shop meetings, by the way, are not solely taken up with this question. Ninety per cent of the slack-time complaints are with regard to equal division of work. It is a fact that cloak cutters have not yet had driven home to them the point that the office

will not stand for favorites. Not a week passes but that the office is compelled to adopt extreme measures with this regard.

A number of these cases were contained in the reports of the Executive Board which were read to the members at their last meeting held on Monday, May 8. The meeting, though a very short one, was very well attended, and all of the decisions of the Executive Board were sustained, with one exception. The exception is really not a reversal of the action of the Board. Up till now it has been the custom of the Board to itself take up the minutes of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board and the reports of the Board of Directors, and take the necessary action. However, the members desired to have these read at the meetings and they so requested the Executive Board.

In view of the absence of the Manager, there was no report rendered, and aside from concurring in a report of the Appeals Committee and granting an appeal to another member who was fined, nothing else was taken up.

WAIST AND DRESS AND MISCELLANEOUS

At the last meeting of the Executive Board it was decided that the Waist and Dress meeting which is to be held on Monday, May 15, is to be held in conjunction with the Miscellaneous meeting. Hence, members of these two branches will hear reports of both divisions at this meeting.

At this same meeting of the Board the Acting General Secretary was instructed to inform Brother Sidney Rothenberg, who has resigned and is leaving for Europe on May 12, that his resignation was accepted with regret, and the Executive Board, in appreciation of his services, conferred upon him honorary membership.

As regards the situation in the dress trade, it still is in very bad shape. No meetings of the Joint Board were held, due to the absence of a number of officers who are attending the convention. It is hoped that when these come back they will be able to report of such action taken by the convention as will in some measure solve some of the problems affecting the members of this trade.

The same may be said of the Mis-

cellaneous Division. Conditions have been and are still very bad. A number of propositions have been submitted to the convention, tending to solve some of the problems. What these are cannot be said yet, as reports of the convention are scant.

A BUILDING GUILD IN FRANCE

The Executive of the Union of Technicians in Industry, Commerce and Agriculture, "has decided upon the formation of a "Building Guild" for the purpose of carrying out—not for private individuals, but for the community—constructional works on behalf of public authorities, municipalities, societies representing war victims, etc.

This decision has been taken in response to the official request of the representatives of the war victims. "The unfortunate inhabitants of the devastated regions are tired of promises which are never kept; they refuse to hand-over to middlemen, bankers and entrepreneurs an enormous percentage—sometimes exceeding 25 per cent—of their war compensation, which, even as it is, is insufficient to restore their property, etc., to anything like its pre-war condition. They therefore apply directly to the Technicians and workers, who are willing to give their work without any profits, provided only they are guaranteed their normal salaries and wages."

This first experiment will be made in agreement with the unions of the Building Trades Operatives.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Monday, May 15th
General Monday, May 29th
Cloak and Suit Monday, June 5th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

Members should not fail to change their working cards when going in or returning to work. They should also not fail to return their working cards when laid off. Anyone failing to comply with this will be subject to a fine by the Executive Board.

Article 7, Section 12, of the Constitution, makes it compulsory for members to attend at least one meeting every three months. Violation of this clause carries with it a fine. Meetings for each month are posted in this notice.



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