

"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. 22

New York, Friday, May 26, 1922

Price, 2 Cents

## FIRST CONFERENCE HELD WITH PROTECTIVE ASS'N

Last Tuesday Night at Hotel Martinique—Union Presents Memorandum Defining Scope of Negotiations.

The Ways and Means Committee of the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association of New York declined to accept the proposal of President Schlesinger that the conference between the Union and the Association be laid over to June 25. Last Friday night the Association informed the Union that it desired the conference to begin at once and the Union consented.

Last Friday night, May 19, was the first meeting of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union since the Cleveland Convention. The feeling among the delegates ran high, and when President Schlesinger entered the hall he received a hearty ovation. The delegates expressed their joy and contentment over the fact that President Schlesinger is again with the cloakmakers and at the helm of the International Union.

Upon the recommendation of President Schlesinger a conference committee was elected without delay, and the following persons were chosen to represent the Union at the conference with the employers:

From the International: President Schlesinger and General Secretary Baroff.

From the Cloakmakers' Joint Board: General Manager Israel Feinberg, Chairman Louis Pinkofsky, Secretary Louis Langer, Treasurer Philip Kaplowitz and Protective Division Manager, J. Rubin.

Representing the locals are: Bernard Shane, Local 1; Samuel Lefkowitz, Local 3; Louis Hyman, Local 9; David Dubinsky, Local 10; H. Chan- cer, Local 11; Jacob Heller, Local 17;

H. Brook, Local 21; H. Wander, Local 23; J. Breslaw, Local 35; M. Goldofsky, Local 45; S. Ninfo, Local 48; Max Libow, Local 64, and M. J. Aschpitz, Local 82.

Last Monday morning President Schlesinger notified the Association that the Union is ready for a conference. The Association replied in the affirmative and the conference was set for Tuesday evening, May 23, at 8 o'clock. On Tuesday evening the first conference between the Union and the Association took place at the Hotel Martinique. Mr. George Jablow, the President of the Protective Association, was elected Chairman, and Brother Israel Feinberg, the Manager of the Joint Board, Vice Chairman.

President Schlesinger presented to the Association at the conference the following two communications. The first letter deals with the demand of the representatives of the Protective Association that the other cloak associations, such as the "American Association," the "Jobbers' Association," and also the representatives of the "Independents," participate in the conference. The letter, while expressing readiness to confer with the representatives of the association on the subject of renewal of contracts, objects definitely to a mixed conference.

The second letter outlines in full the position of the Union on the problems in the industry and presents its point of view to what should and what should not enter into the scope of discussions during the coming conferences. These letters follow:

May 23, 1922.  
Conference Committee of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Assn., 285 Fifth Ave., City.

Gentlemen:  
We have been invited to meet a committee of your association for the purpose of considering terms of an arrangement to be made between us, after the expiration of our present agreement and we have accepted the invitation upon that understanding.

We now find that you have taken it upon yourselves to invite representatives of another association of employers, the American Cloak Manufacturers' Association, largely composed of contractors for your members, to participate in the conference, in spite of our express objection.

We reserve the right to confer and deal with each party under contract with us separately and in our own way, and we consider it presumptuous on your part to create situations for us without our consent, and to attempt to force us into conferences with parties and on matters in which you are in no way concerned.

We are ready to confer with representatives of your association upon all questions concerning the renewal of the contract between your association and our Union. We shall also be ready to confer with representatives of the American Cloak Manufacturers' Association on the subject of renewal of our contract with that association, at a time and place and in a manner to be agreed upon between that association and our Union without your kind intervention. We have, however, no desire to participate in a mixed conference such as you have chosen to arrange on your own responsibility, and are therefore compelled to withdraw from the same.

Yours very truly,  
BENJ. SCHLESINGER,  
President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Chairman of Union's Conference Committee.

### STUDENTS' OUTING AND HIKE ON SUNDAY, JUNE 4

The Students' Council of our Workers' University and the Unity Centers have arranged a hike and outing to Silver Lake, Staten Island, on Sunday, June 4.

At 9:30 in the morning a committee of the Council will meet the hikers at the Staten Island Ferry. It will be a day of outdoor merriment and fun. Bring your lunch along and come on time.

Keep this in mind. Register at once!

### CLOAKMAKERS MUST NOT WORK NEXT TUESDAY—DECORATION DAY

The members of all locals of the Joint Board of the Cloak, Skirt and Reefmakers' Union are informed that next Tuesday, May 30, is Decoration Day, one of the legal holidays for which cloakmakers are to be paid. They must, therefore, abstain from coming to their shops and from working on that day.

Committees of all local executives will patrol the cloak districts all during next Tuesday, and if cloakmakers will be found going to work on in a shop, they will be called before the Grievance Committee and severely punished.

By order of the Joint Board,  
By order of the Joint Board,  
LOUIS LANGER, Secretary.

May 23, 1922.  
Conference Committee of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, 285 Fifth Avenue, City.

Gentlemen:  
The task of this conference between your association and our union is to evolve a plan for the adjustment of relations between the employers and workers in our industry after the expiration of our present collective agreement, i. e., June 1, 1922.

In order to expedite the deliberations of the conference, and to furnish a definite and fruitful basis of negotiations, we take the liberty of submitting to you a statement of our position.

The problems which confront us are by no means new; they have been exhaustively discussed and thoroughly considered between us in numerous conferences several months ago, and nothing has occurred since to justify a change of attitude on our part.

The substantial provisions as to work, wages, shop conditions, adjustment of disputes and other arrangements contained in our last agreement were adopted by both parties upon mature consideration and after a thorough discussion of all phases of the situation. It was not and is not an ideal arrangement from our point of view, but we accepted it as the result of the best that there was, and we are ready to continue operating under the same substantial arrangements for another contractual period. We do not believe that the situation is favorable for a general upward revision of labor standards, and we submit no demands for such a general revision. On the other hand, we must state that there is neither need nor justification for any attempt on the part of the employers to break down the established labor standards in our industry, and we frankly announce that we shall not countenance such attempts.

Work Must Be Permanent.  
The work week system, which was introduced in our industry three years ago, must be accepted as a permanent arrangement. The piece work system which has prevailed in the cloak industry for many years in the past has produced untold evil; it has undermined the health of the workers, created a source of endless and acrimonious friction between them and the employers. It has been abolished after a long struggle, and its abolition is a demand of the workers supported and encouraged by the sentiment of numerous fair-minded employers. The workers will never consent to return to the piece-work system in any form or guise, i. e., in the form of payment by the piece, or in any indirect form of "measured service," in which standards of production" fixed in advance.

In the cloak manufacturing industry, which is an largely ruled by styles constantly varying from season to season and from shop to shop, there can be no such thing as an established unit of work, and experience has demonstrated that any attempt to base wages upon such an imaginary unit invariably results in driving the workers to unreasonable exertions, and threatens a real danger to the health of the workers which has so long disgraced the industry.

Similarly we must decline to consider any suggestion of an increase of the hours of labor, in view of the long periods of unemployment in our industry, the prevailing 44 hours work week is rather too long than too short. The vital problem confronting the workers and workers alike is to devise some method of lengthening the seasons of work and cutting down the periods of unemployment, and it seems to us very obvious that an increase of the hours of labor would have the opposite effect.

Can Not Consider Wage Standard Cut.  
For the same reason, our union can not consider any proposed reduction of the established wage standard. While the weekly wages of the cloak workers may compare not unfavorably with the wages in other industries, the number of the full working weeks is very much less than that of the workers in other regulated industries, and the yearly earnings of the workers are entirely insufficient to maintain them upon a marry or less decent standard of American working class life.

"We also hold that the provisions of our present collective agreement, which grant to the workers the right of discharge from employment and which regulate other fundamental standards of work and shop life, are absolutely essential for the maintenance of just relations between employers and workers."  
Continued on Page 2.

## Unity Houses Will Soon Open For Guests

About the middle of next month the Unity Houses of our waist and dressmakers' unions will throw their doors open for the coming season.

The Unity estate of the New York Waist and Dressmakers, the beautiful spot in Forest Park, in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Pennsylvania, will open on Friday, June 16. At 2:30 in the afternoon on that day the first train carrying passengers for Unity Land will leave New York. The official opening will take place on Saturday afternoon, June 17, in the beautiful Unity auditorium. A select concert will be given on that occasion, the details of which will be published in the coming issues of JUSTICE.

The Unity House of Local No. 15, Philadelphia, located at Orville, Pa., will open on Sunday, June 18. The Orville House is not as big as the house in Forest Park, but the same spirit of comradeship, friendship and good-will prevails there also. The Orville House will also open with a concert and some of the leading men in

the labor movement in Philadelphia will deliver speeches.

Let the members of our locals in New York and Philadelphia immediately register for the Unity season. Don't wait for the last minute. The management of these houses must know in advance how many persons are to be accommodated at the opening and how many of them will remain for a longer period, for a regular vacation.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

### EXIT GENOA

ON Friday, May 19, the Genoa Conference was formally declared at an end, though not quite dead, according to the diplomats. It was a very delicate child, so the apology runs, who inevitably suffered a relapse after a strenuous life of six weeks, and it was consequently prescribed a month's vacation, to be summoned after that period of rest to another climate, The Hague, where experts of proved ability in the administration of sabotage will resume their operations on this child. Louis Barthou, of the French delegation, declared that "We think the child will stand its journey to The Hague, but when it gets there we must be careful of its diet." In other words, while at Genoa, the child nearly died from convulsions, at The Hague it will be starved through "careful dieting."

An invitation for another conference is the only thing the various delegations are taking with them from Genoa. The Russo-German pact, signed at Rapallo, is doubtless a significant achievement, but it cannot be regarded as a Genoa product. The Soviet delegation, it is true, also carry away a moral victory, but it is of a nature which cannot start factories and mills working or to relieve the sufferings and starvation of the Russian people. The Germans have come out of the conference without even being able to state their case. Lloyd George, however, could never admit failure. He returned to London jubilant. He waxed ecstatic over the temporary truce to last from Genoa to The Hague. He called it "a compact of peace among thirty nations." This undue enthusiasm may perhaps be accounted for by his startling assertion "that a few weeks ago there were armies massing on frontiers extending over thousands of miles with every evident intention of marching against each other, and that by the Genoa Conference the march of these armies has been averted."

While the staging at The Hague is being prepared, the press began the circulation of brand new stories to the effect that the Soviet armies are preparing for war, that Trotsky is inciting the Red troops to massed attacks on the capitalistic countries, that an Italian steamer had been sunk by Russian batteries, and that her crew had been killed. Apparently a new wave of propaganda is being initiated with the view to prevent the coming conference of The Hague taking place.

### INDUSTRIAL BANQUETS AT THE WHITE HOUSE

CONFERENCES to settle industrial ills of the country have ended, in the past, in one of two ways: they have either been disrupted by the opposing interests of capital and labor, or they have reached common measures which were so colorless and futile that it made very little difference whether they were translated into practice or not. So President Harding has a new plan which is to avoid the pitfalls of the conference. It has three features: First, instead of a formal, semi-parliamentary affair, it is to be an informal dinner at the White House; second, instead of summoning under one roof diverse and conflicting interests, there should only be invited a single group representing a single interest in a single industry; third, the public, that is the press, should not be admitted to these dinners.

The first presidential invitation to the conference-dinner was extended to forty-one steel barons, among whom were Judge Gary and Charles M. Schwab. The dinner was shrouded in mystery, but the insistent demands of the press for some news finally brought forth a statement to the effect that the abolition of the 12-hour working in the steel mills was the chief topic of discussion. Judge Gary assured us, however, that the President did not press the steel magnates too hard, that "he did not desire to interfere with the natural and legitimate progress of business." The steel kings evinced a conciliatory spirit and agreed in "principle" to the President's suggestion for the abolition of the 12-hour day. But as to its practical application, why—Judge Gary is going to appoint a committee of five to make a thorough investigation of this subject and to report their conclusions and recommendations to Gary, and "if and when practicable," the steel magnates may act on the President's suggestion. Among the other subjects discussed at the dinner was also the question of the unionization of the steel workers, but this point was not touched in the statement issued to the press. Judge Gary's view on unionism is too well known.

A few evenings later the railway magnates had dinner at the White House. Among the subjects discussed was the desirability of rate reduction, but what the railway heads were particularly anxious was the wage reduction of the railroad workers. They agreed, however, to appoint a committee to investigate the situation and report, etc. Both the railway chiefs and the White House were reticent as to the details of the conference.

President Harding plans to continue these "industrial revival series." According to a report, the next invitation will be extended to labor leaders. This will be followed by many others until the President will have learned the various points of views. Then he may perhaps call a conference, but that is not certain.

The day following the dinner with the steel barons the President delivered an address before the Chamber of Commerce. He stated that industry is on the eve of prosperity, that agricultural conditions have improved, and that unemployment is giving way to a labor shortage. The conference-dinners are intended to hasten to be controlled, but in view of the criticism leveled against the administration, from the ranks of the Republican party, and in view of the coming elections next fall, the government seeks at least part of the responsibility for bringing about good times in this country.

### OUR MINISTER OF JUSTICE

ATTORNEY GENERAL DAUGHERTY is mentioned in graft charges. So was his predecessor, the notorious Palmer. Apparently this is the chief asset in our governmental business of meeting out justice. But what is particularly striking is that while Palmer succeeded in pretty well covering his malodorous "transactions," the charges in connection with Daugherty came rather early in his career as Minister of Justice.

Among the numerous charges made against Attorney General Daugherty, the one leveled against him by Senator Caraway, a Democrat, occupies the center of the stage. The Senator produced photographic copies of a contract into which Daugherty entered with a certain Morse, who had been sentenced to prison for defrauding the government, in order to obtain his pardon for the sum of \$25,000. That was in 1912, when the present Chief Justice Taft was President. It is also charged that Daugherty violated the confidence of President Taft in personalizing him to pardon Morse. After presenting to the Senate these incriminating documents, Senator Caraway said that in view of this evidence, "there is only one decent thing for the Attorney General to do—that is to resign and not embarrass the administration any further."

On the other hand, the administration Senators charge that the attacks on Daugherty constitute a "smoke screen," designed to protect officials of the previous administration. Senator Moses declared that the Morse documents are being furnished by persons anxious to avoid persecutions for war frauds, that an effort is being made to get Daugherty out of office before he can carry out his intention, which "will seriously embarrass the former Attorney General in one case and a former Secretary of the Treasury in another." In other words, there is a mire of scandal.

Mr. Samuel Untermyer has adduced sufficient evidence to the effect that Mr. Daugherty is thick on the trail of the petty lawbreaker, but he leaves the big fellows securely alone. Mr. Untermyer therefore refuses to co-operate with the Department of Justice in the prosecution of war fraud cases. He knows that any inquiry with which Daugherty will be associated will end in whitewashing the most powerful offenders.

It is very likely that Daugherty will be given another job. But it is extremely doubtful whether another Attorney General, who is to minister to the interests of the ruling class, will act differently.

### THE LUSK LOYALTY INQUISITION

THE petty inquisitors, headed by the notorious Archy Stevenson, have for some time been holding secret sessions to pass upon the loyalty of teachers in the public schools. They have been conducting inquiries, on anonymous charges, into the right of teachers to hold their jobs.

Hugh Frayne, national organizer of the American Federation of Labor, is also a member of the State Advisory Council on the Qualification of Teachers, which is now holding the star chamber sessions. It gives the impression that organized labor is supporting these medieval practices. The Central Trades and Labor Council therefore has decided to call Frayne to a special meeting to explain why he accepted membership on the council, thereby giving its activities labor's implied support in the face of the unanimous opposition of the organized workers to the Lusk educational laws. While Frayne is not under the jurisdiction of the Trades and Labor Council, it nevertheless wishes to give him an opportunity to explain his stand before it takes any further action in the matter. A resolution was first introduced asking Frayne to resign his position on the advisory council, but was later withdrawn for the substitute motion to invite him to address the delegates. The meeting is scheduled to take place on Thursday, May 26.

Twenty-seven educators of national prominence, among whom are Professors Dewey, Seligman, Giddings and others, have petitioned Frank P. Graves, Commissioner of Education, to take steps which "will lead to the total repeal of the Lusk law." The secret hearings of the Advisory Council has been denounced as fostering a spirit of fear that prevents the teachers from carrying out their work in a proper spirit. The petition says that, pending the final repeal of the Lusk law, "the machinery for trying teachers be in accordance with the tradition of American and English procedure in matters of justice."

The inquisitorial body, headed by Archy Stevenson, has been defended by the Commissioner of Education as "entirely disinterested." "The New York World" comments on this statement in the following words: "Mr. Stevenson in the role of an entirely disinterested person strikes us as funny. It must strike Mr. Stevenson as funny. For Mr. Stevenson is by temperament and record as prosecutor and a persecutor, essentially a fanatic." It would doubtless strike everybody as funny had it not been so detrimental to the teachers and to the education of the children.

### COALITION IN IRELAND

REPUBLICANS and Free Staters, the two factions which kept Ireland in a state of civil war for the past several months, have finally reached a unity agreement last Saturday. Michael Collins, head of the Free State, and Eamon De Valera, the Republican leader, have now joined their forces into a coalition government.

The agreement provides for a "national coalition panel for the next Dail, representing both parties," and makes possible the holding of the election on June 16. The coalition will be upon the basis of the present representation, but every other interest is free to nominate candidates. If the coalition finds it must dissolve, a general election will be held.

This agreement has been universally acclaimed by the Irish people as the beginning of a period of national constructive work. But there is still one disturbing element in the situation which prevents complete unity of Ireland. It is Ulster. The Free State-Republican agreement was followed by an outbreak of violence and terrorism in Belfast and its environs. Sir James Craig, the Premier of Ulster, declared that "What we have held," that he is against any concessions to South Ireland, that the time has passed for mutual accommodation. In other words, that means war between North and South Ireland. While unity was achieved between the national elements in Ireland, the chasm between industrial pro-English Ulster and Catholic nationalistic South Ireland has widened.

# Convention Impressions of An Observer

By ALGERNON LEE

The first few sessions of the recent Cleveland Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union were marked by sharp conflicts between the supporters of the Union administration and an insurgent group, the outcome of which was widely reported in the daily press under such headlines as "Union Ousts Reds" and "Workers Repudiate Radicals!"

It is a pity to disillusion any hundred-percenters who may have drawn comfort from these reports. The fact is, however, that the Union did not repudiate any radical principles whatever, nor did it cut any one off for being "red." Several delegates were unseated, not because they held and expressed unorthodox opinions, but because, in the judgment of the convention, they had used disruptive methods within the organization and had been guilty of various offenses against union law and ethics—such, for instance, as deliberately raising a continuous uproar in local union meetings in order to prevent the transaction of business, and giving out leaflets in which the general officers were branded as "crooks," and yet refusing to bring specific charges or submit evidence before committees authorized to investigate alleged abuses.

In one or two cases the discipline meted out might seem to a disinterested observer somewhat too harsh, but the majority of the delegates held that it was necessary to put a stop to the systematic efforts of a small minority, directed by elements outside the organization, to split the Union when they could not control it.

The proceedings of the convention throughout its remaining sessions showed that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is as militantly class-conscious as ever, and that the bitter experiences of the last two years have neither tamed its spirit nor lessened its fighting power.

The ordeal has been a severe one. Since the winter of 1919-20 there has not been a single really good "season" in this most highly seasoned industry.

Never within the history of the union has unemployment been at once so extensive and so long continued. As soon as the industrial depression was well under way the organized employers started a vigorous publicity campaign against the Union, charging that the high price of clothing was due to exorbitant wages and unreasonable working conditions forced upon the manufacturers by the workers' organization. The Union countered with a statistical demonstration that in this industry wages form but a minor part of the cost of production, that the element of waste is unduly large, and that there is an extremely wide margin between production cost and selling price.

It is doubtful if the Union's answer reached more than a tithe of those who had read the manufacturers' statements, but it had a salutary effect within the organization by assuring the rank and file of their moral right to stand out against proposed reductions of the wage scale. This effect was greatly strengthened when, at a critical moment later on, the employers' associations prevailed upon the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor to propose an investigation of the cloak industry and the Union not only welcomed the suggestion, but demanded such an investigation as would cover all aspects of the industry, thoroughly analyzing every technical and business process and bringing competitive wastes and the profits of manufacturers, middlemen and retailers as fully into view as wages and cost of material. Needless to say, the investigation never took place.

After a long drum-fire of anti-union propaganda, and a series of preliminary attacks on various sectors, the main assault was begun in the fall of 1921, when the cloak and suit manufacturers of the country resolved to bar up certain "scraps of paper" which they had signed in 1919, and undertook to cut wages, to restore four hours to the work-week, to restore piece-work, and to get back their old authority to discharge employees at will.

The strategic point was New York City. Though Philadelphia, Montreal, Cleveland, Chicago, and other centers were involved, it was known that if the employers could break the Union in New York its whole line of defense would go to pieces. The manufacturers were sanguine. Outsiders thought the prospect for the Union a gloomy one. But the garment workers had but one thought, "They shall not pass. What we have won, we mean to hold!"

And they did it. They broke more than one manufacturers' association. They kept the conditions of 1919—the 44-hour week, the minimum wage scale, the week-work system, and the Union's voice in the question of "hire and fire." There is probably no other large labor organization in the country that can claim an equal measure of success.

The Union's paid up membership, which was 85,000 in 1918 and reached its peak at 102,000 just before the wave of unemployment began to rise in 1920, now numbers 92,500, with 25,000 more in arrears with the dues, but heart and soul with the Union in its struggles.

During these two years of storm and stress the International Union (aside from all that was done directly by locals and joint boards) found

means to donate \$75,000 to other organizations and \$26,000 to famine sufferers in Russia, and to spend \$27,000 for its educational department, and \$57,000 on its press.

It required good generalship to win such results, and good generalship there was. But the driving force which the leaders ably directed lay in what one of them has described as "the needle workers' unrivaled capacity for starving in defense of an ideal!"

The Union's internal troubles are real. But they will be gradually overcome by the ingrained consciousness of the rank and file that all that makes life worth living they owe to their solid organization. Two incidents will illustrate this point.

This thing happened in a New York cloak shop less than twenty-five years

ago: A certain operator had been up all night with a sick child. In the forenoon he yawned over his work. The boss, after a first warning, said to him: "Yankee, if you do that again I'll spit in your face!" Yankee tried hard, but the yawn would come. The boss kept his word. Yankee wiped his face and went on with his work.

This thing happened in a New York shop in 1920: An employer lost his temper and called one of his workers an unprintable offensive name. The whole shop walked out. It took the boss two days to swallow his pride, but at last he made a formal apology and work was resumed—with no deduction from the week's wages on account of working time lost.

One need not write a book to tell why the garment workers love their International.

## First Conference with Protective Ass'n

Continued From Page 1.

workers, and must be incorporated in any new agreement to be made between the parties.

Our union is opposed to any change in the above standards, not only because the workers cannot consent to any deterioration of the vital standards involved, but also because it is deeply convinced that such change, if consummated, would not benefit the industry in the slightest degree. The cloak manufacturing industry of New York is not handicapped by excessively high wages or short work hours. The main evil of our industry, as we see it, lies in the existence of the numerous small shops conducted by irresponsible contractors under conditions which make it almost impossible to secure cheap production through their agency, and have now come to be a veritable cancer on the industry, equally harmful to employers and workers by making unfair and ruthless competition to the former, and depressing the wages and standards of the latter. Four shops a rule are operated by an impetuous contractor, with the cooperation of a small number of clerks, and the result is that they are practically removed from any possibility of efficient control on the part of the union and make it increasingly difficult for the legitimate manufacturer to meet their competition.

These shops, which have come to be known as "social" or "corporation" shops, have been called into existence by a certain class of employers who seek to secure cheap production through their agency, and have now come to be a veritable cancer on the industry, equally harmful to employers and workers by making unfair and ruthless competition to the former, and depressing the wages and standards of the latter. Four shops a rule are operated by an impetuous contractor, with the cooperation of a small number of clerks, and the result is that they are practically removed from any possibility of efficient control on the part of the union and make it increasingly difficult for the legitimate manufacturer to meet their competition.

We believe that the task of eliminating this evil is the paramount problem now confronting our industry, and our union will be glad to cooperate with your association in any reasonable and legitimate plan for the attainment of that object.

**Question of Solidarity.**  
"Ever since the introduction of the weak work system in our industry com-

plaints have been made from time to time by some workers are 'solidarity on the job.' The present agreement between our organizations specifically requires that the contracting unions believe in the principle of 'a fair day's labor for a fair day's pay' and our union has always taken this position in dealing with employers. The organized cloak-makers have neither the habit nor the desire of 'solidarity on the job,' nor is the whole shop walked out. It took the boss two days to swallow his pride, but at last he made a formal apology and work was resumed—with no deduction from the week's wages on account of working time lost.

"Our union will gladly co-operate with your organization in the establishment of an effective tribunal for the fair and speedy disposition of all complaints of employers against workers who offend against the above principle.

"If the solution of the social or 'corporation' shop evil should require the co-operation of the other employers' associations in the industry, we shall be ready to join you in inviting them to this conference at the above principle.

"Very truly yours,  
"RES. SCHLESINGER,  
"President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Chairman of Union's Conference Committee."

A discussion on the trade problems ensued, which was conducted under "open doors," with representatives of the press present. The general atmosphere of the conference was very peaceful and the words "understanding" and "agreement" were heard on all sides. It is to be hoped that the following conferences will be conducted in the same spirit, and that the agreement in the industry will be renewed in a peaceful manner.

Meanwhile, the Conference Committee of the Union awaits the reply of the Association to the documents presented by it.

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## JUSTICE

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# A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP  
(London Daily Herald Service)

As I said last week, the crux of the negotiations at Genoa is the question of recognition by the Russian government of the rights of private property. That is a point that cannot be evaded, even by the evasive genius of Mr. Lloyd George, and that it is not being glossed over is apparent in today's news from the conference. At the moment of writing, the Allied memorandum has gone to the Russian delegation, containing what the "Manchester Guardian" calls the "least common denominator of Europe's demand on Russia." That in its present form the Soviet delegation will be unable to sign it seems inevitable; for at the last moment our Prime Minister again yielded to French bullying supported by the Belgians, and the memorandum, emasculated as it is by the insertion of a clause demanding the restitution of freehold rights of property to foreigners in Russia, is not even promised the signature of the French government until it has been sent to Paris for personal investigation by the French Premier. The position would be farcical if the consequences of a further outwary of Russia were not going to be so tragic—and not only to Russia.

## The Only Way Out

It is possible that Mr. Lloyd George, certainly with his past as a serious handicap, could not have done more than he has done at Genoa to secure an Allied agreement with Russia. The French have made it im-

possible, and it would be invidious at this juncture to discuss how different the position would be if from the first Mr. Lloyd George had been firm on behalf of Great Britain in his dealings with the French government. The thing that matters is that a way should be found out of the intolerable European situation in which diplomacy has landed us since the Peace of Versailles was signed.

It is impossible to say whether Mr. Lloyd George will have the courage to commit the party that raised him to power (in order to hang the Kaiser and "make Germany pay") to the policy of an open and separate treaty with Russia; but it is certain that such a policy would have the support of the whole labor party and every reasonable person in the country who is outside that party.

Failing this, there is no knowing where the mania for secret treaties will not lend us. In twenty years' time, one begins to feel, an entirely new balance of power will exist. In strict secrecy among European nations, while openly Great Britain and France and Belgium and Italy and the rest of them will be standing "shoulder to shoulder" against Bolshevism and the (unhappy) Hun. One firm action by Great Britain would cut the whole tangle. But, without a labor government in the land, can it be done?

## Our Industrial Plight

Any one who doubts the need in this country of a speedy revival of trade should have watched the marchers in the May Day procession that went across London to Hyde Park. They were mainly unemployed men and women, the date falling on a Monday, and, times being bad, other workers being less ready than usual to lose a day's work. No careful observer could have failed to note

the underfed condition of most of those who tramped through the streets, between lines of spectators who, for the most part, offered a significant contrast in their well-fed, well-clothed appearance to those hundreds of victims of an economic system that has broken down before the stress of a World War, followed by a capitalist's peace.

Yet, even now, the capitalist does not learn his lesson. On May Day the eight-week of the engineers' lockout was ~~ended~~ <sup>ended</sup> upon; today it appears that the lockout notices to the forty-seven kindred unions will take effect, though it was hoped that, pending the findings of the court of inquiry these would be suspended. The only sign made by the employers of wishing to end their starvation tactics is a slender one—that of opening their works today to any workers who choose to desert their comrades and go back to work on the employers' terms which have been rejected by the unions—to blacklegs, in short. I suppose this kind of thing will go on until the public wakes up to the fact that it isn't fair play to allow starvation to be used against one side in industrial disputes. The industrial court of inquiry that meets today might have been appointed eight weeks ago, now that at last it meets, the proceedings, in spite of the employers' are to be "public," though in theory only, the press being admitted, but the room chosen being too small for the admission of spectators.

## The Rich Man's Budget

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has yielded to the pressure of the well-organized taxpayers, and has taken a shilling off the income tax, that is, after it reaches six shillings in the pound; the poorer income taxpayer only gets sixpence off. On the other hand, the poor will not be much helped by fourpence being taken off the tea tax, a pound of tea being an ample weekly allowance for an average working class family, while the absence of any reduction in the tax

on sugar and other foodstuffs makes the new budget emphatically a rich man's budget. The excuse made by Sir Robert Horne, that a reduction in income tax is compulsory if trade is to be revived, would carry more weight if the foreign and industrial policy of the government were conducted on similar lines and with a similar regard to the urgent need for trade revival, and for a stimulus to greater production.

## In Ireland

It is difficult to say what the exact position in Ireland is at the moment of writing, because one always hesitates to be optimistic about a country where foreign domination has for so long created the idea that nothing counts but physical force, so that a turmoil that would be called civil war anywhere else may be viewed over there as a mere difference of opinion. But it looks just now as though the Republican irregulars were losing support in Ireland, not because the majority of the people would not choose a republic if they had a free choice, but because they do not see any prospect of getting one through the recent tactics of De Valera and his followers. The important statement just issued in Dublin, signed by five regular officers of the I. R. A., including Michael Collins, and by five irregular officers, suggests what would appear to outsiders to be a reasonable basis for a settlement, the chief suggestions being for an agreed election with a view to forming a government which will have the confidence of the whole country, and for army unification on this basis. Mr. Rory O'Connor does not seem ready to support the action of his five subordinates in signing this statement, which is—with the assumption that "the majority of the people of Ireland are willing to accept the treaty;" but I think it has already had the effect of dividing his forces and also his supporters in the country, who are sick of strife and looting and assassination in the name of patriotism, by whichever side it is carried out.

# Working Women in New York State

By J. CHARLES LAUE

New York State still maintains the lead among all the states in the Union with a population of 8,402,786 persons, according to the figures of the 1920 census which have just been issued. Of this number 54 per cent are gainfully employed, of which 1,135,948 are women, constituting 25 per cent of the total number of workers.

Of the 41,609,192 persons gainfully employed in the United States, 33,659,793 are males and 8,549,399 females. This indicates that one woman out of every five in the country works and earns money. Women doing housework and having no other employment are not included in this total.

Of special interest to the trade unions are the deductions and compilations of the national census figures made by the division of women in industry of the New York State department of labor, and published in a recent bulletin. It shows that the most highly organized women's trades are in the New York needle industry.

The hackneyed sentiment that "woman's place is in the home" is becoming less and less expressive of modern society, for the woman are leaving their drudgery in the house to work in the factories, stores and offices in increasing numbers.

As a group, working women are younger than working men, accounting to some extent for the fact that

most of the unskilled work in factories and stores is done by girls and women, and also for the fewer numbers of women comparatively to be found in the trade unions. Also, despite the efforts of the unions, women's wages are almost invariably lower than men's, even for the same amount and quality of work. However, the figures showing the number of women employed in New York State in the various occupations, classified roughly, are interesting when placed in their numerical strength. This table follows:

Occupation.	1920.
Manufacturing .....	251,194
Clerical work .....	265,888
Domestics .....	263,643
Professional .....	128,463

While the proportion of women in factories has about maintained the same rate in the ten years since the former census, it is evident that more and more women are going into clerical work and less and less into domestic service. The number of clerks has almost doubled in ten years, while the servant class has dropped considerably. Of this vast army of women workers only about 13 per cent are organized—about one-eighth being members of unions. However, it is to be expected that the estimates of trade union membership are undervalued rather than otherwise in this respect, since the state labor department had to depend upon frag-

mentary reports received from various union officials.

The best organized city in the state with respect to the women workers is Rochester, where the clothing, shoe workers and culinary trades unions have a strong membership, representing more than 25 per cent of the women gainfully employed in that locality. In New York City 14 per cent of the women workers are organized. Syracuse has but 10 per cent, Buffalo 7.4, Albany 6.7, and Schenectady 6.1. Yonkers is at the bottom of the list, with 0.2 of its women workers organized.

Thirty per cent of all women employed in the state work in manufacturing industries. Clothing factories employ 100,985; of these 17,600 are in suit, cloak and overall factories; about 18,000 in shirt, collar and cuff factories; 9,400 in glove factories; 2,300 in corset factories, and 53,000 in miscellaneous clothing factories.

The second largest group of semi-skilled women operatives are found in the textile industries, in which 47,775 are employed in this state.

In a separate classification the census placed skilled women workers—putting under individual occupational headings dressmakers and seamstresses, numbering 37,849. This represents a decrease, from 68,082 listed in the 1910 figures. This group of women workers, composing mostly those who do sewing at home, are classed as "skilled" workers, as contrasted with those employed in the factories.

Where the most controversy will probably arise over the figures contained in the state labor department's bulletin is the table giving the num-

bers of women in trade unions in the state in 1914 and 1920 in cities of over 50,000. Since many unions failed to furnish the information asked, the fault is not that of the department, however.

The total number of women in labor organization in this state in 1920 was placed at 96,162, a decided gain over 1914, when there were 61,501 members of organized labor.

The more important classifications in New York City for women union members were the following:

Greater N. Y.	
Industry.	1914. 1920.
Garments .....	45,365 62,668
Hats, caps, shoes .....	3,104 5,820
Boots, shoes .....	127 3,415
Textiles .....	154 2,889
Theaters .....	1,669 10,161

Just what the eventual effect of machinery is upon these women is difficult to judge. The development of office detail work, as well as the growing ascendancy of the metropolis as a commercial center, has brought more women into clerical service. Machinery has displaced some work in the needle industry to a large extent. More and more semi-skilled workers are to be found apparently. It is for this reason that there is greater need than ever for intensive work to organize these masses of women toilers.

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# The Efficiency System and the Workers

By L. BORODULIN

## II.

The second branch of efficiency lies in the direction of the utilization of the natural forces that bring into motion machinery, industrial plants and engines of transportation.

The ideal, the ultimate objective of efficiency, is to obtain a complete and free source of energy that would perform all these functions, energy that would cost no more than the air above us or the water in the ocean. Whether this aim will ever be realized only the future can tell. The present is occupied exclusively with a constant striving to that end. This striving has assumed two forms: First, the obtaining of more and more labor and products from the sources of energy applied in the process of production heretofore; and, secondly, the search and invention of new sources of energy that would cost even less than those employed until now.

The principal source of energy which propels machinery and engines is coal. When coal is burned it develops heat, which in turn is converted into water and steam, the latter furnishing propelling energy. Coal is a ready and free material, and is found in the earth in such form. All that is required is to dig it out. For this, labor is required, and labor must be paid. This process has converted coal from a free source of energy into a costly one. Moreover, coal has to be transported from the mines to the factories, and this implies additional cost. As a matter of fact, the transportation of coal costs as much, if not more, than the coal at the pit. Efficiency enters at this point, seeking for economy and for a way of reducing the cost attached to the production and transportation of coal.

To attain results in this direction, thousands of engineers and chemists fill laboratories and are continually engaged in research work, calculations and experiments. The results already obtained in these laboratories are nothing short of phenomenal. We get today many times as much energy from the same ton of coal that we used to get years ago. New kinds of dynamos and boilers are being made where coal burns more economically or where the heat from the same amount of coal develops a greater volume of steam and energy. Today when steam is through with its work, so to say, it is not permitted to evaporate, as used to be the case, but it is put through other machinery, where it performs additional work, work perhaps not as intensive as during the first stage, but, nevertheless, useful and very productive. Frequently this steam is used even to drive a turbine, a still smaller motor or engine, until the last drop of energy has been utilized.

This, however, is not all. After the steam has exhausted all its energy, it is still not liberated, but is cooled off and collected in reservoirs as water. The reason is very simple. After the steam leaves the boiler it is necessary to fill up the boiler again. Fresh water, as a rule, is cold, and in order to heat it, a considerable amount of coal is required. So, instead of heating up fresh water, the warm water which has been collected in the reservoirs and which requires but little coal to reheat it into steam, is used. This means a great economy in industry, and millions of tons of coal are saved yearly through this process, which affects the cost of production materially.

The second tendency which this

branch of efficiency has taken is in the direction of utilizing the various natural forces to produce cheap electricity for lighting and for propelling the industrial machinery and the machinery of transportation. Such forces or resources of energy are not many, but those that exist are more than sufficient to do all the work which we want.

The first source of such energy is winds. They are not of much importance in industry, as they are not strong or steady enough to develop an appreciable measure of electricity for industrial purposes. Nevertheless, they play a certain role in the general economy of the country. There are thousands of farmers who have their own windmills, particularly in such sections where winds are more or less a regular phenomenon. These windmills not only are used for water pumping or for grinding grain, but they also develop electricity in a small way and perform other minor functions on the farm.

The second source of energy is the rays of the sun. Through a process of ray concentration during experiments, it was found possible to propel small steam engines by generating a certain amount of steam. Such experiments were made in Egypt and California, places where the sun shines a maximum number of days in a year. These experiments, however, had had no economic success as yet. They held, however, considerable possibilities, though it is difficult to foretell what the future may hold in store in this field of experimentation. From the point of view of efficiency, however, the sun as a source of energy is kept under close observation by the scientific world, as in the course of time it might develop into one of the most important factors of energy and productivity.

The third and most important source of energy and production is water power. Turbine engines placed at the foot of water falls are propelled by the incessant and steady force of the falling water. The wings of the turbines bring into motion great electric machines which generate a mass of electricity, which in turn is distributed by wires for tens, and at times hundreds, of miles, through adjacent territory. The electricity generated by waterfalls lights homes, factories of entire cities and villages, propels machinery in factories and moves locomotives upon railways. It is the cheapest source of energy and labor, and, as a rule, costs less than half the price of motive power developed through coal and steam. In all industrial countries there is a strong movement on foot to harness the waterfalls and to force them to do the work of coal and steam. And when we hear of big electrification projects or of plans to electrify the railways, we may rest assured that in most cases it is the harnessing of the water power for the production of electricity that is being contemplated.

The use of water power for the development of electricity has, however, two drawbacks. First, it is a big and difficult undertaking. In the course of time the electrical energy produced from water power costs a great deal less than the same energy produced by coal and steam. It requires, however, a very large investment of capital, and this is a hindrance which is often not easily overcome. But it seems that the large profits which the use of water power brings to investors is increasing the application of this source of energy in the pro-

duction of electricity annually in an appreciable manner.

The second drawback is that there is not a great abundance of waterfalls in the world, and most of them are far away from industrial centers. To develop electricity at a waterfall and to distribute it is not an easy matter. The possibility of transferring electricity by wire is quite limited, and the maximum distance of such transmission is about 250 miles. New York, for instance, cannot utilize the electric power produced at Niagara Falls. This drawback is now being circumvented to an extent. Instead of natural waterfalls, they are making artificial waterfalls wherever possible and wherever the geological conditions are favorable. This is done by way of dams laid in the way of strong currents of water which is collected into large basins overflowing the dam like a waterfall. It is a costly proposition, but in the end it is worth while.

Another method for producing cheap electricity is the utilization of the force of the ebb and flow, a phenomenon which is called, in ordinary language, the high and low tide. In certain places the tide recedes and rises only about three or four feet. There are certain sections along the shore line, however, where the water rises and drops 30 and 40 feet. At such places it is possible to erect factories with turbine machinery, utilizing the force of the ebb and flow.

## The Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy

Of distinct interest to the whole labor movement and students of labor in America, is the program just announced for the June conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, to be held at Camp Tamiment, in Northeastern Pennsylvania, near Bushkill, from June 21 to June 25, inclusive.

The subject of the conference is, "The Trend Toward Industrial Democracy; How and Where Is Labor Gaining Power?"

While the list of speakers has not as yet been completed, those planning to attend include James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; John Brophy, President District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; Frederick C. Howe, Secretary of the Conference for Progressive Political Action; Norman Thomas, one of the editors of the "Nation"; W. Jett Lauck, statistician for the Railroad Brotherhoods and other unions; Morris Hillquit, trade union lawyer and prominent American Socialist; Stuart Chase, expert accountant of the Labor Bureau, Inc.; B. M. Anderson, Jr., economist of the Chase National Bank; Horace Kahn, New School for Social Research; Nicholas Kelley, for-

merly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Cedric Long, of the Co-operative League of America, and Dr. Henry Linville, of the Teachers' Union.

The morning and evening discussions will include the following questions: "The World Economic and Financial Situation," "The Progress of Labor in Europe and Asia," "American Labor Unions and Industrial Democracy," "Political Parties and Industrial Democracy," "Internationalism," "Some Ethical Problems of Industrial Democracy," and "Contributions of the Poet and Novelist Towards a New Social Order."

The afternoons each day will be given over to recreation—swimming, canoeing, tennis, walking, etc. Camp Tamiment is situated on a mountain 2,000 feet above sea level, on the banks of a lake. It may be reached via Stroudsburg and Bushkill, from which an auto takes the visitor four miles up the mountain to the camp.

Further information concerning the conference may be secured from the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The object of the League is "education for a new social order, based on production for use and not for profit."

## RUSSIAN-POLISH CLOAKMAKERS

### ATTENTION!

The Mass Meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch will take place on Friday, May 26, at 8:00 P. M. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th Street.

At this meeting a representative from the Joint Board will give a report of the Convention.

It is the duty of every member of the Branch to be present at this meeting.

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

# JUSTICE

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## EDITORIALS

### THE CONFERENCES BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

The fact that both the manufacturers and the workers are willing to talk matters over, and if possible to come to an understanding, is clear evidence that both sides want peace. This in itself contains the best guarantee that the conferences will bring very important results to the industry, to the workers, and naturally, to the manufacturers as well.

Of course, all this is predicated on the assumption that the manufacturers are in earnest and have not called the conferences or consented to confer merely in order to be able to say later that they wanted peace, but that the representatives of the Union have obstinately forced war upon them. Their insistence that the conferences begin immediately, notwithstanding the request of President Schlesinger that they be laid over for a month, as he feels in bad health and would like to take a rest, lends some color to our doubts. What, indeed, would they have lost had the conferences taken place a month later, if it is peace and an understanding with the Union that they are after?

We are, nevertheless, ready to shelve every doubt for the time being and believe that the manufacturers are earnest in their desire to avoid a conflict. Our Union wants no strike either, as it never wanted strikes for the sake of striking. It will, however, not concede an iota of what it believes the workers are entitled to and will not grant the manufacturers the slightest concession they are not entitled to.

There is one condition precedent to the success of the conferences between the Union and the employers. The members of the Association who will participate in these conferences must not come there with sealed minds and ironclad decisions. Such a frame of mind will harass and hamper the proceedings of the conference and will make its outcome hazardous. It would be far more advisable for the employers to come to the conference with open minds, ready to listen and to understand the arguments from the other side. Of course, this suggestion is applicable to both sides. The representatives of the workers must come to the conferences with a will to listen to what the manufacturers have to say. We are confident that our people will fully meet the test in this respect. Our representatives know the enormous difficulties with which the manufacturers in the trade are confronted in competing with the small contractors and sub-contractors whose number has now become legion. The Union comes to these conferences with the earnest intention to aid the manufacturers as far as possible, if they will only be helped. The Union comes to the conferences with the thought that there exist in our industry a great many ills which both sides must seek to cure, and they will be ready to listen to what the other side has to say and to go with it, hand in hand, in eradicating these industrial evils, in so far as they will not hurt the interests of the workers. From such a spirit and frame of mind, the cloak industry is bound to be the gainer.

If the representatives of the cloak manufacturers feel and think in a similar vein, there is no reason why these conferences should not yield the best results. There is no reason why in a very short time the great and cheery message should not go forth into the world of labor, that the great fight, which has threatened the cloak industry, has finally been averted, and that a plan was adopted that will place the industry upon a healthy, workable basis.

We have pointed out in these columns, a few weeks ago, that the principal problem that urgently calls for solution is the petty contractor, the "corporation" shop that degrades the cloak trade in New York City. We pointed out at that time that this evil cannot be cured by the Union or the manufacturers singly. We said that it would require the energy of both, and we stated that they can and may go in this direction hand in hand as their interests are quite identical in this respect. The petty contractor is the common enemy of the worker, of the legitimate manufacturer and of the entire cloak industry, and a union of forces to defeat this rapidly growing menace is fully justifiable and urgent.

The conference should lose no time in getting to the heart of this problem. There is no sense in losing weeks and months discussing questions that are of little importance or such as have lost their meaning and have ceased to be questions in our industry. We hope that the employers will not lose even one word regarding a change of week-work to piece-work and will repress every desire in that direction. We hope that they will

not lose a minute in discussing their "right" to fire a worker at their will, whim and caprice. They know by this time that the "good old days" of autocracy in the shop have gone, never to return. The Union will oppose this "right" with all its strength. The right of the worker to the job, as long as he violates no mutually agreed upon rules or conditions of work, is the pivot of the Union's existence, and will never be given up.

It is quite likely that the manufacturers have in mind to advance other demands. We believe, however, that in comparison with the above-mentioned basic industrial problem, they will appear small. Such demands and counter-demands can be laid aside for the time being and all energy should be directed towards the solution of the principal question.

We are certain that these conferences will be epoch-making in the history of the cloak industry. It will be the first and the biggest attempt to carry through an important revolution in the cloak trade. We say attempt advisedly, as we are by no means of the opinion that all can be changed at once, in one season. We believe that it will take quite some time to revolutionize the cloak industry and to place it upon a healthy foundation. We must not expect that right after the conferences all these tiny contractors' shops will melt like ice under the hot rays of the sun, and that a new era will be immediately ushered into the cloak industry.

An evil that has taken years to grow and infest an industry cannot be eradicated with one stroke of the pen, or by the adoption of a resolution. To achieve this radical measure, the intense effort and co-operation of the manufacturers and the workers for a long period will be required. What these conferences can accomplish is to decide upon a proper course in the right direction. In the hope that these conferences will rise to the height of their task, we wish them hearty success.

### MIXING SENSE WITH NONSENSE

The National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. (Socialist Labor Party), which we thought has long ago departed from our midst, together with its truly able leader, Daniel De Leon, startled the other day an unsuspecting world with a manifesto which is, according to our judgment, a curious admixture of sense and nonsense. This pronouncement is but another proof of the peculiarities of the human mind. How strange it is, indeed, that one and the same mind could work logically and sensibly in one direction and hopelessly silly in another!

Let us begin from the lucid points of this manifesto, points that betray good, sound human understanding. The workers of America are being warned in clear and simple words against the thought "of being able to overthrow the government through a 'military uprising,' and to establish in such a manner a Socialist industrial republic." It warns the workers against copying examples of other countries. The manifesto says to the workers "We cannot stress it too strongly that no matter what may occur anywhere else, a military uprising in the United States is entirely out of the question."

The manifesto also opposes strongly the idea and the propaganda of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." "Here in America," declare the framers of the manifesto, "the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat is out of place. It would, as a matter of fact, become a great hindrance to the progress of the revolution and could very easily become transformed into an instrument of reaction."

This is truly sound logic and is proof that the framers of the manifesto were able to resist the demagogic appeals that have all but swept radical centers in America. Against the bombastic noise of a "revolution by force" with the aid of the military, this manifesto sets forth a peaceful revolution through the organization of the working class in an industrial union which would be able to maintain and continue productivity "after the capitalist system had collapsed and together with it the political state."

So far so good. So far it would seem as if the writers of that proclamation are not blind to the realities of America. Immediately, however, after the above-quoted paragraphs, there appears in this manifesto a call to the workers, stating that "the American Federation of Labor must be destroyed because it is a citadel of capitalist interests, and is regarded as such by the heads of the plutocracy. The American capitalist feels that as long as the American Federation of Labor is here he has a stone wall that stands between the system of exploitation and the revolutionary working class movement."

What can one say to such nonsense? The American Federation of labor must be destroyed! Who and what is the A. F. of L.? Isn't it our entire organized working class? Would the authors of this manifesto destroy all our unions? And after all these unions had been destroyed, would capitalism lose its greatest "friend," its best protector? Now, indeed, can persons who have betrayed such common sense only a little while ago, give vent of a sudden to such silly and irresponsible talk?

We, too, and many others with us, are not blind adherents of the American Federation of Labor. We, too, wish that a more progressive spirit prevail in the American unions. Yet how puerile, how childish it is to assert that our unions are the "best friends of capital" when American capital is leaving no stone unturned, no foul means unused to smash and to annihilate these "friends" of his.

# The Important Controversies at the Convention

By S. V.

The problems that came up for discussion at our convention can be classified roughly as follows:

1. Trade questions, problems involving economic interests.

2. Questions of a political nature which are, nevertheless, closely connected with the interests of the Union.

3. Questions of a general political nature. To this class belong all resolutions for the recolonization of Soviet Russia, for the liberation of the political prisoners here and in Russia, for the endorsement or condemnation of this or that political tendency, etc., etc.

It is interesting to note that it was particularly the debates over questions which had no direct relation to our trade interests where most passion and acrimony was displayed. This can be explained, perhaps, on the ground that when trade questions were being debated, the delegates knew more or less what they were talking about and oratorical flights were sort of superfluous, if not ridiculous. When general social and political questions were raised, however, our delegates felt very much at home and let loose, hit or miss, an avalanche of phrases.

We do not want the readers to draw the conclusion that the debates on general questions were entirely useless. Such an inference would be erroneous. Tainted with partiality and passion, though they were from time to time, there have flared up through these debates not a few clear and cogent thoughts, and as we watched the voting of the delegates, from resolution to resolution, as we observed how the majority rose at times to 200 and dropped again on occasion to slightly over 100, we could clearly see that these debates have made many a man think and have brought light into minds that heretofore were sealed.

There was one question, where the vote was so evenly divided that the majority won only by six votes, one that involved purely trade interests. It is, perhaps, worth while to dwell upon this particular problem for a while. The point in question was a proposition advanced by the Organization Committee to regulate the organization work of our International in the future so that it might yield better and more effective results. The plan, on its surface, was quite attractive and it was not the plan itself that was debated, but its feasibility. The discussion centered upon the ability of the Union to realize this plan so that it might not remain a beautiful paper project. In brief, it consisted of the following: It was planned to divide the entire country into ten organization districts, each district to be supervised by a district organization committee appointed by the President and the General Executive Board. Each district was to conduct its organization campaign under the general supervision of the main office. The Organization Committee also thought of ways and means for the carrying out of this campaign. It proposed

that a certain part of the per capita income of the International be appropriated as a special organizing fund, and that, in addition, the membership be taxed annually with a special assessment of \$1, to be paid out quarterly.

Of course, all the delegates agreed with the Organization Committee that the work is of the highest urgency, but many could not see the practicability of the plan on the basis of the proposed revenue. Others failed to see the timeliness of this campaign at present and frankly expressed their opinion that the effort and the money such a campaign would involve would not be justified by the results. They suggested that these plans be laid over for some other, more opportune, time.

In the course of the debate it became clear to the delegates that the union organizers in unorganized territory are faced today with tremendous difficulties, both of an economic and social nature. The organization campaign conducted by the International during the last two years, which cost almost \$150,000, produced such poor results that many of our organizers voluntarily gave up their posts, seeing that their efforts were futile. This information brought out the organization question in all its sharpness before the delegates. It was no longer a question of how much money is to be raised and how it is to be derived, but whether it pays, under present conditions, to begin such an organization drive.

The other side, led by Vice-President Perlestein, the chairman of the committee, maintained that organizers who become disappointed do not know their business; that organization work is a very slow process and requires a lot of patience and endurance; and that the members of the Union, seeing that the work is being done, will not hesitate to pay even a bigger assessment to carry it on. The committee's plan was finally amended to the effect that the convention adopt the first part of the resolution referring to the assessments, but that it leave the district plan to the General Executive Board. The Organization Committee, however, insisted upon the original resolution. It wanted the convention to charge the General Executive Board with carrying out the plan and not give it a free hand and discretion in the matter. After a lengthy and heated debate, the convention voted to adopt the amendment and to reject the proposal of the committee. The amendment was adopted, however, only as stated above, by a slender majority of six votes.

This decision upon the most important activity of the International, its organization work, was particularly remarkable as it rejected the proposal of the General Organization Committee of the convention and adopted the amendment of Brother Halperin, who acted in this case as a mere delegate. This practically equal division of the convention is proof

that when it came to problems involving important trade interests, no one was interested whether the amendment came from a delegate from the floor or from the official committee of the convention. The delegates voted according to their best judgment, and the impression passed upon them by the arguments from both sides.

Another question which provoked considerable debate was the problem of amalgamating both dress locals, Locals 23 and 22, into one local, and also the question of amalgamating the two presser locals, Locals 35 and 60, and the dispute regarding what Joint Board these amalgamated locals should belong to. We do not believe that it is necessary to take up too much space with this debate, as our readers are more or less familiar with it. Its essence consisted of the following:

According to the constitution of the International, not more than one local of any trade must be found in any one city. The reason for this by-law is quite obvious. It was meant to obviate the jurisdiction plague which has been the curse of labor bodies in almost every city and every state of the country. Aside from that, there was really no good reason why workers belonging to the same trade should have two locals, two offices, double expense, and in general be hindered from united and cohesive action, when such action is necessary. Those who have maintained that the letter of the constitution be lived up to and that all locals in the same trade and in the same city should be amalgamated into one organization, are completely in the right. This, however, cannot always be carried out in practice. Special circumstances, and often sentiment and prejudice, block the way for such amalgamations at times. Locals of one trade in the same city should be united into one local. Such a union, however, must not be carried out by force, as it might lead to untoward and undesirable results.

With this in mind, the Committee on Officers' Report prepared a report which, if adopted, would lead sooner or later to such an amalgamation. It recommended a special committee, consisting of members of both locals, whose duty it would be to settle disputes arising between both locals, and which would eventually bring about a complete understanding between the members of these locals and their amalgamation. A similar plan was prepared by the committee on the question of the two presser locals. It must be stated here, however, that there was a minority report on both these questions, which insisted on the immediate amalgamation of both locals. This minority had its say on the floor of the convention, but notwithstanding all their arguments, and even the fact that the letter of the constitution was on their side, they made a very weak impression upon the convention. The convention voted almost unanimously to adopt the report of the majority.

In connection with the waist and dress problem, we wish to remark here that even though a lot of noise was made during the past year concerning the horrible crime committed by the International in having divided Local 25 into two locals—a dress local and a waist local—not a single protest came to the convention against this "atrocity," not a resolution was introduced to rectify the effects of this "crime" and to reunite both these locals into one. Which can be interpreted only in one way: All these tailors-makers who have been shedding crocodile tears over the "breaking up" of former Local 25 into small parts by the International, must have come to see that they have themselves made an unarguable blunder. Their silence was admission that the International was fully right in its action in the waist and dress question, not only because it followed out the decision of the 1920 convention, but because this operation was of the utmost necessity.

We shall take up in our next article the third problem discussed at the convention affecting purely union matters. This was the debate on the "memorandum." We shall also touch in brief in our next installment upon the questions of a more or less political nature discussed at the convention.

## Co-Operative Notes

### CO-OPERATIVE CIGAR FACTORY MAKES A PER CENT GAIN

The union cigar workers of Tampa, Fla., who were forced out of employment by an open shop campaign eight months ago, report that the co-operative cigar factory founded to give the men employment, has not only made a net profit of 8 per cent on the funds invested by the workers, but has found such a demand for its product that it is raising its capital from \$5,000 to \$50,000 to take care of the increased business. This progress is all the more remarkable because of the prevalent business depression and the cutthroat competition hurled against the co-operative factory by the powerful open shop cigar manufacturers of the South. The growth of this co-operative business has recently led to the opening of a distributive office at 38 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, where cigars are marketed direct at wholesale prices to labor unions and the retail trade.

### A LABOR BANK IN AUSTRIA

According to Karl Renner in his treatise, "A Credit Organization for Labor," the Austrian Trade Union Credit Association (Kredit-Verband) founded twelve years ago, "is to be

converted into a Labor Banking Corporation ("Arbeiter-Bankengesellschaft"). As the Austrian co-operative societies have already a banking department of their own, they are rather inclined to regard the formation of a Labor Bank as unfair competition and not as a help."

"Nevertheless, the Austrian Co-operative Congresses at Linz (1920) and Salzburg (1921) not only formally approved of the scheme, but also gave it their warm support and recommendation. We know from experience that co-operative distributive and wholesale societies have never attracted the entire savings of the working classes; in fact, the societies are unable to absorb even the larger part of these savings. The reason for founding the Labor Bank is partly the need of co-ordinating, directing, and controlling, the existing and incipient co-operative banking societies and in this manner to prevent them from running into difficulties of all kinds.

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Yes, there are a great many things that we do not like in the American Federation of Labor. We must, nevertheless, admit that capital fears the A. F. of L. far more than all those who shriek loudly about "a revolutionary class movement." The reason is very simple. The tempestuous noisemakers are only a handful and represent nobody, while the American Federation of Labor represents the entire organized, and, if you will, also the unorganized, American proletariat. And this proletariat, no matter how backward and reactionary it is, is, after all, the only one that wages a daily struggle against capitalism, in America, incessantly and uninterruptedly.



# With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

Minutes of Meeting, May 17, 1922  
Brother Berlin in chair.

Brother I. Horowitz, Acting General Manager during the convention, reported as follows, for the Committee on Immediate Action, which was appointed April 26:

Brother Morris Saperstein, member of Local 22, appeared before the committee, stating that he was refused a working card, in order to be permitted to work in the shop of the Elegant Dress Company. After the case was presented by both Brother Saperstein and Brother Cretsky, the Committee on Immediate Action decided to instruct the office to issue a working card to Brother Saperstein.

Brother Horowitz further reported that while Brothers Halperin and Hochman were away at the convention he tried to keep in touch with the outlying districts, and with our representatives who are stationed there, as well as with Brother Shapiro, who was Acting Manager of the Independent Department, and the other officers who were stationed at the main office. According to information, Brother Horowitz obtained, same can be summed up as follows:

During the period of two weeks, that is from May 1 to May 12, the Independent Department attended to the regular routine work of adjusting the incoming complaints, visiting shops and attending shop meetings. During this time the Independent Department was compelled to call several shops on strike for various violations of the agreement with the union. Some of these shops, after being on strike for two or three days, settled with the Union and paid fines as liquidated damages. However, a few of these shops are still on strike.

Brother Horowitz stated that he felt that Brother Shapiro, Acting Manager of the Independent Department, did all he could under the circumstances for our members.

As for the Jobbers' Association, Brother Horowitz reported that from information received through Abraham Friedman, the Business Agent who attends to the Jobbers' Association, investigations on books of the members belonging to the Jobbers' Association cannot be made the first ten days of the month, owing to the fact that their accountants are in constant use of same. However, our investigators did all they could in order to ascertain whether the jobbers are giving work to union contractors only, and had to adjust several cases for violations of our agreement.

From the Harlem office, where Brother Iandoli is in charge, it was reported that there is little work in the shops, and that many complaints about unequal division of work were received. However, after Brother Iandoli visited the shops, satisfactory adjustments were made.

Brother Stamen, who is in charge of the downtown office, reported for the period of May 1 to May 12, that the shops in this district have shown a sudden burst of activity, and a number of them are working at full speed. During the above stated time the regular routine work, that is, complaints, visits and shop meetings, were attended to.

Reports were also received from Brother Goldstein, of the Brooklyn District, and from Brother Pogorin, of the Brownsville District, in which they informed the Joint Board of the particular evils existing in their special districts.

As for the Organization Depart-

ment, it was reported that on May 1 ten shops were on strike, and May 1 to May 12, twenty-seven additional shops were called out on strike. Out of these shops twenty-three were open shops and fourteen union shops.

After the strikes had been conducted for a few days, fourteen shops seemed independently, seven joined the Association; three were dropped and thirteen shops are still out on strike, with about 225 people striking.

Brother Horowitz reported for the Association Department, as follows:

In reference to this department, the work has been attended to as usual, and most of the complaints have been adjusted amicably by our representatives directly, or after disagreements by chief clerks.

During these two weeks we had 15 discharge cases, which were all adjusted satisfactorily, with the exception of one, where I was compelled to take an impartial chairman, and received a decision in favor of the Union.

The general situation is unchanged. As it is very slow, most of the shops are working part time only. There are a small number of shops which have little work on cotton dresses.

Upon motion, it was decided to approve the foregoing report, with thanks.

A communication was received from the Workers' Unity House Committee, in which they asked the Joint Board to appoint a committee of six to represent the Joint Board at the opening of Unity House.

Upon motion, a committee consisting of Delegates Feller, Genet, Chenoweth, Buchman, Friedman and Eggito, were appointed to represent the Joint Board at the opening celebration of the Unity House.

Delegate Rabinowitz moved that the entire Unity House Committee should be instructed to come to the opening of the Unity House, in order that we may give those who will come to Unity House a proper reception.

The motion was seconded and carried.

A communication was received from the National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia, in which they urged that we adopt a resolution asking our government to recognize Russia, and enter into trade relations with her. They further urged that copies of our resolution be forwarded to the State Department, to the Congressman of our district, and one to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Upon motion, it was decided to grant the above request.

Communications were received from Local 66 and 89, in which they emphasized the fact that the expenses incurred by the Joint Board are too burdensome. Therefore, they advise the Joint Board to take immediate steps to cut down expenses.

A lively discussion arose. Brother Berlin, President of the Joint Board, informed the delegates that Brothers Halperin, Mackoff and he informally took up this question, and decided to recommend to the Joint Board to call a special meeting of the committee, which was appointed four weeks ago for the purpose of recommending the number of officers for the Joint Board, in conjunction with the Board of Directors, local Secretaries and the Managers, and that we have this special meeting for the purpose of working out plans for running our Joint Board on a more workable basis.

Brother Jasper moved that the announcement made by Brother Berlin be adopted. The committee was

## THE STAGE

"The Geranium Lady," by Pauline Bradford Mackie and Sylvia Chatfield Bates, will be produced in the fall. It was recently presented by the Play Producing Society for a single matinee at the Longacre.

Eugene O'Neill's "Ile" and two other plays will be produced by the Town Drama Guild at the Provincetown Theater on June 2, 3 and 4.

"Anna Christie," by Eugene O'Neill, has won the prize for the most excellent play of the year given through the Pulitzer award at Columbia University. Last year's prize winner was "Miss Lulu Bett," by Ona Gale. The award for the year before went to "Beyond the Horizon," also by Eugene O'Neill.

The Theater Guild will produce "Peer Gynt," by Ibsen, next season, with Joseph Schildkraut in the leading role. Other plays will be Claudel's "The Tidings Brought to Mary," a Shakespearean revival along novel lines, and plays by Shaw, Milne and Barker.

With Mangelberg, Stranaky and Bodansky in Europe, Henry Hadley, the associate conductor of the Philharmonic Society, is the only member of the staff of conductors who remains in New York. He will conduct the Philharmonic Orchestra at the Stadium concert, dividing the direction of the orchestra with Mr. Van Hookstraten.

Asta Souverina, Russian actress, will give a benefit performance in Russian of Andreyev's "Katherine" on Sunday night, June 4, at the Princess Theater. The receipts will be for the starving artists and actresses of Petrograd. Morris Gest has donated the theater for the evening.

The Century Theater is again to be the scene of operatic performances, as it was for two seasons a decade ago. The San Carlo Grand Opera Company will give there its New York season of four weeks, beginning next September 18. A company of 150 persons will play eight times weekly, including Thursday and Saturday matinees, for which subscriptions are now open at the San Carlo offices in Aeolian Hall.

Giorgio Polacco is the new Musical Director of the Civic Opera Association of Chicago; Claudia Muria, soprano, and Ina Bourskaya, mezzo soprano, are to be newcomers to the Auditorium next season. Other notables among the prima donnas will be Mary Gerson, Rosa Raisa, Amelita Galli-Curci and Edith Mason.

Miss Musio has been for several seasons one of the leading figures at the Metropolitan. Miss Bourskaya was introduced to the Chicago public this spring with the Russian Grand Opera Company. She is the only newcomer who was ever engaged by both the Chicago and Metropolitan companies in her first season.

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therefore requested to submit its report at the next meeting of the Joint Board.

Brother Halperin, our delegate to the sixteenth biennial convention, reported to the Joint Board as follows:

Among other things, the convention considered and adopted first a resolution for the workers engaged in the ladies' garment industry to work 48 hours a week; second, the question of introducing work week; third, the decision of the convention that the International launch an extensive out-of-town organization campaign; fourth, that the deficit incurred by the International should be covered by an assessment of \$4.25 of which should go to cover the deficit and \$1 assessment for organization work; fifth, that the International divide the country into districts, and place district organizers to organize the workers in the ladies' garment workers' industry; sixth, attempts were made by a great many delegates to bring about the unification of control

of the dress industry in the City of New York. Brother Halperin believes that the action of the convention in regard to combining Locals 22 and 23 is not satisfactory, nevertheless, if the incoming General Executive Board will be approached in the proper manner, the General Executive Board will be compelled to amalgamate the two locals; seventh, the convention went on record to have the temporary charter granted to Local 60 become permanent; eighth, the International went on record to request our government as well as the government of Russia, to free their political prisoners; ninth, our Joint Board was given a larger scope to work by, deciding that Locals 41, 50 and 113 should become a part of our Joint Board.

In conclusion, Brother Halperin stated that he believes the convention did all that was possible for the welfare of our members, under the circumstances.



# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### LABOR COMMISSIONER TO REPORT ON STRIKE

John B. Davis, New Hampshire State Labor Commissioner, presented his report on the New Hampshire textile strike Thursday. The Commissioner announced he will meet with representatives of the Nashua Mills and operatives Monday and expects to complete his investigation Wednesday.

### MASSACHUSETTS' MINIMUM WAGE INCREASED

A minimum wage of \$14 a week for experienced women and girl employees of retail and department stores was decreed on Saturday by the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. The previous minimum wage was \$8.50. Learners and apprentices under eighteen years of age received \$10 a week instead of \$6 to \$7.

### LABOR REFUSES TO SPONSOR LUSK

Organized labor in New York started last night a movement of protest against the presence of Hugh Lusk as a representative of labor on the council on the qualification of teachers. The feeling was unanimous that no labor leader should serve on the council which is the enforcement bureau of the Lusk act.

### MERE PALLIATIVES

Coal operators from whose mines is coming the bulk of non-union coal being produced in spite of the bituminous miners' strike, reached an agreement yesterday with Secretary Hoover upon an administration plan for preventing profiteering and high coal prices during the period the industry remains partially tied up.

### STRIKERS ASK FOR LEGISLATIVE INQUIRY

Thomas F. McMahon, President of the United Textile Workers of America, and Mayer Mahoney, of Lawrence, Mass., led a delegation of union officials and striking textile workers before the Massachusetts House Rules Committee, urging favorable action for an investigation of the Lawrence strike by a special committee of the legislature.

### UNTERMYERS MINCES NO PHRASES

Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the Lockwood Committee, in an address in Yonkers Tuesday night, bitterly attacked Attorney-General Daugherty as "a connecting link between the administration and big business."

### INDORES JOINT LABOR PRESS

The convention of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen voted down the proposal to create a \$5,000,000 fund for the establishment of daily newspapers in the interest of organized labor, but it voted to endorse a joint labor press.

### REVOLUTION THROUGH ORGANIZATION

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in a manifesto warns the workers of the country that it would be futile to attempt to overthrow the government by a military insurrection and establish a Socialist Industrial Republic. It advocated a peaceful proletarian revolution by organizing the working class into an industrial union.

### OPEN SHOP AN "IRIDESCENT DREAM"

Frederick Delano, former President of the Wabash Railroad, and former member of the Federal Reserve Board, addressing a transportation group of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States declared that such a thing as the open shop is an iridescent dream. It must be either a non-union shop or if it is a union shop, it must be closed against non-union men.

### BUILDING INDUSTRY FORMS COUNCIL

Taking as its main purpose the restoration of public confidence in the building industry, and the need for the union of all elements in an effort to raise its standard and efficiency, announcement has been made of the formation of the American Construction Council, with Franklin D. Roosevelt as chairman. Mr. Roosevelt will have the direction of the organized construction industry in somewhat the same manner as Judge Landis and Will Hays act as supreme arbiters in the baseball and the motion picture industries.

### COAL PRODUCTION INCREASES

The sixth week of the coal strike was marked by an increase in soft coal production, the output for the week being estimated at 4,500,000 tons, according to an announcement made by the Geological Survey. The production of anthracite, however, remains practically zero.

### DENBY ENDORSES SUBSIDY PLAN

Secretary Denby declared yesterday before the Joint Congressional Committee that while he was opposed to the subsidy plan as a permanent measure in supporting the fleet, he believed there appeared no other way at this time to build up a fleet except by this measure.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### ENGLAND

#### CELEBRATING SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTH

It was left principally to labor to celebrate the Shakespeare anniversary dramatically in London. On the site of the old Globe Theater, and in the inn of the old George Inn, both in Southwark, a company of strolling players, consisting entirely of unemployed workers, acted scenes from Twelfth Night on a lorry, in costume, but without scenery.

### GUILD SOCIALISM

At the National Guild Conference, just held in London, the establishment of a National Guild Council was decided upon. This will be representative of all sections of the movement, for the purpose of co-ordinating and developing guild work and for research into guild problems and propaganda in the trade union movement. S. G. Hobson, of the British Guild of Builders, addressing a gathering of actors in a theater, said the guild form of organization was peculiarly applicable to the profession.

## THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF LABOR

Operatives in the cotton spinning trade to the number of 140,000 will be locked out unless the workers of Roydon and Middleton, who are striking against a new wage cut, return to work.

### MAY DAY RESOLUTIONS

An important section of the composite resolution carried at the huge London May Day demonstration of workers, called on the Japanese government to fulfill its declaration at the Washington Conference, and immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Siberia, the British government being called upon to make representations to Japan to secure this end. The chief section of the procession that re-formed at the end of the meeting carried this resolution to the Japanese embassy, where it was promised that an answer to the resolution would be sent as soon as the Japanese Ambassador returned from Genoa.

### HOUSING AND LAND

At the recent conference of the National Labor Housing Association, Jack Mills, M. P., declared that the basis of the housing problem lay in the land question in England. "It is just as easy," he said, "to get the restoration of lands under the crown as it was to de-socialize them in days when electors had to go to the ballot box under the eyes of the Squire, and had no choice in the matter." He added that there were two sides to the housing problem—the stately homes of England side and the stinking slums side; the picture postcard side of big cities and the side which the tourist never sees. There are districts in which the houses remain standing because there isn't room for them to fall down.

### PALESTINE

#### JEWS IN PALESTINE

Speaking in public on his return from a visit to Egypt and Palestine, J. Ramsay MacDonald said that nine-tenths of the stuff published in certain papers was not to be believed. It was not true that the Jew in Palestine was anti-Arab. In his professional and trade union organization especially the Jew was passing resolution after resolution, declaring that Jews and Arabs would work together, and that the Jews were going to teach the Arabs the virtue of combination.

### GERMANY

#### THREE SOCIALIST PARTIES UNITE

In spite of pouring rain, a gigantic gathering of Berlin workers, numbering over 200,000 persons, took place on May Day. There were speakers from all three Socialist parties, who, for the first time, agreed on a united-front demonstration. Previous to this a memorable demonstration of the Berlin Trades Council, on which the Majority Socialists, the Independents and the Communists were represented, had issued a manifesto declaring May Day to be a day of rest. This mighty gesture of the German workers was made for the united front and the eight-hour day, for universal peace and recognition of the Socialist Republic of Russia.

### AUSTRIA

#### FRANCE PLAYING HER GAME

It has been learned that M. Poincaré is in direct communication with Korfanty with regard to the concentration of French troops in Upper Silesia—the purpose being to aggravate trouble between Germany and Poland. M. Poincaré hopes by these means to provoke German intervention in the disputed areas of Upper Silesia, and that to afford an excuse for the French to come in as defenders of Poland's "national independence." Marshal Foch has informed Poincaré that he is prepared to take command of operations against Russia and Germany.

### ITALY

#### ANTI-MILITARISM AND THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

At its closing session yesterday the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions passed two important resolutions. One, directed against militarism, declared that only unity of organization and action will beat reaction and secure labor's conquests; the other urged all workers to stand solid for the eight-hour day. In the text of the resolution on the capitalist offensive, concerning which Smillie made his great speech, the words occur, "After recording that the proletarian organization is being assailed, particularly in connection with the eight-hour day, wages and social legislation, the congress protests against such action, and declares that the improved conditions obtained since the war are now acquired rights of the proletariat."

### AFRICA

#### LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

During the debate in the South African House of Assembly on the Indemnity Bill, following upon the Rand rising, General Smuts remarked that, owing to the mine-owners' victory, there were dangers that the employers would refuse to take into account the voice of organized labor; and the government could not countenance tyranny on either side. It did not attribute blame for the rising to the Jews, and did not intend to administer the immigration laws in a spirit hostile to the Jews. He expressed contempt for the labor legislators who had led the strikers deeper into the mire, and were making the Nationalist Party a party of workers and peasants.

### INDIA

#### SALVATION ONLY IN ORGANIZED WORKERS

A strong move for co-operation with the Indian Trades Union Congress is being made by the Workers' Committee of the National Congress at Calcutta. Kidwai and Mrs. Das (President of the Bengal Provisional Committee) are taking a lead in this direction, and other leaders of opinion are becoming convinced that India's salvation rests with the organized workers.

## Educational Comment and Notes

### The Activities of our Extension Division

By FANNIE M. COHN.

Upon the advice of our Educational Department, the Committee on Education at our last convention recommended that the extension activities—mass education—be expanded. This recommendation was unanimously adopted by the hundreds of delegates that attended the convention.

We wish to emphasize to those who enthusiastically voted for the extension of mass education, that it is not enough to vote for it. What is necessary is to enforce it, to make it a reality. As a matter of fact, the Extension Division of our Educational Department always included such activities as forums, get-togethers, courses in Yiddish, lectures in Russian, social activities, hikes and lectures given at the regular meetings of our local unions. We always encouraged our local unions to arrange for lecturers to address their members on important labor subjects at their business meetings. During the past two years, such lectures were given at the meetings of many of our local unions. Generally about an hour was devoted to this. In each case the members who attended the meeting showed great interest by asking numerous questions.

These lectures were given in English, Yiddish and Russian. Since there will always be many of our members who can be reached only at the business meetings of their union, we feel that this work should be extended to a large degree.

The lectures serve a double purpose. First, they add interest to the regular business meeting of the union and attract members who might otherwise not attend them, and secondly, by means of these lectures we reach a large part of our membership for some reason or other do not attend our classes.

A list with suggestions for lectures was prepared by the Educational Department and forwarded to the Executive Boards and Educational Committees of the local unions from which we asked them to select subjects best suited to the needs and background of their membership.

As important as these activities are, the Educational Department cannot accomplish more than our

active membership—paid and unpaid officers of the local unions—wanted us to do. The success of this work depends upon the co-operation, good will and assistance of the representatives of local unions. We can never accomplish more than they want us to accomplish.

If there are representatives of local unions that complain that they do not benefit enough from the work of our Educational Department, we wish to say that we should complain and ask why they do not take advantage of the Educational Department which is always at their disposal. But we do not complain. History teaches us that every new idea was met with apathy on the part of those who should have been the ones to seek its success. But, it is also true that despite the indifference shown by many at the inception of such an idea, if it was truly true and important, sooner or later it got the full-hearted support of all.

The interest and enthusiasm displayed by the delegates at our Cleveland convention in our educational activities fill our hearts with joy and the confidence that this work got the appreciation of those who can help us most to make a success of it.

There is one encouraging aspect to our educational work and that is that at all times our members, men and women, young and old, without exception, endorsed it full-heartedly. Even those who for one reason or another did not find it possible to take advantage of it directly, were conscious of the fact that the educational work of our International Union, tends to develop intelligent men and women, informed on labor, social and economic problems, and that this tends to elevate the intelligence of the membership as a whole. Therefore, they contributed their share toward its material support willingly and gladly. It has been said that there are always individuals behind every movement. We wish to add that behind the individuals there must be a power—a driving force. In our instance it was the rank and file of our International Union that supplied the enthusiasm, energy and inspiration which made this work possible. It is the beautiful fruit of the vision we planted in the imagination of many thousands of our members.

Watch next week's "Justice" for final details on this excursion.

#### KANSAS STUDENTS CUT LIVING COSTS BY CO-OPERATION

The women students of the University of Kansas have reduced the cost of living to \$23 a month by means of co-operation. The university established a group of small dormitories with low rentals so that the students could club together and cut their college expenses to the minimum. The girls who are working their way through the university were quick to take advantage of the opportunity, and have formed co-operative clubs to provide their meals at cost. This has proved so successful that they are extending co-operation to the purchase of other college necessities.

## Social and Industrial History of the U. S.

By DR. H. J. CARMAN

By Dr. H. J. Carman.

Outline of Lesson Given at Workers' University, Sunday, Dec. 4, at 11:30. LESSON 2.

#### II. Extension of Industrial Revolution in America After 1860: The United States Becomes an Industrial World Power.

- Increased use of machines and expansion of factory system.
- Development of representative industries,
  - Iron and steel—we live in the "steel age."
  - Abundance of ore and fuel
  - Improvements in methods of manufacture
  - Demand for steel products: Rails, machinery, tools, sky-scrapers, dreadnaughts, bridges, trolley cars, automobiles.
  - Clothing, footwear, textiles.
  - Slaughtering and meat packing.
  - Lumber and timber, milling, etc.
  - Petroleum and its increasing importance.
- New methods of production: Large scale production instead of small scale production.
- New forms of business organization and investment of money.
- Agriculture no longer predominant industry.
- Social and economic effects
  - Problems of population
    - Great growth of population after the Civil War.
    - Redistribution of population: Growth of the cities
      - Increase in number and size.
      - Emergence of great industrial cities developing around a single industry: Gary, Dearborn, Bethlehem, e. g.
    - Increasing percentage of urban as compared with rural population.
  - The demand for cheap labor and the new immigration, European and Oriental.
  - Readjustments of social relationships.
    - Decline of the mercantile and slave-holding aristocracies.
    - Emergence of powerful industrial capitalists, "captains of industry," "industrial barons," etc.
  - Great fortunes and their political, social and economic importance.
  - Great growth in numbers of urban wage earners.
    - The factory system and emphasis upon employer-employee relationship.
    - Classification of persons engaged in manufacturing.
  - Clash of agrarian and industrial interests.
  - Emergence of the labor problem in industry and politics.
    - Labor organizations, their growth in numbers and power.
    - Political parties representing interests of wage earners: Socialism and its rise in the United States.
  - Lowering of labor standards.
    - Women and children in industry.
    - The competition of unskilled immigrants with low standards.
  - Changes in business organization.
    - Greater need for employment of large amounts of capital in industrial enterprises; the corporate form of organization.
    - Tendencies toward concentration of control of capital; industrial combinations and trusts.

Read: Van Meter's "Economic History of the U. S."—Ch. XX.

#### TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARDS OF LOCAL UNIONS

The work of our Educational Department is always planned, and arrangements with teachers made at this time of the year. During the summer months the teachers and lecturers prepare the courses of lectures which they are to present to our members. Before planning and making arrangements, it was always our custom to confer with our local unions on the needs and desires of their members, with a view of making our educational activities more useful to our membership.

Therefore, every year at this time we ask the Executive Boards of our numerous local unions to appoint educational committees of three and we call a joint conference of all these educational committees and discuss with them our plans for the future.

We now wish to ask our local unions again to elect three members from their midst, and we urge them to elect such men and women who are interested in the question of labor education and are desirous to make our Educational Department a constructive instrument for the enlightenment of our members and the strengthening of our organization. The names and addresses of the elected members should be sent to the Educational Department at once.

#### HIKE AND OUTING TO SILVER LAKE ON SUNDAY, JUNE 4.

The Students' Council of our Workers' University and Unity Centers has an elaborate plan for hikes and outings for this summer. The first of these will take place on Sunday, June 4, at Silver Lake, Staten Island.

Those who wish to join will please bring their lunches with them and also take along a potato. Fires will be built where the potatoes may be baked. The committee in charge will bring along utensils for cooking. An interesting program of games and sports has been prepared by the committee.

All those coming, please meet the committee at the Staten Island ferry (New York side) at 9:30 sharp, on Sunday morning, the fourth.

Our last year's hikes were most interesting. Many of our members belonging to different locals, who had not known each other, became acquainted, made friends and spent a few hours in sociability and good fellowship, called forth and influenced by the beautiful natural surroundings. It is needless to emphasize the importance of these open-air recreations to our members who spend their days indoors.

Come and bring your friends with you!

#### GRAND OUTING OF THE UNION HEALTH CENTER.

The members of the Union Health Center Health School are arranging for a grand outing and excursion to Bear Mountain to take place on Sunday, June 4. All friends of the Union Health Center Health School and those interested in the success of the Friday night Health lectures are welcome to participate in this event.

Our party meets at 8:20 A. M. at the Battery Park Dock for the Bear Mountain boat; a round trip ticket will cost \$1.00. If you are planning to join the party get in touch with Miss Wolfson, of the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, as soon as possible to make your reservations.

# The Shop Delegates' System

Majority and Minority Report of Committee on Resolutions Submitted at Cleveland Convention, May, 1922

## MAJORITY REPORT

The system of shop delegates rule was outlined to the committee in approximately the following manner:

1. Shop representatives shall be elected from each shop in proportion to the number of workers employed in that shop regardless of craft.

2. These representatives shall constitute themselves into an executive and legislative body.

3. Every elected representative must attend a meeting of this body once in two weeks.

4. Their decision shall be binding upon the entire industry and carried by the Joint Board and their officers, except in such cases as this body will decide to refer a question to a referendum vote of the membership.

The committee believes that this body, if organized, will not be stable. Its composition will change as our seasons do. As soon as a representative will leave one shop and go to another shop he will also have to leave and lose his rights to participate in the organization. A body of this kind, in the opinion of the committee, cannot do any effective work. The committee further maintains that such a body will not be truly representative of the various branches of our industry and also will exclude representation of nationalities that have secured autonomous existence in our organization. From experience we know that in most cases where a shop representative has been elected it is a representative of one particular craft and always of the branch that constitutes the majority in the shops. The members of such organizations who have minority representation in the shops will therefore seldom have an opportunity to be elected to that body and to participate in the activities of the organization and will be deprived of every possibility to have a say about their industry.

The committee is further of the opinion that point No. 2 of this system, which provides that this body be executive and legislative, is, in the opinion of the committee, contrary to the democratic principle of our organization and the entire labor movement. While we admit that the activity in our organization could be increased to a considerable extent, that our membership is to a great degree indifferent to the activities of their respective organizations and that a great deal can be done, and ought to be done, in order to intensify the interest of our great membership in our organization, still we feel that we have no moral justification, because of the negligence on the part of some of our members to attend to their union meetings and to the various other activities in their organizations, to deprive all those who desire to be active, and who want to have a say in the management and conduct of their organization, and who are anxious to exercise their inalienable rights as members and dues-payers of their union from any activity in their organization.

Under this plan, the right of a member will depend upon his fortune to have and to hold a job. A member, according to this plan, will have to be elected from the shop in which he or she is employed and consequently all those who are unfortunate enough to be without work, will, in addition, be deprived of their rights to have a say how to improve their conditions. We must bear in mind that our industry is a seasonal industry and that on an

average 30 per cent of our membership is unemployed and consequently 70 per cent of our membership will be deprived of any possibility to have any say in the organization. Furthermore, we know that the time when the workers need the union most and think about the union most and count on the union most, is in time of the dull season, and according to this plan it will be just at this time that a great number of our membership will be deprived of having their say in the organization. We cannot approve a form of organization that tends to exclude a great portion of our membership from participating in the internal affairs of the organization at any time and more so in dull seasons when most interesting and most serious problems confront the organization.

Furthermore, it is the opinion of the committee that the organization of shop representatives will be too cumbersome a body to act and legislate for the organization. The proponents of this plan propose that the representatives be elected proportionately in accordance with the number of members working in each shop of a given industry. If this plan is followed, and as our industry is situated today where we have shops that employ ten or fifteen people and shops that employ 100 or more people, if proportional representation is followed, the shop delegate body may consist in some industries of about five to six thousand people. Take the cloak industry of New York for an example, which consists of three thousand shops. The committee cannot see any practical possibility of transacting business and establishing detail rules and regulations at the mass meetings of 6,000 people.

The committee is therefore of the opinion that the plan containing Resolution No. 137 is impractical, unjust, and is against any democratic form of organization. We further believe that the aim intended by the introducers of this resolution, namely, the increased activity of our members and shop representatives, can be obtained in many other ways without violating our democratic rule and depriving the great mass of our people from participating in their affairs whenever they desire. We believe that shop chairmen, shop committees existing at the present time should be called to meetings as often as possible to acquaint them with the various problems confronting their organization, to inspire them with enthusiasm and interest for their organization, to educate them to a degree of converting them into loyal and devoted exponents of the principles of the trade union movement.

This, however, does not mean that we must give them all the rights of the other members and convert our organization into an institution where a great many must part with their rights without any possibility of regaining them in many and many instances.

Let us not be carried away by sentimental phrases! Let us not destroy the organization that has given us so much happiness! Let us not rule, but guide our membership. The committee is of the opinion that intelligent, devoted and enthusiastic leadership can be gained in a voluntary manner by simple devotion to the cause of the movement which will bring about an alive, active and intelligent membership.

## MINORITY REPORT

In presenting a minority report on Resolution No. 137, we do so because it is our sincere belief that its adoption would satisfy a long-felt need for a change of the form of our organization. We believe that the present form of management, control, and leadership in our organization concentrates power and responsibility in the hands of a comparatively small group of members composing the joint boards, executive boards and officers of the union and such few other active members who participate in this work.

As a result of this system, a majority of the workers in the shops remain uninformed about the affairs of the union and entirely indifferent to them, which fact has been the source of antagonism and unnecessary discussion and which hampers constructive work.

In contrast to it, we believe in and recommend to this convention for adoption, the shop delegates' system as presented in Resolution No. 137. By the term "shop delegate body" we mean that in each shop, in proportion to the number of workers employed therein, as well as representatives of craft and language locals, delegates shall be elected who shall meet periodically to take up the problems of the industry. This body shall also be the one to elect joint boards, or executive boards which shall be responsible to it. Such a body would serve as a link between the workers of one shop and another, would keep the workers constantly and uninterruptedly informed about the problems of the industry, and would tend to develop a large and ever-growing number of active workers well versed in the affairs of the organization and capable of understanding and participating in the practical affairs of the union.

The shop delegate body will not deprive the members of their right in deciding upon an important question, as all important questions will have to be decided by a referendum vote of all the members. Quite to the contrary, keeping constantly in touch with the masses of the workers in the shop, it will arouse their interest towards participating in popular voting and their referendums, which have in the past been more or less somewhat of a farce because of the fact that only a small fraction of the workers would participate in such referendum, and the shop delegates' system would make for real mass voting.

It is not the intention of this resolution to give the right to these committees to act as negotiators between the workers and the employers, either in making any arrangements or adjustments of any disputes. That removes the objection usually raised to the shop delegates' body that not having the training or the experience for such negotiations, they are not fit for this work. The shop delegates' body would leave this work to a chosen set of persons who have had the experience and the training to conduct such negotiations.

The shop delegate body means the establishment of an industrial parliament of shop representatives elected in proportion to the number of workers employed in each shop, responsible to the workers of the shop and intended to do away with the indifference of the mass of the workers in the affairs of our union.

We do not intend to force this system upon every local of our International, but we do want that whenever a local union or joint board votes for the establishment of a shop delegates' system, that it be permitted to function as a perfectly legal form of union management in our International.

## Co-operatives Aid Striking Textile Workers

The textile workers of Rhode Island and New England, striking against a 42 per cent wage cut, a 54-hour week, and industrial despotism, are receiving staunch support from the co-operative societies of the eastern states, reports the All-American Co-operative Commission of Cleveland, the national headquarters of farmer-labor co-operators. Food is the primary need of the strikers, and this the co-operative societies have supplied with self-sacrificing generosity. From the earliest days of the strike the Labor Co-operative Bakery of New Bedford, Mass., has donated enough bread to supply all the strikers' commissaries in the Pawtucket Valley for one day a week. This help is now being extended to other strike centers by contributions from labor organizations, enabling the co-operative bakery to purchase more flour.

The Workers' Co-operative Bakery in Lynn, Mass., is sending shipments of bread to the strikers at Manchester, N. H.; the Co-operative Association of Paterson, N. J., in response to the appeal of the Amalgamated Textile Workers, donated over five hundred 12-pound bags of the best flour obtainable, as well as a number of cases of canned soup, and even paid the freight charges on this shipment to the strikers' commissaries. The two Finnish Co-operative Societies of Fitchburg, Mass., are rendering invaluable aid to the Amalgamated Textile Workers at the Park Hill Mill. These societies are not only providing the strikers with food at cost, but are also furnishing groceries, meat and milk to families on the special relief list of the union.

Strikes are won or lost on men's stomachs. No labor organization in the United States can win a prolonged strike unless it conserves the funds of its members in purchasing the necessities of life. Strike benefits do not go far if the strikers have to spend at private stores which make a fat profit off the workers. The co-operative societies are saving the striking textile workers hundreds of dollars, not alone by direct aid, but also by compelling private merchants to grant terms to strikers in order to meet co-operative competition.

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# The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

## GENERAL

A meeting of the representatives of Local 10 to the recent International Convention was held Thursday at the office of the Union, where all matters affecting the cutters were taken up with a view to bringing in recommendations to the general meeting, which will be held Monday evening, May 29, at Arlington Hall.

The meeting was held simultaneously with that of the executive board, so that whatever recommendations will be brought in should first receive the approval of the board. One of the matters that was taken up referred to the discontinuance of the "sanitarium assessment." The convention decided that all local unions and joint boards should no longer collect this assessment for the International. This tax, however, is collectable for the present quarter. As to what disposition the executive board will make of this matter in the future is a question that will be taken up by the members at the general meeting. A recommendation with this regard will be brought in.

The prevailing opinion is that this tax should be continued, as the board had before it quite a number of cases which were aided considerably through the use of this money. Twenty-five cents per member every three months is not much as far as each individual is concerned. But the bulk collected makes up a neat sum which goes far towards helping out many cutters who are stricken with tuberculosis.

The reason why so much space is devoted to stressing this point is that it is a very important matter. It should not be considered, however, that this is the only matter of importance that the meeting will take up. Other questions of equal interest will be brought up for discussion and action.

### A Difference of Opinion.

The writer of these columns received a letter from a member of Local 10 in which he takes exception to a statement with regard to one of the resolutions adopted by the convention. The letter is herewith given in full:

To the Editor of the "Weeks News in Cutters' Union":

In your article in "Justice" of May 19th, you state "an amendment was adopted which places under ban for a period of five years those members of the International who were at one time in business, etc."

You seem to infer that said law is retroactive, i. e., a member of the International who engaged in business and who rejoined the union less than five years prior to the enactment of the above law is ineligible for an office within the International, until the expiration of the five-year period. Now, I read the resolution in question (No. 17), very carefully, and I cannot, by any stretch of imagination, construe it to have a retroactive effect. Furthermore, no law can be retroactive unless it specifically states so, which above law does not. Moreover, it is a matter of record that during the discussion of the resolution in question, a delegate asked of the president of the convention as to whether that law is retroactive and the president in reply did not say it is. In the light of the above circumstances, it would appear, that your statement is incorrect and your inference is likewise wrong and ought to be corrected, as it is liable to give rise to misapprehensions.

Faithfully,

Charles Stein, No. 5162.

The statement quoted is not the opinion of the convention nor was it intended as such. It was the opinion of the writer of these articles.

However, it was not without basis. It is true that "the president in reply did not say it is." But it is equally true that he, the president, did not say that the resolution is not retroactive. And, furthermore, in view of the fact that the chairman of the convention in reply stated that the question with respect to retroaction is one for interpretation by the General Executive Board, the writer felt that he could safely give the statement quoted as his opinion.

### Begin Control of Shops.

Manager Dubinsky has made arrangements for the control of all shops which are under jurisdiction of both the cloak and dress joint boards. About four weeks ago the dress and waist cutters at their meeting adopted a resolution instructing the manager to this effect. Manager Dubinsky also made the same arrangements with the cloakmakers' union. Last week Dubinsky was present at a meeting of all district managers and business agents of the cloak joint board, where he took up this question. He explained in detail the reasons which made this control necessary.

The manager believes, and he proved this to himself, that were a rigid control instituted a good deal of work could be scraped together. This is especially true of the "one-man" shops, where the union exercises considerable difficulty in placing cutters. In a letter to the manager of the dress joint board, in which he outlined the method and the importance of control, Dubinsky stated that he felt sure that work could be found for a number of cutters if exacting control were exercised.

Members should bear in mind that during periods of control it is very important that they have in their possession their books and working cards and submit them to the business agents who are visiting their shops.

### Cloak and Suit.

A good deal has been said here of "division of work." But it seems that the office is required to bend all its energies in this direction as if the system had just now been introduced. A certain house which employs fifteen cutters has held shop meetings nearly every week in order to make it clear to the workers that they must divide their work. In this shop success has already crowned the efforts of the office. There remain three more large shops in which a few cutters still consider themselves privileged characters. In this connection the office is more often hampered by the members than by the employers.

The manager has recently found that a number of cutters who work in the "one-man" houses are very often deprived of a few days' work because of their own neglect. Lately a number of active members have been placed in these shops, who, because of the constant watch they keep on these houses secured more work than have less active members in the past. The manager wishes to impress upon the minds of the members the point that it is not enough to file complaints. They must visit their shops often. And through this effort they stop the boss from cutting and do this work themselves.

On Tuesday, May 23, was held the first series of conferences looking towards the removal of the agreement in the cloak industry. The Protective Association has already made public its "demands." Of course the right to "hire and fire" and a wage reduction are among these.

"The organization is well prepared. Local 10 has held, during the past few months, shop meetings with ex-

ery shop in the trade at which the future of the Union was discussed. The men responded splendidly to the necessity of completing the \$20 tax. As the conferences proceed the men will be kept informed through membership and shop meetings.

### Dress and Waist

A number of very important Joint Board and officers' meetings have been held with regard to meeting the abnormal situation prevailing in the dress and waist trade. No definite steps have as yet been taken. In the meantime the office is proceeding with a control of shops, as was mentioned above.

In last week's issue of JUSTICE mention was made of the favorable action of the convention on the resolution calling for affiliation of the children's dressmakers with the Dress and Waist Joint Board. The writer

was not sure as to whether wrapper and kimono workers come under this decision. Now, news of the "full meaning of this resolution has reached Local 10. Jacob Halperin, Manager of the Dress and Waist Joint Board, who is a vice-president, and represented the Joint Board at the convention, reported that the action brings both unions in, and it also means that the Mount Vernon Local 113, dress and waistmakers, becomes part of this Joint Board.

Steps towards full membership have not yet been taken. It may take a while before this finally becomes a fact. Mention was made here that meetings of officers, which include local managers and secretaries, were being held. It is for this reason that the matter of the affiliation of the miscellaneous locals will not take place for a time.

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## CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

## ATTENTION!

### NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

General ..... Monday, May 29th  
Cloak and Suit ..... Monday, June 5th  
Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous ..... Monday, June 12th

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.