

"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. 45.

New York, Friday, November 3, 1922.

Price, 2 Cents

## UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF TAX TO LAST FOUR WEEKS ONLY NO CLOAKMAKER CASH INDIC DUTY—EACH WORKER TO RECEIVE STAMP FULL PAYMENT AFTER FOUR WEEKS

The 3 per cent tax levied on the executive boards of the cloak industry in Greater New York to be collected from the wages of the employed cloakmakers for the benefit of the idle men and women in the trade, is to last four weeks only. This rule is to cover every worker without exception.

The financial office of the Joint Board is keeping record of every worker in the trade with regard to this payment of the unemployment tax. It will be controlled through a special 3 per cent stamp which will be pasted on the Union due cards of each member after the fourth payment has been made.

The shop chairmen of all the cloak, skirt and reefer shops have been notified that at the conclusion of the fourth payment they will receive a supply of stamps for as many workers as there are employed in their shops and had met their obligations.

will, to be distributed among them. The presence of a stamp on the Union book will serve as an indication that the owner of the book has

met his or her duty towards their suffering fellow workers and will leave no loophole for anyone to dodge the payment of this four-week tax.

## Cleveland Association and Union Confer in New York

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK, CHAIRMAN OF CONFERENCE

Last Sunday there took place in New York the conference summoned by the Board of Referees in the Cleveland cloak industry to deal with the serious development that has arisen between the Union and the Cloak Manufacturers' Association of that city. The meeting took place at the Bar Association, 42 West 43d Street, the place where a few years ago the historic sessions of the then Board of Arbitration in the New

York cloak industry used to be held under the chairmanship of Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

The principal subject of discussion at the conference was the renewal of the agreement between the Cloakmakers' Union and the Cleveland employers' association, which expires on December 1st, next. As the readers of this journal know already, the manufacturers' association, having

(Continued on Page Three.)

## WELCOME, JEAN LONGUET

This morning, Jean Longuet, one of the outstanding leaders of the Socialist movement in France, arrives on the Mauretania in New York.

Comrade Longuet is the grandson of the immortal teacher and founder of the Socialist Movement, Karl Marx. He is a great orator, lecturer and a magnetic leader of men. Longuet comes to America to deliver a series of lectures and will speak chiefly on the situation of labor and the Socialist movement in France and all over Europe as well as the policies of the present French rulers, German indemnities, reparations, etc.

On Wednesday, November 8th, a banquet will be tendered Comrade Longuet at the Yorkville Casino at the moderate price of \$2.00 per cover. Those desiring to attend are requested to make their reservations immediately.

On Sunday evening, November 12th, Comrade Longuet will make his first bow to the American public at Carnegie Hall. The tickets for this reception mass meeting are to be had at the offices of the New York Call, the Forward, the Rand School and the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

## Dress and Waistmakers, ATTENTION!

You are called upon to work next Tuesday, November 7th, Election Day, one-half day only.

Week workers are to be paid a whole day's pay for next Tuesday. All dress and waistmakers who shall violate this rule will be adequately punished.

By order of the Joint Board.

M. K. MACKOFF, Secy.

## Pres. Schlesinger Visits Montreal; Will Leave Next Week for a Western Tour

President Schlesinger left last Sunday for Montreal where he spent two days, returning to New York on Wednesday morning.

The agreement between the Montreal Cloakmakers' Union and the Manufacturers' Association of that city will expire shortly, and preparatory steps are being taken by the

Union now to set everything in order for the renewal of the agreement.

While in Montreal, President Schlesinger met with the Joint Board and the more active members of the locals and also addressed a big mass meeting of all the cloakmakers in that city on Monday evening at Prince Arthur Hall. More concerning his visit to Montreal in next

week's issue of JUSTICE.

On Tuesday next, November 7th, President Schlesinger will leave for an extended tour through the Middle West and the West and will visit every cloak center west of Philadelphia. He will be in Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toronto and Toledo.

## International Members Will Vote for Labor-Socialist Candidates on Nov. 7

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is a militant working-class organization and has in the many years of its existence and at its conventions invariably endorsed the Socialist movement and independent political action.

Members of our Union vote for Socialist and Labor candidates on Election Day. They know well that for a member of organized labor, for any worker, to vote for a capitalist party, means treason to their organization, treason to their class interests and aid in perpetuating the rule of the money-bags of the land. Our members will have this in mind this year, as well as they have had it in years past, and will not scab against their complicity and interests on Tuesday next.

This year, in particular, the Congressional candidates in New York City in a number of districts on the united ticket of the American Labor Party (the Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor Party with the trade unions) have earned a particularly warm affection for themselves in the hearts of our members. They stand very close to us, these candidates, Meyer London, in the 12th Congress-

sional District, Salvatore Ninfo, First Vice-President of the International and the Manager of the Italian Cloakmakers' Union, Local 45, in the 23rd Congressional District in the Bronx; Judge Jacob Panker—in the 14th Congressional District, and William

(Continued on Page Three.)

## All Ready for Opening of Workers' University on November 17

All arrangements for the re-opening celebration of the Workers' University and Unity Centers of our International have been made. It will be held on Friday evening, November 17th, in the auditorium of the Washington Irving High School, Irving Place and 16th Street.

The Educational Department was successful in arranging a very beautiful program. Among the artists will be the well-known tenor, Leo Lieberman, the talented mezzo-soprano, Rose Roback, who thrilled our audiences on more than one occasion with her charming singing of Jewish, Russian and English folk-songs, and the accomplished cellist, Oswald Muschel. The accompanists will be Miss

The installation of the recently elected new executive board of Local 15, the Dress and Waistmakers' Union of Philadelphia, took place last Thursday at the office of the Union, 38 North 11th Street. Secretary Baroff of the International went

Sadie Ch. Jett and Mr. Sam J. Joseph. The names of these artists are an assurance that our members will enjoy an evening of spiritual and artistic pleasure.

Only two weeks remain to our opening celebration. The interest displayed by our members assures the success of this affair. Hundreds of our members have already applied for admission tickets to the office of the Educational Department, and were directed to the offices of their Local Unions, among which the tickets were distributed according to membership. Admission will be only by ticket, which our members can obtain free at the offices of their Local Union.

specialty to Philadelphia to install the new board.

In the speech which Brother Baroff delivered on this occasion he reviewed the entire history of Local 15, dwelling in detail upon all the heroic fights which it has had to wage in the course of its existence. He emphasized the fact that the International Office has never failed to aid Local 15 by word and act and pledged the unceasing support of the International to the Philadelphia workers.

The meeting was also addressed by Vice-President Elias Reiberg, the manager of Local 15, who delivered an impassioned plea for unity and coordination of effort by all the members of the Union, emphasizing the point that the only way to meet and defeat the organized employers of the industry is for the workers to present a united front to the enemy.

While in Philadelphia, Secretary Baroff also met with the executive board of Local 70, and discussed with them plans of future activity in organizing work.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

### LABOR BOARD AGAINST A LIVING WAGE

**A** "LIVING WAGE" as a basis for determining wages of railroad workers "if carried to its legitimate conclusion, would wreck every railroad in the United States, and, if extended to other industries, would carry them into communistic ruin."

Thus spoke the Railroad Labor Board in its most recent ruling last week. In rendering this opinion this "impartial" governmental wage body is logically and consistently carrying out its program of serving the industrial barons. But it must be admitted that it is doing its assigned task with a minimum of hypocrisy or pretence. When the shopmen's strike broke out last July Ben. W. Houser, the chairman of the Board, promptly "outlawed" the strikers and assisted the railroad companies to recruit scabs and to organize them into pliable "employers' unions." Now comes the startling decision of a government body against the living wage.

During the past several years, particularly during the war, wages were generally determined on the basis of a living wage. In every wage controversy, the question that was first to be settled had been, how much does a worker need to maintain himself and family? The cost of living therefore constituted the basis for wage determinations. Numerous governmental and private studies of the so-called workers' budgets were made. It looked as if no one, not even the most rabid foe of labor, would dare to challenge the right of the worker to a living wage.

It is the Railroad Labor Board, appointed by the President of the United States to represent "all" the interests of the country that has come out against the fundamental rights of a living wage to the workers. It is true that the labor representatives on the Board issued a dissenting opinion, but they are in a minority and consequently futile and ineffective. The "public" and company representatives who always go together determine the Board policies. What then is the function of the labor representatives? What is the place of labor representatives on a Board which denies the most elementary right of the workers?

### THE FASCISTI REGIME IN ITALY

**B**ENITO MUSSOLINI, leader of the Fascisti in Italy, has been invited by the King to form a Ministry. No one else could or would accept this invitation. For the last two years the Fascisti were the virtual rulers of Italy. Through the murder of Socialists and Communists, the destruction of labor headquarters, libraries, newspapers, the terrorizing of entire cities, the Fascisti have succeeded in whipping the masses into a state of fear and subjection to the delight and admiration of the ultra-chauvinists.

The resignation of Premier Facta and his Cabinet last week was a direct result of the Fascisti threat to assume control if the reign of government are not promptly placed into the hands of the arch-patriots. For a few days after the fall of the Facta Government the King pretended as if he were hunting for a new premier from among the Italian statesmen. In reality, however, the only possible choice he could make was to call the Fascisti chief to form a government.

Will the Fascisti Government now officially establish a reign of terror? Will it forcibly dissolve all labor and Socialist organizations? What will the policies of the Fascisti Government be? Will it continue to be the ruthless gang of infuriated chauvinists whose only methods are to murder, to destroy and to burn, or will it become diplomatic and moderate?

During the last few months the Fascisti had been making a dive to organize "unions" of their own. They do it in the Fascisti style. After terrorizing the workers and peasants, they promise better working conditions, higher wages, and other privileges. But will the Fascisti fulfill their promises to the workers? Will they side with labor in its struggle against capital? The answer is self-evident. The Fascisti, the Ku Klux Klan of Italy, have their program predetermined by the hysterical after-war reaction. Their attempt to organize labor unions has its counterpart in the "company union" movement in this country.

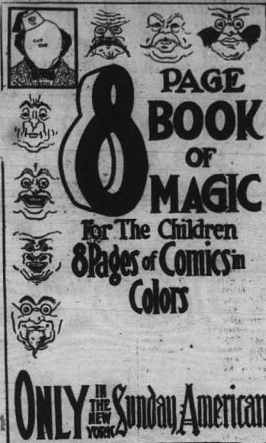
### AMERICA AND RUSSIA AT THE NEAR EAST CONFERENCE

**T**HE NEAR EAST CONFERENCE which is scheduled to take place at Lausanne beginning November 13 is to tackle many knotty problems that arose out of the Turkish victory over the Greeks. Some of these problems are "the freedom of the Straits," Constantinople, the Dardanelles.

Heretofore the Allies came to their frequent conferences with a semblance at least of a united front. Whether the question they had to consider was German reparations or Soviet recognition the relations between Great Britain and France appeared in no need of discussion or consideration. But to the Lausanne Conference the principal Allies come with their bonds shattered, and with a yawning gulf separating their interests. The question that now faces them is not only to rearrange the boundaries between Turkey and Greece and to reapportion the fruits of victory, but to readjust the balance of the Great Powers in the Near East. Great Britain will seek to rehabilitate her privilege and influence. France will insistently undermine it and seek to establish herself as the "civilizing" force. It will be chiefly a conflict between these two countries for supremacy in Asia Minor.

This break in the alliance explains in a great measure the invitation extended to Soviet Russia to send representatives to the conference. Although the Russian delegation is only asked to join "at a later date," i.e., when the question of the Straits will come up for discussion, there is little doubt but that the Moscow Government will grasp this opportunity and utilize it to the full. This invitation is also significant in that it practically means recognition by the Allies that the Soviet Government is the responsible government of Russia.

America has of course been invited to participate in this conference. Secretary Hughes replied that the United States will be represented at the party, but only unofficially. Instead of a full-fledged delegation the State Department will have "observers" present. Secretary Hughes has been bothered that Bolshevik delegates had been invited, but he didn't seem to mind them. That indicates considerable progress in the foreign policy of our government.



**PAGE BOOK OF MAGIC**

For The Children  
8 Stages of Comics in  
Colors

**ONLY THE NEW YORK Sunday American**

### ROCKEFELLER AND THE 8-HOUR DAY

**J**OHAN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., speaking: "The 12-hour day and seven-day week should no longer be tolerated in industry, either from the viewpoint of public policy or of industrial efficiency; I believe that both have been proven to be unnecessary, uneconomic and unjustifiable. Modern industry, as the labor standard toward which all the parties interested should steadily press."

John D. has delivered himself of this "belief" in an article in the current issue of the "Survey Graphic." It is in line with the sacrosanct Sunday school sermons he is in the habit of delivering. But the sermon in the "Survey Graphic" is particularly suggestive when compared with the article by Robert S. Lynd in the same issue, describing the actual working conditions in the oil fields controlled by Rockefeller. "In the Elk basin," writes Mr. Lynd, "all pumpers, drillers and tool dressers of all companies—roughly one man in three—work a 12-hour day, seven days a week. For a few of the pumpers it is a 24-hour shift—and in the case of the Ohio workers, who get no holidays, 365 days in the year!"

This comparison between Rockefeller, the missionary, the church subdivider, the sermon juggler, and Rockefeller, the exploiter of labor is equally applicable to other industrial magnates.

### SMITH, MILLER AND LABOR

**I**T IS universally admitted that our present campaign is one of the dulllest in history. The chief reason for it is that the two political parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, are placed in a situation where they have to fight each other, when they are really representing one and the same group of interests, that of the privileged class.

But Smith hit upon one issue that seems to separate them. It is labor. Miller boasted at a Buffalo meeting that he sent State troops to Buffalo to "settle" a strike. Miller believes the Daugherty injunction to be the last word in industrial justice. Smith on the other hand poses as a progressive and a liberal, a representative of labor and of capital, a representative of the ten million inhabitants in this State. He says he is against government by injunction and is in favor of the 8-hour day, workmen's compensation: and the right of workers to organize. But, says Smith, that does not mean that he intends to abridge the rights of capital.

Miller apparently felt at a disadvantage. So he resorted to the usual argument. Here is a characteristic sentence: "That (Smith's administration, while governor) is the record of the lowest, the meanest, the most contemptible and the most despicable form of craft ever disclosed." Smith's rebuttal to this was quite as effective and as true.

### SOVIET VICTORY IN VLADIVOSTOK

**J**APANESE diplomats when asked what Japanese troops are doing in Siberia and Vladivostok replied in the usual diplomatic style that it is for the sole purpose of maintaining law and order and the protection of life and property. But, the statement added as soon as it will be expedient the Japanese troops will be withdrawn. The expedient moment, however, failed to come.

Then the Red Army moved onward to the East, and as the "Reds" advanced the Japs retreated. Finally they have withdrawn from Vladivostok. The Japanese troops evacuated Siberia not because the diplomats so desired but because the Red troops constantly pressed forward and Japan was not inclined to enter into a Siberian war. It must be added, however, that the Japanese withdrawal from Siberia is not only due to Russian pressure but to the fact that the Allies and Americans like to keep Japan in certain spots to less definite limits. For the Far East is a center of imperialistic interests where a proper balance of power must be maintained.

## Miscellanies From Chicago

By H. SCHOOLMAN

Local No. 5 recently had a special meeting to act upon the modified points in the new agreement with the result that the two new clauses, providing for a two weeks' trial period for operators, and the legal holidays, were not approved.

Well, there may have been some excuse for their dislike of the extended time for trying out new workers. Other branches in our industry have a one week trial period, and it is now the operators exclusively that will have to wait two full weeks before they can get the so-called "tenure of employment." In a recent letter we have explained that this modification was adopted on the ground that the operator's craft is the most skilled and complicated in the cloakmaking trade and that it takes more time to judge correctly the ability of the worker. It is all very true, but there remains, nevertheless some ground for a grievance. Some workers believe that a week is sufficient for a trial period while others may think that one day is enough. What is extraordinary about this matter is that the same local had approved this point only two weeks ago. The very men who had been quite enthused with it at the meeting two weeks ago were the ones who had led the fight against it at the last meeting.

The Executive Board of Local No. 16, the cloak pressers, has spent several meetings in discussing ways and means of relief for the needy unemployed of their local. Thus far they decided to establish a loan fund from which the sum of \$25.00 may be loaned to a member. It surely is a small sum; yet it is the biggest any one of our locals has so far voted for such a purpose. Besides, this is only the beginning and it is quite certain that should the present acute situation

continue, this local will give more assistance to those of its members who had been hit the hardest by the unemployment which prevails among the pressers to a greater extent than among any of the other crafts.

This local had a very interesting meeting recently, called for the purpose of deciding upon the disposition of a certain assessment collected by the local from its members for a certain purpose.

As the readers of this journal know, cloakmakers all over the country have taxed themselves considerable sums of money in preparation for the general attack that was expected to be launched by the employers in every cloakmaking center in the land. In a number of cities the organized employers had, indeed, made an attempt to measure strength with the Union and to introduce piece-work, a longer work-day and lower wages. The firm resistance offered by the New York cloakmakers to this attack of the employers, however, served to avert the expected strike in many other cities, Chicago, included. As a result a considerable number of members in this city addressed to the Union the following ostensibly plausible claim: "We," they said, "had paid to the Union the full assessment amounting to \$20.00. That assessment was made in anticipation of a strike but now that the strike emergency is over and the times are so hard, it would be a matter of justice if, at least, part of that money were returned to us." Some of them even asserted that it was understood that should there be no strike, the members of the Union would have a right to decide how this money is to be spent. The Executive Board, thereupon decided at a special meeting to call a membership meeting for this purpose and at that meeting it was

agreed that the members receive back \$10.00 each to be applied by them for payment of dues. It was also decided that the local pay \$10.00 for each member to the International for the assessment levied by the Cleveland Convention.

We used to think invariably that once a member pays money into the Union, that under no circumstances will be or she ever get it back. The decision adopted by Local No. 18 will do away with this notion and we are certain that should it ever become necessary, the pressers will raise again as much money for the Union as will be required. For, regardless of the fact they are far not the best paid workers in the trade, the pressers are among the promptest and best payers of dues and taxes.

Local No. 59, our finishers' local, is one of the finest locals in our International. Not only has this local saved up a treasury of over \$27,000, but it always acts in a spirit of genuine labor union. I want to relate to you how its executive board attempted recently to tackle the problem of members working below the scale in our shops.

The first thing they did was to appoint a special person, their secretary, Brother Max Trubakoff, who went from shop to shop speaking to each worker individually and investigating conditions first-hand. Subsequently he prepared a report to the Executive Board on the basis of the information he had obtained, in which he stated that owing to the inactivity in the trade, he visited only eighty shops and spoke to 463 members. From these he ascertained that fully 120 of them received less than the scale. He also found out that in many shops several workers are employed who do not belong to the Union. Of course, this stirred the Executive Board to activity and there remains no doubt now that very soon not a finisher in the Chicago cloak trade will be found working below the scale. This local also decided to assign the sum of \$2,000 to relieve the needs of their unemployed.

More than 50 per cent of the workers employed in the skirt and dress industry are unorganized. That means that in more than half of the dress shops, dresses are being made for ridiculously low prices and that with our best intentions we cannot maintain in the rest of the shops any of the conditions for which we have fought and paid so dearly in the last few years.

The lesson of the situation is that the workers in the trade, whom no one will dare accuse that they would like to be treated as cattle in the shops, must get together and organize the shops. The skirt and dressmakers must show the other members of organized labor in Chicago that they are not merely phrase-mongers but practical and active workers. Only then will they receive the full recognition from the Joint Board, the International and from all the honestly wish to see a better day drawing near for our workers.

From an earlier report, readers of JUSTICE have already become acquainted with the demand of two of

our locals for the reorganization of the Joint Board. It might be, however, interesting to note the reasons given by these locals in support of this demand:

The truth is that people on the outside have been figuring that the cloak locals would never be able to work together in one joint board with the waist and dressmakers. The attempt to bring these trades together, however, was deemed so worthwhile an experiment that it was looked upon favorably and hopefully. And here comes the representatives of the two most prominent locals of Chicago have had to say in this question:

"It is my conviction," said a representative of Local No. 59, "that our locals would be benefited greatly if instead of attempting to do business together they would do it as individual trades by themselves. The history of the activity and the achievements of the Joint Board since all the locals have been working together, is best proof of this. And even now, if not a lucky one and that better practical results could be attained if these trades would be functioning separately." The second committee, supporting the same point of view argued along similar lines:

Mind you, our men here are not trained statesmen and are very poor parliamentarians; but when one considers that they have to deal with problems that involve at once cloaks, dresses and skirts, problems of week-end and piece-work and various other questions and situations, one can appreciate that they not only become fatigued but actually confused and cannot do any practical work. For this reason alone, they argue, it might have been more practical and efficient if the dressmakers had a joint board for themselves and the cloakmakers would pursue their business in their own way. The idea of one big Union would not have suffered from this either, as the one thing that such a reorganization might bring about is that these trades would meet separately, no more and no less.

The representatives of Local No. 100, however, tried to prove that if excluded from the Joint Board they would suffer greatly. Their appeal had the greater effect, and they won out. First Vice-President Ninfo, therefore decided, as readers of this journal know already, that Local No. 54 operate on its own account while Local No. 100 continue to remain a part of the Joint Board.

## CONFERENCE IN HARLEM

The Educational Department is busily engaged now in arranging the educational activities for our members in different parts of the city.

In connection with this, a conference is being called of a group of members in Harlem on Friday evening, November 3rd, at 8 o'clock, at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street. At this meeting a number of very important questions with regard to our educational activities will be discussed. Our members residing in Harlem are invited to attend this Conference.

## JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel: Chelsea 2145  
B. SCHLESINGER, President. S. YANOFKY, Editor.  
A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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

Vol. IV, No. 45.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 26, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1109, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

## Conference on Cleveland in New York

(Continued from Page 1.)

learned that the Union intends to present to it a number of demands, notified the Board of Referees that it would not renew the agreement with the Union when the present contract expires.

To avert a clash in the industry, which seemed imminent owing to this hostile attitude of the employers, the Board of Referees hastened to call both parties into conference in an endeavor to arrive at a peaceable understanding. The result was last Sunday's conference.

There were present at the conference the three members of the Board of Referees consisting of R. J. McClaine, Dr. Jacob M. Hollander, of Johns Hopkins University, and Judge Julian W. Mack, who was the chairman of the conference. The Union was represented by Vice-President Meyer Perlestein, A. Katofsky, chairman of the Cleveland Joint Board, and Esther Priulsky and Nathan Solomon, Joint Board delegates. The manufacturers were represented by A. A. Cohen, the treasurer of the Association, F. S. Butler, its labor manager, Irving B. Hexter, vice-president, and several other manufacturers.

Vice-President Perlestein presented at the conference a number of new clauses to be incorporated in the new agreement. These new demands were published in last week's "Justice." Thus far the result of this conference appears to be quite satisfactory. A face-to-face discussion across the table has eliminated a good deal of the over-heated attitude of the employers and on some of the points of the new agreement an understanding has practically been reached already. More conferences will take place in Cleveland to bring the matter to an end.

The Cleveland Joint Board and the membership of the Cleveland locals, will, however, have the final say in the agreement. It will be up to them to either accept or reject all the points that might be agreed upon in conference between both sides. It is not yet certain that all will end peacefully in the Cleveland cloak trade and there is no way of telling whether a new complication might not arise that will wreck all chances of a peaceful settlement. The Cleveland Cloakmakers' Union will under no circumstances relax its vigilant watch and readiness to meet every emergency.

## Don't Scab on Election Day!

(Continued from Page 1)

liam Karlin—in the 20th Congressional District in Harlem.

These candidates have a splendid chance of election and there is no doubt that our entire large membership in the Greater City will contribute its share to send these men to

Congress. Cloakmakers in particular are being called upon by the Cloakmakers' Committee, of whom Brother Saul Meis is chairman, to come to the headquarters of the Committee, at 161 Clinton Street, to do volunteer work during the remaining few days.

## OPENING OF THE UNION HEALTH SCHOOL

On Friday evening, November 2nd, at 8 P. M., the first meeting of the Friday Night Health Lectures will be held. This will be a gala evening, marking not only the opening of the popular Friday night health lectures, but also of the Union Health School. The speakers will be:

Dr. G. M. PRICE,  
Director of the Union Health Center  
Dr. ROYAL COPELAND,  
Commissioner of Health, N. Y. City  
Dr. JAGO GLADSTON,  
N. Y. Tuberculosis Association  
and several others, representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The subject of the meeting will be the value of Health Education. A concert of Russian, Jewish and English folk songs will be given by Miss Rose Dreeben. All friends of the Union Health Center and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and their friends are cordially invited to celebrate this first evening of the new year of the Health Lectures.

On Friday, November 10th, a popular health lecture will be given on "WHAT, HOW AND WHEN TO EAT," by Dr. Robert Landon, Gastroenterologist of Mt. Sinai Hospital, and Miss Etta Sadow, Head Nutrition worker of the United Hebrew Charities. Both lectures will treat the subject from two different points of view; the one from a professional standpoint and the other from the point of everyday diet.

On Tuesday, November 14th, the first lecture of a course of eight lectures will be given on the subject, "YOUR BODY—WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT IT?" by Dr. L. A. Galdston of the N. Y. Tuberculosis Association; this course will consist of a detailed discussion of anatomy and physiology. Each lecture to be illustrated by lantern slides, charts and wherever possible, by motion pictures. Members of the I. L. G. W. U. and friends anxious to take this course should register now at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street.

# SOWING *the* SEEDS

## of WAR PEACE

### CLEMENCEAU—

"We insist on a strict enforcement of the Versailles Treaty. Germany must be made to pay."

### LONGUET—

"The Versailles Treaty cannot be enforced. Its provisions if enforced would subject a whole people to abject slavery."

## JEAN LONGUET

AT

Carnegie Hall

ON

Sunday Evening  
November 12



TOPIC

"Europe  
After  
the  
War"

Chairman MORRIS HILLQUIT

TICKETS, 55c, 83c, \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20  
A TICKET IN TIME—SAVES WAITING IN LINE

On Sale at New York Call, Rand School, New York Forward, Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

LONGUET SPEAKS ENGLISH FLUENTLY

## Injunctions: Whence— Why—What For!

By JOHN F. FREY

Trial by jury does not exist in equity court proceedings.

The great difference between the Court of Star Chamber and the law courts of England was the fact that no jury listened to evidence and determined the facts in Star Chamber proceedings.

The notorious Star Chamber was vested with a large measure of the jurisdiction and discretion which is at present exercised by American equity courts.

The preamble to the act of Parliament creating the Court of Star Chamber contained the expression that it was established

"To secure the certain and speedy punishment of all persons who, in the opinion of the court, deserved punishment."

All of the judges who sat in the Star Chamber were not corrupt, unimpaired, or violently prejudiced men; many were selected from the most honest, able, learned and conscientious among the judges, but the high courage and character of a few

did not save the court from becoming an instrument of gross injustice, and history has recorded the sinister part played by this court.

It became so vindictive, cruel, pitiless, and gathered so much power to itself that it would have put an end to the liberties of the British people if they had not abolished it. As one distinguished publicist said:

"Had there be no Star Chamber, there would have been no rebellion against Charles I."

From the earliest Saxon days Englishmen have based the protection of their liberties upon the jury system.

Over 200 years ago a British jurist said:

"By the laws of King Ethelred it is apparent that juries were in use many years before the conquest; and they are, as it were, incorporated in our constitution being the most valuable part of it."

More recently Lord Commissioner

Maynard, referring to the subject, declared:

"Trial by jury is the subject's birthright, an inheritance as his lands are, and without which he is not sure to keep them or anything else. This way of trial is fence and protection against all frauds and surprises and against all storms of power."

Equally impressive was Lord Camden's statement that:

"Trial by jury is indeed the foundation of our free constitution; take that away and the whole fabric soon molder into dust."

Lord Erskine in his imagination of the jury system said:

"One of the most valuable branches of our laws is that which relates to juries whose antiquity is beyond the reach of record or history; they have the same area with our constitution, which cannot survive them; our liberty must expire with them as the animal body with its most vital parts. Our ancestors were too prudent to trust such great concerns (liberty or property) in

the hands of any officers appointed by the Crown, or of any certain number of men during life, lest they should be influenced or awed by great men, or corrupted by bribes, flattery, or love of power."

We inherited the jury system from the mother country. The sixth amendment to our Constitution provides in part that:

"In all criminal prosecution the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed."

One of the immediate results of injunctions in connection with industrial disputes was to transform courts of equity into the equivalent of Star Chamber proceedings, because workmen charged with contempt were denied a trial by jury and in addition were compelled to prove their innocence, instead of the burden of proof resting with the court, as it does in all criminal cases.

American equity courts without sanctioned authority of the Constitution, Congress or state legislatures and in complete violation of British

(Continued on page 8)

# Some Phases of American Labor History

By ALGERNON LEE

VIII

Until about eighty years ago, as I have already noted, the free population of the United States was racially and culturally homogeneous to a very high degree, the overwhelming majority being of English and Scottish origin. Long before the end of the nineteenth century, however, this had come to be the most cosmopolitan country on the face of the earth, and for the thirty or forty years just preceding the Great War the flood of immigration was so great and so varied that the processes of assimilation could not keep pace with the influx of foreign elements. This has been one of the most potent factors in shaping our modern social history, and particularly the history of our labor movement.

The mere fact that our working class has, within this recent period, been composed of such diverse elements, many of them quite unable to converse with one another though they worked together in the same mills and mines—many of them, indeed, positively divided by nationalistic sentiments—has made the tasks of organization and education tremendously difficult. The employers as well as the politicians have too often been able to play off white against black, native against foreign, Gentile against Jew, Protestant against Catholic, Slav or Magyar against Teuton or Italian, and so forth.

Besides this general fact, however, there are some special influences to be considered.

Aside from the Negroes, whose forced immigration started some four hundred years ago, but who did not begin to play an active part in American life until several years after the Civil War, the three largest and in every way most important streams of immigration were the Irish, dating from the middle of the 1840s; the German, from about 1850; and the Jewish, from the early '80s. Large as has been the influx of Scandinavians, Poles, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, and some others, none of these has had nearly as great a definite influence as have the Irish, the Germans, and the Jews.

In an earlier section I have described the circumstances under which the Irish began to come to this country in large numbers, and I have observed that the Irish immigrants were mostly poor and hard-working peasants, with a simple culture and a rather low standard of living, and that they were devout Catholics. It must also be remarked that nearly all of them spoke English. In the main they did not go out on the land, but remained in the cities, finding employment at first as laborers and many of them later becoming skilled mechanics. Within a single generation they came to make up a large proportion of the manual workers in the building, manufacturing, transportation, and mining industries. Their religion held them together, and to a certain extent it kept them apart from the older population. Their acquaintance with the English language made it easy for them to take part in public affairs. As manhood suffrage had been pretty fully established throughout the North and West, these new citizens were courted by the politicians, and the "Irish vote" soon became an important factor in the cities and industrial centers.

The large majority adhered to the Democratic party, and this for two reasons. In the first place, this party was traditionally hostile to England,

and this alone was enough to decide the allegiance of Irish-Americans. In the second place, the Democratic party was dominated by the reactionary slaveholding aristocracy of the South; this very fact compelled it, in the North, to be a party of opposition to capitalist interests and to play for the support of the newly enfranchised poorer classes.

The same circumstances, which brought the Irish immigrants to the front in politics also enabled them to play a leading role in the labor movement when it began a new period of growth in the middle of the '60s. Their leadership did much to give American trade unionism the peculiar character it has since borne. They were stalwart fighters, and were endowed with a somewhat clanish spirit of solidarity. On the other hand, they were lacking in theoretical knowledge and intellectual interests; their strong religious and nationalistic sentiments tended to exclude any clear class consciousness; they were largely under the influence of their priests, whose social ideals were of course far from being progressive; and the exceptionally demagogic and corrupt character of the politics into which they were drawn still further unfitted them to build a revolutionary labor movement.

The year 1848 brought a great wave of revolutionary activity in almost all parts of Western and Central Europe, in which the proletariat for the first time played an independent and somewhat important role. For a time it achieved bril-

liant successes, but by 1850 the tide had turned, and the triumph of the reaction forced great numbers of French, German, Austrian, and other revolutionists to flee for their lives to Switzerland, to England, or to the United States. This event marks the beginning of a long continued and very large influx of Germans into this country. Temporarily checked, as was also the Irish immigration, by our Civil War and by the industrial depression of 1873-1876, it was again swelled from 1878 to 1899 through the operation of the famous "Exception Laws", by which Bismarck tried to destroy the German Social Democracy.

Of course a large proportion of the German immigrants, especially to factory, came here simply to improve their economic position, and among them were many Catholic peasants, rag.

who social ideas were no more advanced than those of the Irish. But the elements which exerted the greatest end of the nineteenth century active influence were the "Forty-eighters" and later on the refugees from Bismarckian persecution. Many of these were either skilled workmen or else "intellectuals" who were in close and sympathetic touch with the proletarian movement and were inspired by the ideas of Marx and Engels or of Lassalle.

On the political field the Forty-eighters almost unanimously supported the young Republican party until the abolition of Negro slavery was assured. But they also sought to build up a class-conscious labor movement, and in this the German Socialist refugees of the '70s and '80s followed in their footsteps. In the early history of a number of our great trade unions—notably those of the bricklayers, carpenters, woodworkers, cigar makers, and brewery workmen—in New York, Philadel-

phia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, and other cities, the Germans play an active and a most honorable part. These men did not conceive of the trade unions merely as so many separate organizations for raising wages. They had in view a united movement of the working class as such, organized, in trade unions indeed, but having also its equally important cultural and political aspects, and aiming not only at improvement of labor conditions, but beyond that at the building of a classless society.

They fought for these ideas under a heavy handicap. The difference of language and of customs made it hard for them to establish close relations with the other and more numerous elements of the working class. The fact that most of them were freethinkers still further prejudiced them in the eyes both of the Catholic Irishmen and of the more or less fanatically Protestant old Americans. Notwithstanding their earnest efforts, they remained to a great extent "strangers in a strange land." Only locally and momentarily could they make their ideas prevail in the trade unions. On the whole, they figured as a progressive minority within the conservative labor movement.

Some of them in time became discouraged and adapted themselves to the tone of American society and of the American labor movement. Others, impatient with the slow progress of the unions, turned their attention more and more to the political field and about the middle of the '70s brought into existence an independent Socialist Labor Party. Many seem paradoxical to say that the growth of the Socialist movement in the United States was retarded by being started too soon, but it is certainly true. From the point of view of its economic development the country was not yet ready for such a movement. Socialistic ideas were therefore discredited in advance through being prematurely advocated by "irreligious aliens." As the further growth of industry brought first a few and then more and more of the English-speaking workmen to a point where such ideas could appeal to them, they found it neither easy nor pleasant to enter this exotic party which had pre-empted the field, and spent much energy in trying to create a specifically American party to embody their as yet rather vague aspirations. Moreover, the position of the Socialist Labor Party, distinct from the trade unions, yet having its own clear ideas as to what trade unionism ought to be, drove it more and more into a practice of capacious criticism and finally into a policy of launching dual organizations, which caused the organized workmen generally to regard the Socialists as enemies of their unions.

Thus through the 1870s, '80s, and '90s, the trade unions passed ever more under conservative leadership, while the Socialist Labor Party lived and slowly grew as a propaganda sect, unable to get into touch with the masses, and the workers were trained to think of economic action and political action as alternative methods, incompatible one with the other, instead of recognizing that they are both indispensable functions of any normal working-class movement. Not until the turning of the century did we begin to overcome this fatal antagonism, and even now it is by no means fully ended.

In the process of bridging over the gulf between a doctrinaire political Socialism and a non-political and intellectually undeveloped trade unionism, the Jewish immigrants of the last forty years have rendered a valuable service, and it is of this stream of immigration that I shall next write.

## Tailors and Dressmakers in Hungary

By T. VAN DER HEEG

That the voice of Labor cannot be permanently stifled is proved by the history of the working-class movement in Hungary.

Despite all oppressions, the trade union movement in that country has again developed in the course of the past few years and in the economic and political life of Hungary, it has become a power with which both the employers and the Government have to reckon. Although in various districts freedom of organization does not yet exist, the Hungarian Federation of Trade Unions comprises more than 150,000 members. Also the Tailors' and Dressmakers' Unions have made good progress in the past few years.

In an article entitled "Our Union in the Past Two Years" the Hungarian Clothing Workers' Journal gives a brief account of the Union's development as regards membership, its financial position and the struggle for better working conditions. At the end of 1919 in consequence of the political persecutions there were only 7 branches in Buda-Pest and 6 in the provinces. In 1920 the various branches in Buda-Pest united and formed one branch. At present the Union has one branch in Buda-Pest and 23 in the provinces.

At the end of 1919 the membership was 5,619. By the end of 1921 the membership had increased to 5,718 of whom 3,691 were men and 2,027 women. The assets of the Union in 1919 amounted to 228,000 Hungarian crowns, at the end of December, 1921, 325,000 crowns. The article furthermore gives an account of various wage movements, strikes and lockouts.

The increases in wages will be seen from the following table:

### Weekly Wages

(in Hungarian Crowns).

	1919	1921	July 1922
Gentlemen's Tailor	364.00	1425.00	2108.00
Gentlemen's tailors			
In the ready-made			
branch	541.00	1920.00	4250.00
Fully qualified	584.00	2040.00	4500.00
male workers	284.00	1248.00	2464.00
Ladies' tailors	437.00	1513.44	2942.36
Fully qualified female workers	238.50	1284.56	2538.72

It will be seen from this table that the depreciation of the Hungarian Crown has necessitated considerable wage increases. The Hungarian Union held its Congress in Buda-Pest on August 5th. The proceedings showed that our Hungarian comrades are inspired by a strong feeling of comradeship and solidarity. In view of the continuous increase in the cost of living it was decided to carry out a vigorous propaganda for an increase in wages.

Those of our members who wish to study the History, Problems and Aims of the Labor Movement, Trade Union Policies, Applied Economics, Literature or Psychology, should register at once for the Workers' University or Unity Centers.

Further information may be obtained at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

**Patronize Our  
Advertisers**

# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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

Office, 3 West 12th Street, New York 16, N. Y. Phone 2148

B. SCHLESINGER, President

S. YANOFKY, Editor

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

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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

Vol. IV, No. 45. Friday, November 3, 1922.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

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

## EDITORIALS

### A LESSON IN ENGLISH

We wonder what Mr. Basset, the representative of the Protective Association on the Cloak Wage Board, will say next?

His last outbreak in the public press was, to say the least, a bit ill-mannered. He attempted to raise some bad blood between Mr. Haggood and Mr. Schlesinger by offering to interpret the latter's refusal to have the dispute between Mr. Basset and the Union with regard to the scope of the Wage Board's work, arbitrated by Mr. Haggood, as an insult to Mr. Haggood.

It goes without saying that such tactics are anything but gracious. The true reason for Schlesinger's refusal to arbitrate this controversy has been made clear by him to Mr. Basset, and surely he is fully familiar with this reason. His attempt to raise an issue of "disrespect" and "insult" to Mr. Haggood is, indeed, nothing for a gentleman to boast about. We are inclined to believe that it was this undignified act that had prompted Mr. Haggood to write a letter to Mr. Basset and to send a copy of it to Mr. Schlesinger, which is as much as saying that Basset's insinuations have not succeeded in producing the slightest effect upon Mr. Haggood who considers Schlesinger's straightforward act as not in the least trespassing upon his dignity and position.

There is a free lesson in decency and good manners contained in it for Mr. Basset which we hope he will use to better advantage in the future. But it is not this lesson that we are concerned with at this moment. We have in mind the very poignant lesson in English which Norman Haggood gives Mr. Basset in his letter and which explodes the fallacy of Mr. Basset's assertion and claim that the agreement between the Union and the Association ever charged the Cloak Wage Board with anything but an investigation of wages and periods of employment. Here is the letter in full:

October 27, 1922.

Mr. W. R. Basset,  
347 Madison Avenue,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Basset:

I have your letter of yesterday, and have decided to express in informal and personal opinion, as you think, may help toward the purpose we all have in mind. I cannot make any decision, as I view it, because nothing is before me for decision. While recognizing, however, that unless you and Mr. Schlesinger both refer something to me I cannot act officially, I have made up my mind that it will not be improper for me to give you an opinion that is entirely without official force, but may nevertheless help a little in spreading the light.

For a number of years I have taken a good deal of interest in your opinions about how to enable capital and labor to work together more harmoniously, and as you know I have agreed with them to a large extent. You will remember that my interest in them was sufficient to cause my brother and me to call on you several years ago to talk over the affairs of the Columbia Conservancy Company, in which we are making our own little experiment in employee management. There can be no doubt, therefore, that I have given your views in this matter the most sympathetic attention.

It seems to me clear, however, that your general views and mine on the future course of industrial relationships are not in question. You and I and Mr. Schlesinger are made a commission, not for the purpose of surveying the whole question, but for finding and reporting facts very limited in nature. As I understood it, and still understand it, there has been a hope on both sides that if this fact-finding effort turned out well, another commission would be appointed, to be called an Arbitration Commission. In other words, if we succeeded in our shorter step ahead we should have prepared the way for a longer step by the next commission, and that no doubt, if successful, would pave the way for still further steps.

It seems to me that you now ask this fact-finding commission to take on a much larger work, because you think that larger work a necessary part of a permanent commission. To support this position you use the word "earnings," a meaning "deserving." It happens that I cannot remember in my whole life of having heard the word earnings used in that sense. There is an occasional expression in which the verb to earn is used that way, as in the case you cite—when one's salary is earned. But it is, even in the case of the noun, as far as I know, not any part of my experience with contemporary English. When a person says that his earnings are \$1,245 a year, it is hard to believe that he means to raise the question of whether he produces in return for that amount of money as much as he ought to produce.

But we are left to surmise. In immediate relation to the subject of earnings and periods of employment are the expressions in regard to examination of books and records. The only detail mentioned here is payroll. Surely, if an investigation into productivity had been intended, the agreement would have confined itself to increasing the accessibility of payrolls and made no reference whatever to methods of getting facts bearing on production. Any contract or agreement of this kind would naturally be read as a whole. When it comes to giving such an unusual meaning to a word as you undertake to give to the word earnings, it becomes doubly important to find some support in the rest of the agreement for such a reading. If those who made the agreement had any intention at the time of going into productivity, surely something would have reflected that intention in those parts of the agreement that deal with making the facts accessible.

Let me close with a little summary: this letter cannot be looked upon as deciding something not before me, but is merely a friendly attempt to contribute to the clearing up of the Cleveland situation which has lighted it up on the natural reading of the agreement. I think they and you will not disagree with me when I say that capital ought to set a good example to labor in its willingness to carry out contracts fairly and generously, and not to seek any method of avoiding them. I have a great deal of sympathy

with capital in this particular line of industry, as I know their problems are many and difficult. I hold, however, that no advantage will come from failing to take the first step, and failing because we try to force into it first step all the things we hope may come after it has been successfully taken.

And now that Mr. Norman Haggood is done with Mr. Basset's English, and his demand for "measured service," the last word belongs to our cloak manufacturers. What will they say? Shall this part of the agreement be carried out conscientiously, as Mr. Haggood suggests, or do they intend to drop the entire investigation? One thing is certain, they cannot extricate themselves "honorably" from the tangle they, themselves, have concocted by keeping demurely silent. They must come out with plain talk as to what they intend to do.

At any rate, this incident might teach them an additional lesson that contracts between them and the Union, arrived at in open daylight, and with astute counsel to aid them in the negotiations, must be absolutely kept up. Either their contracts are to be honestly carried out, or else, if it is physically and morally impossible for them to live up to assumed obligations, they might as well, once and for all, give up entering into any contracts with the Union. To make contracts one day and to break them at the first opportunity that presents itself, is, speaking mildly, neither ethical, practicable nor workable.

### THE CONFERENCE ON CLEVELAND

The conference last Sunday in New York between the representatives of the cloak manufacturers' association of Cleveland and the representatives of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, together with the members of the Board of Referees, has been summed up in this conference, has as yet brought no practical results. It seems to appear, however, that the representatives of the employers have gone back on their former decision to break with the Union entirely. According to what Mr. A. A. Cohn, the spokesman of their committee, declares now, they would have an agreement with the Union but a more satisfactory one than the present pact.

What are their grievances and claims against the old agreement? As far as we can make it out, the old agreement displeases them because the Union, they say, is too strict about the enforcement of its clauses. They say that the Union should have overlooked many a thing covered by the agreement under present conditions. In other words, the Cleveland employers would not break up contractual relations with the Union if the latter should be willing to treat the agreement as a scrap of paper.

Let us translate this rather startling demand into a more practical term. When a Cleveland employer discharges a worker, the Union has a right, according to the agreement, to ask for sufficient and justifiable causes for such an act. If the Referees decide what the cause for the discharge was insufficient, the employer must reinstate the worker and pay him for lost time. The manufacturers have now discovered that this clause is working a great injury to them. True, it is definitely provided for in the agreement; but why should the Union and the Referees take this agreement in such dead earnest? From the point of view of the Cleveland employers there seem to be two sorts of agreements: one that is honestly and strictly to be enforced and another that is to be used for ornamental purposes only. They like the latter type of agreement but they obviously dislike the former kind.

Now it stands to reason that an unenforceable agreement is of no earthly value to the workers. Here is another illustration. At the last conference both sides agreed that no inside contractors be employed in the shops and that the work must be equally distributed between all the workers. And the question arises: Would the employers have the Union insist on the strict application of this condition or would they again propose a policy of laxity and unenforcement? If today they interpret the clause in the agreement covering reinstatement of discharged workers as a "ruination to the industry," what is there to prevent them from construing the clause with regard to inside contractors as "detrimental to their interests" and what value can there be attached to their consent to have this clause embodied in the agreement right now?

Indeed, it is a peculiar sort of logic that is swaying the minds of our Cleveland employers. They demand from the Union cooperation, and constant help in furthering their own interests; but when the Union calls upon them to cooperate with it, for instance, in the matter of employing union members in good standing only, they raise a howl that the agreement demands from them to act "against their interests." What childish reasoning! Somehow it gives one the impression as if the cloak manufacturers of Cleveland had got a notion in their heads that they are conferring a tremendous favor upon the Union by the very fact that they are negotiating with it and that without them no Union would be possible!

Well, this is a very dangerous illusion which the Union must not permit to be lodged too firmly in the minds of the employers. The cloak manufacturers of New York have suffered from the same malady years ago, until the Cloakmakers' Union had proved to them that they were gravely in error. Unless we are mistaken, the Cloakmakers' Union of Cleveland will have to follow in the footsteps of their sister Union in New York. The Cleveland employers must, once for all, make peace with the fact that the Union exists, and exists to protect fully and in their entirety the interests of each of its members. Only after they had digested this thought fully and beyond peradventure, will an agreement between the employers and the Union in Cleveland be of any worth or value.

# In the Labor Movement of Germany

(Special Correspondence to JUSTICE)

By LEON CHASANOWICH

## THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND

The reunion of the German Social Democracy has such a great importance for German and international Socialism that it is worth-while to give this matter a thorough consideration. Let us first examine the historic side of this great event.

The Independent Socialist Party came into being during the war years, as an opposition to the official "patriotic" policy of the old Social Democracy. It was, therefore, born as a peace party, as a party with a strong, earnest international tendency. It, nevertheless, differed from the Russian Bolsheviks because with the latter the peace policy was not an essential but only a side-line, a means of capturing power. In the course of development of the Independents, however, other problems, more and more of a radical nature, began to occupy an important place on their program. And while the Majority Social Democracy established itself as a reformist party, the Independents began to feel and act more and more like a revolutionary party.

When German militarism collapsed on the battlefields of France and the monarchy was swept away by the revolutionary storm, the rebel workers and soldiers forced both parties to work hand in hand and to avoid a bourgeois coalition government. For a while the entire power lay in the hands of the proletariat and had they only worked harmoniously together, they could have realized a goodly part of the Socialist program and fortified for a long time the positions of the working class. Two factors, however, have rendered the German proletariat impotent just at a time when it was the "boss" of the land: fear of the Allies and the disheartening example of Russia. The Allies had punished Russia, their old friend and former war ally by blockade and military expeditions because Bolshevism had taken over the reins of government in that country. How fearfully the Allies would have revenge themselves on their defeated enemy, Germany, if the German proletariat had dared to follow the Russian example! In addition, the Russian example was not very encouraging in itself. It was this double fear that paralyzed the revolutionary will of the German working class and was the principal cause for all its failures since November, 1918.

## THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY

This fear particularly affected the Majority Social Democrats when the Communists, who at that time were called "Spartacists," embarked on the practice of plots and uprisings. The Majority Socialists began to believe that that was the beginning of the "end" and concentrated their entire energy on the fight against Bolshevism. The Independents, however, saw their chief enemy in the bourgeoisie and the party of the militarists, and upon these rocks the Socialist coalition government had split. The Independents left it and the Scheidemann party formed a government taking over with the bourgeois parties taking over the most difficult and responsible posts in that Cabinet. The War Ministry was taken over by the Social Democrat Noske who formed an alliance with Wilhelm's officers and began to maintain "order" in the land.

The fight was conducted exclusively against the "lefts," the Spartacists, who, while they had committed a lot of foolish things, also displayed a remarkable heroism. During that period there had been murdered by the counter-revolutionists and by Noske's henchmen a number of the finest representatives of German Socialism, such as Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Kurt Eisner, and others. The Majority Social Democrats became clearly compromised by these acts while the Independents grew in numbers and influence. The Independents too, not desiring to stand alone without outside affiliations, have sought moral support from the Socialist parties abroad. They appealed to the Second Internationale demanding a commission to investigate the crimes of the Majority Social Democrats. The Executive of the Second Internationale, however, was not capable of any earnest activity at that time.

## THE MAJORITY PARTY WEAKENED

In March, 1920, the Kapp counter-revolution broke out. The working class of Germany repelled this attack by a general strike, which forced Noske and other severely compromised Social Democrats to leave their posts. In the following elections, the Majority Party was badly defeated and lost a lot of votes, even though it still remained the biggest single party in parliament. The Independents on the other hand won a lot of adherents and mandates and were beginning to loom up as a big party with a great future. The result of the elections was that the Majority Party refused to reenter the coalition government without the Independents.

About a year before that, in August, 1919, the Independents declared at the International Socialist Conference at Lucerne that they could not stay in the same international with the party of Scheidemann and Noske. A few months later at their Leipzig convention, they had declared the dictatorship of the proletariat, left the Second Interna-

tional and sought affiliation with Moscow. Their example was followed by the Socialist Party of France. Both these parties sent delegates to the Second Congress of the Third Internationale in July, 1920, with the earnest intent of finding a way for a permanent understanding. At that time, however, the Russian army was standing before the gates of Warsaw and Trotsky was getting ready to proclaim a Soviet Republic in Poland and to wage a war against the allies with the aid of the Polish and German proletariat. In the exultant atmosphere of that hour, Moscow was not inclined to make concessions. On the other hand, the admission to the Third Internationale was made even more stringent, an attitude which gave birth to the famous "21 points".

## UNITY AT LAST

Instead of cooperating with the regular Socialist parties of Western Europe, they began expelling them, one after another. At the Halle Congress, Zinoviev himself, the President of the Third Internationale, came to break up the Independent Social Democrats. As a result, the section which would not submit to the Moscow dictatorship and which desired to maintain the independence of the party, was now compelled to wage a fight on two fronts,—against the Majority Social Democrats and the newly formed Communist Party. The Communist uprising in the vicinity of Halle in the Spring of 1921, which was organized by Moscow emissaries and ended in dismal failure, only tended to sharpen the antagonism between the factions. A number of erstwhile Communists rejoined the Independents, among them the extreme Communist leader, Paul Levy.

During the last year, the condition of the German working class became more and more difficult, while counter-revolution again raised its head. The murder of Rathenau, intended as a signal for a general reactionary storm, brought out, in bold relief, the necessity of concentration of the working forces. In this atmosphere the idea of unity was born. It can be seen, therefore, that the union of the German Socialist parties was caused, on the one hand, by the ominous situation in Germany and, on the other, by the policy of the Moscow Internationale. There is no doubt too that the waning enthusiasm for Soviet Russia among the workers of the whole world, had a strong influence upon the Independents. The leaders of the party, themselves, explain this union of forces principally on the ground that the German proletariat is compelled now to wage a defensive struggle for the maintenance of its economic positions and for the defense of the Republic.

There is taking place today in the German Socialist movement a development which will, no doubt, have a very great influence not only upon the future Socialism in Germany but upon international Socialism as well. The two great Socialist parties, the Majority Social Democrats and the Independents, which together take in about 80 per cent of the politically organized German workers, have united. The Nuremberg Unity Congress, held at the end of September, has given sanction to this amalgamation, and today we have in Germany one formidable Socialist Party, consisting of one and a quarter million members and 180 deputies in parliament. Alongside of it, the several small Communist groups or parties, with a few representatives in the Reichstag and an appalling poverty in intellectual forces, are dwarfed into insignificance.

## THE ECLIPSE OF THE VIENNA GROUP

It is quite obvious already that this development cannot fail to have a significant importance upon the international labor movement. Already the Vienna Internationale, (the so-called Two-and-a-Half) which was to have had an international conference at Karlsbad, in September, has called it off on account of the Nuremberg Congress. It is practically certain that the Vienna Internationale will soon cease to exist, and it is quite natural. The Independent Socialists of Germany was the first big party (not counting the Russian Bolsheviks) which gave the signal to many other parties to leave the Second Internationale, to abandon this great political organization of the world proletariat. From the moment that the Independents had decided to unite with the Majority Social Democrats, who are affiliated with the Second Internationale, their connections with Vienna became automatically, so to say, severed, and the Two-and-a-Half Internationale has practically lost its reason for existence. The burning question of a world organization of International Socialism enters now upon a new phase and the reply to it will depend, to a great extent, on the character which the United Social Democracy of Germany will now assume, i. e. on the influence which the "left-wing" within this Social Democracy, which has now become very much strengthened by the adhesion of the Independents, will have in the future.

What concerns the demands presented by the Union at last Sunday's conference, we are honestly convinced that most of them are well founded. Take, for instance, the demand for a 10 per cent increase in wages. The fact is that the wages of the Cleveland cloakmakers are considerably lower than the wages in other cloak centers. There are, however, among these demands a few "new" ones which must, in our judgment, be carefully thought over by the Cleveland workers before pressing them further. Let them recall the "scientific" standard of production and the blessings expected by many of them from these standards. Now they have come to realize how unsatisfactory these production standards are, and now some of them are ready to go even to the piece-work system,—which is, in our mind, merely jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Let them give careful thought to some of these demands. Of course, the standards of production are worthless for the workers; but why not demand week-work without "standards"? Why should week-work, possible and practicable in New York, not be equally as possible and practical in Cleveland? There are a few other demands which the Union had put forth and which, it appears to us, might not bring proper results if carried out. We have particularly in mind the question of joint unemployment insurance. At some other opportunity we shall dwell on this subject at greater length. At present, however, we deem it a duty to remind the Cleveland Cloakmakers' Union and its leaders of the necessity of very careful forethought and deliberate consideration of every one of the new demands which they had put to their employers at the last conference.

Study

ENGLISH

at the

RAND SCHOOL

7 E. 15th St.

MONDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, THURSDAYS

7:30 and 8:40 P. M.

Graded Courses

\$2.50 a Month per Course



# Injunctions: Whence—Why—What For?

(Continued from Page 4)

precedents, extended their jurisdiction to criminal cases by restraining the commission of illegal acts, and then trying those accused not for the alleged act, but upon a charge of contempt, this procedure denying the accused of all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, as well as the common and statutory law.

An example of this procedure by an equity court is found in an injunction issued by the United States Circuit Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, in June, 1906, the striking workmen being enjoined

"and the said individual defendants above named are, and each of them is, ordered, commanded and enjoined to desist from assaulting or committing personal violence upon any of the persons in the employ of, or seeking employment with said complainant."

Another prominent feature of many injunctions has been the indefinite character of the language used.

Federal Judge J. V. Quarles, in issuing an injunction against striking molders, restrained them from

"Impeding, hindering, obstructing, or interfering with any of the business of the complainant, in the operation of any of its work. . . . From compelling, or attempting to compel, or induce, by threats or intimidation of any sort, or fraud, or deception, or violence any person to leave the employment of said complainant, or not to enter its employ."

Lawyers and courts themselves would place conflicting constructions upon this language.

What constitutes impeding, hindering, or obstructing?

What is meant by threats or intimidation of any sort, or fraud, or deception in connection with what workmen might do or say when on strike?

Two men standing together on the sidewalk could be interpreted as impeding if the judge so desired, and as for threats, or intimidation of any sort, or fraud, or deception, almost any statement concerning the strike made to an employer or to those seeking employment could be construed as coming under these inhibitions.

The strikers, unfamiliar with legal phraseology, knowing, if they are cited for contempt, that no jury will be permitted to pass upon the facts, are intimidated by the phraseology and deterred from doing anything to protect their interests because of the indefinite language used, which they realize the court can interpret in any manner satisfactory to itself, because the wording of the injunction has failed to convey the clear, direct implication and interpretation of the language used.

The language of many injunctions resembles nothing so much as a cat playing with a mouse—the cat made all the rules.

One of the strongest indictments which has been written relative to the abuse of the writ of injunction was presented by Henry Clay Caldwell, former presiding judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit. In part he said:

"The modern writ of injunction is used for purposes which bear no more resemblance to the users of the ancient writ of that name that the milky way bears to the sun. Formerly it was used to conserve the property in dispute between private litigants, but in modern times it has taken the place of the police

powers of the State and Nation. It enforces and restrains with equal facility the criminal laws of the State and Nation. With it the judge not only restrains and punishes the commission of crimes, defined by statute, but he proceeds to frame a criminal code of his own, as extended as he sees proper, by which various acts, innocent in law and morals, are made criminal; such as standing, walking, or marching on the public highway, or talking, speaking, or preaching, and other like acts. In proceedings for contempt for an alleged violation of the injunction the judge is the lawmaker, the injured party, the prosecutor, the judge and the jury. It is not surprising that uniting in himself all these characters he is commonly able to obtain a conviction. While the penalty which the judge can inflict by direct sentence for a violation of his code is fine or imprisonment, limited only by his discretion, capital punishment may be inflicted by indirection. All that seems to be necessary to this end is to issue a writ to the marshal or sheriff commanding him to prevent a violation of the judge's code, and then the men with injunction nooses around their necks may be quickly dispatched if they attempt to march across this injunction deadline. It is said the judge does not punish for a violation of the statutory offense, but only for a violation of his order prohibiting the commission of the statutory offense. Such reasoning as this is what Carlyle calls 'logical cobwebbery.' The web is not strong enough to deprive the smallest insect of its liberty much less an American citizen."

Judge Caldwell has summed up the great evils flowing from the abuse of equity power by calling attention to their invasion of constitutional guarantees, coupled with the methods by which they have eliminated trial by jury.

If the only indictment against the abuse of the writ of injunction was their re-establishment of Star Chamber methods instead of jury trials, this should be sufficient in itself to warrant the prompt action of Congress and state legislatures, for no man's liberty is safe so long as an equity court can summon wage earners before it, find them guilty and sentence them to prison, without a trial by jury, for as Judge Caldwell said further on:

"Jury and injunction are terms which cancel each other.

"In proportion as the injunction is expanded, the right of trial by jury is restricted. And this result is not a mere incident to the use of the writ; in many cases its real purpose is to deprive a party of the right of a trial by jury.

"Armed with this powerful writ, which has no definite boundaries or limitations, and which may be used as discretion, the power—the federal chancellor—may be fairly characterized as imperial."

Thus out of the mouth of great judges every labor injunction is outlawed.

—(Molder's Journal, Sept., 1922.)

## Two Lectures by JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

8:30 P. M.

Nov. 9, "Is Evolution True?"

Nov. 16, "The Sociological Significance of Evolution."

RAND SCHOOL, 7 East 15th Street

October 30th, 8:30 P. M.

MARSHALL DANIELS

"Workers' Education in Europe."

## DESIGNERS OF LADIES' GARMENTS ARE IN GREAT DEMAND

A GOOD PROFESSION FOR MEN AND WOMEN!  
EASY TO LEARN, PAYS BIG MONEY

Take a Practical Course of Instruction in the Mitchell Schools

In designing Women's, Misses and Children's Wearing Apparel. A course of instruction in the Mitchell School Means an Immediate Position and Bigger Pay. The Mitchell Schools of Designing, Pattern-making, Grading, Draping and Fitting have been established for over 50 years and have achieved

**NEW IDEAS  
NEW SYSTEMS  
BEST METHODS  
BEST RESULTS**

Individual instruction. Day and evening classes. Reasonable terms. Write, phone or call for free booklet and full information.

Demonstration Free at Our School

EVENING CLASSES: MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, FRIDAY

MITCHELL DESIGNING SCHOOL

15 WEST 37TH STREET NEW YORK

Telephone Fitzroy 1674

Boston Branch: 10 Hayward Place, Dexter Building.



## PERFECT EYE GLASSES MEANS CORRECT VISION

Perfection in Eye Glasses can be had in but one way. The eyes must be examined by an Optometrist who is a registered physician and the glasses adjusted by a skilled Optician.

**DR. BARNETT L. BECKER**  
Optometrist and Optician

213 East Broadway

100 Lenox Ave.

895 Prospect Ave.

1709 Pitkin Ave.

262 East Fordham Road

2313 Seventh Ave.

Between 135th—136th Sts.

If you want the Negro workers in your shop to join the Union, to become members in the great army of organized labor, ask them to read—

THE MESSENGER

The Only Trade Union Publication for Negro workers in America

2395 Seventh Avenue  
New York City

LLOYD SABAUDO

3 State Street

New Transatlantic Coast Route  
New York to Italy in 9 Days

## DESIGNING SKETCHING

You can successfully become a pattern-maker and garment designer in 2 months or less if you enroll now with the well-known

MODERN FASHION SCHOOL

Pattern-making, grading, sketching and drawing of Ladies', Misses' and Children's Garments

The most practical method. Simple system.

Expert instructors.

Reasonable rates. Easy payments.

Call any evening, 6-8, Saturday afternoon, 2-4

THE MODERN FASHION SCHOOL

104 W. 42d St., Bet. Broadway and 6th Ave.

BUY

**WHITE LILY TEA  
COLUMBIA TEA  
ZWETOCHNI CHAI**  
Exclusively



A GREAT AGENCY OF  
DESIGNING AND  
CUTTING

EMBROIDERED DESIGNING

FRANK A. SPALLER

41 West 14th Street

Courses for Young Ladies,  
Masters of Tailoring Men's  
and Women's Garments, \$2.50  
Fashion Plates, \$3.25



# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### JOINING IN A 48-HOUR FIGHT.

The cotton manufacturers of Fall River, Massachusetts, and members of the textile unions are reported to have joined forces in the fight for a national forty-eight hour work week in the cotton and other industries. This announcement came in a statement by Secretary Goodwin of the Fall River Textile Council who said he spoke for the mill and union interests. It was pointed out that the forty-eight hour law governing the hours of labor for women and minors in Massachusetts leaves the manufacturers of that state unable to compete with those in other sections where the hours of labor are far greater.

### THE OTHER 82 CENTS.

Out of every dollar spent by the consuming public for agriculture products, approximately eighteen cents will go into the pockets of the farmer. What becomes of the other eighty-two cents? Is the public being victimized by widespread profiteering, or is the major part of the eighty-two cents legitimately charged for the cost of transferring the farmers' raw products?

### POTTERS WILL STRIKE.

Official announcement was made by the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters that 7,500 union sanitary pottery workers throughout the United States cast a strike vote in rejecting the manufacturers' proposed wage reduction.

### RAIL MOVEMENT STILL SLOW.

Increased activities in many industries with the resumption of coal mining and settlement of the railroad strike was reported by the Department of Commerce in its survey of current business. The railroad situation, however, was declared to be more and more the key to industrial activity. In addition to a shortage of cars for coal, the Department finds movement of crops, building materials and other products are being delayed.

### HALF OF AMERICA RAISING FOOD.

Half of the people of the United States are engaged in the business of raising human or animal food. "Generally speaking they are making no profit on their investment on their own work, the work of members of their families or of their employees," declared Paul R. Leech, in a special article written for the Chicago Daily News.

### 10 BILLION DOLLARS DODGE TAXES.

There is a total of \$10,000,000,000 outstanding in tax-exempt American securities, according to calculations made by Treasury attorneys and submitted to Secretary Mellon. Because of this fact it is estimated that the government is losing in revenue at the present time not less than \$120,000,000 annually.

### HIGH PRICES FOR TEN YEARS.

The Harvard Committee on Economic Research has no expectation of a drop in prices to the pre-war level during the next ten years, Professor Charles J. Bullock, Chairman of the Committee, said in an address at the Harvard Club at the first session of the National Conference of Subscribers to the Harvard Economic Service.

### RECORD OF CONGRESSMEN PUT UP TO LABOR.

The A. F. of L. through its Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee headed by President Gompers, has made public a comprehensive list of organized labor's political friends and enemies. The records of these candidates have been sent to the 40,000 trade unions in the United States. The campaign of the wage earners, the committee declared, is to bring Congress back to the people.

### 19 COAL FACTS.

Nineteen topics that the newly appointed U. S. Coal Commission expects to investigate were given in a letter from Chairman Hammond to the committee of mine workers and operators, both in anthracite and bituminous industries. Standardizing the living cost of miners and making that the first irreducible item of expense in the government's new coal policy figures prominently in this initial outline of the Commission's plan.

### PALMER CHARGED WITH FRAUD.

The dissolution of the American Bosch Magneto Company and restoration of its control to pre-war owners and damages of \$2,000,000 were asked in the suit filed in New York by Albert Kline, a resident of Germany and charges A. Mitchell Palmer, former alien property custodian and other defendants with using Palmer's official position to defraud the pre-war owners out of their property.

### THE COUGERS AT WORK ALREADY.

Rules for procedure before the Tariff Commission of the new tariff law were made public. The Commission has decided that hearings shall be held only when the Commission deems the relief sought justified and sufficient.

### LABOR SHORTAGE?

President Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation declares that his company is being seriously handicapped by a shortage of labor and interruptions in transportation due to congestion on the company's railroads. The labor shortage, was attributed by Mr. Grace to the present immigration laws.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### RUSSIA

#### \$4.06 A MONTH.

The average wages of Russian factory workers at present amount to \$4.06 a month. This is learned from the official report of the General Council of Russian Trade Unions at the Fifth Congress of Trade Unions held at Moscow.

### GERMANY

#### REGULAR TRADING WITH GERMANY.

Reports of new private trade agreements and concessions with Russia are reaching Berlin daily, according to Axel Nordvall, Swedish Trade Commissioner to the United States during the World War. "The Communist experiment in Russia is finished and the Russian Government must break the news slowly to its own people," declares Mr. Nordvall.

### ENGLAND

#### MR. MCKENNA AND LABOR.

Mr. Reginald McKenna, former Chancellor of Exchequer, has admitted that some of the points he recently put forward in his speech to American bankers in New York were advanced by the Labor Party at the elections of 1918. He added that he did not think the German Government to blame for the fall of the mark, as they had to make external payments by selling marks; the fall was therefore inevitable.

#### DEAR BREAD FOR ENGLAND?

A high agricultural authority predicts that the price of the loaf may "soar to giddy heights" this winter, as a result of the tactics of the Coalition Government in repealing that section of the Agricultural Act which guaranteed the farmers against loss and at the same time, through the Wage Boards, secured to the agricultural laborer a decent wage. This has reduced the sowing of wheat in Great Britain, and left her at the mercy of big wheat combines in other wheat exporting countries.

#### THE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The high price of sugar continues to be a real burden on the workers and their families, the duty being still 25s. 8d per cwt.

#### MORALITY AND THE LAW.

Recent cases of "molesting" and "solicitation" in the Courts lend point to the demands of women's societies that convictions should only follow upon evidence by the persons annoyed, and not merely upon police evidence. It is stated that every year 3,000 women are imprisoned and another 3,000 fined on charges of soliciting for immoral purposes without any other evidence being given against them except that of the policeman who arrested them, and to whose interest it is that convictions should be secured.

#### PRISON ASKED FOR.

It is some measure of the industrial distress now prevailing in Great Britain that a harness maker, charged with stealing a cake from a shop, should have asked the magistrate to send him to prison for the winter, on the ground that he was out of work and found the workhouse so degrading. There was nothing else against him, and he bore a good character.

#### CHRISTIANITY AND INDUSTRIALISM.

Both an employer of labor and a trade union secretary, speaking on the same platform lately, declared that the industrial order, in its outstanding features, flagrantly contradicts our professions of Christianity. The subject of the meeting was "The Gospel and Business."

### TURKEY

#### TURKEY AND THE LEAGUE.

Dr. Nansen, the High Commissioner for the League, expressed his conviction, founded on his discussions with the Kemalist representatives, that Turkey is eager and impatient to enter the League of Nations. He also ascertained that certain of the Nationalist leaders are most sympathetic toward the suggestion that the League shall control the Straits. In other Turkish quarters, however, far-reaching guarantees in the execution of such an experiment would be insisted on.

### LADIES TAILORS, SAMPLE MAKERS AND ALTERATION WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 3

#### SAMPLE AND CLOAK TAILORS — ATTENTION!

A very important meeting of your Branch will be held on **Saturday, November 4th, at 1:30 P. M. sharp,** in **LABOR TEMPLE, 14th Street and Second Avenue.**

Besides the regular order of business the **FIRST NOMINATION** for executive board members and manager-secretary will take place.

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

Fraternally yours,

**S. LEFKOVITZ,**  
Manager-Secretary.

P. S.—The first Tuesday of the month being Election Day no meeting of the Ladies' Tailors Branch will be held. First nomination of the Ladies' Tailors Branch will take place on the 3rd Tuesday of the month.

## Educational Comment and Notes

### Should Literature Find a Place in the Curriculum of Workers' Colleges?

The question whether literature should find a place in the curriculum of Workers' Colleges has been discussed much recently. Some people claim that the leaders of the Movement for Workers' Education within the trade unions, do not appreciate the value of cultural study of literature. Such was the opinion expressed recently in the "Book Review" of the Evening Post. The writer of this article states that Labor Study Classes concern themselves only with subjects that have a bearing on economics, and therefore, workers should not be entrusted with the management of educational activities.

On the other hand there is a group of our own, who believe that Labor Colleges should not concern themselves with literature. They do not belittle its value, but think that courses in this subject can be provided by educational institutions outside of the Labor Movement.

We venture to disagree with both opinions. Those who fear that culture is in danger under the workers' control, may be consoled when they learn that after examining hundreds of curricula of Workers' Colleges, Study Classes, and Universities, we found that of literature is included in all, without exception. It is needless to assert that workers do appreciate the value of culture.

To those of our friends within the Labor Movement, who insist that we should not concern ourselves with

purely cultural subjects, such as literature, we wish to contrast the way in which this subject is presented in a university and in a workers' college. In the former, art, as expressed in literature, is entirely divorced from life. The teacher is generally concerned mainly with the form and with the art of the content rather than with its social significance. On the contrary, in a Workers' College, literature is presented as an expression of life, and a study is made of the social forces which it expresses.

A true literary artist is a prophet. Not only does he voice the sentiments and ideals, fears and hopes, sorrows and joys, of his generation, but he also foretells the future. Practically every change in our social and political structure was the realization of an ideal sponsored by some great literary genius. It is true that every age claims the credit for effecting changes, but nothing leaves a greater impress upon the soul than an appeal for social change and justice, made by a true artist.

Neither the first nor the second group need worry about the place culture will occupy in the curricula of Workers' Colleges controlled by workers. All things that are human are of concern to men and women alike. But in workers' schools they will be studied as living forces. Literature will continue to find a place among the subjects taught in Workers' Colleges, because these should include everything that tends to refine and deepen the emotions and to develop a better understanding of human nature.

### Registration for the Workers' University

Register for the Workers' University at once.

Every year many of our members miss the first sessions in the Workers' University because they have no cards of admission. Many people wait for the cards on the day of the opening, and lose a great deal of time.

As usual, no one will be admitted to the classes without a card of ad-

mission. To avoid waiting and loss of time, our members should come to the office of the Educational Department at once and obtain their cards.

With these cards they will be able to enter their classes on Saturday, November 18th, and Sunday, November 19th, without any delay.

Register for the Workers' University at once!

### A Letter from Portland Labor College

The following are extracts from a letter addressed to the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. by the Portland Labor College:

PORTLAND LABOR COLLEGE  
Portland, Oregon

October 21, 1922.

"I have for over a year been a recipient of a complimentary subscription to JUSTICE and I must write at this time of my great appreciation for the favor. I have each week scanned with interest the columns of the educational page and gleaned therefrom many valuable suggestions for the Portland Labor College. And many other articles have been of great interest to me as, for instance, Algeon Lee's articles on Some Phases of American Labor History. They have been most valuable to me. Your articles also in the Brussels Conference on Workers' Education I have found of great interest and value. I have used many of your methods suggested by what I have read. If you receive our Oregon Labor Press you will notice that I have adopted, with a slight change in the heading of the columns, your plan of weekly notes and comments on labor education. I think this very valuable as

a means of keeping before the readers matters of interest in our own and other labor colleges. It is a great means of education. I am glad to admit that, if no one objects I like to borrow ideas wherever I find them and which I think suit the need of our own labor college.

"The school term is opening encouragingly, the during the first week I was somewhat uneasy because of the smallness of the classes. This past week classes are all, except one, of sufficient size to warrant continuing them. We have now eight classes which we think quite ambitious for Portland's second year. And yet, in proportion to the total membership in the Portland Trade Union, the enrollment is very, very small. To date we have about forty different persons enrolled. That is quite small, isn't it? And yet, most of those enrolled are attending more than one class, and many of them all the classes. But in spite of this figure, I am encouraged and hopeful. I believe our college is becoming firmly established."

The letter was signed by E. E. Schwartztrauber, a member of the Board of Directors of the Portland Labor College and the Vice-President of the National Federation of Teachers.

## The Brussels Conference on Workers' Education

A REVIEW

By FANNIA M. COHN

VI.

(Education in the United States)

Conclusion.

According to the program sent out with the call to the conference the following points were to be discussed by the delegates:

1. Conditions, means and constitu-

2. Means used.

3. Difficulties and results.

The means employed in different countries to reach the rank and file and impress upon it the necessity of taking advantage of classes for workers were similar in general although they varied in particulars. The labor and Socialist press, trade union publications, pamphlets, leaflets, posters and other printed matter is used to attract the interest of the workers. Numerous local committees are formed to get in touch with the rank and file.

It was generally agreed that the principal difficulty encountered was the apathy on the part of the labor movement toward workers' education.

The delegates realized that the results of education can not be checked off like so many bags of flour. All of them concurred in the opinion that it is a spiritual quality of mind rather than any concrete thing that can be recorded. A general feeling prevailed in the conference that the effects of workers' education are too far-reaching to be calculated. Therefore, the quality of training and the content must be such that it will induce the workers to higher ideals of social and economic justice.

There were minor variations in the courses of study, but in every country applied economics, social, industrial, economic and political history, and aims, problems and methods of the labor movement were presented in the classes. It is interesting that without exception psychology and literature were included in the curricula. It was felt that since the workers both as human beings and as important factors in our modern industrial world will undoubtedly sooner or later be called upon to participate to a greater extent in the social and economic life of their country, they should not limit their curricula to the social sciences, but should also include cultural subjects that tend to refine and deepen the feelings and create a better understanding of human nature.

There was a great deal of discussion regarding the selection of teachers. Instructors range from the self-trained to university tutors. The qualifications generally considered essential in addition to academic qualifications are a knowledge of the labor movement and sympathy with the ultimate aims of labor. In several countries, labor union officials and self-educated workers proved most efficient. The pay of teachers varied rather more than their qualifications. The English plan provides for a trade union scale, while in Germany, as in some other countries, the compensation in many cases is inadequate.

While the delegates appreciated the importance of student exchange, its value in uniting the workers of different countries, they realized the practical difficulties of accomplishing it under present conditions. They emphasized the fact that the labor movement is living through a period when it has constantly to fight the reactionary forces which have hurled themselves against it to destroy it and to deprive it of all its gains—at such a time it is not easy for the labor movement to finance such a plan and, indeed, it would be practically impossible for

countries like Germany to participate in it with the present unfavorable rate of exchange. Speaking with the authority of experience, H. Saunders Furness of Ruskin College, urged as international fund for the establishment of an international exchange. Fräulein Leonhard-Kaemmerer, representing the Amsterdam Trade Union International, cited the precedent of the trade union levy against war and felt it advisable to present to the Amsterdam International the opportunity of sharing in the promotion of such a movement working toward international assistance for student exchange.

Five resolutions came before the convention. The first deals with the question of student exchange. It reads as follows:

"The Conference of the Central Committee of Workers' Education welcomes all efforts which have for their aim the organization of educational institutions and particularly the (organization of) study trips in foreign countries as well as the exchange of students and teachers of labor colleges.

"These efforts should serve not only to develop a knowledge of the Workers' Movement, but still more to encourage the 'feeling of international solidarity.

"The Conference makes therefore an appeal to the educational organizations to the end that they facilitate these attempts by all the means in their power.

"The mutual exchange of students and teachers is a point of special importance. It should be realized best by the agreement mutually and equally accomplished directly between the countries in question."

The second resolution provoked a great deal of discussion. In its amended form it read:

"The International Conference on Labor Education, assembled in Brussels, August 17, 1922, welcomes the important work which is being done in the various countries in working-class education, as indicated in the various reports.

"The Conference appeals to the national and international labor organizations, industrial, political and cooperative, to continue the work with all their energy for the political and economic emancipation of the working class."

The third resolution, as submitted by the Workers' Education Bureau of America, reflected the desire of the delegates for some medium or clearing house on workers' education in the various countries. The resolution was unanimously adopted, read as follows:

"The Conference requests the Central Educational Committee of Belgium to take steps to insure the maintenance of relations between the organizations here represented, until the holding of the next conference, which, it is decided, shall be held two years hence, and to consult with the Amsterdam Trade Union Association on the possibility of creating a permanent clearing house for the International Workers' Educational Movement."

In the opinion of the delegates it was not advisable to create a formal organization because of prevailing conditions. This, it was felt, should be left to the next convention.

In addition to assuming the responsibility entailed in this resolution, the Central Committee of Belgium agreed to edit the Conference Proceedings.

(Continued on Page 11)

# With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

Meeting, October 25, 1922

Brother Berlin in the Chair.

## COMMUNICATIONS

A communication was received from the Hias Trade Union Conference in which they express their thanks for the \$1,000 the Joint Board had donated to them. Upon motion the communication was placed on file.

Defense Council requested the Joint Board to appoint two delegates to attend the Free Speech Conference which will be held on Friday, October 27th, at Beethoven Hall. Upon motion the request of the Labor Defense Council was granted and a committee consisting of Brother Berlin and Sister Di Maggio was appointed to attend this conference.

Local No. 60, in a communication informed the Joint Board that at the members' meeting of Local No. 60 it was decided to refer the question of the week-work system for a referendum to the various locals affiliated with our Joint Board.

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS' REPORT

The Board of Directors reported that at their meeting held on October 23rd they decided to report and recommend the following:

In a communication Local No. 10 requested the Joint Board to aid them in making the Annual Ball of the Cutters' Union a success by inserting an advertisement in the "Hall Journal" which they are now issuing. The money realized from these annual affairs is used for the relief of destitute members. The Board decided to insert an advertisement in that journal for \$50.00.

In a communication the Jean

Longuet Committee informed the Board that a great welcome has been arranged for Comrade Longuet at Carnegie Hall on November 12. They describe this as a great historical event and an occasion of great importance for Labor and therefore request us to reserve one or two boxes for our organization, each box seating eight persons. Upon motion it was decided to reserve one box at \$25.00, it being understood that delegates from the respective locals will name one of their number to receive a ticket, as will also the president and secretary of the Joint Board.

In reference to the \$20.00 assessment Brother Horowitz informed the Board that this does not meet with the approval of members of other locals who are working in shops under our jurisdiction and according to the advice received from the international the decision of the Joint Board that members of other locals employed in shops under our control is in contradiction to the Constitution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union according to which the Joint Board of any given trade can legislate only for members of the locals affiliated with it.

Upon motion it was decided that the local secretaries and Brother Hochman should arrange a conference with Local No. 23 for the purpose of taking up this question of the \$20.00 assessment.

## COMMITTEE REPORTS

The committee appointed to take up the proposition made by Brother

Greynberg, manager of Local No. 50 in regard to the 1923 campaign made his report. In view of the uncertain outcome of the negotiations now going on between Locals No. 22 and No. 23 and the complicated conditions at the present time in the children's dressmaking trade which would entail a great deal of responsibility upon the Joint Board, it was decided for the time being to advise Local No. 50 to make their own arrangements but to offer them any assistance they may need in reviving their union.

In connection with the 1923 campaign, the Board of Directors appointed a committee consisting of Brothers Antonini, Hochman, Berlin and Sister Wolkowitz to inform Brother Schlesinger about the present general strike. If necessary, this committee is to appear before the General Executive Board to ask for its ratification.

## BUILDING ALTERATIONS

The attention of the Board of Directors was called by Brother Berlin to the alterations needed in the building in which the Joint Board is located. A committee consisting of Brothers Riesel, Horowitz and Berlin was appointed to take up the question of alterations with the committee of the workers' Unity House, i.e., representatives from Locals No. 22, No. 25 and No. 60 for the purpose of having this matter attended to immediately.

Upon motion the report of the Board of Directors was taken up seriously and after careful consideration the recommendations were approved as submitted.

The Organization Committee submitted the following report:

"Brother Berlin called the attention of the committee to the duties entrusted to it. This committee is to supervise the organization work of the entire industry and realizing fully the importance of this responsibility, Brother Berlin urged the committee to begin immediately to plan out their work and to present these plans at the next meeting for consideration by Brother Hochman who will be present then. Brother Hochman who is supervising the organization work at present will acquaint the committee with the field and will also suggest plans for their future activities.

"As to the arrangements for the shop chairman meeting the Organization Committee recommends the following order of business:

1. Outside Committees
2. Report of the General Manager

3. Functions of the shop chairman body

4. Good and welfare.

"A committee consisting of Brothers, Rief, Katz and Triestman will act as admittance committee so as to see that only shop chairmen are present at this meeting.

"The committee decided to meet next Saturday with plans for future work.

"The Finance Committee submitted the following report:

"In accordance with a request from a committee which is arranging the celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution the committee recommends that we purchase tickets to the amount of \$5.00 for the Mass Meeting and Concert arranged for that purpose.

"In regard to the request made to the Joint Board on behalf of Comrade Jacob Panken's campaign, which was referred to the Finance Committee, we beg to report that after carefully considering the request on Judge Panken's behalf, the Finance Committee recommends that the Joint Board donate towards that campaign \$100.00."

The committee which was appointed to take up the request of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Association of Los Angeles reported that at the meeting of the committee they decided to recommend that a joint credential be granted to the representative of this association and of the ex-Patients Tuberculosis Relief Association. Brother Schechter, who was appointed as chairman of the committee will make arrangements with the representatives of the above said organizations that the collections made in the shops for the organizations should be divided between them.

Brother Antonini reported for the committee which was appointed to take up with Dr. Price, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control the complaints which came into our office that the shops are not inspected. Brother Antonini stated that at the conference held between the committee consisting of himself, Brother Berlin and Brother Mackoff and Dr. Price, it was decided that hereafter when shops are visited by the inspectors, the shop chairman is to be requested to sign a statement as to when the shops were visited and it was also decided that at the places where the Union is holding shop meetings the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is to make arrangements to have its moving picture apparatus so that films of a nature that will enlighten the people in regard to matters of hygiene and health may be shown. The report of the committee was approved.

# The Brussels Conference

(Continued from Page 10)

and to make the exhibit on Labor Education permanent.

The demoralizing effect upon the minds and artistic taste of the masses of cheap yellow literature was discussed by the conference. This brought forth two definite suggestions: the first, the wide distribution of good literature at a low price; the second, the German method of prohibiting the sale and distribution of yellow literature by Parliamentary law. The latter suggestion awakened little response, because of the dangers arising from censorship.

All were unanimous that the aim of Workers' Education is to serve their own class and inspire them to disinterested service to the Labor Movement. If this is to be accomplished then Workers' Educational Colleges and study classes must be under their own auspices.

After an expression of appreciation to the Belgian Labor College for calling the Conference, the formal sessions came to a close in the beautiful garden under the shade of an elm tree. It was the first time that the effort to hold an International Conference on Workers' Education had been successful. Seven years ago an informal conference was held to discuss the problems arising out of the movement which was just beginning. Then the war intervened.

This Conference, assembled in Belgium, the center of the world war,

sent out a message to the world that labor is earnestly determined to build a sounder international understanding among the workers of all countries. Throughout, differences in methods and aims were disclosed as was to be expected at a gathering where the different groups of the working class were represented. In the background the fundamental unity of the mind of the labor movement was reflected—that it stands consciously or unconsciously for the reconstruction of society. The enlightened workers of the world have their dreams of that new world where economic and social justice is to prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as a cooperative commonwealth, and where love, friendship and fellowship will replace hatreds, jealousies and selfishness.

Members of the I. L. G. W. U. who wish to join the Unity Centers where English for beginners, elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school English, History of the Labor Movement, Applied Economics and Physical Training are taught can register at the offices of their Local Unions, or at the office of the Educational Department, Fourth Floor, 3 West 16th Street.

# EAST RIVER NATIONAL BANK

680 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

On Special Interest or Thrift Accounts interest is credited each month. Small deposits gladly taken. Open your account now. Safe Deposit Boxes \$5.00 and up. Foreign remittances made to all parts of the world.

THE KIND OF SERVICE WE GIVE OUR "OLD BUSINESS" IS THE ARGUMENT FOR THE STEADY INCREASE IN OUR "NEW BUSINESS"

DESIGNING,  
PATTERN MAKING  
and GRADING.  
FOR COATS, SUITS OR DRESSES

Taught strictly individually during the day and evening hours.

Rosenfeld's Leading College of Dressing and Pattern Making  
222 East 14th Street Telephone 5817 Manhattan.

Between 2nd and 3rd Ave.

# The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

## GENERAL

The Ball Committee again takes the liberty to announce in these columns that the Cutters' Ball will take place on Saturday evening, January 6th, 1923, at the Hunt's Point Palace. The price of the tickets, as previously announced, will be fifty cents when purchased in advance. As yet, the committee has not come to any definite conclusion as to what charge will be made for tickets bought directly from the box office the night of the affair. Our members will recall that at the last affair, which was also held in the Hunt's Point Palace, tickets bought at the box office were seventy-five cents each, instead of fifty cents, as was charged for tickets purchased in advance.

We urge the cutters to buy their tickets in advance, as it will encourage the Ball Committee to proceed with what other work is necessary to make this affair a tremendous success.

The tickets have already been received from the printer and may be had upon request either at the main office of the local, 211 East 14th St., or from the various offices of the organization and the members of the Ball Committee.

We again urge the cutters to go out and solicit subscriptions for the ball journal, as a liberal commission will be paid to all securing such ads. Contracts for same may be had from the secretary of the Ball Committee, Brother Fish, at the office of the Union.

The cutters should bear in mind that the proceeds of this affair will go towards the relief fund of Local No. 10, and that only through their efforts and co-operation towards making the ball a successful event will our Union be in a position to aid our destitute brothers.

In opening the last Special General Meeting of our local, which was held on Monday, October 30th, the chairman, Bro. Stoller, announced to the members present that the special order of business for the evening was the adoption of the amendments to the constitution, as submitted by the Constitution Committee, and the recommendation of the Executive Board to donate one hundred dollars to the American Labor Party. Upon suggestion of the secretary, there was also included the recommendation of the Executive Board to engage the French socialist, grandson of Karl Marx, Jean Longuet, for a lecture to be delivered to our members.

The first order of business was the second reading of the constitutional amendments, extending from Article I to Article IV, inclusive, and the first reading of the amendments from Article III to the end. The meeting then proceeded with discussing the various recommendations of the Constitution Committee serialism.

The first recommendation of the committee, which was Article III, Section 4, was accepted without discussion, since it involved merely a change in English. The clause is as follows:

"A term of six months' probation shall be served by all persons of joining this Union, during which term such trade privileges may be denied them as shall be determined by the Executive Board, also such other privileges as herein provided for."

Article III, Section 8, was also accepted without discussion, although a few questions were asked as to whether this law will apply to certain individuals in our organization, and the President answered that should any such cases arise the best course would

be to appear before the Executive Board for an interpretation. The clause is as follows:

"This organization shall have the right to confer honorary membership upon such of the members who have performed valuable services for this organization and are retiring from the trade. Honorary membership shall carry with it the privilege of attending meetings of the organization and having a voice in its deliberations, but without a vote. Should a member, upon whom honorary membership has been conferred, ever find it necessary to return to work in the trade, he shall be admitted into full membership and granted working privileges upon the payment of dues commencing with the date such member starts to work. This shall apply only to those who have had no business dealings with manufacturers in the ladies' garment industry during the period of such honorary membership. Any member of Local No. 10 who has had any business dealings with a manufacturer in our trades shall not be eligible to honorary membership."

It was decided, on motion, that the next section coming up for action, which is Section I of Article IV, dealing with the composition of our officers and Executive Board, should be split into three sections. The first part of this section, as amended, reads as follows:

"The officers of this Union shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Manager of the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Raincoat Division, Manager of the Waist, Dress and Miscellaneous Division, General Secretary-Treasurer, Sergeant-at-Arms, Delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, Delegates to the Joint Boards, as many Business Agents as the Executive Board may from time to time decide upon, with the concurrence of the members at a regular meeting of the respective branches."

The change in this section, as proposed by the Constitution Committee, is that instead of having one manager, as formerly, we should have two. This recommendation of the Constitution Committee brought forth a lengthy argument. The discussion which ensued took up considerable time and quite a number of the members present, although realizing the importance of this proposition, were very anxious to get home, irrespective of what the final disposition would be; so much so, that the Inner Guard and a number of influential members as well as officers of our organization were standing at the door and did not permit anyone to leave until the final disposition of the change was made.

Those favoring the change, i.e., that we should have two managers, based their arguments on the ground that no matter how efficient and capable a man may be, he is not in a position to attend to all the work assigned to the Manager, as for instance, when there is a General Strike in the Cloak and Suit Division. It stands to reason that all the energies of the Manager would have to be applied towards the cloak and suit situation in such an emergency, since there is war in that industry and peace in the others. The same applies when the Waist and Dress Industry is on strike the Cloak and Suit division would be neglected, although there is a man to assist the General Manager in the work. The speakers tried to show by these arguments that when

a situation of this sort arises, one division is bound to suffer neglect, and they therefore see no reason why this recommendation of the Constitution Committee should not be adopted, as it will strengthen the morale of the members in the various divisions and will not incur an additional expense.

Some of the speakers also argued that the Waist and Dress situation has been neglected and that they believe that the only solution of the problems confronting this division would be to place a man in charge of that division, to be responsible to the members of that particular branch only. They also emphasized the fact that a number of cutters working in shops which are not controlled by the Waist and Dress Joint Board have also been neglected and that no attempts have at any time been made towards the organization or control of the cutters working in these shops.

The opposition, on the other hand, contended that it is best for this organization to have one manager as it places the work of the organization under one head instead of splitting it in two. They also brought out the point that at the last convention an amalgamation of Locals No. 22 and 23, under the jurisdiction of the Cloak and Suit Joint Board, was proposed, and it is only a matter of months before this matter will have been finally adjusted. The two locals have already had a conference between themselves and it was practically agreed by both locals that such an amalgamation take place. General Secretary of the In-

ternational, Brother Baroff, with a committee composed of representatives of both locals, has appeared before the Joint Board, speaking in behalf of this change.

The Joint Board did not take any action in the case, on the ground that they will act on the proposed change when Local No. 22 will make a written application for admission into the Cloak and Suit Joint Board. As yet, no such application has been filed by Local No. 22, but it is understood that this question will be disposed of amicably in the very near future. For that reason some of the speakers believe that the change to two managers should not take place.

There were a number of other reasons advanced for the change as well as against it, and it was finally placed to a vote by the membership.

Before taking this step, however, the chairman announced that in order to make this proposed change a constitutional amendment, a two thirds vote of the membership present would be necessary, and that all those not voting would be counted in the affirmative. The number of those present was then taken and the total submitted by the tellers appointed by the chairman was 246.

When the vote was taken the results showed that there were 67 members voting in favor of the proposition and 157 against it, naturally signifying that the membership is against changing the present form of management and that the old clause will remain in force.

## LOCAL 10

All cutters working in Cloak and Suit Joint Board houses are urged to pay the 3% tax for the unemployed to the shop chairman, or to the representative of the Joint Board.

## CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

### ATTENTION!

#### NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETINGS

NOMINATIONS FOR GENERAL AND BRANCH OFFICERS ARE TO BE MADE AT EVERY MEETING DURING THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER.

CLOAK AND SUIT ..... Monday, November 6th  
WAIST AND DRESS ..... Monday, November 13th

#### Special Order of Business:

Discussion on the proposed changes in the agreement for 1923.  
Special order of business:

MISCELLANEOUS ..... Monday, November 13th  
GENERAL ..... Monday, November 27th

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