

"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. 48.

November 24, 1922.

Price 2 Cents

## NEW YORK CLOAKMAKERS HOLD SPECIAL MEETING

FINAL PLANS FOR WEEK-WORK DRIVE IN DRESS INDUSTRY DECIDED UPON

Last Wednesday, November 22, the New York members of the General Executive Board were called into special session by President Schlesinger to consider a number of important plans affecting our industry.

Brother Schlesinger's contemplated Western trip, which will make impossible the summoning of a regular quarterly meeting of the Board before January, made this special meeting necessary. One of the principal subjects of the order of the day was the big organizing campaign in the waist and dress industry for the introduction of week-work during January next. It will be recalled that the General Executive Board has gone on record some time already in favor of week-work in the waist and dress industry, but it was thought best to have a mandate from the rank and file for making this the major issue in the forthcoming campaign.

The Board has also decided on arrangements to secure the cooperation of the Skitmakers' Union, Local 23, which controls about 250 shops in

which dresses, as well as shirts are made, with the Joint Board. The agreement in the dress industry will expire on January 31.

## Thanksgiving Day a Holiday in Ladies' Garment Industry

Next Thursday, November 30, is Thanksgiving Day a national legal holiday and one of the holidays with pay for week-workers adopted in the cloak, dress and waist industries.

No cloak, dress or waist maker in New York City is permitted to work on that day and all week-workers are to receive pay for the day in full.

We received notices from the secretaries of both the cloak and dress

and waist joint boards calling upon the workers in their respective industries to abstain from work on Thanksgiving Day and informing them that special committees had been assigned to watch throughout the industrial district that this rule is carried out strictly. Workers found at work on Thanksgiving Day will be called upon to account before grievance boards and will be adequately punished.

## Montreal Cloakmakers Have a Big Mass Meeting

VICE-PRESIDENT SEIDMAN THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKER

The Cloakmakers' Union of Montreal has held a very successful mass-meeting last Thursday, November 16, at the Prince Arthur Hall. Vice-President Sol Seidman came specially over from Toronto to speak at the meeting.

The principal subject of discussion at the meeting was the organization plan in the industry along the lines decided upon at a previous meeting attended by President Schlesinger. It was announced at the meeting that owing to the fact that two last seasons in the cloak industry were very bad, which compelled many members to drop out of the union, the Joint Board would initiate members into the organization until December 15, for the small fee of \$2.50 for men and \$1.00 for women. An appeal was made to the workers in the trade to make use of these exceptional terms and rejoin the locals.

## Schlesinger Spends Busy Week in Chicago; Leaves for West and Pacific Coast Next Week

VISITS WASHINGTON TO RENDER REPORT ON BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—RECOMMENDS RE-AFFILIATION OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WITH THE AMSTERDAM TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

President Schlesinger returned last Monday morning from Chicago where he spent a very busy week attending meetings, conferences and endeavoring to bring harmony and a working spirit among the local unions affiliated with the Joint Board.

President Schlesinger arrived at Chicago on Thursday, November 9, and held a joint meeting of all the Executive Boards and of the Joint Board Delegates on that same evening. The meeting lasted until two o'clock in the morning and was marked by unusual earnestness and solemnity. Everybody felt that Schlesinger's presence in Chicago would contribute a great deal

towards the solidifying and prosperity of the Union. On Friday he again attended a regular meeting of the Joint Board and listened to a report of the officers of the organization, after which he delivered a long impressive talk to the delegates which was received with undivided attention and was heartily applauded. His speech was a call to the workers to give up petty differences, to ignore the slanders of the Union and to place the cloakmakers' organization where it belongs, in the front ranks of the progressive labor movement.

On Saturday, President Schlesinger attended the meeting of the Operators'

Local No. 5 and took an active part in the discussion of the problem of an insurance fund for unemployed workers. He favored strongly a fund to be raised exclusively by the workers without the participation of the employers as against any other plan. The rest of the week he devoted to meetings with Locals 59, 81, 13, and 100.

ATTENDS EXECUTIVE MEETING IN WASHINGTON

On Monday evening, November 20, President Schlesinger left for Washington to render his report as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the annual conven-

tion of the British Trade Union Congress.

Readers of "Justice" will find the full report of the A. F. of L. delegation on the editorial page of this issue of "Justice." The report emphasizes in particular the urgency of the re-affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the Amsterdam Trade Union International. President Schlesinger sought, while in Europe, to negotiate this matter with the representatives of the Amsterdam International looking for a way of re-uniting the American Federation of Labor with the world organization of the working class.

LEAVES FOR THE COAST NEXT WEEK

In accordance with a previously adopted decision and in order to complete his tour, President Schlesinger will leave next week for Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, where wage agreements in the cloak industry are expiring.

## New York Cloak Joint Board Elects Officers

SIXTY-SEVEN BUSINESS AGENTS ELECTED ON WEDNESDAY

Sixty-seven business agents for the ten locals of the New York Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit and Beaver Makers' Union, were elected by the memberships of these locals in the annual balloting held on Wednesday, November 22. Polling booths were open from 9 A. M. to 7 P. M. in eight halls in the various parts of the city.

Eight rooms were engaged by the Union in the Continental Hotel and the counting of the ballots has begun there on Thursday morning by a committee from each of the eight halls.

President Louis Pinkofsky and Secretary Louis Langer of the Joint Board stated that the results will not be available before Friday.

The number of business agents elected for each of the ten locals is as follows: Cloak Operators Local 1,—15; Ladies Tailors and Sample Makers Local 3,—4; Finishers Local 9,—10; Cutters Union Local 10,—4; Skirt and Dressmakers Union, Local 23,—8; Pressers Local 35,—9; Italian Cloakmakers Local 48,—9; Examiners' Local 32,—1.

## Bridgeport Corset Locals Unite for Common Action

The Bridgeport Corset Workers' Local, No. 34 have decided to pool their resources and strength in the organization campaign in the corset industry launched in that city recently under the auspices of the Out-of-Town Department of the International.

The readers of this journal are familiar already with the causes that have made the Bridgeport locals inactive for a long time and have resulted in the lowering of the standards in the corset industry. The strike in the Warner Bros. factory of a few weeks ago, which had been settled in favor of the workers, has given im-

petus to the more active spirits in the organization which is now being fully utilized by the organization committee of both locals.

Miss Elsie Gluck, formerly connected with educational work in the Waist and Dress Joint Board of New York, has been assigned to do special organizing work in Bridgeport by the International. Vice-President Halperin, the Manager of the Organization Department of the International, now reports that a considerable number of women workers have already rejoined Local 33 and that the interest in the union is growing daily.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

### THE NEW ROLE OF BRITISH LABOR

THE make-up of the new British Parliament which opened last Monday is highly significant. The Conservatives, as was expected, were victors, having gained 345 seats, and consequently are at the helm of the Government. The Liberals, both of the Lloyd George and the Asquith varieties, went down into defeat, having saved only 199 seats. While the Labor party captured 142 seats, thus constituting the second strongest party in the House of Commons, and hence entitled to the claim of official opposition.

The chiefs of the shattered Liberal groups will of course strenuously contend for recognition as the opposition. And the Tory government would rather face the feeble and disingenuous criticism of Lloyd George or Asquith than to meet the sledge hammer blows from the labor representatives. It may therefore be expected that the government will come to the aid of the Liberals in gaining the prestige and influence at the expense of the Labor party. But this fight will hardly affect the present alignment of forces, which is, a die-hard Conservative government faced by a powerful, well-knit, splendidly led labor group, with a dwindling band of Liberals who are at great pains to discover wherein they differ from the Conservatives.

The Labor group in the new Parliament has not only increased in numbers but has gained fresh blood. Arthur Henderson, the moderate and hesitant labor leader has been defeated. But men like Ramsay MacDonald, C. P. Trevelyan, Philip Snowden, who were denounced during the war as pacifists, traitors, and pro-Germans have been returned to Parliament. Labor in the last Parliament suffered from a lack of courageous and energetic leadership. It is different now. The rigidly reactionary government of Bonar Law will face an exacting and vigilant opposition. It is a matter for speculation how many crises Bonar Law will manage to dodge before his government will break. But there is little doubt that it will break. Then it will be Labor's turn to establish a government.

### A NEW GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY

ONE of the political curiosities in Europe was the Wirth government. People were wondering why it existed. For it was generally agreed that it was helpless, hopeless and ineffective. But upon closer scrutiny it became evident that the Wirth government was really self-sacrificing and patriotic in its willingness to do the onerous job of ruling Germany under the tutelage of the Allies. It was the symbol of the national despair.

When last October the reunion of the two wings of the old Social Democratic party was brought about under the name of the United Socialists the political life of Germany made a new start. It looked that the government would be spurred into action by the strengthened Socialist party. Soon, however, Hugo Stinnes, the industrial Kaiser of Germany, began through his press a drum-fire upon the government and its Socialist tendencies, and intimated that the time had come for the People's party to come into its own. The great industrial, the great bankers and the great merchants belonging to the People's party demanded a voice in the government. But as the Socialists were supreme in the Cabinet and the influence of Stinnes predominated in the Reichstag, there was a deadlock. Chancellor Wirth was in favor of creating a "great coalition". The Socialists refused to join hands with the Stinnes representatives, and Dr. Wirth had no other choice than to hand in his resignation to President Ebert.

The Socialist President Ebert invited Wilhelm Cuno, director of the Hamburg-American Line, to form a new government. At this writing Cuno is still a chancellor without a Cabinet, but press reports confidently predict that he will succeed in creating a strong government, in accordance with current fashion. Cuno has the enthusiastic backing of the Stinnes-Stresemann interests, but is opposed by the Socialists.

### MUSSOLINI THREATENS PARLIAMENT

"WITH 300,000 youths perfectly armed and ready for anything, I might have punished the enemies of the Fascismo. I might have bivouaced my troops in this very hall. I might have closed Parliament and ruled with a purely Fascist government. I say I might have done these things, but—at least for the present—I have not wished to do them."

This is one of the characteristic phrases of the opening speech of Premier Mussolini to the Chamber of Deputies. He did not appear in the guise of a suppliant asking for confidence, but rather as a conqueror imposing his will. He ordered Parliament to vote him full powers in the bureaucratic and financial fields, leaving him a free hand to introduce whatever measures he thinks best, unhampered by parliamentary considerations.

This brutal frankness of the Fascist Premier is more than refreshing. It is enlightening. Statesmen and diplomats have hitherto wasted a great deal of energy in devising effective camouflage for their sinister deeds. Democracy was something which they dared not attack. Parliament was an institution to be handled with profound deference. The privileged classes, the industrial magnates, the great landed proprietors, often found Parliament a slow and cumbersome tool. But their statesmen regarded it as a necessary evil. Now comes Mussolini and demonstrates how effectively he can destroy this figment of democracy and establish a dictatorship of reaction.

### SENATOR NEWBERRY GIVES UP

DESPITE the cleansing and whitewashing that Senator Newberry of Michigan underwent at such expert hands as those of the Supreme Court, the Senate and Secretary Hughes, the fact that he bought his seat in the Senate remained strikingly evident. Newberryism was in a large measure responsible for the discredited Republican regime. In many states it was one of the issues in the recent election. Senator Townsend, Newberry's colleague from Michigan, was defeated. Other changes in the Senate membership showed clearly that the matter would be brought up in the next Congress, and that Newberry would be ousted. He had no other choice than to resign.

This doubtless means another jolt to the Harding administration. That the Newberry resignation should come on the eve of the assembling of the



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old Congress in extra session at the call of the President is significant. But it also means that those Senators whose chief issue was Newberryism and who were prepared to make a record on this case will have to think up something else in which to distinguish themselves. The resignation of Senator Newberry, however, must not be interpreted to mean the end of Newberryism in American politics.

### CLEMENCEAU'S MISSION

CLEMENCEAU'S arrival to this country has stirred up the press to such a degree that it has submerged all other news, crowding out even the Hall mystery murder serial. Bold-faced streamers are announcing the whereabouts of the "Tiger" at different hours of the day, and squads of photographers are at work grinding away at their cameras so as not to miss a single gesture of his. Apparently we are face to face with an event of outstanding significance.

Georges Clemenceau, the French war Premier, and one of the "Big Four" who were responsible for the infamous Peace Treaty, came to this country with a mission. Although he does not officially represent the French government or any group or party, he came here as the spokesman of that rabid chauvinism and imperialism which is driving Europe to the brink of disaster. From the few sentences which he uttered on his mission here it is evident that hatred toward Germany and fear for an invasion into France are still obscuring him. He is still dominated by the war hysteria, and he will try to awaken this spirit in the minds of the American people. Why? In order to bring America and France together. To urge the American government and the American bankers to abandon or at least to modify their stand with regard to the French debt. To create a favorable public opinion regarding French policies and to convince the American people that there is no militarism in France.

Whether Clemenceau will get anything save applause and publicity is not certain. It is manifest, however, that to support Clemenceau means to incite hatred, revenge and destruction.

### LEGISLATING THE LABOR BOARD OUT OF EXISTENCE

SENATOR CUMMINS, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee is worried over the workings of the Eech-Cummins transportation act; he is worried over the election results which indicated that the voters do not entertain any illusions about this piece of legislation; he is worried over the stupid antics of the Labor Board. He therefore decided after consultation with the President and colleagues in the Senate that the Transportation Act needs revising.

The most unlovable point in the Transportation Act is the disreputable Labor Board. The Senator will therefore propose to make this board an adjunct of the Interstate Commerce Commission and transfer its headquarters from Chicago to Washington. The group organization of the board would be discarded and instead of one member of the board representing the public, another the railways, and another the workers, the board would be reorganized so that all members would represent the public exclusively. The Senator also favors the incorporation in the law of a clause guaranteeing a living wage to railway workers, contrary to the ruling of the board. But he also proposes to include an anti-strike provision in his plan. The revised edition of the program has not yet been submitted to Congress at this writing. It is doubtful, however, the Senator can make any improvements in favor of the workers.

## Fire Dangers in Factories

By THERSA WOLFSON

The fire in several factory buildings which occurred during the last few weeks, in which a number of workers' lives were lost, again drew the attention of the callous and indifferent public to the fire hazards in our factories and to the danger which every worker is exposed to, in his daily life. Perhaps greater attention would have been given to the subject had not these fires occurred during the height of a political campaign. As it is, a few newspapers mentioned the fact and now this is of no more interest and has given place to some current murder or other sensational stories.

For years the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Cloak and Suit and Dress and Waist Industries has again and again reiterated and pointed out to the dangers existing in our factory buildings. For years investigations have been made by the inspectors of the Board and the results of the investigations were published and outspoken statements made, as to the probability of a daily occurrence of a new disaster similar to the "Triangle" and other catastrophes. Every year a Momento Mori article has been published by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control drawing attention to March Twenty-fifth as the anniversary of the "Triangle" fire and urging greater interest in the subject.

The Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union especially has always been vitally interested in the subject of

fire protection, has always urged the Joint Board of Sanitary Control to publish the results of its investigations, and has cooperated with the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in its efforts to mitigate the evils existing in factories.

Part of the activities of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control consist in trying to eliminate the "C" shops, which are the shops with fire dangers, and to improve the fire protection of the shops by compelling the owners to comply with the law and with the standards of the Board. During the inspection of 1921 there were only 195 "C" shops in the two industries and the number has been constantly decreasing due to the efforts of the inspectors.

Likewise, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is conducting 1210 fire drills in as many factories, with the result that the workers in these factories are more or less protected against panics, know the exits which they should seek in case of fire and are accustomed to an orderly emptying of the shop in as short a time as possible.

However, the fire protection of the shops is but part of the greater problem of the fire protection of the buildings. No matter how well we may protect the several shops of the Cloak and Suit or Dress and Waist industry in a building, the lives of our workers are still endangered if the workers of the other shops in the building are not drilled or the fire pro-

tection of the other shops is below normal.

Unfortunately, during the last few years we have not had as much co-operation of the local authorities in our efforts as we should have and many of the laws, notably the Fire Drill provision of the law, remain dead letters until this day.

During this month of November we are making a reinspection of all the shops in the Dress and Waist industry with a view of detecting and eliminating the fire hazard shops, and during December a force of twelve inspectors, under the supervision of several experts, will make a thorough investigation of the 1200 buildings in Manhattan, and perhaps of the buildings in Brooklyn, in which our shops are located.

On Tuesday, November 14th, Dr.

William Jay Schiefelin, Chairman of the Board of Sanitary Control, called a conference at which representatives of the Fire Department, of the Labor Department, of the several Employers' Associations, and Mr. Hochman and Mr. Mackoff of the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union, were present. Dr. Price, Director of the Board, told in plain words the conditions as they are and the dangers lurking in the workshops, and the need of once for all inaugurating some definite legislation and action to reduce the fire dangers in factories. The conference decided to have a preliminary meeting on December 4th to which various Civic as well as Labor bodies should be invited, and which shall try to work out a program for better enforcement and for more approved legislation at the coming session of the Legislature.

## The Nearing-Gibbons Debate

The debate between Scott Nearing and Herbert Adams Gibbons on the question "Can Every Man Earn a Living Under Capitalism?" is attracting wide attention. The debate will take place at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Sunday afternoon, December 10th, at 2:30 P. M.

Little surprise will be evinced at Dr. Nearing's point of view, while Dr. Gibbons's position, background, and experience combine to make of him as able a supporter of his position as could be found. Associate Professor of History and Political Economy at Robert College, Constantinople, 1910-1913, lecturer at Princeton 1919-1920, Dr. Gibbons was offered a professorship at Wisconsin, Amherst, and Lafayette, but declined them all, preferring to stick to writing, and the interpretation of international relations through the press. His books, entitled "The New Map of Europe," "The New Map of Asia,"

and "Introduction to World Politics," as well as his many articles in the Century Magazine have made him well known to the reading public. Since 1910, he has lived in, not merely visited Constantinople, Petrograd, Vienna, Berlin, London, and Paris. He knows intimately the Europe of yesterday and today, and he still has faith in the capitalist system.

But does he know the Europe of tomorrow? Do the facts justify his faith? That is the question that he and Scott Nearing will thrash out on December 10th. While Scott Nearing is convinced that we need a radical reorganization of our whole social order, Gibbons denies its necessity. Since each bases his conclusions on carefully selected facts and extensive study, the intellectual combat between these two highly trained minds will be of immense interest to all those who are trying to read the writings on the wall.

### LOCAL NO. 3 MOVES INTO JOINT BOARD BUILDING

A fire which destroyed the meeting rooms of the Ladies' Tailors, Sample Makers' and Alteration Workers' Union, Local No. 3, and which necessitates the removal of the Union from 12 West 29th Street, has almost come at an opportune moment, for this seeming misfortune makes it possible for our Local No. 3 to have the honor to be the first tenant in the new building recently purchased by the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union.

The headquarters of Local No. 3 will now be located at 150 West 25th Street, at the corner of Lexington Avenue.

### GOLD WATCH FOR RAIN-COAT SHOP CHAIRMAN

The workers of the Rosen & Mogilsky shop presented their shop chairman, Brother Joseph Kessler, with a gold watch and chain in appreciation of his splendid and faithful work in that capacity. The members of that shop wish him the best of luck and good health, and trust that he will continue his good work in their behalf as heretofore.

Committee:

Sol Immerman,  
Sam Goldstein,  
Herman Mendelson,  
Harry Hutschnecker.

## Among the Custom Dressmakers, Local 90

By I. BERNADSKY

A few months ago I had written in these columns concerning the new agreements that we expected to conclude with our employers. (Now I can report with satisfaction that we renewed our agreements and obtained all our demands—both with regard to hours and wages. In most of the shops we received a wage increase for our workers ranging from three to five dollars per week. It must not be lost sight of that our trade is on a week-work basis and a raise means an actual increase in dollars. That is why our members are real satisfied with it.)

I want to underscore the fact that our Union controls only a certain percentage of the shops and consequently only a part of the trade, The cream of the industry, the so-called Fifth Avenue part of it, is unorganized. Notwithstanding this fact we had only a few strikes at the time of the renewal of the agreements. This can be explained on the following two grounds: First, there is a shortage of workers in the trade; and, secondly, and this is the principal reason, our Union controls the best workers in

the trade and no employer likes to have his set of workers broken up. All, with the exception of a few where strikes had to be called and settled in favor of the Union, conceded our demands without a fight.

On Thursday, October 26, a meeting of the shop chairmen and active members, together with the Executive Board, was held, attended also by Brother Baroff, the Secretary of the International. The Principal problem discussed at this meeting was how to organize the unorganized workers in the trade. All who were present showed evidence of deep interest in the discussion. They felt that a way must be found to get the unorganized custom dressmakers into the Union. Secretary Baroff took part in the discussion and stated that he had known the custom dressmakers for a long time and participated in the early efforts to organize them. He knows the trade and is familiar with the expert skill required to make dresses and gowns for the Fifth Avenue ladies. Some of these workers are under the impression that as "artists" they need not be-

long to the Union and can take care of themselves. The fact, however, is that while the organized dressmakers get better wages and work shorter hours, the "artists" in the non-union shops work long hours for very small wages. Now that the agreements had been signed, it is a good time to start organizing work and prove to the rest of the trade that if it enters the fold of the union, it would benefit thereby in a like degree.

Manager Bernadsky of the Local rendered a report on the renewal of the agreements, dwelling on the difficulties confronted in the course of this task and calling upon all those present to help him in the work of safeguarding the local.

Our member meetings during the summer were not held regularly because the workers in the hot months are usually tired at the end of a warm day spent in the shop and are not inclined to come to meetings held in the evening. Now, however, the cooler weather has returned and it is the plain duty of every worker to give up an evening every second week for the membership meetings.

A union cannot and must not neglect the daily problems of its industry. Shop meetings are well

enough but they only deal with shop problems. Workers must not be satisfied with attending to their small shop matters only; they must also be interested in the problems of the trade, in what is going on in all the shops.

On Thursday last, November 16, a general member meeting was held in the Harlem Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street, where nominations were made for the executive board of 1923.

Again we wish to call attention to the following: Some members come to us to inquire whether they can take jobs in the Petty-Carnegie shop. To these we wish to say that no members of the International should look for or accept a job at that place. The firm has not settled with the Union and surely no one of our workers wants to aid it in running its shop on the "open shop" basis.

We wish to say to our members that they might as well hurry and pay up their dues and assessments. They have to do it eventually, and now that the Union is doing organizing work and intends to enlarge it in the near future, it will require every form of assistance that the membership can possibly give it.

## JUSTICE

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# A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP  
(London Daily Herald Service.)

## SOCIALISM IN THE NEAR EAST

An interesting insight on the Kemalist concept of Constantinople is, it seems, thrown by an interview given to Frederick Kuh, the Daily Herald correspondent in that city, by Kemal Pasha himself. From this it is to be gathered that the prevailing characteristic of the new Turkish State, as set up by the new triumphant State, will be "Socialism in so far as that conviction is compatible with Nationalism". Whether the Turk's conception of Socialism is very closely akin to that of any British Socialist is doubtful. Still, this avowal of his, coupled with his praise of the foreign policy of the British Labor Party, must be taken into consideration in judging the seriousness of any Near East crisis that may now arise.

**LABOR'S FOREIGN POLICY**  
Labor's Foreign Policy was well outlined by Arthur Henderson, leader of the British Labor party, in a Fabian lecture, last Friday, in which he declared that its bedrock was Peace, that "Labor challenges the old order, the old ways and the old methods, and declares for internationalism", and that unemployment was a symptom of the decay in the political, industrial and financial fabric of Europe which is itself a consequence of our late government's foreign policy. At all the election meetings at which I have yet been present, this connection between our present industrial plight and the anti-international policy of the late and present governments, was clearly demonstrated and clearly understood. And no wonder, since the unemployment figures for the last week have increased by 9,064, and are still going up in spite of the general decrease in the first half of the year. Also, the prices of most necessary food stuffs are going up, which gives the lie to those who support the reductions in wages on the grounds of a reduction in the cost of living. And another election cry is that, since 1918, the date of the last election, reductions of wages have amounted approximately to £12,000,000 a week.

## WILL LABOR WIN?

Never was there an election in which it was less easy to prophesy results. The logic of facts demands of course the return of a Labor majority. Next to the Conservative party no other party has so large a number of candidates in the field. No other party has so definite a program, or so good a case against the other three parties—Conservatives under Mr. Bonar Law, Liberals under Mr. Asquith, National Liberals under Mr. Lloyd George. But elections are rarely decided by the logic of the situation, and the very confusion of the other three parties, causing split votes which do not even split in the same direction universally, will pro-

ably cause the return of many candidates from all parties by an accident. One thing also emerges from the wild speeches of the leaders of the other three parties—while they quarrel furiously over personalities as though the election were being held to determine what Mr. Lloyd George has said about Mr. Bonar Law, and what Mr. Winston Churchill has said about Mr. Lloyd George, and that somebody else said about somebody else, all these gentlemen and their followers unite without a dissenting voice in their opposition to Labor. This was seen in the municipal elections of last week, in which Labor was frankly beaten all over the country—but not in a straight fight with one party at a time. In every municipal constituency, the two other parties united against Labor,

which was accordingly beaten by two to one. In the general election on November 15, it will be three to one. Also, and this is perhaps the most important factor of all, with the exception of the Daily Herald and a very few provincial papers, the whole of the press is capitalist and in the hands of a few wealthy people mostly millionaires. Thus, the mass of the papers are able every day to pour forth misrepresentations of Labor's policy, especially in regard to the Capital Levy, which the small Labor press cannot hope wholly to counteract. If Labor loses the election on the Capital Levy, it will be because it has not a press to equal in strength that of the wealthy minority who alone stand to lose by the Capital Levy.

## DR. DEMBO TO LECTURE FOR THE RUSSIAN-POLISH BRANCH OF THE CLOAKMAKERS' UNION ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24TH

A series of lectures and discussions in Russian on economic, social and labor problems, and industrial hygiene, has been arranged for the members of the Russian-Polish Branch of the Cloakmakers' Union. These lectures will be given on the second and fourth Friday of each month at 315 East 10th Street. The program includes the following subjects:

- 1) The Structure of the Present Economic System.
- 2) Economic Problems and the Workers.

- 3) Some Problems of the Working Woman.
- 4) Labor and Unionism.
- 5) Applied Psychology and Logic.
- 6) Industrial Hygiene.

The first of the series will be a lecture on Industrial Hygiene to be given by Dr. Dembo on Friday, November 24th, at 8 p. m. Members of the International are invited to attend. Admission free.

# News from Cleveland

By MEYER PERLSTEIN

We have embarked upon a new experiment in our city, which we believe will be of considerable interest to the members of our Union at large.

There has been a good deal of talk and sentiment among our Cleveland workers for the starting of the Union-owned cloak shop. Recently we began translating this sentiment into action. The Joint Board endorsed the idea and the first practical steps towards the organization of such a shop have been started.

On Thursday last, November 15, we had the first meeting at which this plan was discussed from a practical point of view and \$11500 worth of shares had already been subscribed. An active committee was organized to sell stock subscriptions and arrangements are being made to get a charter for a "Union-owned Cooperative Shop." The basic principle of this co-operative undertaking is that stock is to be held only by union members. The Joint Board will invest some money and have the controlling vote, but the overwhelming majority of \$100,000 worth of stock will, of course, have to be subscribed by the individual members of the Union. The price per share is \$25, and we expect that every member of the Union will become a share holder.

As regards the distribution of earnings, the plans are as follows: 40 per cent of the earnings is to be paid in the form of dividends to the stockholders; 40 per cent is to be left for the enlargement of the business; and 20 per cent is to be used for helping the general labor movement. We underscore again that the stock will be sold only to members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Adequate provisions are made that if a member leaves the trade, the Joint-Board is to take over his stock and reimburse him.

The cooperative shop will make coats, suits and dresses of medium class for wage earners, salaried per-

ple and for middle-class women. A label and a trade mark will be designed which will make it possible for the product manufactured in our union-owned shop to find a special market among those who sympathize with the cooperative and trade union idea, particularly among the membership of the numerous trade-union label league organizations in the Middle West and the West.

We want to prove to the people that we can run a good factory at higher wages and sell a garment of good style at a lower price. We also want to fight the tendency of some non-union employers to bring back the sweatshop to our industry.

## NEGOTIATIONS STILL GOING ON

We had another conference with the employers last Saturday, November 18, with reference to the new agreement. We are to meet them again this Tuesday. At present it is very hard to say what the outcome may be. It is quite natural that we are trying our utmost to avoid a strike, but if our efforts fail and a strike becomes unavoidable, the union will be found ready to defend the interests of our workers.

Among the important occurrences in the cloak industry of Cleveland is the going out of business of the Black Company. The firm was taken over by the Prints-Biederman Company. The Black plant will be shut down within the next few weeks.

The campaign to organize the workers of the Prints-Biederman Company is meanwhile continuing unabated. It is not an easy task, but the Cleveland Joint Board is doing all it can possibly do to bring the union message to the workers of that firm and to enroll them into the fold of the organization. Circulars, advertisements in the Czech-Slovakian press, signs carried around the shop, committees visiting individual workers and various other means and methods are being en-

getically applied in this organization campaign.

## LONGUET IN CLEVELAND

This Wednesday, November 22, we have a general member meeting at the Moose Hall, at which the officers of the Joint Board will report on the latest developments in the industry, on the progress made in the negotiations with the employers for the 1923 agreement and also on the headway the union is making in organizing the workers of the Prints-Biederman shop.

Every member of the union was notified by a special circular to attend

the meeting, as in addition to the above-mentioned reports, the members of the Cleveland Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will also have an opportunity to hear on that afternoon a report on labor conditions in Europe from M. Jean Longuet, one of the most prominent leaders of labor in France. The Cleveland Cloakmakers' Union was one of the very first organizations in the Middle West to take a Longuet date. We expect that the big Moose Hall will be packed to its full capacity and that every cloakmaker in Cleveland will be eager to attend this memorable meeting.

## RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

7 EAST 15TH STREET

### COURSES BEGINNING THIS WEEK

Max Schoenberg	Thursdays and Fridays, 7:30 P. M.
"Meaning of History"	
Marius Hansome	Fridays, 7:30 P. M.
"Practical Composition"	
Nellie S. Nearring	Fridays, 7:30 P. M.
"Women and Social Progress"	
Harry W. L. Dana	Saturdays, 8:15 P. M.
"Current Plays"	
August Claessens	Sundays, 2:30 P. M.
"Public Speaking"	

### BEGINNING NEXT WEEK

Algernon Lee	Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, 7:30 P. M.
"Economics" and "Economic History"	
Clement Wood	Tuesdays, 8:40 P. M.
"Contemporary Fiction"	
Margaret Daniels	Tuesdays 7:30 and 8:40 P. M.
"Psychology"	
Herman Epstein	Tuesdays, 8:40 P. M.
"Ring of the Nibelungen"	
Eugene Wood	Wednesdays 7:30 and 8:40 P. M.
"Use of Voice" and "Correction of Accent"	
Jesus Lieberman	Thursdays, 8:40 P. M.
"Organization Methods"	
Solon De Leon	Fridays, 8:40 P. M.
"History of Trade Unionism"	
Scott-Nearing	
"Labor Economics"	Fridays, 8:40 P. M.
"Sociology"	Saturdays, 11:00 A. M.
"Current History"	Saturdays, 1:30 P. M.
Trade Union Problems and Policies	Mondays, 8:40 P. M.
"Symposium Course"	

\* \* \* REGISTER NOW \* \* \*  
RAND SCHOOL FORUM, Nov. 19, 8:30 P. M., Frank Walsh on "Russia"

## Letters from Poland

By DAVID MAYER  
(Special Correspondence to Justice)

### THE SEIM ELECTIONS

Poland is in the throes of an election fever. We are on the eve of balloting for the first normal legislative Seim—parliament, and Senate—upper house.

The Constituent Seim, the assembly, called together in the beginning of 1919, worked out a comparatively democratic constitution for Poland—though on paper only. We shall now have the first elections to the Seim and the Senate on the basis of the election laws of the new constitution. And the two-sidedness of the entire Polish public life reflects itself best of all in the way this election is carried on. There is attractive Western European democratic phraseology for outside consumption—and black reaction for domestic, and practical purposes.

According to the election law, all citizens, male and female, 21 years of age, have the right to vote for the Seim and those of 30 years or over have the right to vote for the Senate also. Each citizen has only one vote and the elections are secret, direct and proportional. It would appear that all the requirements of a democratic election are met by this law. Nevertheless, in practice the matter turns out to be quite different.

All Poland is divided into 64 districts for election purposes. Each district sends from 3 to 14 deputies, according to population. The bigger cities, Warsaw, Lodz, Krakow, Posen and Lemberg form individual election districts. The other 59 are composed of the smaller cities, townships and their surrounding villages. In the cities there are the industrial workers and as a rule, a Socialist movement. In Poland, in particular, the cities are thickly populated with Jews and these the Polish nationalists greatly fear. So a method had to be found to minimize, as much as possible, the potential effect of the elections in the cities upon the results of the general elections.

It took the Seim a full year to work out the election ordinances, a task accompanied by sharp internal

party friction which often led to parliamentary obstruction and filibustering. The forces of reaction, however, accomplished their aim in rendering the labor and national minorities of Poland harmless to themselves.

The spirit of proportional representation demands that the election districts be large so that the minorities might send a representative number of deputies. The number of mandates from each election district, it must be remembered, depends on the size of its population.

What was done in Poland, however, was the following: In Central Poland, where the Polish population is in a great majority, approximately one deputy is appointed for each 60,000 inhabitants. The election districts are small and send from three to four deputies each. The cities and the smaller towns with a Jewish or industrial population are so cut up that their number never reaches 60,000 and they therefore cannot win their own mandates. In the agricultural sections of Eastern Galicia and Volhyn where the village population is Ukrainian or White Russian and the Poles are in a minority and live in the cities, the apportionment is one deputy to each 80,000 population which cuts down the number of delegates that might be sent by the non-Polish majority considerably. There all the election districts are huge and send from nine to ten deputies which insures mandates for the Polish minorities. In short, the number of the electoral mandates and of the election districts and their geographic boundaries are so craftily "gerrymandered" that the national minorities which constitute about one third of the entire population of Poland can send only a very small number of representatives. Such are the "general" and "equal" election laws of Poland.

Yet this is not all. Under the system of proportional representation, each list of candidates obtains a number of mandates in proportion to the number of votes obtained by that list. A large number of votes, however, are lost entirely under this system.

In Poland, for instance, it is figured out that one mandate is given to each 18,000. Small parties or groups that will receive more than 18,000 votes but less than two or three times 18,000 will lose their fractions no matter how big these fractions are. In Germany where elections to the Reichstag are also conducted on the basis of proportional representation, the rule is that the fractions from all the election districts are combined for each party, and each party is apportioned an additional number of deputies. The rule holds good for the big parties as well as for the small ones and parties that can not receive the required number of votes in one district are nevertheless able to obtain through this computing of fractions some representation. Under such a system votes are not lost anywhere and the smaller parties and groups obtain representation in Germany according to their actual strength.

In Poland they have also introduced the same system, but it has been so garbled up and manipulated with that it works just opposite to its original intent. The new Seim will have 444 deputies. 372 of these will be chosen in the various election districts and the remaining 72 will be divided among the parties from the fractions left over "unused" in these districts. It would appear at first flush that the party obtaining the largest number of "unused" votes should get a larger number of mandates from the remaining 72. Logic and justice, however, were not a factor in framing the Polish election laws and instead of dividing these 72 remaining deputies among each party on the basis of the size of their fractions, these votes will be distributed on the basis of the number they had already elected. In other words, parties which had won a large number of mandates in the districts directly will get a correspondingly large number of deputies from the 72 and the small parties will probably obtain nothing.

The labor parties, however, have, regrettably enough, not formed any bloc among themselves and they are fighting in this election independently and waste a great deal of energy in competing with each other. The "Bund" appealed to the revolutionary labor parties with a proposal to wage the election campaign jointly. The

Communists, however, made this understanding impossible. The above described election ordinance, in addition to the fact that there are five separate election lists appealing for the vote of the numerously small Jewish workers of Poland, will compel these workers to exert their utmost energy to elect any deputies.

The "Bund", the strongest and oldest Jewish labor party in Poland, is conducting a very wide election campaign. The "Bund" has candidates in 41 of the 64 election districts in Poland; mass meetings are being organized in the cities on a large scale and literature is distributed en masse. The Bund hopes to elect several of its deputies despite the severe election laws. Needless to say that the fierce police persecution of the labor parties, which is even more cruel now, makes the campaign very difficult. In the country districts where only a small number of Poles reside, the authorities have failed to place a large number of electors on the voting lists and there are cases where entire villages have been thus robbed of the right of suffrage. Under such circumstances will the "equal" and "general" election take place in Poland in a few days.

Of the labor parties, only the Polish Socialist Party has a chance of winning a number of mandates because it is opportunist in a political sense and nationally patriotic; it is not being persecuted and is conducting a wide and energetic campaign in the open. In Eastern Galicia the Ukrainians are boycotting the election. They wouldn't recognize their affiliation to the Polish State and they refuse to be represented in the Seim. The revolutionary elements in the Ukrainian districts have recently developed a widespread terrorist activity against the Polish governmental organs and its institutions and friends. The police is, of course, replying to it with increased repression.

The election to the Seim will take place on November 5 and to the Senate on November 12. The election to the Senate is conducted on the same principles as to the Seim except that the number of senators is only 111.

## A Broken Window and a Job

By MIRIAM KARPILOVE

This isn't a fable and it has no moral. Neither is it a "short story," for although short its plot is too simple to satisfy even the pinched imagination of a rustic editor. A true story, nevertheless, it is.

It is laid in a rickety second-floor back parlor of an old Eastside three-story brick house which has been better days some sixty or seventy years ago. The ground floor of the house and its basement were choked with presses, linotype machines and other printing paraphernalia; the front of the second floor housed a cluttered business "office." The rear was the abiding place of the editorial staff of an anemic-looking six-page Yiddish daily, say about twelve or fifteen years ago.

Our hero, a person of indefinite age, looks and gifts, save for a perennial and very audible bronchial cough, was the "rewrite" man of the outfit, otherwise the "falsch," as it fell to his daily lot to clip the English newspapers every morning and "do the stuff over" into breezy colloquial Yiddish. He would appear at his end of the long, ink-stained and rather murky "editorial" table in the wee small hours of the morning—it was a one-edition "evening paper" appearing regularly at 11:00 A. M.—

and would work until 8:30 or 9:00 A. M. until the signal came from the floor that the front page was all up.

One cold, nasty Fall morning a baseball from an adjacent courtyard strayed into one of the small panes of the window near which our writing man was seated, made a neat round hole and landed in a bed of old newspapers in the opposite corner. It created a short-lived consternation for a while among the rest of the fellows in the room but became a notice of endless agony for our "rewrite" man. By far not a robust individual, the draught that would come from the hole in the window in the cold bleak hours of the morning annoyed him to death and all but wrecked his nerves. He complained meekly once or twice to the manager, a florid-faced blond hulk who in reality looked blankly at him with a stare filled with disneyware unpaid paper bills, ink bills, rent bills and all the other inconspicuous details that sweeten periodically the existence of a business manager. The office boy, the business maintainer of the editorial staff, then suggested that he himself put in a glass at his own expense. The plan found immediate favor, a glazier was quickly discovered who performed the job for \$1.50

—which for the time closed the incident.

Two weeks later the "rewrite" man was discharged. To be sure, it had nothing to do with the broken window glass. A new "boss", a sulky, gaunt person came to the place and as his mean green eyes fell upon the insignificant little figure of our hero, he decided that he didn't want him. So the "rewrite" man went out one Saturday morning as docilely as he came to the place, except that as he was about to descend the stairs with the last pay envelope in his hands, a little light flickered up behind his eye-glasses and he stopped in the doorway of the business office. The business manager was seated at a desk.

"I am going," he stammered, "I want my glass."

"You want what?" the business manager belched back in astonishment.

"My glass . . . in that window," the discharged writer pointed towards the rear room in a stifled voice. The business manager laughed uproariously.

"Maybe you want the table, the house, the presses; don't be stingy, go ahead!" he was fairly smothered with laughter.

"No, that is mine, I put it in there. It cost me \$1.50." The little writing man was now choking with rage and snapping out his words in a voice of unsuspected volume.

The general manager stopped laughing. He screwed his eyes at the piteous figure in front of him and heated. "You did, oh yes, that's right, you did!" and he looked aside.

"I'll take it with me. It is mine," the "rewrite" man was spluttering threats and anger. The business manager rose, brushed slowly by him and went heavily down the rickety stairway to seek out the "boss". There must have been a hurried and quite a satisfactory consultation down in the press room, for in five minutes the bulky figure of the manager reappeared at the head of the staircase, his face wrinkled with a smile as he approached the dejected little man, still in the doorway.

"So, you want your glass back," he said with a strange gurgle in his throat.

"I do, I do, I do!" the "rewrite" man fairly shrieked back, somewhat baffled by the unusual smile on the manager's face.

"Well," the manager drawled out, "we don't give back furniture in this here place to nobody, but you can come back to work next Monday just the same."

The writing man blinked, swallowed hard, stood for another moment in the doorway, attempted to say something and then quietly slunk downstairs.

# JUSTICE

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R. SCHLESINGER, President S. YANOFKY, Editor

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

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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## EDITORIALS

### THE RECENT BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS

A. F. OF L. FRATERNAL DELEGATES, BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER AND EDWARD J. MCGIVERN, SUBMIT  
JOINT REPORT TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:  
Greetings:

We beg leave to submit to you the following report on the mission entrusted to us by the 42nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, as fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress.

We arrived at Southampton on September 2nd, two days prior to the opening of the Congress; we attended all sessions and paid close attention to the proceedings of the important gathering.

The Congress opened on Monday afternoon, September 4th. It was attended by more than seven hundred delegates, all of whom seemed to be animated by a determination to consolidate the power of the workers' organization, industrial and political, as the only way of overcoming the critical situation which faces British labor.

The total membership of the British trade unions as represented in the Congress, amounted to 5,137,000, showing a loss of over one million since 1921. In view of the tremendous drain on trade-union funds, the serious dislocation of industry, the standing army of nearly two million "out-of-works", together with the changes in the industrial structure, necessitated by the translation from war conditions to a peace basis, this reduction in membership is by no means alarming.

One of the most significant acts of the Congress was the decision to launch an organization campaign among the unorganized industrial and agricultural workers of the country. It was with this object in view that the General Council asked for enlarged powers in the field of national propaganda and organization.

Another important resolution passed by the Congress, was one condemning the housing policy of the government which had wholly failed to take account of the needs of workers. Simultaneously with the meeting of the Congress, there was also held a conference of the National Exchors Housing Association, which was composed of representatives of working-class organizations. This conference passed resolutions urging the workers to build co-operative homes by the Guild method and advocating that all local governments be empowered to acquire building sites at taxation values and to build houses from local revenues in the same manner as the educational, health and other public services are maintained.

The Congress gave serious consideration to the problem of labor publicity. Acting upon the suggestion of the General Council, it decided by an overwhelming vote to increase the affiliation fees from one penny to three pence per member in order to provide funds for press and publicity. This action was taken in conjunction with the recent decision of the Labor party to take over the London Daily Herald, until now the unofficial organ of British labor, and to make it the official spokesman of the Trade Union movement.

Unemployment was one of the all-absorbing topics of debate at the Congress, in view of the impending terrible sufferings of the workers during the grim winter season to come. Accorded to official figures no less than 1,351,400 persons were registered at the Unemployment Exchors Housing Association on August 28th. 69,100 additional persons were employed on short-time organizations. Over eleven million pounds was spent in unemployment benefit during the preceding nine months, and in addition to this inadequate relief, the country was involved in enormous and unproductive expenditures on Poor Law relief. The Congress, in a ringing resolution, demanded that the government immediately undertake public works on a large national scale to provide employment for the idle workers and that it secure proper maintenance for those for whom no work is available. Unemployment must be relieved from national revenue, not local funds, was the principle proclaimed by the resolution. If work cannot be supplied by private employers, the community must find it. The nation did this for four years in order to win the war; it must continue it now to save the workers from being ruined by peace.

The Congress instructed its General Council to call a conference of all affiliated unions whose members are, to a considerable extent, employed by co-operative societies with a view of regulating the relations between the unions and cooperative societies upon a uniform and equitable basis. The step was taken in the hope of obviating the occasional disputes between some trade unions, as representatives of the workers, and cooperative societies in their capacity of employers, and to insure perfect

harmony between the two important movements of the British workers.

Another interesting subject of debate was the problem of coordination of the industrial activities of the unions in times of crises. The debate was precipitated by a proposed amendment of the standing rules of the Congress, which would make it the duty of affiliated unions to keep the Council informed of all disputes with employers which are likely to involve large bodies of workers, so as to enable the General Council, in case of need, to coordinate the activities of all unions involved and to extend to them effective support in their struggles.

The plan was opposed as representing too novel and radical an innovation. It was pointed out particularly that the differences in the constitutions of the various affiliated unions would make it difficult for them to conform to the discipline of a centralized general staff. The resolution was referred back for further consideration, but it was quite evident that while the majority of the delegates considered the proposed policy somewhat premature and inclined to the belief that unity in working-class struggles would be more solidly and effectively established if permitted to grow up from the bottom rather than being imposed from the top, the Congress as a whole was very sympathetic to the principle underlying the resolution.

The Congress also took a determined stand in favor of equal pay for men and women in the same work. It performed similar work and went on record with an emphatic protest against the policy of discrimination against women workers practiced by the government in connection with contracts and in the direct departmental work.

Of particular interest to the American workers was the high quality of the discussion on the subject of international relations. The stand which the Congress took on every phase of the problem was always of advancement and enlightenment. The work of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations was endorsed with special reference to its efforts to establish minimum conditions of social welfare by international agreement. The British government was called upon to exert its influence in the League of Nations towards increasing the effectiveness of the Labor Office in this direction. On the vexed question of reparations, which agitates all of Europe as no other single issue, the Congress pronounced itself in favor of revising the Versailles Treaty with the object of insuring greater political and economic stability in Europe and the peace of the world. The resolution favors the general principle of a complete cancellation of indemnities, but by way of immediate relief it demands that Germany be freed from the exorbitant money obligations imposed by the Versailles Treaty and that instead of it, provisions be made for the restoration of the devastated areas of France by German labor. This proposition has the unqualified approval of the organized workers of Germany as well as of those in France. The Congress furthermore declared itself as opposed to the demand that Germany pay the costs of British war pensions, and advocated the admission of the German Republic into the International Councils of nations on an equal footing.

On the whole the Congress of the British Trade Unionists was an impressive demonstration of intelligence and working-class solidarity, and we who were privileged to participate in its deliberations in behalf of the organized workers of the United States have carried away a new realization of the universal character of labor's struggles for progress and social justice and a strengthened faith in the ultimate triumph of labor's just cause.

During the week of the Congress we had a conference with J. H. Thomas, the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, C. Mertens, the Vice-President, and Eddo Fimmen, the Secretary of the Federation, together with the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress, at which the question of affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions was gone over. We presented the case of our American Federation of Labor as defined and formulated by its Executive Council, laying particular stress on the onerous character of the duties required from our Federation and, above all, upon the necessity and determination of the Federation to preserve its full autonomy in matters of practical policy as well as in all commitments to political views or programs. Our conferees seemed to appreciate the special difficulties which lie in the path of the A. F. of L.'s affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the officials of the latter promised that they would lay the situation before their Executive Committee with a view of evolving an equitable plan which would obviate the difficulties and prove acceptable to the A. F. of L. We gained the impression that the organized workers of Europe are very anxious to have the cooperation of our organization and that they are ready to make all reasonable concessions in order to secure such cooperation.

In the course of the conference, we were also informed that the International Federation of Trade Unions has called a world Congress of Labor Unions, Social Democratic parties and other progressive organizations to be held at The Hague on December 10th, 1922. The proposed Congress is to be in the nature of an international demonstration for the maintenance of the world's peace and for a general reduction of armaments, and attendance at the Congress will not commit the participating organizations to any political views or material obligations. Our brothers in Europe feel very strongly that the effects of such a Congress would be of incalculable value for the preservation of international peace and for the welfare of the present distracted generation of mankind, provided that the Congress is truly representative of the working masses of the whole civilized world. They feel that such a demonstration would be patently incomplete without the par-

# Some Phases of American Labor History

By ALGERNON LEE

IX.

Through centuries of dispersal the Jews had never merged with the people among whom they dwelt. Having no possibility of national existence, they found in religion the expression of their identity as a distinct people. Religious feeling deeply permeated every portion of their lives. But for the same reason that there was no Jewish state, neither was there any Jewish church. The element of priesthood disappeared, and knowledge of the Law became the essence of religious life. Jewish "law," however, was more than law; it was also ethics, philosophy, logic, history, poetry—it embraced the whole Jewish culture. Moreover, there was a remarkable absence of authoritative formulated dogma. Everything was subject to discussion. Having no other outlet for their energies, the Jews found their ideal in the life of study and of disputation. What wealth, political power, military glory, artistic achievement, perfection of manners, or personal sanctity have been among various other peoples, that was learning and dialectic acuteness among the Jews—the highest object of human effort.

The results were both good and bad. The Jewish intellect became excessively subtle, and it was often exercised on most trivial subjects. But at least it was exercised. Even the ignorant honored knowledge and wished to possess it, and there was a general tendency to question and think, rather than merely to believe. The Jews had long been persecuted and oppressed. Unable to resist, they cultivated patience and external humility. But those who compelled their submission had not been able to win their affection or command their respect. They never became reconciled to their lot, never ceased to resent their subjection and to believe in a better day to come.

In a word, history had made the Jews people mentally active and potentially rebellious in a very high degree.

Even in Eastern Europe, the intellectual and social movements of the nineteenth century had not left the Jews untouched. Some of their students and thinkers had begun to find in the literature and science of the modern world topics better worthy their attention than old Talmudic legends and moot points of Mosaic law. The struggles of subject peoples and subject classes which were going on all around them had begun to enlist their sympathies and to broaden their dream of Jewish redemption into a vision of universal liberty and human brotherhood. As intellectual; and as rebels they were especially attracted to Marxian Socialism, because in it the scientific impulse and the democratic impulse were organically combined, and all the more because its fundamental

theses guarded it against the possibilities of national or racial exclusiveness which lurked in almost every other popular movement of the times. When in the reign of Alexander II Socialist theories began to find acceptance among the young "intelligentsia" of the Russian Empire, when in his later years and under his successor they became the object of savage persecution, the Jews furnished their full quota of propagandists and of martyrs.

The poor Jews who, in the 1830s and thereafter, came in such large numbers to the United States and who here became wage workers, were thus historically prepared to play an important and a peculiar role in the labor movement of this country. Their habits of mental activity saved them from being degraded and stunted by the extreme misery which for a long time they had to endure. Rebels at heart by age-long tradition, they were ready to seize the first opportunity to struggle for economic and social betterment. America was to them a "land of promise," but they did not passively wait for the promise to be fulfilled.

Suddenly set free from the restrictions of the ghetto and the pale, rudely torn away from the customary life of their old communities and thrown into all kinds of new human contacts, all but the older men and women rapidly lost much of their specifically religious beliefs and feelings. More completely, perhaps, than any other body of immigrants, the Jews who came to America at this time "went into the melting pot" and became responsive to every influence of their new environment. One such influence which at once began to remodel them was that of the Socialist movement; another was that of the trade-union struggle; and the Jewish-American proletariat received these two impressions simultaneously and combined them into one.

We have already seen that Socialism in a developed form had been introduced into this country from Germany, and that differences of language and manners, together with religious and nativistic prejudices, had thus far practically confined it to the German-speaking portion of our working class. The Jewish working people now began to serve as a bridge.

Between Jew and German there were no such difficult barriers as those which divided the German from the native and the Irish elements. Their Yiddish "jargon," which was beginning to assume the dignity of a literary language, was enough like German to make communication easy; and many of them, besides, could read and speak good German. The fact that the German Socialists were anti-religious did not shock the Jewish working men, who were fast becoming non-religious. Some of the Jewish immigrants were already Socialists; many

were more or less favorably disposed when they came. Toward the end of the 1880s, and still more in the '90s, Socialist ideas spread widely from the German into the Jewish sections of the American proletariat.

But, if the Jewish newcomers readily got into touch with the older German immigrants and were influenced by them, they were no less willing and only a little less able to establish contacts with the other elements of the mixed population of which they had become a part. Without abandoning Yiddish, most of them learned to use the English language more or less well. Idealizing America as the "sweet land of liberty," they were in general eager to Americanize themselves. It must be admitted that their advances were as a rule not very cordially met. But that same mental alertness of which I have said so much, together with the fact that they had left behind them most of the subject-matter of their own old culture, enabled them very rapidly to learn whatever of good or bad America had to teach.

Among the first lessons they began to master was that of trade unionism. Even before the end of the '80s there were some attempts at labor organization among the Jewish working people in the United States. In succeeding years the effort went on—not steadily, but in a series of drives, with many blunders and defeats, but always with some lasting results. Not until about 1910, indeed, was the Jewish labor movement set on a really sound basis; but the beginnings of several now powerful unions date far back into the '90s.

From their origin, the Jewish un-

jons had a somewhat different character from the older American character. If they were often less solid, they were often far more intensely alive. Their dues were generally lower, and were by no means as regularly paid; this financial weakness, if it sometimes handicapped them in a fight, at least saved them from the error of overloading themselves with sick-benefit and death-benefit features—an error which has in time taken all the fighting spirit out of some formerly militant American unions. Having no strong treasury, to depend on, they had to stake everything on the enthusiasm of their rank and file; and if their membership was too often a fluctuating quantity, at any rate their ideal was, in all but a few cases, to bring into the union everyone who worked at the trade. Finally, their later and separate origin saved the Jewish unions from that paralyzing and corrupting "no politics" rule which circumstances had imposed upon most of the American organizations. The unions of Jewish workers have had a political as well as an economic aspect from the start—and to say this is to say that they have been more clearly class-conscious than most of the older American unions and more capable of adapting themselves to changing conditions.

Had the Jewish proletariat in this country been no more numerous than the German, all this might not have meant much in American labor history. But as the Jewish immigration grew by leaps and bounds for at least thirty years, the labor organizations which grew out of it have been able to exert a powerful influence upon the whole working-class movement in the United States.

## UNION HEALTH CENTER

Your Mind, What Is It and How Does It Work?

All of us have a brain filling a large empty space in the skull. Few of us know what the brain is and how it works. It is seldom that the average worker stops to think how he does think or why he reacts to outside stimulus in certain ways. Aside from the question of how we think or why we think is the question of how to take care of one's mind. The mind like the body must be carefully watched, protected and taken care of; and the fact that as a result of tense living, which the average worker does, we have so many cases of mental breakdown, commonly known as nervous breakdown, is something that we ought to know about.

On Friday, November 24th, at 8 P. M., at the Union Health Center, 131 West 17th Street, Dr. Leonard Blumgart of the Committee of Mental Hygiene, who has just returned from a year's study, in Vienna, of the hygiene question of mental hygiene and Dr. Jacob Goldberg director of the Committee of Health Education among the Jews, who has made a special study of insanity among Jews, will lecture on this subject.

## UNION HEALTH SCHOOL

On Tuesday, November 28th, the

this lecture in the course given on "Your Body, What Do You Know About It?" will be a discussion of the digestive and eliminative system. Dr. I. A. Galdston of the New York Tuberculosis Association is giving this course of eight lectures for the Health School.

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"CURRENT EVENTS"

MR. FICHANDLER STARTS HIS COURSE ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY FOR OUR PHILADELPHIA MEMBERS

On Friday, November 24th, Mr. Alexander Fichandler begins his course of four lessons on SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY for our members in Philadelphia. The class will meet at 8 o'clock in the evening at 506 Pine Street.

participation of the organized workers of the one country of all countries which, at the present time, holds the destiny of the nations in its hands, the United States, and they are therefore intensely interested in securing representation from the American Federation of Labor at the Congress. To this end the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions has cabled an invitation to President Samuel Gompers of our Federation and the General Council of the British Trade Union Conference has decided to re-enforce the invitation by a special cable request of its own.

We respectfully submit these facts to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for such action as it may deem proper to take.

We should not like to close our report without a personal allusion to the manner in which we have been received by the Congress as a whole and by the individual delegates with whom we had occasion to come in contact. We have been re-

ceived in a spirit of fraternity and were shown every consideration. We were afforded an opportunity of addressing the convention in session and we have endeavored to give the delegates some conception of the magnitude of our movement, of our achievements and of the problems and difficulties that are confronting us.

We are not unmindful of the cordiality with which we have been received and the attention that was shown us was not altogether personal, but that our British brethren have taken us for what we were, namely, the representatives of a movement which is striving for the attainment of the same ends that they are striving for. We feel that we have, to some degree, contributed toward the further cementing of the bonds of solidarity that should bind labor throughout the world.

With fraternal greetings,

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,  
ED. J. MCGIVERN.



## Gerhardt Hauptmann—Sixty Years

By J. CHARLES LAUE

Among the great authors, poets and dramatists who have placed their genius at the service of the masses is Gerhardt Hauptmann, the German playwright whose recent sixtieth birthday was an occasion for an international celebration. His works are not so well known in America, except for a notable performance of his play "The Weavers" given here several years ago; but in Europe his fame has been appreciated by the people of the civilized countries.

He is regarded as the greatest living poet of Germany. Last year Hauptmann's festival performances were given at Breslau, the capital of his native province, in which Silesian officials of the Federal Republic took part. Even the Kaiser, who ordered a ban on the poet's plays because through them ran an intense pity for the darkness and poverty that is the curse of wretched humanity as well as a revolutionary urge for liberty, more light and democracy, was compelled to admit the author's genius in the last years of his rule.

This sympathy for all who suffer was inherited from Hauptmann's grandfather, who had been a weaver. His mother also came from Silesian peasant stock. This gave him his inspiration, his manner and his powerful realistic style. He chooses material from common life, rather than from that of the giddy life of social butterflies so prevalent in contemporary drama, and he saturates it with the strong originality of the people's language.

The subject matter of "The Weavers," the most profound social play and the most stirring tragedy he has written, is an account of a revolt of Silesian weavers in the spring of 1844 that was hidden away in the history books until vitalized by his powerful pen. It is celebrated in folk-song as the day of "Bloody Judgement," when the property and mills of the firm of Zwanziger at Petzswaldau were destroyed by weavers who for two days, of their own accord and without any prompting from Communists, revolted at their bitter lot and in a frenzy overthrew the authorities. The leaders were subsequently imprisoned, eleven were killed and twenty-three wounded in the "weavers' battles."

Compared to Trinidad, Ludlow, Col., Paint Creek, Spruce Ridge, W. Va., and Hefrin, Ill., these far off tragedies seem unimpressive until animated by the trenchant pen of a genius. Some day the conscience of the people of North America may be stirred by a similar method if by that time the play censors will allow it.

Hauptmann never thought of arousing the masses to revolutionary deeds by his work, his purpose being to inspire compassion and deep feeling among persons of intelligence for those who toil. For three years the police would not allow him to produce the play, but it was widely read in book form and stirred his readers to their very depths.

In his other powerful historical tragedy "Florian Geyer," Hauptmann put into dramatic form the peasant war but it has never been acted, despite its amazing power. According to recent reports, the dramatist is now engaged in another epic, to be called "The Great Dream" covering the rise and fall of the last German Empire and German's rebirth as a Republic.

No German author, not even Schiller and Goethe has received such recognition during his lifetime as has Hauptmann. He is identified with the majority of the people that has made possible the transition from an autocracy to a real democracy. He sees Germany and the German people still undergoing intense suffering

from which it is bound to emerge. But not only Germany in its present crisis, but the whole of the European continent is suffering and will continue to suffer as the result of the Great War," the poet believes.

Still he does not despair of the future expecting that the irresistible forces of nature and the common sense of the masses will solve the riddle of existence. He compares Germany's present plight to that of Rome, saying that the same class struggle between the workers and the plutocrats existed then as now. Crises are natural, they mean life. His hope for the future, particularly of that of his country, lies in the fact that Germany must remain united. With unity, no cause for pessimism remains, he declares, a deduction that holds for any organization.

Hauptmann's fame rests upon his literary work of the last 30 years. While a materialist he also was capable of plays of the best lyrical power, containing the most romantic episodes. He also wrote comedies, that held their origin in the understanding of all that is human. Behind the humor of these comedies is the tragedy of human existence as powerfully depicted as in his tragedies. Among his greatest works is "Rosa Bernd," now being played by Ethel Barrymore in New York City.

He became the standard bearer of a literary revolution; not through his lyrical or epic poetry, however, but through his prose drama, "Vor Sonnenaufgang," produced in 1890, by his new technique as well as the strong material of the new drama. This also was the story of a Silesian peasant family, destroyed by wealth. Its uncompromising realism, despite its wonderful love scenes, jarred upon the nerves of the habitual theatergoers, but it was acclaimed by the masses and the Socialist press, and when the storm of protest died away, there were some of the more able critics that discovered the traces of genius in this work.

His popularity grew from then on and his third play "Kinsmen Menchen" was produced a few years later in a number of leading theaters. This was followed by "Die Weber," his greatest work.

Hauptmann can best be characterized by the words put into one of the characters in "Florian Geyer": "A burning justice flows through his heart." He has epitomized truth and the truth were known, the masses would soon be free.

### FROM "THE WEAVERS"

"The Justice to us weavers dealt is bloody, cruel and hateful; Our life's one torture, long drawn out,

For Lynch law we'd be grateful. Stretched on the rack day by day, Hearts sick and bodies aching

Our heavy sighs their witness bear To spirits slowly breaking. The Dressmakers true hangers are.

Servants no what behind them; Masters and men with one accord Set on the poor to grind them. You villains all, you brood of hell,

You feeds in fashion house, A curse will fall on all like you Who prey on men and women.

The suppliant knows he asks in vain, Vain every word that's spoken. If not content, then go and starve— Our rules cannot be broken."

Then think of all our woe and want, O ye who hear this ditty! Our struggle rain for daily bread Hard hearts would move to pity.

But pity's what you've never known— You'd take both skin and clothing, You cannibals, whose cruel deeds Fill all good men with loathing."

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# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### NO SHORTAGE OF LABOR.

According to a statement made public by the American Federation of Labor, there is no shortage of labor. The statement it was explained is the result of a survey conducted by the Federation and based on reports from nearly two hundred city central bodies in answer to a request by Secretary Merriso.

### TO ABOLISH INDUSTRIAL COURT.

Jonathan M. Davis, Governor-Elect of Kansas will start a move as soon as he takes office to repeal the Industrial Court Law. Mr. Davis takes his election as a repudiation of the law passed under the guidance of Governor Allen.

### NO WEDDING BELLS FOR UNSKILLED WORKERS.

Dr. Harry A. Gartfeld, President of Williams College, in an interview defending similar remarks credited to him stated that unskilled workers should be paid a wage which will allow no margin for the support of a wife and children. If an unskilled worker wants to marry his wife must be prepared to help him bring home the bacon, until he can educate himself out of the unskilled man's rut.

### BASEBALL PLAYERS ORGANIZE.

The new baseball players' union has not formulated any definite campaign policy as yet, as its leaders are devoting their time just now to organization and recruiting of a large membership. Attorney R. C. Cannon, guiding hand of the organization, said in Milwaukee.

### GIRL'S MINIMUM \$16 WEEK.

A working girl cannot live on less than \$16.00 a week, and many others are spending more than they should for rent, Cornelia E. Marshall, President of the Association to Promote Proper Housing for Girls, said at the opening of a two-day conference on the problems of the wage earner in New York.

### NEW YORK LABOR BANK.

New York decided to report to that body recommending the establishment of banks on the lines of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Co-operative National Bank of Cleveland. The new bank it is understood will start with a capital of one million dollars.

### KEENEY GRANTED CHANGE OF VENUE.

The Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia has upheld the Circuit Court in connection with the decision in the case of the state against Frank Keeney, President of District 17, United Mine Workers of America in which the defense won their point in removing the case in Jefferson County on account of their claim that they could not obtain a fair trial for Keeney.

### U. S. SPENDS MONEY LAVISHLY TO BREAK RAIL STRIKE.

Activities of the government in the Railway Shopmen's strike of last summer cost upwards of \$1,250,000, according to an estimate reached by the Department of Justice. The major portion of the expense was represented by the expenses of special deputy marshals, 6,000 of whom were appointed.

### THE TRUE TRUTH ABOUT COAL.

The purpose of the new Federal Coal Commission outlined in an address made in Detroit by former Vice-President Marshall, one of its members, is based upon a determination to lay bare the whole truth about the coal industry in such a way as to promote a better feeling between employers and employees.

### FOR ABOLITION OF RAIL LABOR BOARD.

A report urging abolition of the Railroad Labor Board and the transfer of its functions to the Interstate Commerce Commission, together with the enactment of legislation that will enable the Commission to enforce its order, was submitted to the national convention of Railroad and Public Utilities Commission in Detroit by the Association's Committee on Public Ownership.

### DONATIONS FOR SOMERSET MINERS.

The Committee appointed by Mayor Hylan which investigated conditions among the striking coal miners of the Berwind-White properties in southeastern Pennsylvania, opened an office in New York City where it will receive donations of food, money and clothing for the miners.

### U. S. BLUNDERED IN RETURNING RAILROADS.

At the annual meeting of the National Industrial Traffic League in New York, James C. Davis, Director General of the U. S. Railroad Administration said it was a fallacy that the government turned the railroads back to private owners in a depreciated condition for the government spent twice as much money per mile of road as the private owners had done and greatly increased and improved the rolling stock.

### COMPERS SEES GREATER PROGRESS AHEAD.

President Compers of the American Federation of Labor in a special article written for the *Cosmopolitan* News Service declares that there will be a further swing to progressive candidates and principles that was noted in the election of November 7th. The American Labor Movement has its program. It strives and gradually succeeds in establishing better conditions of life and labor among the great masses of the people, declares the article.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### SWITZERLAND

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE.

The International Conference, which has now concluded its sittings at Geneva in connection with the League of Nations, has sent several resolutions to the Administrative Council, including a motion asking them to authorize the International Labor Office to institute an inquiry on the cost of living as compared with the cost of living in Germany and other countries before the war. Mr. Thorberg (Sweden) asked for an inquiry into the means employed in various countries to assure the workers a decent existence.

### ENGLAND

#### DIRECT ACTION IN PALESTINE.

The Palestine Arabs struck work on November 1 as a protest against the Balfour policy. In a message from Jerusalem, the Palestinians express the hope that the new British Government will redress the grievances created by its predecessor in Palestine.

#### A LABOR BISHOP.

Dr. Gore, late Bishop of Oxford, has stated that he is speaking only for one candidate during the General Election campaign, and he is a Labor candidate!

#### LABOR AND DERELICT WORKERS.

Up to the time of writing the Labor Party, alone of the three great political parties in Great Britain, has accepted the full programme of the National Old Age Pensions, the chief points of which are the reduction of the pension age to 65 and the removal of restrictions on thrift whereby at present the Old Age Pensioner has his State pension reduced if he happens to have saved something himself.

#### GROWTH OF THE I. T. W. F.

Despite a slight drop in membership, the report of the International Transport Workers' Federation for 1921 shows an increase in the number of affiliated organizations, which have risen from 31 to 37. The total membership is now 2,441,248, and includes representatives from most of the European countries.

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### THE CAPITAL LEVY.

So much controversy rages round the subject of the Capital Levy, now that it is part of the British Labor Party's programme, that an article by the eminent economist, Emil Davies, telling of the success of such a conscription of wealth in Czecho-Slovakia, is opportune and convincing. In a recent conversation with Dr. Kadin (a National Liberal, not a Socialist) Finance Minister in that country, he learned that the Capital Levy, imposed on individuals and companies, became law in 1920, and was a complete success, restoring both the credit and the exchange of Czecho-Slovakia.

### FRANCE

#### WILL FASCISM SPREAD TO FRANCE?

The success of the Fascisti in Italy appears likely to produce a dangerous repercussion in France. In this country—there are already a number of organizations whose leaders look on the exploits of the Fascisti with admiration, and see in them an example to be followed in France. . . Such young men have frequently attacked and broken up small Socialist and Communist meetings. . . Now that the Labor movement in France is weakened by internal division; and the Italian coup-d'état is before their eyes as a constant inspiration, the French Fascisti may become dangerous.

### ITALY

#### MUSSOLINI'S REVENGE.

According to reports received here, it seems that Mussolini is accomplishing the revenge upon the workers which he swore upon them in 1914 when excluded from the Socialist Party. In Rome and Central Italy there have been bloody conflicts, thousands of workers being wounded. In trade union localities workers' homes have been devastated, responsible leaders imprisoned, and workers' newspapers suppressed. Many Communist and Socialist Members of Parliament have been imprisoned.

## Ladies' Tailors, Sample Makers and Alteration Workers' Union, Local No. 3

### ATTENTION!

The office of the Union, located up to the present time at 12 West 29th Street, is moving to

130 East 25th Street, corner Lexington Avenue, in the new building of the Joint Board.

Fraternally yours,

S. LEFKOVITS, Manager-Secretary.

## Educational Comment and Notes

### Our Re-opening Celebration

Last Friday evening as early as 7 o'clock, a procession of men and women, old and young, could be noticed on Irving Place hurrying to the Washington Irving High School, to participate in the celebration of the re-opening of their Workers' University and Unity Centers in particular and of the educational activities of their Union in general. By their presence they wanted to demonstrate their interest in the educational activities which were started by their organization, and which are now taking hold in the unions throughout the country.

The audience, about 1500 in number, was a really representative body of the organization. As one middle aged man, a member of the Cloakmakers' Union, said, "This looks like a real Convention. There are people I don't see from one Convention to another except at such a celebration."

Although the musical program executed by artists who were inspired by the festive air, was excellent, it was not the concert that brought the audience together. It was rather the idea that this affair marked the success of a movement initiated by their organization—the movement for Workers' Education under workers' auspices,—and started with a view of giving an intellectual and spiritual meaning to the Labor Movement. By the enthusiasm and interest displayed by the membership at this celebration can be judged the success of the Educational Department of our International.

The musical program was excellent, as is usual at all our concerts. The artists were recalled and received warm applause. The speakers made brief addresses, but in each case they brought out clearly the importance of the occasion.

Prof. H. Overstreet, of the College of the City of New York, showed how an outsider looks upon our educational work. He told the audience of what great value Labor Education is to the Labor Movement and how it differs from the education obtained in other colleges and universities. He showed that while these teach students how to utilize the world as it is today, in order to improve their own conditions, Workers' Colleges on the contrary are trying to show their students how to change the world in order that all should be able to enjoy what the world can offer to them. It was encouraging and inspiring to hear a scholar and thinker like Professor Overstreet tell that it is Labor which will ultimately control the world, and that by preparing itself intellectually it will be able to accomplish its mission successfully.

Vice-President Feinberg, chairman of the Educational Committee, was the chairman of the evening. He presided very successfully and delivered a strong and effective address. He pointed out what splendid opportunities our International is offering

to its membership for educational advancement. He showed that in this period of constant change in economic and industrial conditions, workers must be ready to assume greater responsibility for the management of industry and must be prepared for it. He explained that by taking advantage of the instruction given in our Workers' University and Unity Centers, members of the International will frequently find themselves able to solve many of their problems. He generously gave credit for most of the work to Miss Fannia M. Cohn, who in her address declined to assume all the credit but, on the contrary, wished to share it with the 120,000 members of our International.

Miss Cohn emphasized the fact that the leaders in any movement cannot produce results unless they are backed up and inspired by the masses, and that it was due to the interest and sympathy of the rank and file of our unions that it was possible for her and others, who are interested in this work, to conduct it properly.

Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff, urged the membership to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the educational activities of the International. This sentiment was received warmly by the audience.

Mr. Fichandler, the Educational Director, expressed the satisfaction which all feel at the victory of the Labor Party in the English elections. He showed that this victory was a symptom of the weakening of British labor to its power and of its determination to utilize this power for the improvement of the industrial and economic conditions of their country. He also told the audience that the 100 per cent increase in the representation of the Labor Party in parliament was largely due to the thirty years of intense educational activities on the part of British Labor Unions. He pointed out that important changes are occurring in America and that the educational activities of the American unions, which have already followed those of our own International, will help to achieve the aims of the American Labor Movement.

After the program, our members went to the gymnasium where they danced and made merry.

It was a beautiful evening. Our members met and enjoyed music, dancing, and some serious thinking. It was an inspiration to those who were present and to those who devote their energies to the advancement of Labor Education.

The classes in our Workers' University and Unity Centers will attract more of our members than before. These will be the men and women whose influence will be felt in the ever increasing struggles of Labor for abolishing the inequalities and wrongs of our system, and substituting for them happiness for all.

### Our Unity Centers

The courses in our Unity Centers began last week. They deal with social, economic, political, and labor problems. These subjects are of great value to workers in their daily lives. They should help them to understand the past in the light of the present and to obtain a vision of the future.

The subjects, the teachers, the Center, room number and hour, are mentioned in the Weekly Calendar on this page. We advise our mem-

bers to visit the Unity Center nearest their home, attend the courses, and send any suggestions they may have to the Educational Department.

We are sure that most workers can spend at least one evening a week on education. But we would also advise our members to join the classes in English, Elementary, Intermediate or Advanced, which are held in all centers on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays.

## WEEKLY CALENDAR

**WORKERS' UNIVERSITY**  
Washington Irving High School  
Irving Place and 16th St.  
Room 603

### Saturday, November 25th

1:30 **SOCIAL FORCES IN LITERATURE.**  
Prof. Carl Van Doren—Twilight of the Gods.  
2:30 David J. Sapos—Trade Union Policies and Tactics.  
Form and Struggle of Unions

### Sunday, November 26th

10:30 a. m. A. Fichandler—Psychology of Current Events.  
What Determines Human Conduct  
11:30 a. m. Dr. H. J. Carman—Political and Social History of the United States.

The Discovery of the New World  
**UNITY CENTERS**

### Monday, November 27th

Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. 8, 40  
350 East 20th Street, Room 303.  
8:30 p. m. Dr. Margaret Daniels—Industrial History of the U. S.  
(Early XIX Century).  
Brownstone Unity Center—P. 8, 84  
Stone and Glenmore Aves., Room 510.  
8:30 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Comparative Development of Industry and the Trade Union Movement in the United States.  
(The First Half of the XIX Century.)

### Tuesday, November 28th

Harlem Unity Center—P. 8, 171  
103rd St. near 5th Ave., Room 406.  
8:45 p. m. Solon De Leon—Applied Economics.  
Production of Wealth  
Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. 8, 43  
Brown Place and 13th St., Room 205  
8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement.

### Wednesday, November 29th

East Side Unity Center—P. 8, 63  
4th St. Near 1st Ave., Room 404  
8:20 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions.  
The City  
Bronx Unity Center—P. 8, 61  
Crotona Park East and Charlotte St., Room 501  
8:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Comparative Development of Industry and the Trade Union Movement in the U. S.  
Second Bronx Unity Center—P. 8, 42  
Washington Ave. and Claremont Parkway  
Williamsburg Unity Center—P. 8, 147  
Bushwick Ave. and McKibben St., Brooklyn  
These courses will be continued throughout the season at the same place, day and hour.

### EXTENSION DIVISION

#### Russian

Russian-Polish Branch, Cloakmakers' Union  
819 East 10th Street  
8 p. m. Dr. P. Denbo—Industrial Hygiene.

#### Yiddish

### Friday, November 24th

Local 9—228 Second Avenue  
1 p. m. Max Levin—The Alms and Problems of Contemporary Labor Movements.  
Admission to all of these courses free to members of the International.

## Open Sessions of Workers' University

The classes in our Workers' University began last Saturday.

Professor Carl Van Duren gave his first talk on the **SOCIAL FORCES OF LITERATURE**, entitled "Literature and Life." It was a great satisfaction to note how many members of our organization responded to the announcement of our courses and came to the first session at our Workers' University. The large music hall of the Washington Irving High School, which holds a few hundred people, was filled. Every seat in the room was occupied and about fifty students stood about the room. We hope next week to provide seats for all the students. Needless to say, our members enjoyed and learned a great deal from this lecture.

It was gratifying to note that Mr. Sapos's course on "Trade Union Policies and Tactics" also attracted a large number of our members. It was necessary to open the rolling doors into the adjoining room in order to accommodate all those who came. Mr. Sapos, who is one of the best informed men on this subject, gave a very interesting description of his course. The class got a clear idea of what they can expect to learn, and we trust that they will make every

effort to attend the six sessions with Mr. Sapos.

Most inspiring of all was the large response on Sunday morning, when so many of our members came to join Mr. Fichandler's class on "Psychology of Current Events," which meets at 10:30 a. m. It is necessary to mention Mr. Fichandler's ability as teacher and his fitness to present this course, to those who have listened to him for the last few years? The best proof of this is the interest displayed by this class.

Dr. H. J. Carman's description of his course on "Political and Social History of the United States," on Sunday morning, was most interesting. The class learned that although the course was given last year as "Industrial and Social History of the United States," it will be continued this season along new lines. This means that new students as well as old ones will profit by the change.

We hope that those of our members who attended the classes last week will not confine the interest they displayed to themselves, but will speak about it to their fellow workers wherever they meet them,—at home, in the shops, or on the street,—and will urge them to visit the University and choose the classes that appeal to them.

# Four Months of the Dress and Waist Joint Board

A Report and Review by Julius Hochman, General Manager.

(Continued from Last Week.)

## INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT

When the new administration took office, we were practically in the midst of the new season. In looking into the situation we were impressed at the flagrant violations committed by the jobbers, independents as well as members of the Association.

The clause in the jobbers' agreement which provides that work be given to shops in contractual relations with the Union is actually the only obligation the jobber assumes toward the organization. Upon investigation, it was found that the jobbers were freely using non-Union and Union shops alike, ignoring the provisions of the agreement.

"In an attempt to investigate the books of the jobbers, in order to find out the extent of the violations, we met with many obstacles, either complete refusal to show books or when books were shown they were fired in such a manner, that the information we sought could not be secured.

When in the case of Dorfman & Wiesen, we insisted upon our right to trace back the different accounts in order to convince ourselves whether this firm is violating the agreement, the firm flatly refused and as we admitted that the books were covered with an attempt to conceal the fact that work was given to non-Union shops.

The situation became very critical. Something had to be done to curb this evil. It was not only a question of prestige on the part of the Union, as to its ability to enforce the agreement, but the danger was mainly that this condition encouraged the constant growth and development of non-Union shops at a point where the situation became menacing, and we therefore decided upon a policy of resistance.

On August 4th, a strike was declared against the firm of Dorfman & Wiesen. We succeeded in stopping 80 contractors, employing approximately 900 people. The strike against this firm, considered the largest and most important product of the cheaper line of dresses, lasted for three weeks. At the end of this time, the firm suffering heavy losses, was compelled to settle with the Union paying \$1000 fine, and to unionize a large number of open-shop contractors.

As this strike progressed, jobbers began to show interest and uneasiness as to the open shop situation and became more conciliatory and yielding in disposition. The entire trade studied the development of the strike with great interest. The uneasiness of the jobbers was accentuated when the Union proceeded to call to account another large jobbing concern, one of the leading members of the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association, the Monarch Dress Co. This firm employs approximately 90 contractors involving 750 workers. The firm had previously employed a large percentage of open shops and at a conference with the Jobbers' Association, the Union had threatened to call a strike immediately, unless this matter was settled. The firm surrendered, delivering its open shops to the Union and allowing money damages of \$1500.

Thereafter, in rapid succession followed the investigation of the most noted offenders, among them were large jobbers. Strikes and adjustments too numerous to mention in detail were the order of business for a period of time, covering the height

of the season, among which some of the most notable were the hard contested strike against the firm of Wiesen, Cohen & Smith, Independent Jobber, employing 75 contractors. After a two weeks strike, the firm settled with the Union paying \$1000 as liquidated damages and unionized open shops.

At the height of the jobbers' campaign, a case worthy of a special mention was the move against the Ullman-Jessel Co. and S. U. J. Co., organization, a division of the Sadowky business. This jobber has actually the largest organization of the cheap and popular price garments, employing in the height of the season as many as 130 contractors. This firm had distinguished itself by entire disregard of the terms of the agreement, employing a large number of open shops in and out of town. The Union announced its intention to strike over 100 shops involved, but before the strike was called, the matter was settled, firm paying Three Thousand Dollars as liquidated damages. The great majority of the open shops of this organization immediately made application to the Union for settlement; entering into contractual relations with the Union independently and through the Contractor's Association.

An investigation was made of the books of this jobber, which disclosed the fact that the firm was working with an out-of-town non-Union shop, after instructions were given to discontinue. The firm was declared on strike, and after a few days firm paid \$500 as liquidated damages.

Thereafter followed an entire change of heart on the part of the jobbers in their dealings with the Union. Settlements were prompt and satisfactory. The number of shops applying for settlement with the Union increased daily. We also succeeded in unionizing the following non-Union jobbers: the Royal Dress Co., the Fair Waist & Dress Co., Schroeder & Co., Bijou Dress Co., and the Juss Dress Co.

## JOBBERS' DEPARTMENTS

The following sums were collected as liquidated damages from jobbers for violations of the agreement:

Parisian Mfg. Co., 31 East	21st St. ....	\$ 500
Mannie Solomon, 31 East	31st St. ....	100
Monarch Dress Co., 11 East	26th St. ....	1500
Wiesen, Cohen & Smith, 45	West 25th St. ....	1051.60
Ullman-Jessel Co., 192 E. 10th	way ....	5000
Smith Bros., 112 Madison	Ave. ....	150
Nat Goldstone, 159 Madison	Ave. ....	500
Mirken & Levitt, 40 West	25th St. ....	200

Total liquidated damages: \$8001.60

## CONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION

In our fight against the jobbers, we found it necessary to make a thorough investigation of the industry, for the purpose of ascertaining for whom the contractor is working and see to it that work is not made for striking jobbers.

While making this investigation, we visited almost every shop. In order to attend to this work effectively, we assigned the entire staff of business agents, both Independent and Association, to make a thorough investigation of the shops of the Dress Manufacturers' Association. The

business agents were instructed not to satisfy themselves merely with an investigation of books but to investigate general conditions of the shop and report particularly whether or not cutters are employed.

The result of this has been reported by Brother Horowitz in his recent report. 306 cutters' complaints were filed out of which 151 were adjusted in favor of the Union and immediate steps were taken to enforce them. This gave employment, not only to 151 cutters, but made it possible for us to enforce this provision throughout the season, by which a large number of our cutters, who were unemployed heretofore, greatly benefited.

The Organization Department of the International with the co-operation and aid of our Joint Board has succeeded in organizing six large non-Union shops out of which in places where there has never been a Union shop before. New locals were organized which we are sure will do a great deal to help us during the coming campaign in 1923.

The determined attitude on the part of the Union toward the jobber also convinced the rest of the Manufacturers, as well as the Contractors' Association, that our Union will insist upon the carrying out of the agreement and is ready to enforce it.

At this present time, I am glad to report to you that relations between the Union and the Association are more amicable, and the enforcement of the agreement does not meet with as many obstacles, as we were wont to receive in the past.

## PUBLICITY

Our campaign against the jobber has received wide publicity in the Jewish and English and Italian press (publicity for the Italians was taken care of by Luigi Antonini). Columns of news appeared daily in addition to generous publicity in the weekly publications of our International, "Justice," "Gerechtigkeit," and "Giustizia." The Daily News Record and, more important, Women's Wear, the mouthpiece of the ready-to-wear industry, kept in constant touch with the situation, describing every move in detail, devoting space to special articles wherein they attempted to interpret the trend of labor activities in the light of the Union's activity.

The Labor press, on the other hand, carried this news daily, which encouraged our membership, raised their morale and appreciation of the fact that the Union is attempting to tackle and find a solution to the very difficult problems confronting them.

We, on our own part, carried into effect publicity of our own in relation to this jobbing campaign, publishing a bulletin intended to be the first of a series explaining and defining the jobbers' relation to the workers of the industry, and analyzing the situation exclusively from the workers' viewpoint. The nature of this bulletin is intended both for education and propaganda purposes, so that in the future the workers may be prepared to take part and co-operate whole-heartedly in the plan of the Union in similar campaigns.

This first bulletin carried on its face, cartoons by Art Young, vividly picturing the relations of the workers, contractor and jobber, published in English, Italian and Yiddish. This issue was successful far beyond the expectations of the office, finding its way in every part of the industry, being studied with close interest by workers.

## DISTRICT MEETINGS

In addition to this, we also called a series of six large district meetings, during the month of September, which were attended by about 5000 workers. These meetings were addressed by Brother Antonini and myself and the main issues discussed

were the jobbers' situation in order to acquaint our workers with the role of the jobber in the industry, the hold he has upon their lives, and the problem he is presenting. We also discussed the program accepted by our Joint Board, i. e., the question of week-work, \$20 assessment and the monthly shop chairmen meetings.

If we may judge by the generous response, our members were very enthusiastic about our plans.

## WAIST SITUATION

I am very sorry that I cannot report to you any accomplishments in our waist shops. Unfortunately, the lack of work in this industry has been prevalent for the last few years and has not completely disappeared. It is true, that there was a sign of a little work in some shops, but this could not be taken as a revival of the industry. We took advantage of the little work that appeared and assigned special people to revive these shops. From what has been reported, we have been successful in reviving a number of shops, which have been closed as disorganized for a long time.

It is very possible that the next season there will be greater activity in the waist industry and we will be in a position to do more. I therefore recommend that this Board assign Sister Trachtman to follow up the waist shops, to reorganize those that need reorganization, acquaint herself with the open shops, and organize a special organization committee to distribute circulars around the non-Union shops and keep alive the activity of the waistmakers, so that February, 1923, at the renewal of the agreement, we shall be able to effect unionization of the waist industry in the city of New York.

## CONCLUSION

This report will be incomplete without the expression of thanks to all the Local Officers, Officers of the Joint Board and many active members, who have worked hard and given their complete cooperation to make possible the results I have reported to you, especially Brother Portnoy, in the Independent Department, Brother Horowitz, Chief Clerk of the Association Department, Brother Farber for his excellent help on the Settlement Committee during the campaign, and Brother Berlin, the President of our Joint Board, for his generous cooperation.

For myself, I want to thank the Board and the Executive Board for the sympathetic attitude they have taken towards the work of our departments and for the encouragement they have given me. What we have accomplished, I am sure is not very much, in comparison to what is to be accomplished. The unionization of the few non-Union shops, the fight against the jobber, is only a beginning of our desire for complete unionization of the industry.

Yet, as a result of this campaign, I believe that our locals, as well as the Joint Board, are more fit and more ready to face the real problems, real issues and real fight in February, 1923."

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, 2 West 16th Street.

# The Week in Local No. 10

By JOSEPH FISH

## GENERAL

Our membership is well aware of the fact that the date of our next affair, which will take place on January 6, 1923, at the Hunt's Point Palace, is drawing nearer and nearer. They are also aware of the fact that the proceeds of this ball will go towards the Relief Fund of Local 10.

In the past number of months quite a number of destitute members have appealed to the organization for help, and it has been through the means created by this fund that we have been in a position to aid these brothers. The Executive Board has been quite liberal in extending a helping hand to those who have asked help and it is up to the membership to make this coming affair a tremendous success financially, so that the incoming Executive Board will not "find itself hindered in this work for lack of funds."

Up to date, the sale of tickets has been progressing very slowly. We would urge our members to put their shoulders to the wheel in advertising our ball, by selling tickets to their friends as well as buying them themselves, so that a substantial relief fund may be assured.

Tickets may be had upon request from the secretary of the Ball Committee, Brother Fish, as well as from General Manager Dubinsky, and all other officers of the organization. We also further urge our members to secure as many ads. for our ball journal as possible, for ads. from contributors towards the main purpose of the affair, they will incidentally benefit themselves to some degree, as liberal commissions will be paid for all ads. secured by members.

For the past number of months at every branch meeting, whether at Oak and Suit or Waist and Dress, there has been a considerable number of new members sworn in. Members present at these meetings naturally ask themselves the question, "Where do all these new members come from?"

Originally, a considerable number of new applicants in the Cloak and Suit Division were admitted in the recent lockout and stoppage which took place during the past year. Also, quite a number of men entered the organization as a result of the organization campaign in the Waist and Dress Industry, which was in progress some six or eight months ago. Still, all this does not sufficiently account for the great influx of new members. There is no doubt that the main reason for this state of affairs is that there are a number of non-union boys getting into the union shops where our union men are working, and no reports of such violations are being made to the organization.

There have been quite a number of cases which have come to the attention of the Executive Board, where men have violated the rule governing the employment of non-union men in the union shops. In many instances the attention of the office had to be called through outside channels, instead of through the cutters employed in those shops. The cutters involved in such cases, generally knowing the rules prohibiting the employment of non-union boys and subsequently fearing the imposition of a fine for the violation, state in their own defense that the boy does not do any cutting, but either sweeps the shop, does errands, etc., and give various other excuses for the boy's being there. Especially is this true of cutters working in Association shops,

where it is difficult for the business agent to enter the shop and secure evidence against the man in question.

Approxes of this, we are here quoting Section 4, Article 14, of our constitution, which reads as follows:

"No member shall take on his or any other tables any person or persons for the purpose of teaching him or them the ladies' garment cutting trade without the consent of this Union. The penalty for the violation of this section shall be a fine of \$50, or expulsion, or both."

We quote this section of the constitution as a warning to our members that the organization will not tolerate any such offense and that the provisions of the constitution with regard to this will be strictly enforced.

## CLOAK AND SUIT

The Objection Committee of the Joint Board, which has been in session for the past few days in examining prospective candidates for business agent of the Joint Board, has adjourned, and from the list of our candidates who have accepted nomination for this office, the following have been placed on the ballot:

Arthur Weinstein No. 9534, Benjamin Sachs No. 2770, Samuel Perlmuter No. 1845, Eldore Nagler, No. 4107, Julius Bender No. 13, and Harry Bloom No. 6.

Brother Meyer Tunick has signified his intention of not running for this office, as he has placed his candidacy in the local for Executive Board member and delegate to the Joint Board. Brother Eldore Balter and Brother Michael Mittelschick did not appear before the Objection Committee and therefore will not be placed on the ballot. All the others, Brothers Alex Shapiro, Leo Prince, Jacob Lukin, Sol Hirschowitz, Adolph Goodstone, and Harry Friedlander, were not placed on the ballot, as the Objection Committee did not consider them qualified for the office of business agent.

By the time this paper reaches the members, the elections will have been held. The members will be informed of the results next week.

## WAIST AND DRESS

In the issue of JUSTICE of November 17th, there is contained a report submitted by General Manager of the Joint Board, Brother Julius Hochman, recounting his activities as General Manager of the Joint Board for the past four months. The complete report is not given, the balance to be printed in this week's paper. We are not going to quote the report in detail, as rendered by Brother Hochman, but will simply call the attention of our members to various parts of the report which should be interesting to the cutters.

The amount of \$1,287.59 has been collected as liquidated damages from 41 shops for the violation of various stipulations of the agreement. The greater percentage of this amount has been collected for the violation of the clause dealing with employers doing their own cutting, amounting in all to \$900.50, and covering 30 shops. This will in some measure prove that the Joint Board is making great effort to eradicate this evil which is confronting our industry. This report covers the Independent Department only, and we are sure that this department will proceed with its good work in stamping out this evil.

In the cutting districts there is no definite report of complaints be-

ing taken up for cutters, as it merely gives the number of complaints pending and adjusted in total, without specifying their nature. Part of the report covers the various jobbers whose shops have been called out on strike on account of violating the clause pertaining to jobbers giving out work to non-union contractors. The first jobber against whom the organization took action was Dorfman and Wiesen. The strike lasted for three weeks, when finally this firm settled with the union, paying a thousand dollar fine.

Others who followed were the Monarch Dress Company; Wiesen, Cohen & Smith; Ullman, Jessel Company; Net Goldstone; Royal Dress Company; Fair Waist and Dress Company; Schroeder & Company; Bijou Dress Company, and Samuel Silver & Company.

The Jobbers' Department collected the sum of \$8001.60 as total liquidated damages, the individual collections ranging from \$100 to as high as \$3000. In the fight against the jobbers, it was found necessary to make a thorough investigation of the industry to ascertain for whom the various contractors were working and to see that the work is not made for striking jobbers.

In order to attend to this work effectively, the entire staff of business agents of the Joint Board, both Independent and Association, were assigned to make a thorough investigation of the shops of the Dress Manufacturers' Association, the results of which have been reported by Brother Horowitz in his recent report.

There were 306 cutters' complaints filed, out of which 151 were adjusted in favor of the Union, and immediate steps were taken to enforce these adjustments. This not only gave employment to at least one hundred fifty-one cutters, but made it possible for the Joint Board to enforce this provision throughout the entire season, by virtue of which a large number of our cutters who were unemployed heretofore greatly benefited.

## MISCELLANEOUS

The Miscellaneous Division of Local No. 10 held a special meeting last Monday, for the following purposes:

1. Organization plans in the Underwear, Wrapper and Kimono and Children's Dress Trades;
2. Nominations of candidates for Executive Board members from this branch;

3. Election of two poll clerks from this branch.

With regard to the organization, Manager Dubinsky reported on the situation in the trades. He pointed out that all the shops in the underwear trade were visited by the office, and he finds, on the whole, that the industry is ripe for an organization. He also reported that in the matter of complaints, compared with the past two years, a greater number of complaints have been lodged.

Brothers Snyder and Greenberg, Managers of Local No. 62 and No. 58, respectively, were present. They also spoke on the conditions in the trade and urged the cooperation of the cutters during the reorganization period.

A motion was regularly made and seconded that the meeting go on record as calling upon the members of this branch to take part and give all possible assistance in the coming campaign.

The chairman then announced that the nomination of Executive Board members was in order. The following were nominated as candidates for this office and accepted nomination:

Meyer Zachheim No. 4548, Morris Aloris No. 4749, Frank Lewis No. 5677.

The following brothers accepted as candidates for the poll clerkship:

Ike Metzkin No. 1332, Isaac Pendler No. 4343, Nathan Landau No. 4429, Abe Goldring No. 4342.

The following was the result of the count:

The Metzkin No. 1332—23 votes.  
Isaac Pendler No. 4343—22 votes.  
Nathan Landau No. 4429A—12 votes.

Abe Goldring No. 4342—6 votes.

The chairman thereupon declared Brothers Metzkin and Pendler elected as poll clerks from the Miscellaneous Division for the coming election.

## BERNATE

"Can Every Man Earn a Living Under Capitalism?"  
HERBERT ADAMS GIBSON says "Yes!"  
SCOTT NEARHED says "No!"  
Robert Morris Lovers, Chairman  
Brooklyn Academy of Music  
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10th, 1:30 P. M.  
THEATRE \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$3.00  
DANCING SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE  
1 East 15th Street

# CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

## ATTENTION!

SPECIAL GENERAL ..... Monday, November 27th

Order of Business:

Nomination of General Officers for 1923

Vote on Constitution Amendments

CLOAK AND SUIT ..... Monday, December 4th

WAIST AND DRESS ..... Monday, December 11th

MISCELLANEOUS ..... Monday, December 18th

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