

"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. 49.

New York, Friday, December 1, 1922.

Price 2 Cents

N. Y. DRESS TO VOTE

G. E. B. REFERS FINAL

The special meeting of the 12,000 members of the G. E. B., as reported in the columns of JUSTICE last week, devoted practically its entire attention to the question of week-work in the dress and waist industry of New York. The committee representing the Dress and Waist Joint Board was given the opportunity to lay before the G. E. B. the entire proposal and to present the views and the opinion of the officers of the dress and waist locals concerning it.

Nevertheless, in view of the extreme importance and size of the task involved in this issue, the General Executive Board decided that before this change be definitely undertaken that a referendum vote of the locals affiliated with the Dress and Waist Joint Board be held and only after the workers had voted by a substantial majority to approve the week-work proposal that the G. E. B. undertake to carry it out. Accordingly the following letter was forwarded on November 24, to the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union: Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The New York members of the General Executive Board, President Schlesinger presiding, in session on November

WAIST WORKERS IN WEEK-WORK

ON WEEK-WORK ISSUE TO REFERENDUM VOTE

had heard the request of your to endorse a general strike in the dress and waist industry of New York for the purpose of the introduction of the week-work system in the industry.

I am instructed by the Board to inform you that after due discussion of your report, the General Executive Board affirmed its former decision in favor of week-work in the waist and dress industry. Before proceeding with any practical steps, the General Executive Board deems it necessary to refer

final decision upon this issue to a referendum vote of the membership of the locals affiliated with your Joint Board. As soon as the workers in the waist and dress industry will, by a substantial vote, approve the week-work proposal, the General Executive Board will undertake, through the President of the International with a representative committee of the Joint Board, to begin negotiations with the employers for the introduction of the week-work system, provision of a minimum scale and all other changes that go with it.

Philadelphia Cloakmakers on Eve of Agreement Renewal

The agreement of the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union with the Philadelphia employers expires within a few weeks and the workers have begun to make preparations for its renewal.

There are a considerable number of sub-contractors' shops in that city that have to be organized, and before the Union will meet the manufacturers in conference steps will be taken to organize these shops so that the Philadelphia cloakmakers are able

to present a solid front to the employers when negotiations start.

The Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union is very anxious that President Schlesinger head their conference committee and to this end Brother Max Amdur, the manager of the Union, visited New York this week to obtain President Schlesinger's promise that upon his return from the West he would come to Philadelphia and take up the negotiations for them.

Pres. Schlesinger Has Left for the Pacific Coast

GOING FIRST TO CLEVELAND

As arranged, President Schlesinger left on Thanksgiving Day, November 30, for the Pacific Coast. He will visit our organizations at San Francisco and Los Angeles and will endeavor to bring a permanent peaceful arrangement between the Los Angeles Cloakmakers' Union and the cloak manufacturers' association.

As readers of this journal know, the relations between the Los Angeles cloakmakers and their employers have been at a breaking point for quite some time. Peace was patched up recently for a while and all parties concerned are now awaiting the arrival of President Schlesinger to make a definite settlement.

On his way to the coast, President Schlesinger will visit Cleveland, where he will confer with the Joint Board and the local executive boards on the question of the new agreement in the industry and many other matters of importance. President Schlesinger will also visit St. Louis and will, perhaps, stop off in Cincinnati and Toledo.

Secretary Baroff Confers With Locals 15 and 76

ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN IN PHILADELPHIA DRESS INDUSTRY BEGINS

Secretary Baroff visited Philadelphia during this week and conferred with the Executive Board of Local No. 15 with regard to the general organizing work begun by the Philadelphia dress and waistmakers and also the organizing work conducted among the custom dressmakers belonging to Local No. 76.

The joint campaign will be managed by Vice-President Reiberg, the manager of Local No. 15, who will take charge both of the work in Local No. 15 and Local No. 76. Local No. 15 elected a voluntary committee of 100 which will commence activities early next week. Local No. 76 also elected a committee that will work in conjunction with the committee of Local No. 15 in an effort to organize the trade.

Secretary Baroff appeared very much encouraged by the spirit displayed by the Philadelphia workers and feels hopeful that the drive, both in the dress and waist industry and the custom dressmaking trade, will prove a success.

proceed immediately to Baltimore to take charge of the situation and to handle the preparatory organizing campaign among the cloakmakers decided upon by the General Executive Board at its last meeting. Vice-President Halperin will stay in Baltimore for a few days, coming back to New York to manage the out-of-town department which is under his supervision. He will visit Baltimore from time to time to supervise the organizing drive in the cloak trade of that city.

Union Ready for Wage Survey Upon Schlesinger's Return

ONLY WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT PERIODS TO BE INVESTIGATED

On November 9, during President Schlesinger's absence in Chicago, he received the following letter from Mr. Norman Haggood, the impartial chairman on the Cook Wage Commission: Dear Mr. Schlesinger:

Following the conditions under which we were appointed a fact-finding commission in the ladies' garment industry, I issue a call for next Tuesday, November 14th, at half past eleven at this address, and hope the time and place may be convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,

NORMAN HAGGOOD.
In reply to this letter, President Schlesinger sent the following communication to Mr. Haggood, upon his return on November 27th: Dear Mr. Haggood:

Please pardon the delay in my answer to your two letters of the 9th instant and my failure to attend the meeting of our Wage Board, which you called for the 11th instant. The neglect in both cases was due to my absence from the city.

If you wish to call another meeting of our Board, I shall be glad to attend but would suggest that the meeting be held on Tuesday or Wednesday of this week, if possible, as I shall have to leave the city again by the end of the week.

It will, of course, be understood that the object of our meeting will be to organize the requisite machinery for directing the survey provided for in the agreement between the parties, i. e., a survey of the wages earned by the workers in our industry and the periods of their employment. I have neither authority nor inclination to take up the discussion of any other matter as fully stated in my previous communication to you.

Please accept my thanks for all the trouble you are going to in our behalf. Very truly yours,
BENJ. SCHLESINGER.

On November 28 President Schlesinger received the following letter from Mr. Haggood:

Dear Mr. Schlesinger:
Mr. Basset finds that the notice is too short, so he has engagements for today and tomorrow.

I am going west on Saturday to be back on the 9th, and I shall then communicate with you and Mr. Basset and arrange a time that is satisfactory to all of us.

Yours sincerely,

NORMAN HAGGOOD.

Election Results of New York Cloak Business Agents

We have received the following list of the 17 successful candidates for the office of business agent of the New York Cloak Joint Board for 1923 whose names appeared on the ballot in the recent elections. The list is headed by Saul Metz of Local 1 who received the highest number of votes—4581—down to Rosenblatt of Local 82, who received 2039 votes. The following are the elected business agents:

Local No. 1	Bothenberg	Local No. 3	Reich	Local No. 9	Sorkin
S. Metz	Warnshafsky	Belch	Jacobs	Goldberg	Fisher
Aidenland	Solomon	Brickowitz	Magnavita	Knapp	Sommer
Rubin, J.	Finer, C.			Babitz, A.	Heit, L.
Klikin	Paller				
Felberg, M.	Tucker				
Marcy	Schmid				
Ringer, S. J.	Skwartz				

Local No. 19
S. Perlman
Bender
Nagler
(Continued on Page 12)

Baltimore Cloak Firm Locks Out Union Workers

VICE-PRESIDENT HALPERIN LEAVES FOR THAT CITY

The General Office received a wire from Baltimore this week to the effect that considerable trouble broke out in that city, precipitated by the Dannenbaum Cloak Company which locked out its workers in an effort to do away with the union shop. It appears that this firm had been itching for a fight with the Union for quite some time and now decided on a definite break.

The General Office thereupon requested Vice-President Halperin to

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

AMERICA, OIL AND THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

THE legend as to American aloofness from world affairs has been dispelled by our stand at the Lausanne Conference. Although Ambassador Child is only an observer amidst full-fledged Allied and Turkish delegates, his speech to the Conference has rudely disturbed the seeming equilibrium and complacency which the diplomats had labored to maintain.

Ambassador Child warned the conference against carrying out any secret agreements which would give other powers privileges in Turkey not enjoyed by the United States, and urged the acceptance of the "open door" doctrine in contrast to the imperial "search for territorial or other special privileges on foreign soils." More concretely, it means that America joined in the scramble for oil concessions in Turkey. England seeks monopolistic control over all the Mosul oil fields. Italy and France are maneuvering for other concessions. As is well known American oil interests have been long trying to gain a foothold in Asia Minor. Now when the monopoly-seeking, territory-grabbing powers are parcelling out concessions and privileges, America cannot be expected to remain as a passive onlooker. When it is a matter of safeguarding the industrial and financial interests even an observer is able to assume a role of very active collaboration.

The Allied diplomats and press expressed disappointment and chagrin at the American stand. The Turks on the other hand are gratified. Not because there is greater justice in American concession-hunting but because it is the first indication of the disagreements among the Allies which have undermined many conferences before.

What is really taking place at the conference is unknown because the Allies decided against the wishes of the Turks to conduct the deliberations behind closed doors. The Russian delegation has not yet been admitted to the conference. The Montenegro and the Straits are still up for discussion. The conference faces many rocks ahead.

THE KU KLUX KLAN LAUNCH ORGANIZATION DRIVE

A WEEK ago Governor Parker, of Louisiana, came to Washington to discuss with President Harding plans to curb the Ku Klux Klan terrorism. This conference showed that individual states are unable to deal with this menace, and that the rapid spread all over the country may soon bring about dire results. The press has again turned its attention to this hooded clique and soon discovered a very active and growing national organization with branches in every city and state. In New York City, for instance, it was found that the "invisible empire" of the Klansmen has full sway. The organization activities are liberally financed.

The Klan activities have been compared with those of the Fascisti in Italy. There is, however, an important difference. While the Fascisti are limiting their activities to political and economic matters, their American brothers are for the time being concentrating all their efforts towards inciting race and religious hatreds. They are conducting a propaganda of hatred and war against Catholics, Jews and Negroes. It is not purely a national movement, for it is already making preparations to extend its activities to other countries. It is in short a movement of white Protestants against the rest of the world.

Thus far the struggle against the Ku Klux Klan is a defensive one. The Catholics, Jews, Negroes are denouncing this movement. But the "invisible empire" seems to thrive under these attacks. The other day Mayor Hylan ordered the Police Commissioner to treat "this group of racial and religious haters as you would the reds and the bomb throwers." But the Klansmen are as yet unhampered in their work.

THE SENATE AND CLEMENCEAU

COMMENTING on Clemenceau's propaganda in this country, Senator Borah said: "I am unable to accept M. Clemenceau's argument. He tells us that Europe is weltering in misery. So she is. For her we have the deepest sympathy. But there is no man living more responsible for the present misery of Europe than M. Clemenceau. He more than any other man is responsible for the impossible and destructive terms of the Versailles Treaty. He more than any one else stood in the way of the American delegation to modify the treaty and make it so that under it Europe could recover." Senator Hitchcock, a Democrat, said: "I should like to ask Clemenceau why France continues to provoke Germany by, for instance, keeping 30,000 black troops on German soil and why she persists in doing things to arouse the resentment of the Germans." Many other Senators expressed similar sentiments.

In his speeches and articles Clemenceau made his position clear. He has not moved an inch from the position he occupied at the time he helped to frame the Versailles Treaty. Hatred of Germany and fear for an invasion into France are obsessing him. The message that he brought to this country fails to rouse the war passions. He is about three years too late.

LAUNCHING A THIRD PARTY

LIBERALS in this country are about to try their luck to form a political party. The failure of their brothers in England and on the continent of Europe does not in the least deter them. They interpret the results of the last election as a direct mandate from the people to organize a new progressive party. And on Friday, December 1, prominent liberals and progressives will gather in Washington with a view of bringing this party into existence.

Senator LaFollette is credited with being the leader of this movement. Among his ardent adherents are the newly elected Western Senators, as, for instance, Shipstead of Minnesota, Frasier of North Dakota and Brookhart of Iowa. At this writing it is reported that nine Senators and twenty-three Congressmen had accepted invitations to attend the conference. A large number of prominent liberals outside of Congress will participate, but the initiators and active organizers are Senators. It is expected that the progressive wing in Congress will be in a position to exert its influence in a marked degree. With eleven votes, for instance, the new group will hold the balance of power in the next Senate.

For this reason President Harding called an extra session of the old Congress in order to jam through the notorious Ship Subsidy bill. He sum-

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Bridgeport Activities

At the request of a committee of women workers in the corset shop of Warner Bros., Bridgeport, Conn., the International assigned an organizer, Miss Elsie Gluck, to help in reorganizing the corset workers of Bridgeport. Up to about a year ago, those workers were organized as Corset Workers' Union, Local No. 35, I. L. G. W., with a membership, at one time, of over 2,000. The union had won for the workers a 44-hour week, better wages, and abolition of pay for thread, needles and other supplies. It also succeeded in wiping out home work. Since the lapse of the organization, the 48-hour week has been restored and several cuts have been made in piece rates, so that now the average wage is under \$15.

"Things went from worse to worse after we left the union," said one of the members who asked to have the International take a hand in the matter. "Finally we got to realize that it was the union which had gotten us better conditions and that we were foolish, wicked, to let it go." One of the departments went down on strike, but after the intervention of

workers were reinstated and their Brother Halperin, the discharged grievance remedied.

When Miss Gluck was assigned to the task, she found over 100 workers already enrolled, and an active and enthusiastic committee at work. It was decided that local corset workers would function better, if they and the Corset Cutters' Local No. 54, were united, and it is this joint organization which is now going on with the work.

In the week during which Miss Gluck has been at work, about 50 new members have joined. A committee of women is making evening house-to-house visits with the organizer to induce members to join. This alone is a sign of great interest as many of the committee are married and have housekeeping work to do. Everywhere workers are acknowledging the need of the organization.

Election of new officers will take place on Monday, December 4th, and thereafter a new impetus will be given the work. The organization expects to universalize all corset shops in Bridgeport.

"The Revolution in Pictures and Art"

Three Lectures by

WALDO FRANK

Thursdays, at 8-40 P. M.

December 7, 14, 21

RAND SCHOOL, 7 E. 15th St

MAX LEVIN CONTINUES HIS COURSE ON THE AIMS AND PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY LABOR MOVEMENTS

Max Levin is giving a course in Yiddish on the "Aims and Problems of Contemporary Labor Movements" at the office of Local 9, 228 Second Avenue. The class meets every second and fourth Saturday of the month at 1 p. m. Members of the International are invited to join this group.

moned a Congress which had been repudiated in the last election because this is the only safe way he can fulfill his pledge to the ship companies.

BRITISH LABOR IN PARLIAMENT

KING GEORGE opened Parliament last week amidst the customary pomp and splendor. Yet the feeling was general that the picturesque pageantry, the crimson robes of the peers, the sparkle of jewels, the brilliant procession of the titled aristocracy was only an empty vestige of vanishing social order.

In the House of Lords deep concern was expressed over the commanding position of labor. The knights of the various orders clearly and painfully realized that the time is near when the labor representatives will be called upon to form a government. Their fears are not unfounded.

The government of Bonar Law faces some knotty problems. One of them is unemployment. A few days before the opening of Parliament a committee of unemployed asked for an interview with the Premier. He refused to meet the committee. So far he has no constructive program for meeting this problem. His vague promises of "ameliorative measures" will not go very far. Ramsay MacDonald, the Socialie leader of the Opposition, as well as other labor representatives have already indicated in their first speeches that the governmental policies will be subjected to a searching analysis. It was clear from their speeches that the present government is doomed.

ANTI-SYNDICALISM LAW IN ACTION

THOSE sanguine souls who believed that the hysteria and witch hunting spirit is on the wane received a severe jolt the other day when the Illinois Supreme Court sentenced a group of 18 communists, among whom are William Boon Lloyd, the millionaire radical, Ludwig Lore and others to prison for a period of one to five years.

These men were found guilty of participating in an open convention of the Communist Labor party a few years ago, when this country was in danger, according to the howling patriots, of being overrun by the "red hordes" of Bolshevism. But as time went on, it became quite evident that our Constitution, save perhaps the Eighteenth Amendment, is as secure and stable as are all our institutions. The frenzied leadership of Palmer, Daugherty and Lusk appeared to have spent itself. But the courts still vigilantly guard and foster this spirit.

A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service.)

November 16, 1922.

No one who stood among the cheering crowds in London on election night, as the Labor gains were flashed upon the sheet in various parts of the town could have helped comparing the scene with that of January, 1919, when the results of the "Khaki" election, held in the last days of 1918, began to come in. Then, every evil passion had been roused by the Lloyd-George-Cosgrave policy of hate and reaction engendered by the "Knock-out-blow"; and the cheers were reserved for the defeat of the very men who have now sailed into Parliament on large majorities—men who were howled down in 1918 for saying that a peace of violation would ruin Europe, hanging the Kaiser was an impossibility and making Germany pay would merely destroy our trade and create unemployment.

LABOR GAINS

Well, all these prophecies have come true, and so far as the election returns have already come in at the time of writing, they tend to show that in many parts of the country, at all events, the British people have come to their senses at long last. And out of the seats gained prominent winners are intellectuals who were particularly reviled in 1918 as "pacifists" because they advocated a constructive instead of a destructive Peace—I mean men like Ramsay MacDonald, Charles Roden Buxton, Arthur Ponsonby, Charles Trevelyan and Captain Lee-Smith. If all other Labor candidates had been defeated, these names alone would have testified to the utter defeat of the ignoble standards that prevailed four years ago. Another feature of the election contests, so far as they have been announced, has been the heavy Labor polls and the reduction in both Conservative and Liberal majorities where these have been obtained. The county divisions, generally Conservative, have yet to be counted, and the majority of the London results are not yet out, so the general result may be considerably altered by tomorrow. But the nature of the gains already known remains as significant as ever.

WHAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT

WILL HAVE TO FACE

No one will envy the new government its task. It comes to power at a moment of general depression and confusion. In the Near-East, the situation is fraught with peril. The Lausanne Conference, already postponed till the 31st of November, may not take place even then, unless the Allies—that is, France and England, come to some agreement at which they have not yet been able to arrive. As Lord Curzon's visit to Paris, arranged for the 19th, will only bear fruit if a compromise can be arrived at. At present, Great Britain de-

mands that certain matters, such as that of the Mosul Oilfields, shall not be brought up at all—another instance of Hamlet without the ghost! France, on the other hand, is at present opposed to any preliminary agreement and wants to go to Lausanne with her hands free; while the Turkish envoy, Ismet Pasha, is now in Paris and Lord Curzon has not been able to prevent his meeting with the French Prime Minister. And it is impossible not to agree that Ismet Pasha has much on his side when he complains that the Turks stopped their advance, and were ready a month ago to open negotiations that still hang fire owing to Allied action. The general character of these negotiations will depend, no doubt, largely upon the state of political parties here when all the election results are out and the size of the Conservative majority is known.

The new government will also have to face a tangled situation in Germany, where the resignation of the Wirth Ministry is a culmination to the long intrigues of the People's party under Stinnes, directed towards driving the Socialists out of office

(they were in coalition with the late government) and institute the reactionary industrial program that will solidify his financial position. His success is undoubtedly due largely to the intrigues that were carried on between Stinnes and M. Barthou on the occasion of the visit of the Reparations Commission to Berlin; and for the moment, a coalition between French Big Business and German Big Business threatens the existence of the German Republic.

Reaction abroad has also been encouraged by the growth of the Fascist movement, and its success in Italy. In Bavaria, in Hungary and in Poland, the growing strength of the Socialist parties is being met by a "White Terror" that may well preface a military dictatorship in those countries similar to the one that has been set up in Italy by Mussolini.

TROUBLE AT HOME

Nor will the new government find an easy task awaiting them when they turn to home affairs. The latest returns of the Ministry of Labor show an increase last week of 29,000 in the numbers of those totally unemployed in the country, while those on half-time or short-time have also gone up in numbers. And, as voters went yesterday to the polls throughout Great Britain, the little army of unemployed marchers, who have been

slowly approaching London from the four points of the compass in the last week or two, began to arrive in little bands of footsore and hungry, though indomitable men. Every day, men and women are being brought up in the courts who are charged with theft—respectable people who in no sense belong to the criminal class, but who are driven to steal because they can no longer endure to see their families starving. It is something to be able to record that magistrates are in many cases refraining from passing sentences upon these unfortunate victims of an industrial depression that is no fault of theirs; but against that must be set the tragic increase in suicides, especially of women, who can endure the struggle for life no longer.

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

RUNNING RISKS



First Mine Owner: Many killed?

Drawn by ART YOUNG

Second Mine Owner: Oh, a few. But these working stiffs have got to learn to run great risks—just as we risk our investments.

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RESOLUTION

At a shop meeting of the workers of Salowsky & Goldstein of 145 West 23rd Street, held in the Union office, 40 East 23rd Street, the following resolution was adopted by the people of said shop:

"We, the workers of this shop, hereby present the shop chairman, Brother Lipman, with a diamond ring, for his faithful service to the shop, and

We, hereby, also present the Business Agent, Brother Fremed, with a diamond pin for his work towards the welfare of the shop.

JUSTICE

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A Series of Recommendations for Chicago

As reported in JUSTICE last week, President Schlesinger had spent a very busy ten days in Chicago, not only investigating the situation in the Chicago Clerk Joint Board and its affiliated locals, but giving earnest attention to means and ways of consolidating the organization and eliminating whatever sources of discontent and friction there have accumulated among the workers of that city in the course of the last year or two.

Among the practical recommendations suggested by him, which were favorably acted upon by the union and will be carried out into practice in the near future are the following:

1. To commence a general campaign to organize completely the dress industry. Before the International will begin this drive, however, the personnel of the present executive board will have to undergo substantial changes.

The reason for this recommendation is that the International would not undertake such a huge task as an organizing campaign, which would cost a large sum of money and quite likely lead to a general strike, unless it is reasonably certain of an able and workable executive board at the head of Local No. 160.

2. No changes to be made in the method of election of business agents.

Recently an agitation has developed among the pressers to have individual local ballots instead of one general ballot for election of business agents. President Schlesinger opposes the plan as he believes that the important task for the union is to elect representatives who would have in mind primarily the interest of the entire organization and not local patriotism of this or that branch of the industry.

3. Finances to be administered as heretofore, namely, that the Joint Board have a joint treasury for all the locals. The locals which had withdrawn their funds from the Joint Board must return same to it.

In the interests of unity of action and in order to enable it to be a stronger fighting organization, the financial system of the Joint Board must be preserved. Splitting it up into a number of units would weaken it.

4. The newly elected finance secretary of the Joint Board must receive the undivided support of all the delegates of the Joint Board and of the entire membership.

This recommendation speaks for itself. Brother Kanavsky, the new secretary, is a new man and while quite an intelligent person, will likely need some additional experience before coming up to the mark. The International will send its auditor to Chicago for a few weeks to help the new secretary who in the meantime ought to be fully encouraged and aided by the membership and the officers of the union.

5. Strict economy must be practiced and a way must be found to decrease the present expenses.

Present expenses for secretary, executive board members and local secretaries is about \$225.00 a week. The recommendation would congratulate the secretarial work of the union in one office which would save it not less than \$5,000 annually.

6. Brother Bornstein of Local No. 18 be appointed, until next election, as chairman of the Joint Board.

Owing to the resignation of Brother Schaffer, former member of the executive board, this recommendation is obviously one not to be delayed and must receive immediate action.

The Coming World Labor Peace Congress at the Hague

Addressing the Labor delegates of the International Labor Conference and the representatives of the press at Geneva on October 28th, the Vice-President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Léon Jouhaux, explained the objects of the peace action of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the tasks which await the approaching International Peace Congress. The Journal de Genève of October 29th, 1922, published the following synopsis of the address:

Opposition to war has hitherto manifested itself rather in the realm of sentimentality than in a veritable organization of peace. Now, protestation, unless followed by action, will not prevent international conflicts. For this reason the International Federation of Trade Unions is convoking a World Congress in which not only all Labor organizations are to participate, but also all groups who sincerely wish to establish peace, for there is, among all peoples, an incontestable desire to avoid a recurrence of the horrors already experienced.

People have talked vaguely of definite organization of the peace, the infant walls of a new international law have made themselves heard, but these first efforts have not been followed by results, to arrive at which it is necessary to quit the region of sentiment and to tread resolutely the road to practical realizations. The decisions of the League of Nations in

7. To start negotiations with the manufacturers about an agreement a few weeks later.

The agreement with the manufacturers' associations is not yet signed. The employers are still obstinate concerning a certain point which affects the interests of the operators consid-

erably. This is because the delegates who take part in them, too often come to these conferences with instructions influenced by the big armament concerns whose real interest it is to prevent the definite establishment of peace. The governments believe it to be all the more incumbent upon them to defend these private interests inasmuch as the workmen themselves sometimes join with the employers to defend the continuance of the manufacture of war materials although this is condemned in the resolutions adopted by their political and trade union organizations. It is these private influences which prevent success, and it is for this reason that the International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to develop in the minds of the masses a deeply rooted feeling of opposition to war.

The time for pacifist congresses and for fine resolutions is now passed. We must now know what is to be done to organize peace. This is a difficult task and one that can only be realized by the combined support of all classes in all countries; it is essential to determine the general guarantees upon which peace may be established. The Assembly of the League of Nations has devoted some little discussion to the question. Some theses have been presented, but these theses cannot be considered as efficacious measures, since, under a show

(Continued on page 8)

enably. Owing to stress of purely organization matters, President Schlesinger was unable to take up this problem during his recent visit in Chicago. He expects to come back to that city in five or six weeks for the specific purpose of reaching a final understanding on the agreement.

A Disloyal Wife

By MIRIAM KARPILOVE

She had hardly settled in her new apartment, she with her husband and their two children, but she was already talkative about.

It is true, she herself had supplied the material for this talk. . . On the very first acquaintance with her next door neighbor she invested her with a secret. She told her in confidence that she did not care for her husband. . . The neighbor passed on the secret in great confidence and then and thence it went in like confidence to a third until there was hardly a neighbor who did not know about it.

And the secret, thus allowed to escape, became the subject of general discussion.

"Why should she," they would say, "such a good-for-nothing diffidence such a fine husband as he's! To look at her, why there is nothing of her! Pale, thin, nothing, but skin and bone. Surprising how life keeps in that body. She can hardly utter two words with ease. Why she has not enough strength to work up a shille— and she hales her husband! Sometimes you come across these wonderful husbands. . . and your heart aches for them. This woman's husband for instance! It is a pleasure to pass a few words with him. So gentle with everyone how could one help loving such a man?" The next door neighbor had noticed that "she" had been visited several times by a man. He would spend quite a little time there and then he let out quietly by the woman. It was always, when the husband was not at home. The

visitor was quite a nice young man too. What could he see in her, the neighbor wondered. When after his departure the neighbor went in to borrow something, she found the woman avoided her eyes, was evidently ashamed to look into her face. . .

And when a short while after that, "she" disappeared, the neighbor was loud in her assertions, that it was with "him" she had eloped. There was no doubt about that. She would only have to look at him to recognize him immediately.

The deserted husband bore his grief in silence. Such was his kindness and gentleness that he voiced no accusations against her. The neighbors all deeply sympathized with him in his misfortune. That such a fine young man should suffer so on account of a perfidious woman, the shame of it!

The neighbors decided that until things will arrange themselves they would help him along with the children and prepare his supper.

"Never mind," they comforted him "he must not despair, on the contrary he ought to be glad to be rid of such a joke. Was that a wife! Nothing but a dried up herring and a shrew to boot! A great bargain for the other one, to be sure," they laughed.

"Never mind, you will see her crawling back, but don't you let her near your house," they counselled him. "She will tear her hair, knock her head against the wall, if only you will forgive her."

Surely that new love will not last long. He will soon grow tired of her. And then, if not the husband, it will be the children, who will draw her homeward. For you must know that children are not heads of cabbage and do not grow in gardens; and a mother's heart is not a potato. . .

Therefore, when she returns, the neighbors warned him he should know how to act: he should teach her a good lesson. . .

He listened to them in silence, occasionally nodding his head, which they took as signs of agreement, and they tried still harder to do all they could to keep up his house, to make him forget his loss, to show him that there still are good women in this world.

He offered to pay for everything, even for the labor and trouble he caused them, but for some time they refused any payment. Later they agreed to accept only that which they actually spent on the family. Just so that he should not break up his home. It is easy to break, but not so easy to build it up again, they argued.

Never mind, she will come back, and if not, there will be another, he will not always be alone.

When they had become quite accustomed to him and the children, and when they had given up all hope of seeing her again—she returned.

At first they did not recognize her, so greatly had she changed. She was quite different somehow: handsome, red-checked, stout and healthy. Evidently she was happier with the other one. It must have been for the sake of the children that she came back. Otherwise, why should she be here?

Instinctively the next door neighbor wanted at first to block her way. What right had she, the false one, to

show herself before her unfortunates husband and miserable half-orphan? But she immediately decided to stand aside and watch how he will show her outside.

Her good appearance was another reason for his not wishing to see her.

She went back to her kitchen and there through a crack near the "dumbwater" she placed herself to see and hear all that passed in her neighbor's apartment.

And what she heard and saw was more than she would believe her ears and eyes. The moment the "faithless one" opened the door, the husband rushed to her, embraced her with all his might, and for a long time they kissed! . . . He looked at her with such joy, and she at him, and they both laughed over the scheme that was so successfully carried out. For if she had not proved so "false" to him, no one would have sympathized so much with him and the children, and she could not go under the operation and afterwards to the country to recuperate. She could never have regained her health. She could have died and left him a widower and the poor children motherless. . . But this way. . . Oh, this way. . . why, she became fat just from laughter reading his letters. And her brother, the "she" with whom she eloped, he had laughed no less than she. Why, it was the common joke of all who knew about it.

He, the husband, did not laugh so much, he told her, he had missed her so much, so much. . .

And again he embraced her, the "faithless one" and again they kissed until. . . until the next door neighbor crawled out of her hiding place to spread the news around.

The Legislative Prospect

By J. CHARLES LAUE

With but one month intervening when those defeated for reelection to the legislative halls will go out and their successful rivals will come in, it might be profitable to review the chances for securing improvements by law as the result of the change in personnel of Congress, the various states and particularly New York state.

All political forecasts are now made with a view to the Presidential election of 1924. Very few of the desired reforms it is expected can be effected within two years and for many of the major benefits that the workers seek to obtain a long period of agitation is just beginning.

The most primary reform that the American Federation of Labor is seeking is to curb the power of the courts, that of the Supreme Court, in nullifying such humane legislation as the constitutional amendment, penalizing the exploiters of child labor and the power of the courts in general to nullify the right to strike by issuing injunctions. The state federations of labor are of course part of the general movement to have the laws amended and to curb the power of the lower courts to prevent picketing and other union activities.

This agitation will require perhaps five years to get results, but with the present progressive minorities in Congress and the desire of the present hopelessly reactionary administration to make sufficient concessions to an aroused public to have a chance in the electoral battle of 1924 some progress may be made in the next two years.

The executive council of the A. F. of L. at its recent session devised its immediate program and made plans to support its campaign to secure the impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty for his effort to crush the railroad shopmen's strike by means of a federal court injunction. The United States government by the way spent \$1,500,000 in fees to lawyers and special deputies to attempt to break this strike of seven A. F. of L. unions.

The greatest support of the Federation's program is expected from the radical bloc in the Senate and the House of Representatives while the union card delegation will contribute votes on minor matters that do not conflict too seriously with party discipline. Political expediency will rule.

On general policies such as the bonus, light beer and wine, and opposition to the deflation program of the Federal Reserve Bank, the Federation will lend its political strength, but its main attack will be on the usurpation of power by the courts to nullify or usurp the power of the legislative functions of the government.

The outcome of the election in Kansas has been particularly gratifying to the labor men, for the new governor, Jonathan Davis has pledged that his first official act will be to initiate the repeal of the Kansas industrial court act which has prohibited strikes. It may be that he will

liberate Alex Howat, president of the Kansas miners, who has been imprisoned for opposing these laws, immediately upon taking office.

Next to Kansas, New York and New Jersey have the most promising legislative outlook. The Chancellors courts in New Jersey are particularly vicious in their denial of the right to strike, the most flagrant case being the recent conviction of five pickets of the striking fur workers in New Brunswick, N. J., for contempt of court following their insistence upon their constitutional right. In Jersey City, Newark and Trenton, many unions, including the International, have felt the opposition of the judiciary. It is expected that labor will be able to clean out the state constabulary, restore the full crew bill, enact a law providing for state compensation insurance and otherwise improve the labor laws.

In New York state, the labor forces have already formulated their program with the object of having in effect by 1924, a code of factory laws

that will be the standard for the rest of the states by 1924.

One of the first acts of Governor Alfred E. Smith, it is hoped, will be to wipe out the two Lusk laws giving the state control over courses of instruction offered by private institutions of learning and requiring public school teachers to undergo loyalty tests.

Among the other reforms that the New York State Federation of Labor has demanded are the following:

Restoring the State Labor department to its former efficiency to enforce the factory laws.

Making the development of hydro-electric energy solely a state and municipal enterprise without profit.

Creating a State Minimum Wage commission to define minimum earnings of women and children employed in industry.

Providing an 8-hour day and 48-hour week for women and minors in industry.

Abolishing the issuance of peremptory injunctions in labor disputes.

Strengthening the state labor code and the workmen's compensation fund. Instituting a state in-

surance fund that will wipe out the private profit taking companies.

Free text books and free medical care for school children.

Superimposed upon these industrial problems is the great one, of what to do with the railroads and the mines. Here is where the radicals have a great function for the dominant farmer element is insistent that these two capitalist institutions shall be regulated for the common good.

The United States Railroad Labor Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission, the first regulating wage rates and union activity, the other freight and passenger rates, are both under fire. The recent coal strike has shown the weakness of the present system of coal production.

Public ownership of both would be acceptable to the farmer element; the railroad unions and the miners are committed to this policy. Whether it can be accomplished depends upon the political sagacity of the radical and progressive groups. Like the program of the American Federation of Labor, these fundamental changes will require years of efforts before they can be achieved as undoubtedly by the combined voice of the farmer-labor vote.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

I. L. G. W. U.

ATTENTION!

ALL WORKERS IN CLOAK, SUIT, DRESS, WAIST AND SKIRT SHOPS OF THE EASTERN TERRITORY, ARE NOW ADVISED THAT THE ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL HAS ESTABLISHED

THIRTEEN OFFICES

IN

NEW YORK, CONNECTICUT and NEW JERSEY

Members and workers in cloak, suit, skirt, dress and waist shops of these states are asked to cooperate with the Organization Department by bringing information about out-of-town shops to any of the offices listed below, or to the General Office, 3 West 16th Street.

ALL INFORMATION WILL BE CONSIDERED STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Following is the list of out-of-town offices:

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Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	35 South 4th Avenue	Hilcrest 3796—L. Maggio

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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

WHY THE A. F. OF L. REFUSES TO TAKE PART IN THE COMING INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE

Let us say right at the beginning that by no means do we agree with all the arguments advanced by the Executive Council as an explanation why the American Federation of Labor had decided not to be represented at the Anti-War Congress called by the International Federation of Trade Unions to assemble at The Hague on December 10. We shall later point out the inconsistency and sophistry of some of these arguments. On the other hand, we can understand the general sentiment underlying this action, and understanding, we cannot, of course, condemn it.

That our readers, some of whom are, we regret, strongly inclined to believe the worst about the "reactionary" and "bourgeois" American Federation of Labor, might understand it, as well as we do, we deem it necessary to state the case to them fully and clearly and in detail. When President Schlesinger was elected at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor as one of the delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, he undertook to do everything in his power to bring a rapprochement and, if possible, a reaffiliation of the A. F. of L. with the labor movement of Europe, the International Federation of Trade Unions, which is familiarly known as the Amsterdam International. Schlesinger knew very well the great obstacles that would have to be removed before a reaffiliation is possible. He knew, and was largely in accord, with the reasons why the American Federation of Labor had not, until now, rejoined the Amsterdam International. But he believed that given a firm will and a genuine desire a great deal could be overcome and that if matters were talked over in conference, a way might be found, if not for an immediate official reunion, at least for such an accord that would be the first step towards affiliation.

With this purpose in mind, President Schlesinger had called together a conference of the most prominent labor leaders in Europe and—but let us leave this to be told by Schlesinger himself as he reports about it to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.:

During the week of the Congress we had a conference with J. H. Thomas, the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, C. Martens, 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 on the necessity of security 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, or conferences, 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 were 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. INCANPAC 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 promotion 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 immensely incomplete without the participation of 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 that they are therefore deeply 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 called an invitation to President Samuel Gompers of our Federation and to the Secretary of the British Trade Union Conference has decided to re-invoice the invitation by a special cable request of its own.

And so it happened. The two cabled invitations to the A. F. of L. have made a splendid impression and it looked very much, indeed, as if the A. F. of L. would send its representatives to the Anti-War Congress. Samuel Gompers replied, as a matter of fact, to these invitations in such a tenor. Right after the cablegrams, however, came the official invitation in a letter signed by Oudegast and Fimmen, the secretaries of the Amsterdam International. It was this official invitation which caused the A. F. of L. to decline to participate in the Congress.

And here are the reasons: According to the statement by President Schlesinger, based on the information obtained by him during

his consultation with the leaders of the trade union movement in Europe, the Congress was to be one that "would not commit the participating organizations to any political views or material obligations." In the letter inviting the A. F. of L. to the Hague Congress, however, it is explicitly stated that each organization participating in the Congress, "must stand on the platform of the International Federation of Trade Unions." In other words, the A. F. of L. must give up its own political and social views and accept the principles of the European labor movement as represented by the Amsterdam International. And this, the American Federation of Labor cannot and must not do as long as its views and aspects diverge sharply in many ways from the aspects of the labor movement in Europe.

For instance, the labor movement in Europe is convinced in the efficacy and urgency of a general strike to prevent wars. The American Federation of Labor does not believe in this. It is not a question which of these two points of view is the correct one. Let us assume that the workers in Europe are thoroughly justified in their belief in the importance and necessity of a general strike. The fact, however, remains that this is not the A. F. of L.'s point of view. And since participation in the Anti-War Congress had been made conditional upon the acceptance of this point of view, it obviously became impossible for it to go to The Hague.

Anyone who is not obsessed by a blind desire to condemn and swear at the "reactionary" A. F. of L. as a matter of general principle, will not fail to understand that in this case its action was very consistent. The A. F. of L. would have to disavow its own principles to participate in that congress. Let us again underscore the point that as long as the representatives of the A. F. of L. were under the impression that participation in the Hague Congress would commit them to no new policies of principles, they were inclined to accept this invitation. As soon, however, as they learned that they must swallow in its entirety the resolution adopted at a previous International Labor Congress in Rome; that they must declare themselves in agreement with the declaration of principles of the Amsterdam International; that at the coming Congress no new proposals, barring those already on the agenda, would be accepted, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, which has its own principles, platform and policies, could in no way accept the invitation to take part in that Congress.

Yes, we understand the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in refusing to participate in the Anti-War Congress at The Hague. This, however, by no means, implies that we are in accord with all the arguments presented by the Council. Here is, for instance, one of these arguments:

The resolution adopted at the Rome Congress and which is to be the basis of the discussions at The Hague, proposes a general international strike of the workers of all countries in case of any war, even of a defensive nature. "We the A. F. of L. to take part in this Congress, it would commit itself in advance to this declaration. This it cannot do."

The logic of this argument is, mildly speaking, peculiar. First of all, the resolution of the Rome Congress is admittedly only to serve as a "basis" for discussion, which means that the proposal for a general strike is by far not a closed affair but something which is to be discussed. And if this be so, there isn't and there cannot be from any side any commitment on the subject of a general strike. Or does the Executive Council mean that even a discussion on this subject is not permissible? But this can hardly be even imagined. General strike resolutions have been discussed at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, why should such a discussion be "verboten" at an international labor congress? It would seem to us, therefore, that this argument of the Executive Council is altogether too weak and vulnerable.

Secondly, we cannot very well understand the line of demarcation which the Executive Council is drawing between one kind of war and another. The Council believes that in the event of a "defensive" war, the workers must not only not declare a general strike but, quite to the contrary, must take up arms against the attackers and drive them out of the country. We shall not now delve into discussion as to whether there ever was a war which, any or either of the combatants did not regard as a "defensive" war, a holy war, as far as they were concerned. Such a discussion would lead us too far afield. What we, however, want to emphasize is that if the plan of a world-wide workers' strike should really be feasible, this differentiation between an aggressive and a defensive war is flimsy and will stand no serious analysis.

Of course, today, when the workers the world over are divided into camps, into various patriotic groups, a general strike of workers in one country in case of war would not only be senseless but criminal. Assuming that the French workers were to have declared a general strike at the time when the German workers were marching with such enthusiasm in the "holy war" against France, any Frenchman who truly loves his land, his people and culture, would be justified in regarding the French workers as the worst enemies of their country. Their strike would inevitably have led to the defeat and enslavement of France by German militarism. A general strike in one single country to prevent war is a very poor method, indeed.

This, however, is not what the Rome resolution proposes. It speaks of "a general international strike of the workers of all countries," and if this be the case, what sense or meaning is there in talking about an "aggressive" or "defensive" war? Which country in the world would dare to embark upon a war venture when all the workers in all countries would stand ready to declare a strike? Of course, if one adopts the point of view that such a world-wide labor strike is an irredescent dream, one might as well not waste the time or breath on it. But if, on the other hand, one believes that such a strike is possible, then it is illogical either to

The Baker-Gompers Correspondence on the "Open Shop"

(The following correspondence between Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, appeared in the November issue of the "American Federationist." These letters are full of interesting information on the principles involved in the "open shop" issue.)

Hon. Newton D. Baker, President,
Cleveland Chamber of Commerce,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Baker: Someone has sent me a copy of a pamphlet, "The Human Side," in which you are quoted as being a convert to the so-called "open shop." The pamphlet prints extracts from an advertisement inserted in the Cleveland papers in which you are purported to say:

"An enlightened and determined public opinion will eventually settle the Building Trade situation in Cleveland upon a right principle—the principle of the open shop; the shop where every worker's chance is as good as every other worker's chance, and from which no worker is shut out because he holds a union card and from which no worker is shut out because he has no union card."

Knowing you as I did before and during the war and since, this alleged conversion of yours to all that is detrimental to the interest of the wage earners proved a very great shock. You surely must be aware that the "open shop" is not "the shop where every worker's chance is as good as every other worker's chance."

Among the corporations that maintain the so-called "open-shop" are the United States Steel Corporation and the meat packers. Do you believe "that every worker's chance is as good as every other worker's chance" in those corporations? If that were true, would hundreds of thousands of employees of the United States Steel Corporation rebel because conditions were unsatisfactory? Would many thousands of employees of the big meat packers have rebelled against conditions, if they had been satisfactory?

These two industries have demonstrated the fact that the so-called "open shop" is indeed a closed shop, as any hint that a worker is a member of a union immediately erects a bar to his employment.

Do you know that in a number of cities there have been employers' organizations which have combined for the purpose of refusing to sell materials and products to employers who operate an agreement with the unions of working people? Did you read the testimony before the Lockwood Committee that the United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation refused to sell material to builders and building contractors if they employed union workmen? Do you know that the Employers' Association of San Francisco has inaugurated a system that builders and contractors who want material must obtain a permit from that association and that permits are refused to builders and building contractors who are in agreement with the unions in the building industry? And that, as a matter of fact, the Department of Justice is conducting an inquiry into that situation? And that in all likelihood prosecutions may be instituted? And that thousands of such instances have been put under the euphonious title of the "open shop" or the traitorous "American plan" shop.

Your experience with the United States Steel Corporation during the war should not have influenced you to believe that it was an altruistic corporation. If the government of the United States could not compel that corporation to do what it should do in the interest of our government during the great war, can you believe it possible that its employees will receive the consideration due them when they are dealt with by the corporation as individuals through straw bosses?

I feel very deeply in this matter, and, after reading what is attributed to you in favor of the non-union shop, I could not bring myself to believe that you were correctly quoted. But, since then, I have received a number of clippings from labor papers published in Ohio that point to you as the leader of the interests which are striving to crush the labor unions. The Washington papers carry a story today that you have been re-elected chairman of the

differentiate between war and war or to talk about the possibility of a defensive war. It is only too obvious that a defensive war without anyone to defend oneself against is quite an absurdity.

Remembering that the ruling powers in Japan would very much like to attack America, particularly if they knew that the American workers had decided to go out on general strike in case of a war but if the entire working class of Japan would decide to do the same, to go out on a general strike in case of a declaration by Japan of a war against America, the military appetites of the Japanese government, strong as they might be, would quickly become dulled by this determination of the Japanese workers.

The resume of the whole thing is that while we cannot agree with all the arguments advanced by the Executive Council against the participation of the A. F. of L. in the coming Hague congress, we cannot fail to admit that the A. F. of L. could not have acted otherwise. To be sure, the International Federation of Trade Unions could not have acted differently either. We are forced, therefore, to the conclusion that it is still too early to talk about affiliation. There can be no unity between opinions and points of view that are so sharply apart as the opinions and the points of view of the labor movements of the New and the Old World. As long as the relations between the American workers are not, think not, and feel not as Socialists, they cannot act as Socialists or adopt Socialist platforms, just as the workers of Europe cannot adopt the platform and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Time will show which actions, conduct and principles are the best and the more progressive, and which will serve better and more effectively the interests of the workers. Today, the wisest course is to leave each movement to go its own way. At the same time, the relations between both movements must be the most amicable and tolerant. They may not be in accord with each other but they must take the greatest pains to understand one another.

executive committee of one of the dominant parties in Cuyahoga County, You know that I am neither a democrat nor a republican; that I am partisan to principle and not to party. But do you believe that many of the wage earners who have struggled and sacrificed for years to help build up American standards will follow your advice politically if the declarations credited to you are based on facts?

I regret very much having to write this letter, but, during the trying days of the great contest in which we were thrown much together in endeavoring to give every aid to the winning of the war, I learned to respect you very highly for what I believed to be your high principles where Labor is concerned. If there is anything that savors of capriciousness in this letter it is not intended. What I say is simply to call to your mind the terrible step you have taken—one that I can not understand and can hardly believe.

Very truly yours,
Samuel Gompers.

BAKER TO GOMPERS

THE CLEVELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Founded in 1848

August 24th, 1922.

Cleveland, Fifth City.

Mr. Samuel Gompers,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Gompers: I have just received your letter of August 15th. By a curious coincidence, on the day you wrote that letter I read your article in "The Woman Citizen" entitled "The Wrong Way in Kansas," and at the conclusion of my reading I sat for a long time questioning whether I might venture to impose on your good nature a letter on the subject. Then my attention was drawn aside to something else and now you have written me on a very broader subject, thus generously excusing in advance this addition to your many and great burdens.

I hold no brief for the Kansas Industrial Dispute Act. Such examinations as I have been able to make of its provisions, rather than of its workings, have inclined me to a favorable opinion of it, but this is not the result of prolonged consideration and of course, however good the act in itself may be, its virtue could be destroyed by an unjust or partisan administration of it, so that I would withhold judgment until I could learn what the results of the law in practice are, but your criticism of the act impressed me most because in all you say there is not a single sentence which recognizes any public interest in labor controversies. Feeling sure that this omission must be due to the comprehension with which you were writing for that paper, I have spent two days re-reading your views as set forth in "Labor and the Common Welfare," and there again I find that you reject the idea consistently. Any attempt on my part to summarize your opinion would be an impertinence, but these stirring and eloquent addresses and editorials of yours seem to me to hold that Labor alone understands its interests, that any interference from the outside with Labor's pursuit of its interests is wrong and that true progress can only be made when Labor is allowed a free hand by negotiation, where possible, and strike and boycott, where Labor deems them necessary, to secure a recognition of these rights. I am strengthened in the conclusion that this is the central belief of your philosophy by your statement to Mr. Untermeyer before the Lockwood Committee:

"Organized society has no understanding of the affairs of labor," and your steady insistence, before the Lockwood Committee, of opposition to every effort by law to abate any evil growing out of the actions, internal or external, of labor unions. This position seems to me not only untenable in theory and unworkable in practice, but in flat contradiction to every principle of American liberty with which I am acquainted. In the first place, the public has an interest in labor controversies, not a speculative, academic interest, but a direct, positive interest. It would be folly to argue such a statement as you would be the first one to concede is true, nor would you and I disagree as to character of that interest. I permit myself to state some of the ingredients in it: (1) The public has an interest in the welfare of workers involving adequate and just wages, wholesome and safe conditions, educational and cultural opportunities, provision against unemployment and dependency resulting from injury and old age; and (2) the public has an interest in continuity of production, facility in distribution and cost to the consumer, which

(Continued on Page 11)

THE NEW YORK CLOAKMAKERS' ELECTION

The result of the elections for business agents in the Cloakmakers' Union of New York should be a source of sincere gratification to the great masses of our workers in the cloak and suit industry in the Greater City.

The elected men are the best and ablest in our ranks—regardless of what opinions they may hold concerning other problems in the labor movement. Their election proves to us that the contemptible stunts of demagogues attempted in recent days among the cloakmakers have had absolutely no effect upon them. Even in this balloting the charlatans tried their worst to start a tumult and to confuse the minds of the workers by fake issues. In this however they failed dismally. The cloakmakers of New York who know their own mind and business voted for whomever they deemed most capable, for such men who might best help them in their daily encounters with their employers.

Another notable feature of the election was the number of voters that participated in it—by far the largest that ever took part in such an election. It is a sign that our membership is being drawn to take a closer interest in the affairs of the organization than heretofore.

We should like to infer from the results of this election that the cloakmakers of New York have realized that they must not hereafter content themselves with the role of passive onlookers—if their Union is to remain strong and influential. If this interest will only persist and our workers will display the same live concern upon all occasions with regard to everything that affects their Union; if the members will begin coming more frequently to the meetings of their locals and branches—was would feel more secure that no sinister force on earth can ever harm our big great organization.

Mob Violence Increasing

Over 800 cases of mob violence took place in the United States in the 21 months up to last June, according to a compilation made public by the American Civil Liberties Union in a pamphlet entitled "Who May Safely Advocate Force and Violence?" The facts of mob violence are set forth to give point to the quoted utterances of men in public life "advocating force and violence against radicals." The figures compiled from the Union's records show that from September 1, 1920, to June 1, 1922, there were 85 lynchings, 51 cases of tarring and feathering, 127 floggings, and 450 forcible mob deportations. Striking facts brought out by the figures are that 30 of the 85 men lynched were white, as were 49 of the 51 persons tarred and feathered, and 99 of the 127 flogged. Five of the victims were women, of whom three were white. Negroes numbered less than one-third of those attacked. The Ku Klux Klan was identified with 55 of the mobs.

The report says, "While most of the mob violence took place in the South and Southwest, it was also well distributed through the far west and middle west, with fewer cases in the east. The record totals over 700 victims at the lowest possible count, and over 800 including riot victims. The figures are all doubtless low, because our records are necessarily incomplete, based only on inadequate press reports."

The incident to mob violence, according to the pamphlet, began in the early days of the war and has since marked the utterances of many public men. The analysis of these utterances by officials and others contrasts their freedom from prosecution with the imprisonment of "radicals for far less intemperate utterances." In commenting on the collection of quoted utterances, the Civil Liberties union says:

"We have no record of any case since 1917, when these restrictive laws against radicals were first passed, where those clearly guilty of inciting violence, or actually using violence against radicals or workmen have been successfully prosecuted. Nor have we any record whatever of mob violence by radicals. We do not refer, of course, to the record of industrial conflicts, in which violence on both sides has been common, but which involves no issue of radicalism."

After citing war-time utterances of Elihu Root, late Secretary of State, former Ambassador to Germany James W. Gerard, ex-Governor Warfield of Maryland and others, the bulletin says:

"These statements are typical of

scores of others. But no purpose is served in going back to war days except to show the origin of the incitement to violence that marks attacks on radicals since. It will be remembered also, that during the war wholesale mob violence was practiced against the L. W. W. and the Non-partisan League, admittedly by business interests, because of their radical views and their organization of the workers, and farmers, without any relation to the war. As a matter of fact, the Nonpartisan League vigorously supported the war, while opposing the profiteers. The wholesale deportation of over 1100 miners from Bisbee, Arizona, into the desert, the lynching of Frank Little, L. W. W. organizer at Butte, Montana, and the scores of instances of mob violence reported chiefly by the Nonpartisan League against its members in their printed "Memorial to Congress," stand out as significant of the condition.

"In not a single case were those responsible for this violence punished. The Bisbee deportation was even upheld by the courts in an extraordinary application of a so-called 'law of necessity.' It is almost needless to point out that radicals and others who opposed the war, or those who even remotely suggested violence of any sort, were promptly prosecuted under special war laws."

The pamphlet cites more recent cases of advocacy of mob violence. It quotes Secretary of State Langtry of Massachusetts, under the "law and order" Governor, Calvin G. Coolidge, in 1920, speaking of the radicals: "If I had my way I would take them out in the yard every morning and shoot them, and the next day would have a trial to see whether they were guilty."

United States Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon is quoted as saying: "As for Bolsheviks, we have a way of dealing with them out West. We string them up."

Judge K. M. Landis, while still on the federal bench, is quoted as saying: "As for Bolsheviks, we have a way of dealing with them out West. We string them up."

Adjutant General Pat Hamrock of Colorado is twice quoted in regard to his handling of radicals:

"I'll use any weapon, cannon, hand grenade or gas, if anything starts down here. My men are familiarizing themselves with the use of tear gas. It is very painful and will calm down any agitator. We'll gas a camp and go in and get anybody we want. There'll be no opposites after they've had a good dose of gas."

But a supra-international authority necessitates an international force. It will be said that such a force may be placed at the service of the reaction from social progress. Yet, if the peoples have the will to drive their governments, along this road, they will have, at the same time, the power of control which shall prevent this force from being placed at the service of any private interests whatever.

The working classes have a prime and precise aim which constitutes their charter of guarantees: it is the combating of war by the refusal of the sinews of war. The International Federation of Trade Unions desires to combine the forces which tend towards peace, to make an international effort capable of preventing a return to all the evil feelings of the past and to open the way to an economic and general policy directed towards peace and no longer against it as is at present the case.

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The Hague Peace Conference

(Continued from Page 4)

of internationalism, they may tomorrow lead back to a system of private treaties among the states and to the consolidation of the adverse groups who formerly shared the hegemony of the world. One may, truly, criticize the League of Nations such as it has been conceived and as it works, but one must have the courage to declare that in the development of this League of Nations, organized on more democratic and international lines, there lies the real guarantee of the peace and security of the world. A supra-international sovereignty ought to be admitted by all who genuinely desire peace. It is necessary to establish an international law superior to the arbitrary will of governments; we have need of a combined movement in all countries which shall storm the fast strongholds of those who talk glibly of peace but whose very act is directed against it.

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

FEELBE-MINDED WORKERS IN THE MINES.

Fourteen young men said rightfully to belong on the state farm of feeble-minded at Orient, Ohio, were removed from coal mines in Pennsylvania by policemen and agents of the Ohio Welfare Department and taken back to Columbus; the company employing the boys declared they had been adjudged mentally and physically competent by physicians, before being employed.

BONUS BILL REVIVED.

Congressman Britten of Illinois reintroduced the bonus bill vetoed by President Harding at the last session of Congress, amended so as to provide the necessary funds by the taxation of beer and light wines.

COST OF LIVING MOUNTING.

The cost of living in the United States is steadily increasing and has been for practically a year. It increased on an average of 2 per cent in the retail cost of food in October as compared with September. This statement is made on the authority of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

TO HEAD LABOR BANK.

Dr. W. F. McCaleb has resigned as manager of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland, and goes to New York to take charge of the new labor bank that is being organized by the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City.

IMPEACHING DAUGHTERY.

Representatives of the A. F. of L. will confer with Samuel Untermyer, when the proposed impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty will be considered, according to a statement issued by the Federation. In commenting on the action of the House Judiciary Committee in calling upon Congressman Keller to present what evidence he may have before the Committee on December 1, Mr. Gompers declared this to be a totally unheard-of procedure, and is undoubtedly calculated to bias the proceedings and to make impossible the proper presentation of evidence to support the impeachment charge.

PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION TO MEET.

The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor will meet at Harrisburg, and will be addressed by Governor-Elect Pinchot. Among the discussions of the sessions will be old age pensions, and 48-hour law for women workers, and several amendments to the Workmen's compensation law.

BACK TO 1920?

Economic conditions throughout the country are swinging back to the levels of 1920, the Department of Commerce concludes in its October issue of Survey of Current Business. Production of both bituminous and anthracite coal shows further increases, and there is a demand for steel building materials and other products.

"BAD DAY FOR BIG BUSINESS".

Apprehensions of legislation harmful to business as a result of the victories of radicals in the last election were expressed by delegates to the annual convention of the National Founders' Association, composed of corporations and individuals engaged in the operation of iron, steel and brass foundries. "November 7 was a bad day for big business," was the way one of the members of the association expressed it.

PRISON POPULATION GROWS.

The prison population of the United States, not including the chain and road gangs and women committed to religious or charitable institutions, increased from 140,186 on July 1, 1917, to 150,131 on July 1, 1922, the Census Bureau announced. A rate of increase of 13.1 was noted in Federal and State prisons combined.

RAILROAD WILL DEFFY LABOR BOARD.

In spite of the decision of the U. S. Railroad Labor Board that the shop contracts of the Western Maryland Railroad Company are in violation of the Transportation Act, it is understood that the railroad will continue those contracts. This means that the Western Maryland will refuse to be bound by the Labor Board's decision.

A GOVERNMENT FARM PRODUCTS CORPORATION.

Organization for a huge government corporation with a capital of \$100,000,000 for the purchase and sale of farm products is the plan which Senator Norris, of Nebraska, announced he is working out for the relief of the farming industry. A bill to this effect will be introduced in a few days.

NATIONWIDE PETITION FOR NEW CHILD LABOR LAW.

A nationwide campaign for the Third Federal Child Labor Law is under way. The National Child Labor Committee believes the new law will be adopted throughout the country and for this purpose hopes to obtain the signatures of ten million men and women.

UNITED STATES TO INVESTIGATE BERWIND MINE STRIKE.

Four representatives of the Department of Labor were ordered to the bituminous coal fields in Somerset County, Pa., to investigate the working conditions of the miners on strike in the Berwind-White Coal Company's mines.

DAUGHERTY'S AGENTS REAL CULPRITS.

In a brief filed Saturday in support of the defense motion to dismiss the government's injunction suit against the Federated Shop Crafts Union, it was charged that there was better evidence of an unlawful purpose on the part of the United States Attorney General than of Labor Union officials in connection with the shopmen's strike.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

LONDON'S FIRST WOMAN MAYOR.

Councillor Ada Salter, just elected Mayor of Bermondsey, has the honor of being the first woman Mayor of London. "I do not know if my husband will take up the duties of Mayor," she remarked wittily to an interviewer. Since her election, her husband, Dr. Salter, has been elected Member of Parliament, having achieved one of London's most notable Labor gains, so he will not have time for this interesting position.

"HALF-TIME" COUNCIL'S FUNERAL FEAST.

An epoch in industrial history was marked in Manchester, on November 11, by the last meeting of the Half-Time Council, which, for 48 years, has worked for the abolition of the pernicious system whereby children of twelve could be released to work in the fields or the Lancashire Cotton Mills for half the day while going to school for the other half. At the luncheon party that celebrated this occasion—the coming into effect of the clause of Education Act that effected the Abolition of the Half-Timer—the menu bore the ironic inscription—"In Memoriam—the Half-Time Council, which died a glorious death, November 11, 1922, after achieving its life work—the eradication of the Little Half-Timer."

UNEMPLOYED AND HOUSING.

Dealing in an election speech with Labor's remedy for unemployment, Mr. Clynes (just returned again for a Manchester division) quoted the case of 178,000 building trade operatives, now idle and costing the country £200,000 a week, who, for the same amount of money, could in nine months have presented the country with 50,000 houses.

Twice AS MANY IDLE AS IN 1909.

The number of persons recorded on October 16 on the registers of the employment exchange in Great Britain as wholly unemployed was 1,332,560. Unemployment is not only more severe than ever before but it is nearly twice as serious as in the bad year of 1909.

SWITZERLAND

PRINTERS OUT IN STRIKE.

The printers' strike is spreading throughout Switzerland. The strike was called chiefly to enforce labor organization regulations, but it involves wage demands also.

RUSSIA

"STATE CAPITALISM" IN RUSSIA.

In a speech made at the Congress of the Third International, Lenin said recently that the new economic policy of the Soviet government was State Capitalism rather than State Socialism, but he reminded his hearers that in 1918 he pointed out that this would be the intermediary state between small production and Socialism. Russian state capitalism, he said, now holds in its hands the land, industry and trade: "Only the smaller enterprises have been leased."

HUNGARY

RENEWED PERSECUTION OF WORKERS IN HUNGARY.

It will be remembered that at its recent Congress in Vienna, the Transport Workers' International passed a resolution, against the violent attacks under which the Hungarian Trade Union Movement has been suffering. The "Népszava" the organ of the Hungarian Social Democratic party, now reports that the "Köszkedési Munkák" (The Traffic Worker) the organ of the Hungarian Transport Workers, has been suppressed by the government. At the same time the "Népszava" reports that there have been number of similar "measures" against the socialist and trade union press during the past three months.

And during this same period, when the Hungarian government was using every means to crush the Hungarian labor movement, the representative of the Hungarian government in the League of Nations, Dr. Wolfgang Heiler stated, in the Conference of the International Labor Office at Geneva, that this government was ready to undertake every reform of social legislation. The "Népszava", however, points out that the Hungarian law permits 12-year old, and in special cases, 10-year-old children to be employed, not only in factories and workshops but also underground in mines. A 12-year-old apprentice may, by law, be employed 10 hours a day and the working hours of a young worker over 16 years of age are not limited.

NORWAY

THE CONGRESS OF NORWEGIAN FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

In accordance with the proposal of the Executive Committee, the Congress of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions to be held in February, 1923, will have to deal with the three following points:

- (1) Form of Organization;
- (2) International Orientation;
- (3) Position of the Trade Unions, including the attitude to be adopted towards the Arbitration Act.

Most of the affiliated unions have now expressed their views concerning the form of organization. The proposals of the Organization Committee provide for a rigorous central combination of the craft organizations of the various districts. Of 28 unions comprising 80,467 members, 12 unions with 46,158 members have expressed themselves in favor of the form of organization and 16 unions with 46,522 members against it. The Executive Committee will now draft a fresh proposal on the matter and lay it before the Congress.

Educational Comment and Notes

Reflections on Our Reopening Celebration

By FANNIA M. COHN

It is sometimes interesting to be on the platform. It gives one a chance to observe and reflect.

Those who participate in a great procession miss this opportunity. They feel that they are a part of a big show, but they can neither see nor reflect.

There are advantages in both positions. Those who are only passive observers miss much, but blessed are those who can observe, feel and reflect.

It is advantageous to be on the platform if one can observe the audience, and at the same time receive inspiration from them and respond emotionally to them. It is something that is entirely lost by those sitting in the audience.

This idea came to me as I observed the fifteen hundred men and women who filled the large auditorium of the Washington Irving High School on Friday evening, and participated in the celebration of the reopening of our Workers' University and Unity Centers.

Of course, not everyone has the ability to express a feeling, and it is not always necessary.

The advantage that those of us had who were sitting on the platform that evening was, that we could observe the interest displayed by the audience and their response to what was said and discussed. We were greatly impressed at seeing so many new faces. We could see that some of them were there for the first time. They expressed the interest that comes from a new experience. Perhaps it was for the first time that they had an opportunity to hear any one speak on the subject of the educational activities carried on by their International. This is possible because of the size of our membership. There are scattered among 5,000,000 in a city which is the heart and pulse of American culture and thought. In this city there are so many conflicting interests. Numerous activities appeal to the same groups at the same time. In this city every unit can keep its identity because of the existing spiritual and intellectual agencies and their physical equipment.

Nothing was so inspiring to those on the platform as the interest and response displayed by these newcomers, whom we tried to interest in the educational activities of our Union. No movement can be successful unless it has the backing, emotionally if you please—of the rank and file. Especially is this true of an activity like ours, initiated by a union. Its success must depend upon the support it gets from the rank and file. At this inception it depends upon

the inspiration, energy, devotion and idealism of a few individuals, but its development and perpetuation rests with the mass of the organization which is responsible for that activity.

The weaknesses in our educational activities arise from the fact that we do not own a physical equipment. But on the other hand, for that very reason, they have a spiritual hold on the membership.

We saw in the audience men and women who, because of their age or some other reason, can not participate actively in this movement by taking advantage of the opportunities offered to them. Yet, there was a bright gleam in their eyes and a feeling of satisfaction on their countenance. Some of them unconsciously, animated by the prevailing spirit, felt that the opening exercises of our Workers' University is the best proof that this work, which had such a modest beginning, and which is gradually growing, will continue to develop. They felt that it will continue to get its inspiration from the masses, and will no longer depend upon the support of individuals only.

The movement for Labor Education has expanded and can no longer be confined to a small group. The best reward for those who supplied this inspiration, is the expansion of the work.

The re-opening exercises of our Workers' University were not intended only for those who take advantage of our educational activities. Our purpose was to interest a larger group, and we are happy that as a result, numerous locals of our Cleanmakers' Union have applied to the Department for lecturers to speak at their business meetings on subjects of interest to their membership. Some also asked for courses to be arranged at the headquarters of their local unions, in the language best understood by the members of their union.

Those who watch the development of a movement, or idea, must not place too much significance on certain details, as important as they may sometimes be—and on mistakes. They must look upon the thing as a whole. We wish to see that they must appreciate it in the light of history. They must visualize the part it is destined to play in the future of the movement it serves.

When this analysis applied to the Movement for Workers' Education and all the difficulties it had to overcome in its course—those of our members, who faithfully supported this work before they fully realized its significance, must feel gratified at its achievements.

Opening of the Educational Activities in Philadelphia

Our educational season in Philadelphia opened on Friday, November 17th. A large assemblage filled the hall at 506 Pine Street to listen to Mr. S. Niegler, the well known writer and speaker. He discussed "Social Forces in Yiddish Literature" and aroused great interest. He showed how the great works of Yiddish writers reflected the life of the Jewish people. Later the Jewish Labor Movement, which in itself is a part of the life of the masses, was also pictured in Yiddish literature. For these reasons, Yiddish masterpieces

make such a strong appeal to the Jewish people.

On Friday, November 24th, our Educational Director, Mr. Alexander Pichandler, began a course of four lessons on Social Psychology. The hall was crowded with many serious-minded men and women who participate in the activities of our Philadelphia Union. Mr. Pichandler began by explaining the character of the educational activities to be carried on in Philadelphia, announced the names of the teachers who are to follow him and their subjects, and

WEEKLY CALENDAR

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School

Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 603

Saturday, December 2d

1:30 SOCIAL FORCES IN LITERATURE.

Ludwig Lewisohn—Drama and Life.

2:30 David J. Sapos—Trade Union, Politics and Tactics.

Sunday, December 3d

What Determines Human Conduct.

10:30 a. m. A. Fichandler—Psychology of Current Events.

11:30 a. m. Dr. H. J. Garman—Political and Social History of the United States.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, December 4th

Waldmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40

320 East 25th Street, Room 267.

8:30 p. m. Dr. Margaret Daniels—Industrial History of the U. S.

Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 84

Stone and Glenmore Aves., Room 316.

8:50 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Comparative Development of Industry and the Trade Union Movement in the United States.

"The Third Period of American Industry."

Tuesday, December 5th

Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171

103rd St. near 6th Ave., Room 406.

8:45 p. m. Solon De Leon—Applied Economics.

"Wages and the Cost of Living."

Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43

Brown Place and 13th St., Room 305.

8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement.

Wednesday, December 6th

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63

4th St. Near 1st Ave., Room 404.

8:30 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions.

The Nation.

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 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.

"The Third Period of American Industry."

These courses will be continued throughout the season at the same place, day and hour.

Second Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 42

Washington Ave. and Claremont Parkway

Williamsburg Unity Center—P. S. 147

Dushwick Ave. and McKibben St., Brooklyn

Classes in Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced English—in ALL CENTERS.

Admission to all of these courses free to members of the International.

Lectures at Business Meetings

The following communication was sent out to the officers and members of the Executive Boards of our local unions:

November 23, 1922.

"To the Officers and Members of the Executive Board of Local No. —: We wish to call your attention to the following:

(1) At the last meeting of the Educational Committee, it was decided that we continue to supply our local unions with Yiddish and English lecturers on labor and economic subjects. These lectures are given at the regular business meetings, during the first hour.

(2) We made arrangements with prominent physicians to give lectures on Industrial Hygiene in Yiddish and English, under the direction of Dr. Sego Galston, Secretary, Industrial Service of the New York Tuberculosis Association. Those lectures will also be given at the business meetings. They will discuss the health of the worker in the shop and at home. We cannot overemphasize the importance of health lectures, especially for our members whose work is in

doors, and who are therefore subject to certain diseases peculiar to the industry. These diseases can be prevented if the worker knows how. The object of the lectures will be to instruct the workers in preventive measures.

(3) We prepared courses on labor, economic and social problems, to be given for groups of our members at the offices of their local unions. These courses are carefully prepared by the teacher or lecturer with the assistance of the Educational Department, so as to meet the needs and intellectual background of our members. We are certain that they will be of great educational value.

Arrangements for these lectures may be made with our Educational Department by a Committee of your Executive Board."

We expect that the Executive Boards of our Local Unions will at once take action in this matter by consulting with the Educational Department on how to make this work successful. If this work is to be done efficiently, arrangements for lecturers must be made at once.

showed the audience why they should help in the movement for Labor Education.

The topic of the evening's lesson was "The Social Traits of Man and How These Affect His Conduct." A good deal of discussion was aroused, particularly in relation to our activities in the economic and industrial fields.

The successful character of these two evenings promises a splendid season for Philadelphia. It is planned to arrange additional classes in various subjects to meet during the week. Members were asked to register with the Educational Committee of Philadelphia, and they will soon be informed where and when their classes will meet.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

Minutes of Meetings Nov. 8, 13, 1922.

Brother Berlin in the Chair.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE REPORT

The Organization Committee submitted two reports, one of which concerned the shop chairman meeting held on October 26th and which in substance is as follows:

The Board of Sanitary Control was represented by a committee which appealed to the shop chairmen to look after the cleanliness of their shops and told them to make complaints as to the conditions of their factories at the Board Office at 121 East 17th Street.

Another committee representing the "Hias," appealed in behalf of the immigrants and stated that their organization was in a precarious condition that unless they receive aid from the workers it would have to close its offices in Europe.

A motion was made to the effect that the members give an hour's work for the Hias and that the office make the necessary arrangements for the collection of this money. This motion was adopted.

The Committee informed Brother Hochman that according to their understanding of the functions with

which they were entrusted they are to work in conjunction with the Organizers under the supervision of the General Manager. Secondly, that Area Committees, about which a detailed plan was adopted by the Joint Board, should be brought into life and should do the actual organization work, also under the supervision of the Manager; and third, the Organization Committee is of the opinion that immediate arrangements should be made to create a body which should be known as Area Organization Committee which should be divided into districts.

The Committee then outlined their plans of activity for the near future. They wish to arrange immediately for the holding of shop chairman district meetings for the purpose of organizing District Area Committees and preparing them for the strike, having particularly in mind that these committees be permanent working bodies. The committee feels that only the proper cooperation and attention of the office will establish these committees.

Upon motion it was decided to authorize Brother Hochman to dis-

pose of the claim of the association in the case of Ulan-Jessel.

Brother Hochman called the attention of the Board to the recent fire which took place in Brooklyn and New York and suggested, in order to avoid similar catastrophes in shops under our control, to call upon the Joint Board of Sanitary Control to institute immediately a thorough investigation into the industry, and that such shops should be classified and wherever violations are found, that we make all arrangements to correct them. The Board approved the recommendation of Brother Hochman and instructed him to communicate with Dr. Price, Director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

LOCAL NO. 10 PRO RATA SHARE

The committee consisting of the secretaries of the local unions appointed by the Joint Board to take up the request of Local No. 10 with regard to their pro rata share, submitted the following report:

Although the committee agreed in principle that all the locals affiliated with the Joint Board must be assessed proportionately in accordance with their good standing membership, as established by the International Record Department, in view, however, of the peculiar situation which exists in Local No. 10 on account of their affiliation with two Joint Boards, the committee agreed to grant to Local No. 10 an exemption for 200 members who are employed in shops controlled by the Joint Board Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

The committee also recommends, in view of the fact that elections are about to be held in Local No. 10 and that the present arrangement of two business agents of the cutters' union have been temporary, until such election will be held, the committee requests to be authorized by the Joint Board to take up the present standing of all locals upon the number of business agents.

The report of the committee in regard to Local No. 10 was approved by the Joint Board.

COMMUNICATIONS

A communication was received from the New York Call Labor Conference in which they urged that the Joint Board should elect two delegates to attend a conference which will take place on December 3rd. In substance the letter stated that at this conference the labor delegates will render their report and that our Union should have its representatives present to hear it. The term of office of these delegates has expired and the election of new delegates will take place at this session. The Joint Board considering that Brother Hochman is the representative of the Joint Board on the New York Call, decided that he be one of the delegates and a motion was made that Brother Berlin be elected as the additional delegate to attend this conference. This motion was carried.

Secretary Mackoff rendered a report which was approved after several questions had been answered by him.

Baker-Gompers Correspondence

(Continued from page 7)

should be as low as is consistent with just compensation to the workers and a reward to capital sufficient to tempt it to embark upon and remain in productive enterprises.

When any aspect of this multifarious public interest is neglected the public is injured and if that neglect proceeds from any corrigible cause it is the public right by appropriate means to correct it. This does not mean that the public has the right to insure some elements of its interest by neglecting others, as for instance, quantity of production or cheapness of price at the expense of justice to workers, but it does mean that the public interest is real and far too vital to be left to such incidental protection as may emerge for it out of unregulated conflicts between the self interests of employers and employees.

As I have for thirty years been a trade unionist I long ago convinced myself of the enormous benefits which have come to the workers and to society at large by reason of trade unions. I do not, however, believe that all the improvements in the conditions surrounding labor have come through that agency. On the contrary, I believe that the activity and advocacy of men and women of humane and enlightened sentiments, as individuals and as members of groups, have been very potent in securing betterment against the evils of child labor, industrial fatigue, work with poisons, over-work by women, bad factory conditions and many other conditions which depress the vitality of the workers and so injure the race. I believe too that at least some part of the success which trade unions have achieved in raising the standard of living has been because of the intelligent sympathy of justly disposed persons who, though not themselves members of trade unions, brought to the support of the unions an overpowering weight of public opinion. I agree with you that no man can fully enter into the emotions of a worker unless he has himself had a wife and family depending for their livelihood upon his pay envelope and has been through the anguish of a precarious job and long-continued involuntary unemployment. The best outsiders can do is to respect those emotions with reverent sympathy, but that organized society should abandon its own obvious interests in this whole situation because it is not full partner in these emotions is a *non sequitur* which we do not permit in any other phase of public interest. Men who have never had the smallest legislation for the prevention and relief of that plague, childless men as members of legislatures act and vote upon measures for the establishment of orphanages and the education of the young. Farmer members of legislatures enact regulations for the government of cities and city representatives vote on rural matters. The whole theory of our institutions is that the public representatives represent the public interests and not the particular interests of a class, created by experience or any other mode of segregation.

Your letter of August 19 quotes from an advertisement printed by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce in one of our local papers, which declares in favor of—

"the shop where every worker's chance is as good as every other worker's chance and from which no worker is shut out because he holds a union card and from which no worker is shut out because he has no union card."

On the basis of this statement the pamphlet to which you refer classes me as a convert to the so-called open shop and your letter, as I understand it, objects to this position not because the position itself is unsound but because that seemingly just position is used by some manufacturers and groups of manufacturers as a cloak to hide a movement on their part in favor of a closed non-union shop arrangement.

It is upon this subject that I frankly stand in need of your counsel and

advice, and I am writing this letter in the earnest hope that you will add to the many kindnesses you have already done me by speaking frankly to me on this subject.

As I see it there are three or possibly four positions which one may take. He may favor (1) the closed non-union shop; (2) the open shop; (3) the preferential union shop; and (4) the closed union shop. My mind reaches an instantaneous and final disapproval of the closed non-union shop. I think it is intolerable that a man should be denied the right to work at his trade because he elects to join a labor union and so associate himself with others in his craft in counsel and action for a betterment of his condition. The closed union shop seems to me equally objectionable. You will understand that I am not discussing what it is wise for a man to do in the matter of joining a union, for if I were a worker I would join a union and be very active in it and I would seek to have the strength of that union back of me in collective bargaining for my wages and the conditions of my work. But how can it be that if being such a worker I freely elect not to join a union that those who elect otherwise are given any right or power over me hereby? If I am a plumber and decide not to join a union, can those who decide otherwise coerce me into joining or accepting as an alternative the starvation of my wife and children? You yourself have described expulsion from a labor union as capital punishment, then have we not two governments in America, one dealing with the externals of our general political life, subject to known laws enacted by elected representatives and subject to change at will, and the other an extra legal, voluntary society organized for the purpose of furthering the interest of a class, arbitrarily excluding from membership those whom it does not desire, imposing the death sentence upon those whom it desires to punish, and imposing upon all who are not members of it the consequences of its judgments without leaving in them any redress, right of representation or right of appeal? Such a government might suspend the production of coal and so freeze me and my family to death. It might suspend transportation and so starve me and my family. It might suspend the production of medicines and so devastate the country with a plague, and all the while those who suffered these inconveniences or catastrophes would for the most part be persons who had no voice in the making of the judgments by which they were thus destroyed.

I do not stop in this letter to argue the case of any of the groups, corporations or individuals to which you refer. The views you express of them may all be true; if so, they are evil, but what I am very earnestly seeking is some light upon this question which lies at the root of any social progress: Does the American Federation of Labor stand for the principle of the closed union shop as universally applicable to industry in America and if it does, what does it believe should be done for those who may for any reason prefer not to join labor unions and what provision does it expect to make for the protection of the interests of the millions of men, women and children, who, not being workers in the technical sense, are not eligible to membership in trade unions, but yet are, in their life and liberty, affected by industrial enterprises?

I write you these earnest observations and questions because I fear Gompers, because I learned in Washington to admire deeply the statesmanship, wisdom and patriotism which you exhibited during the great crisis of our country's history. The admiration I then conceived is too deep and genuine to be affected by any present or future difference of opinion which may arise between us. My hope is that your patience and frankness will persuade you to help me again and that as the result of this interchange of letters I may have the relief of knowing that we do not differ in any fundamental way and that I can continue to work with you and for America as I am sure we both did in high spirit in the days of the War.

With personal affection and regard, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Newton D. Baker.

(To be continued next week)

The Week in Local No. 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The Ball Committee held another meeting Saturday afternoon, November 25th, and took up the various phases of making the Ball a moral and financial success. The Committee intends to solicit advertisements from individual cutters, officers, and well-wishers of our organization. The price for these advertisements will be \$1.00 and \$2.00, according to size, and all those who are interested should get in touch with any member of the Ball Committee and they will be taken care of.

The Committee also took up other important matters pertaining to the affair, and has selected an Arrangement Committee to take care of the final arrangements. This committee consists of Brothers Lukin, Chairman of the Ball Committee; Joseph Fish, Secretary; Al. Wright, Treasurer; David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler and Sam B. Shenker. We hope that the members will cooperate with the Ball Committee and make this affair one to be remembered by all.

At our last General Meeting, aside from acting on constitutional amendments and nomination of general officers, for which this meeting was called, we were also honored by the presence of a distinguished guest in the person of Alexander Fichandler, Educational Director of the International.

Comrade Fichandler delivered a short talk on the value of education to our membership and workers in general. The educational director happened to come in during the session of a debate on constitutional amendments and listened attentively to the discussions advanced by those present for or against the proposition. He afterwards complimented our members, during his speech, upon their intelligence in discussing and conducting the affairs of the organization.

Comrade Fichandler also emphasized the fact that the Educational Department organized by our International was the pioneer in the movement of education for workers, and that the membership of the International should take full advantage of the opportunities afforded them by attending the various lectures and courses given at the Workers' University, at the Washington Irving High School, and at the different Union Centers throughout the city.

The address of the director was warmly received by the gathering present, and all those who are interested may apply for further information at either the local office or that of the International, 3 West 16th Street.

The second reading of the constitutional amendments took place Monday night. The recommendation of the Constitution Committee that the new executive board be sub-divided into the following three committees: Organization, Membership and Grievance, was defeated after a lengthy discussion. This was in accordance with the clause of the constitution which provides that no amendment can become law unless carried by a two-thirds majority vote of those present at a special meeting called for the purpose.

The number of those present was 191. Of those 80 voted in favor of the amendment, 74 against, and since it is understood that all those not voting favor the affirmative, an additional 37 votes were given in favor of the proposition, which made it a total of 117. This, naturally, was not enough to carry the amendment.

In view of the lateness of the hour, since the discussion of the amendments to the constitution and Comrade Fichandler's address took up

considerable time, the membership decided to dispense with the further reading of the constitutional amendments and to proceed with the nomination of general officers. The following brothers accepted nomination for the various offices of the organization:

FOR PRESIDENT

Jacob Lukin, No. 9009.
Philip Ansel, No. 1929.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

Morris Jacobs, No. 15135.
Meyer Zackheim, No. 4648.

FOR GENERAL MANAGER

David Dubinsky, No. 9016.
Meyer Unik, No. 9200.

FOR GENERAL SECRETARY

Joseph Fish, No. 5130.

FOR GENERAL BUSINESS AGENT

Sam B. Shenker, No. 5057.
Herman Rosenblum, No. 1074.

FOR INNER GUARD

Sam Massover, No. 737.

FOR DELEGATES TO CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL

Louis Pankin, No. 3961.
Philip Oretsky, No. 5270A.
Meyer Zackheim, No. 4648.
Isidore Nagler, No. 4107.
Falk Cooper, No. 3716.
Benjamin Sachs, No. 2770.
Herman J. Weinstein, No. 4351.
Isidore Sfrass, No. 1239.

Upon the nomination of Brother Philip Ansel as president, the question arose as to his eligibility to run for President, member of the Executive Board, and delegate to the Joint Board of Cloakmakers. Various opinions were expressed on that score, some claiming that according to the Constitution he has the right, others maintaining that according to precedent, the President is ex-officio on all committees, and should not run for any other office but that of President. The chair finally ruled that since the precedent has been established in this organization that a candidate for president cannot run for any other office, Brother Ansel's name should be withdrawn as candidate for executive board member and Joint Board delegate. The ruling was accepted.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The returns for the election of business agents in the Cloak and Suit Joint Board, which took place last week, have finally been completed. We are not going to give the detailed report of the election in these columns, as they will be printed in the regular news columns of JUSTICE. Suffice it to say that the total number of ballots cast in this election amounted to between 9500 and 10000.

Of this number, the manager of the American Association Department, Brother Saul Metz, received the highest number of votes that were cast for any single candidate for business agent, his vote aggregating 4581.

Of the candidates for business agent from our organization, Brother Sam Perlmutter, District Manager of the Downtown Office of the Joint Board, received the highest number of votes, 3874. Brother Isidore Nagler, business agent for the Protective Division, came in second, with 3534 votes. Brother Julius Bender, business agent for the American Association Department, came in third, with 3491 votes, and Brother Benj. Sachs, business agent for the Independent Department, came in fourth, with 3455 votes.

Our other two candidates, Brothers Harry Bloom and Arthur Weinstein, received 801 and 806 votes, respectively.

From the reports of the various members of Local No. 10, stationed at the different polling places, the cutters responded in big numbers in this election. This signifies that they are taking an interest in the affairs of the Joint Board.

Out of the total number of business agents to be elected, which is 67, practically the entire old staff was reelected, with the exception of Brothers Brownfield, Left, Flam, and Heinz, who were defeated, and four new men elected in their stead.

The membership is aware of the fact that the three per cent tax has been levied upon all members working in houses controlled by the Joint Board, to go towards the relief of the unemployed. Our organization, as well as the other locals, have been paying benefit to the unemployed to the amount of \$10 per week. This has been done for the past five weeks, and last week marked the last relief payment since the three per cent tax has been in vogue for only four weeks, and the amount collected just covered the number of weeks above mentioned.

As per decision of the membership to appoint controllers to go out during the slack season on a control of the shops, the Executive Board took this matter under advisement, and decided to start with two controllers for this division. Brothers Louis Pankin and Sam Linder have been appointed to serve. Their main duty will be to look after the shops where the bosses do their own cutting, as well as various other violations.

From the reports filed by these controllers, we find that although the trade is slow as a whole, about fifty per cent of our members are employed at the present time; if not steady, at least part of the time, i. e., putting in a number of days during each week. Through this control we also find that the cry of our membership that the bosses are doing their

own cutting is greatly exaggerated, as only about three or four cases of such nature have come to the attention of the controllers, and even these violations were of minor character, since the bosses were either cutting a sample, a couple of duplicates, or perhaps a few linings. Adjustment of these cases, although of minor importance, was enforced one hundred per cent, and cutters were placed to do whatever cutting there is necessary in these shops.

The industry, as a whole, is quite dull, but from conversations with various manufacturers, it is gathered that the new season will begin early, and that a large number of houses are already cutting samples and duplicates, especially those manufacturing a better line of garments.

Cloak Business Agents

(Continued from Page 1)

Local No. 11	Press	Barran
Goldstein		
Local No. 17	Berkowitz	Cloet
Gulub	Cohen	
Local No. 23	Lind	Epelman
Fremed	Ballinson	Prismit
		Stam
Local No. 35	Leontsky	Cransky
Slutsky, H.	Levine	Carulinsky
Labinaky	Gold	Moskowitz
		Rezahler
Local No. 48	Maricenda	Velardi
Catone	Commune	Desti
	Muccigravi	Dotti
		Catolento
Local No. 82	Rosenblatt	

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL BALL

of the

CUTTERS' UNION

LOCAL 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Saturday Evening, January 6, 1923

HUNT'S POINT PALACE, 953 Southern Blvd., cor. 163d St.

Tickets—50c

in Advance

Proceeds in Aid of

Relief Fund

Music by

Louis Zwierling's
Orchestra

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

ELECTION of officers will take place on Saturday, December 30, 1922, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place. The polls will be open from 12:30 to 6 P. M.

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