

"My righteous  
ness I hold fast,  
and will not let  
it go."  
—Job 27.6

# JUSTICE

"Workers  
of the world  
unite! You  
have nothing to  
lose but your  
chains."

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. V, No. 12. New York, Friday, December 29, 1922. Price 2 Cents

## DRESS AND WAIST WEEK-WORK REFERENDUM WILL LAST 3 DAYS

BALLOTING WILL  
JAN. 2, 3.

PLACE ON TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, AND THURSDAY,  
EIGHT POLLING BOOTHS ANNOUNCED

The referendum on whether the dress and waist industry is drawing near Tuesday next week, January 2, members of the locals affiliated with the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union of New York will begin balloting on the proposed change of the work system in their trade. The workers will have to say their final word, whether they are to continue to remain "slaves of the bundle" and work by the piece or will adopt a more human system of work—week-work.

The agreement between the Waist and Dressmakers Union and the manufacturers in the industry will come to an end late in January. The Union has determined to demand week-work for all the workers in the trade, at the time of the renewal of the agreement. But the Union wants to be certain that the membership is in full sympathy with this fundamental industrial reform, the change to week-work. It is still a great problem which the employers will not give up without a fight. It is quite

likely that a strike will be necessary and the Joint Board, at the recommendation of the General Executive Board of the International, decided to leave this entire matter to a referendum vote of the membership.

The office of the Joint Board has prepared the following referendum ballot which will be given to each member in good standing of the Union, to vote upon:  
(Continued on Page 9)

### Third Quarterly Meeting of the G. E. B. Begins Jan. 8 in Montreal

WILL LAST FULL WEEK AT HOTEL WINDSOR

Upon the arrival of President Schlesinger from the Pacific coast, the New York members of the General Executive Board had a meeting and agreed that the next quarterly meeting of the Board, the third in number since the Cleveland Convention, be held in Montreal beginning Monday, January 8th.

The last meeting of the G. E. B. was held early in August at Edgemere, L. I., and since then a great many matters of importance have accumulated which require the full attendance of the G. E. B. to be considered and decided upon. A number

of organizing campaigns have been started, among these the drives in Toronto, the Philadelphia waist and dress industry, Baltimore, Montreal, Toledo, and Los Angeles, and the work of the Out-of-Town Department in territory adjoining New York and in the Connecticut corset industry.

The meeting of the Board will be held at the Windsor Hotel and will probably last a full week. Locals and Joint Boards desirous of getting in touch with the G. E. B. will forward their communication to Secretary Tass at the General Office or later to Hotel Windsor in Montreal.

### Philadelphia Dress and Waist Drive In Full Swing

The drive in the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia, Local No. 15, under the management of Vice-President Reiberg, continues apace.

The organization committee of One Hundred, consisting of the most active members of the local, who have more than one occasion shown their loyalty and devotion to the Union, are on the job day and night. Shops which have dropped out of the Union are being called to meetings, members are being visited at their homes, and now a mass distribution of the first of a series of circulars in various languages has been carried on through the trade, reaching every man and woman in the shops. The circulars were received with remarkable eagerness by the workers—which is a sign that the old-time interest in the Union has been revived among the Philadelphia workers. This circular, which is a forerunner of a number of others, reads as follows:

#### THE HARD TIMES IN THE DRESS AND WAIST INDUSTRY HAVE PASSED!

Better times are coming. Dress and Waist Manufacturers all over the country are getting ready for a good season. It is expected that in another (Continued on Page 9)

## New York Cloak Joint Board Votes Full Confidence in General Manager Feinberg

CONDEMNS SHEET WHICH SLANDERS UNION—VOTE WAS 39 TO 10

On Friday last, December 22d, a special meeting of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York was held at the International Auditorium, 3 West 16th Street, which was attended, in addition to the delegates, by a number of press representatives.

The sole topic of discussion at this meeting was the slanderous attack made by a New York "communist" sheet upon the Cloakmakers' Union and its Manager Israel Feinberg, to the effect that Feinberg had concluded a "secret" agreement with the "American Association," the organization of contractors in the cloak industry of New York, which, it alleged, superseded the existing open

agreement between the Union and this Association. After a session, which lasted fully four hours, in which the entire affair was gone over in minutest detail and debated by practically all the leading delegates of the Joint Board, the Joint Board adopted a resolution of confidence in General Manager Feinberg by a majority of 39 against 10. It also adopted a resolution condemning the above referred to publication for its attack upon the Cloakmakers' Union and its leaders.

The discussion at the meeting brought out clearly the fact that no secret supplementary agreement has ever been made by Brother Feinberg and that he had acted at the express

instructions of the conference committee of the Union and was given full power to make interpretations of certain clauses of the agreement with the Association. Brother Feinberg presented the entire situation in a masterly way in a speech that lasted one and a half hours, making clear to the delegates that the whole situation was fully known to all the officers of the Union, the conference committee

#### WHERE WAIST AND DRESS-MAKERS WILL VOTE

Main office of the Union,  
16 West 21st St.  
International Bldg., 3 W. 16th St.  
Branch Offices:  
Downtown, 129 Spring St.  
Harlem, 165 East 121st St.  
Brooklyn, 1258 Boston Road  
Brooklyn, 56 Manhattan St.  
Brownsville, 229 Sackman St.

of the Joint Board, and that these interpretations have been in force ever since the agreement was concluded last summer in the industry.

## Norman Hapgood Resigns from Cloak Wage Board

REITERATES THAT UNION'S STAND IS FULLY JUSTIFIED—UNION WILL MAKE A WAGE INVESTIGATION OF ITS OWN, DECLARES PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER

Norman Hapgood, the well-known liberal and publicist, selected early last fall as the impartial chairman of the Wage Commission which was to investigate the annual earnings of the cloakmakers and their average period of employment, has resigned from the commission. He notified the Protective Association that he has withdrawn from the Commission because the representative of the Association, Mr. Bassett, has continuously laid obstacles in the way of its progress.

As known, the representative of the Protective Association has insisted continually, since the first day of the formation of the Cloak Wage Commission, that it occupy itself with measuring production standards in the

industry, which had nothing to do with the scope of the commission as outlined in the agreement. President Schlesinger, the Union's representative on the Commission, strongly refused this arbitrary restriction of the Commission's scope and refused to accede to it. Mr. Bassett, however, continued in his filibustering tactics and made it impossible for the Commission to begin work.

President Schlesinger received this news immediately upon his return from the Pacific coast and expressed his regret that the representative of the Association has seen fit to block and make it impossible for the Commission to get to work, which caused the resignation of Norman Hapgood. (Continued on Page 9)

## New Agreement Ready in Cleveland Cloak Industry

cloak industry between the Cloakmakers' Union and the Manufacturers' Association, are coming to an end.

According to advices received from Vice-President Meyer Perlstein, the new agreement between the Union and the Association has already been prepared and practically agreed upon with the exception of a few points which demand final discussion. Next Saturday, December 30th, the last session of these conferences will take place in New York to consider the few remaining points and also to act as a wage hearing.

At the conference, the Cleveland

Cloakmakers' Union will be represented by a committee of the Joint Board with Meyer Perlstein as spokesman. The manufacturers will be represented by a committee and the Board of Referees will also be present. Unless all signs fall, the new agreement will receive its final touches at the Saturday conference and if it is adopted by both sides it will be turned over to the members for final vote.

We shall publish the terms of this agreement at an early date, as soon as it has been ratified by the committee on both sides.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

### IS AMERICA CHANGING HER EUROPEAN POLICY?

IT APPEARS now that all the forecasts and speculations regarding President Harding's changed European policy were unwarranted, over-hasty and beside the mark. J. P. Morgan's visit to the State Department, the summoning of Ambassador Harvey, and the significant hints from the White House did not mean, as so many sanguine souls interpreted them to mean, a finished program to bring peace, order and prosperity to unhappy Europe. These only meant that President Harding discovered that much questions as reparations, debts, loans, etc., vitally concern this country, and that the State Department must begin formulating a European policy.

President Harding and his advisers were overwhelmed by the world sensation the announced new policy had created. They began to feel ill at ease under the glare of publicity, for they knew that it could only expose their hesitancy and gaping void. They therefore began a careful retreat. America, the White House unofficial statements declared, is not yet prepared to intervene in Europe. Even the question of a loan to Germany cannot be considered. In short, the American attitude has undergone no change.

One thing, however, seems to be firmly established, that is, that a German loan is impossible before the reparations question is settled. As J. P. Morgan told the German Ambassador, his attitude has not changed since last summer when he participated in the Allied conferences, which was in effect, first settle the reparation question, then we will talk about a loan. After this declaration by the Wall Street king one need not go to the White House for statements.

The American Government looks with disfavor upon the French schemes to occupy the Ruhr region and enslave Germany. It is inclined to reduce the amount of reparations and make it possible for a revival of German economic life. But France is dead set against such a plan. She is desperately determined to get her pound of flesh. It has become a national mania. Several months ago, before the British defeat in the Near East, it was expected that Great Britain would oppose the French schemes in Germany. But the situation has radically changed. Great Britain bargained French support in her negotiations with the Turks at Lausanne for her support of France in Germany. It was a real diplomatic deal. England sustained a terrific blow at the hands of the Turks who were groomed by the French, and the only possible way to regain her poise was to have the same French to come to her aid. Lord Curzon had a trump card—he threatened the French delegation with opposition on German questions. That was a sore point for the French. Hence the bargain, hence the surprising solid front that they show at the Lausanne Conference.

At the time when the government was hatching out a new European policy, Senator Borah introduced a resolution asking the President to call an economic conference with "such governments as he may deem necessary and expedient." This resolution is proving vastly disquieting to the Administration forces as well as to such "irreconcilables" as Senator Johnson of California. But the Democrats are almost united in its favor, while the farm bloc is insistent on it as necessary for the re-establishment of the foreign markets for American grain. The fate of the resolution is unknown, but the predictions are that it will follow the course of the Disarmament Conference Resolution which Borah introduced in 1921. That was objected to also as gumming up the plans the President had at that time. But when it became evident that an uncomfortable situation would result the White House opposition was withdrawn and the measure was adopted. So it is surmised that ultimately the present resolution will be permitted to pass.

Such a conference may be a victory for Borah. But it is doubtful whether it will in any way differ from the crop of European conferences. Borah's resolution is sufficiently vague and general to make the planned conference a fiasco to start with.

### ANOTHER REACTIONARY IN THE SUPREME COURT

WHEN President Harding made known his choice of Pierce Butler to fill a vacancy in the Supreme Court, everybody began to ask, who is Pierce Butler. Neither the metropolitan newspaper editors nor the statesmen in Congress seemed to have heard the name before. Why has the President named a man for such a venerable post who is unknown, the all-knowing queried. Inquiries were made as to who this mysterious Butler might be, his record was searched, his biography studied, and the riddle was solved.

Pierce Butler is a railroad lawyer in Minnesota. He was also attorney for various corporations. He proved particularly helpful to notorious labor-baiting, open-shop corporations. In an article in the New Republic last week Butler is described in the following words: "During the war he was a professional flag waver and ready, figuratively, to shoot the radicals at sunrise without a trial. He was a member of the group of the Minnesota State Bar Association generally given credit for being instrumental in obtaining passage of the vicious and infamous anti-union laws of the state, laws which were condemned by the New York State Bar Association, and which resulted in the imprisonment of Twenley, Gilbert and other Nonpartisan League leaders." An associate and friend of Butler admitted that "his talents were far male to the highest bidder, and the highest bidder always got them."

Senator LaFollette whiff had known Butler's record vigorously opposed his appointment. Many organizations and newspapers protested. It was pointed out that his appointment would degrade the Supreme Court and that it would add another demonstration that the courts in this country are only designed to serve the interests of plutocracy. But all these warnings and counsels were upbeated, and last week, the Senate, by a vote of 61 to 8 confirmed this arch-reactionary corporation lawyer to be an Associate Justice in the highest court of the land.

### IN WAR AGAINST THE KU KLUX KLAN

ACCORDING to the press, the Ku Klux Klan, the hooded and masked organization of bandits and warriors, is growing to menacing proportions. At a conference of the State governors a week ago the Klan was vehemently denounced and measures were discussed to deal with it!

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN—SAT., DEC. 30



## A WORKERS' FROLIC FOR WORKERS

International Dance Pageant

Solos by KOTCHATOFSKY, of the  
CHAUVE-SOURIS  
and DORSHA

Tickets—In Advance  
at the Rand  
School, Call  
and Forward—75c

\$1.00 at the Door.

Various State legislatures are discussing bills to curb the activities of this band. The subject was discussed at President Harding's Cabinet meeting. Governor Parker of Louisiana found it necessary to send a company of machine gunners to accompany the state attorneys who are investigating the Mer Rouge murders committed by the Klan. And finally Mayor Hylan has during the last few weeks issued several impassioned attacks on the Klan.

Despite the rhetorical denunciations of the Klan, it continues to flourish and grow. Klan aim, to make America safe for the white Protestant, 100 per cent American, seems to gain headway. There is not an important city in the country, the Klan heads boast, where they had not made great inroads. The gospel preaching war against the Jews, Negroes, Catholics, and radicals of all sorts is being pushed by hands of well-paid organizers and lecturers.

Whether the politicians are sincere in their opposition to the Klan is a debatable question, but that their methods are futile is certain. Their impassioned speeches against the Klan only give free advertisement to these white-hooded blackguards. But to a large number of politicians this must be a first-rate issue for vote-catching. For in opposing the Klan an aspirant to public office may appeal on this single issue to Jews, Negroes, Catholics and liberals. There is no other single issue save perhaps Prohibition that is so all-embracing, general, and at the same time, meaning so little.

### A LABOR PROGRAM FOR NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

THE New York State Federation of Labor made public the program of labor legislation that is to be immediately supported at the opening of the State Legislature. Alfred E. Smith, who is to be inaugurated January 1, has, during the election campaign, expressed himself as favoring many of the labor proposals. It was in fact stated that the Federation heads have already discussed many points with Governor-elect Smith, and that the program has a chance of being seriously considered by the Legislature.

The labor program consists of twenty points. Most of them vitally concern the workers. Take, for instance, Point Fifteen, which says: "Opposition to any proposal to set up compulsory arbitration, limit the right to quit work, or any form of compulsory licensing or incorporation of labor unions." This is chiefly directed against the scheme of Mr. Samuel Untermyer who prepared a scheme for licensing trade unions to be introduced to the Legislature by the Lockwood Committee. Or take Point Two, which reads: "No injunctions in labor disputes before hearing first to ascertain facts." Other points in the program demand the repeal of the "Lusk laws relating to censorship of teachers and private schools, the repeal of motion picture censorship law.

The program contains a detailed outline of proposals dealing with workmen's compensation, the 8-hour day and minimum wage for women and minors, and the State Industrial Board. There are other proposals, recommending the repeal of the various measures which give the privileged classes control over public services. The Federation has not of course forgotten the question of Prohibition. Point Fourteen reads as follows: "The influence of the State of New York to be exerted in every way to secure an amendment to the Volstead Act legalizing the use of light wines and beers.

## A New Book on American Trade Unionism

"History of Trade Unionism in the United States," by Selig Perlman.  
Published by the Macmillan Co., 1922, Price \$2.00.

A Review by Theresa Wolfson

To those of us who are interested in workers' education, and who particularly participate in it as teachers or students, every new book on the history of the American Labor Movement comes as an object of deep interest. For there is a great unfulfilled need for a simple, comprehensive description of the American Labor Movement—the written with a sympathetic and understanding interpretation of the facts.

Practically every history of the American working class has been written either by college professors or by intellectuals who have familiarized themselves with the workings of the Labor Movement by the perusal of documents. We have not yet that sympathetic and understanding exposition of the trials, accomplishments and philosophies of the Trade Union Movement in the United States. We have not yet that explanation of why a labor movement or whether does it lead.

The History of Trade Unionism in the United States written by Mr. Selig Perlman but partially fulfills this great need for a real book on the American Labor Movement. He is unable to fill the entire bill of qualifications, because though he may have a comprehensive knowledge of the historical facts, he has not intimately been connected with the Trade Union Movement and lacks the experience which such intimacy gives.

The first part of the book deals with Labor Movements before the Civil War. This section is in the main a summary of the History of Labor in the United States written by Professor John R. Commons and his associates—the standard work on American Labor history. He clearly presents the beginnings of Craft Unions, the struggle of the workers for citizenship, public education, shorter work days, etc. He goes on to describe labor's entrance into the political parties as a means of securing better economic and social conditions—the beginning of the see-sawing of the American workers between political and economic action. In the light of the recent Cleveland Labor Conference on Political Action it is indeed interesting to trace this participation on the part of labor in political parties.

Following this comes a comprehensive description of the economic philosophies of the day, such as Fourierism, cooperation and agrarianism, and a detailed description of the green-back period immediately following the Civil War—so full of the problems of economic reconstruction and of the beginning of modern industry.

The story which Mr. Perlman tells of the formation of the Knights of Labor, their activities and their causes for failure should be supplemented by Mr. Hoxie's much more sympathetic discussion in his book on Trade Unionism in the United States.

Mr. Perlman scorns the idealism and vision of the Knights of Labor and its kinship in organization to the one big union. In his chapter "The Victory of Craft Unionism" he states: "It is therefore not to be wondered at if the compact craft union led by specialists secured successes where the heterogeneous mobs of the Knights of Labor had been doomed from the first. The victory of craft autonomy over the 'one big union' was decisive and complete." He therefore shows that the American Federation of Labor continued to live—because it is opportunist and because it is essentially a "conservative social force."

Part Two of the book is devoted to the topic of "The Larger Career of Unionism." In the first part of this section an excellent life history of the struggles of the miners, railwaymen, machinery and metal trade workers is given. The story tells for itself the terrible contest between the workers on the one hand and the employers on

the other, and the utilization of that extraordinary weapon in the hands of the employers—the government. The use of legislation, of the courts, and of politics by the employer to break down the evergrowing power of unionism in the United States, forms another interesting story. In a chapter devoted to "Radical Unionism" he discusses the contributions of Daniel De Leon, Eugene V. Debs, William D. Haywood and the Industrial Workers of the World. Here again in the discussion of industrialism versus craft autonomy the reader should supplement the interpretation by the chapter on "Revolutionary Unionism" in Hoxie's book.

Mr. Perlman gives special attention to the I. L. G. W. U. and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as the first unions successfully carrying on the policy of the "New Unionism," which he explains as "having developed industrial government by collective bargaining and trade agreements as no other unions, and second in that it has applied a spirit of broad-minded all-inclusiveness to all workers in the industry." This type of new unionism is indeed a contribution to the American Labor Movement and does point the way for other policies and tactics of other trade unions.

In a discussion of Labor's position during the Great War, which he calls "The War Time Balance Sheet," the author presents facts to indicate how great a part the American Federation of Labor played in the formation of war policies of the government. In the following paragraph he states:

"An important aspect of the cooperation of the government with the federation was the latter's eager self-identification with the government's foreign policy, which went to the length of choosing to play a lone hand in the Allied Labor War. Labor in America had an implicit faith in the national government, which was shared by neither English nor French Labor."

"The Federation of Labor gave complete endorsement to the League of Nations Pact, whereas the position of British Labor was that it regarded the pact with a critical eye, frankly confessing disillusionment, but willing to accept it for the sake of future possibilities when the pact might be remodeled by more liberal and more democratic hands." Alas, how real were the fears of British Labor!

In a further discussion of American Labor during and since the war, the author tells the story of the great steel strike in 1919 and recognizes that since the need for labor's cooperation is past, the government no longer is an aid to the trade union movement, but becomes of necessity a factor which the workers must fight. For the steel strike was a clear enough representation of capitalist power plus government militia and

## TO ALL CLOAK AND SKIRT MAKERS OF BOSTON

The Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union of Boston has The Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union of Boston has leased for its new headquarters a three-story building at 15-17 Essex Street, Boston.

This milestone in the life of our Union coincides with the 15th Anniversary of the Boston Cloakmakers' Union. We realize keenly that there are still a number of cloakmakers in the city of Boston who have taken part, fifteen years ago, in laying the cornerstone of our present union but who, at present, are, for one reason or another, outside of its ranks.

The Boston Cloakmakers' Union decided to make a drive for a complete 100 per cent organization. We have decided to admit all operators, finishers, cutters and pressers who are not now members, upon the payment of a \$15.00 initiation fee, beginning from December 15th until January 15th, 1923.

Application for membership can be signed in the new office of the Joint Board, at 15-17 Essex Street, where a committee of the Joint Board, consisting of one member of every local, will sit every Wednesday evening.

We hope that you will utilize this opportunity and become members of the Union.

We remain, with trade union greetings,

## JOINT BOARD CLOAK AND SKIRTMAKERS' UNION

A. TZUDICKER, Business Manager.

state co-ops, versus the workers!

Parts one and two are valuable to the student in the workers' classes because they present in a condensed, simple form important historical material pertaining to labor's development. Though much of the material is to be found in "Professors Commons' book, the average worker would not have the time to read the original sources.

The author should have finished his book with the end of part two, for in part three, entitled "Conclusion and Inference," he attempts to give the economic interpretation of the labor movement, and to discuss the dictatorship of the proletariat and Trade Unionism—and fails! He seems suddenly to have become partisan to reaction and believes in the status quo, for he infers that: "economic gains are to the worker as private property is to its owner; a thing which he is willing to hold on to, rather than follow any revolutionary deals." He does not seem to understand that economic gains are not static, that they are ephemeral, and that they create greater desires, and that they must be fought for under the present system, and the very fighting constitutes impetus to revolutionary change.

There is a fable written by the Russian author Krilov, which tells of a

merchant, riding in a carriage from one town to another, and finding that it was becoming dark rather early, stopped and asked a peasant how far it was to the next town. The peasant shuffled his feet in the dirt of the road and mumbled, "Go on." The merchant again repeated his question and the peasant again answered, "Go on." The merchant, by this time out of patience, declared angrily, "Can't you be civil and tell me how long it will take me to the next town?" And the peasant bowed and said, "My good sir, go on; when I see how fast you can go then I can tell you how long it will take you." The author of the "History of Trade Unionism in the United States" does not realize what forces may compel the American Trade Union Movement to move quickly, and perhaps to bring about the cooperative commonwealth.

The book is one which workers should be familiar with. It can be used to great advantage by teachers of American Trade Unionism, and it seems to me that with part three omitted, it would prove a valuable asset to the worker's bookshelf. Its present price is prohibitive to workers, but if reprinted in a cheaper edition by the Worker's Education Bureau, then indeed should it be on the bookshelf of every class-conscious worker.

## JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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# President Schlesinger in Los Angeles

(A Letter)

By J. LEVITT

The Los Angeles Cloakmakers have had a visitor last week—Benjamin Schlesinger, the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Schlesinger came here on Sunday, December 16, and spent a full week in this city. During this week he addressed two member meetings of Local No. 52, two executive board meetings of the same local, and he also delivered an interesting lecture on the Labor Situation in Europe before a local organization. Aside from that, he has conferred with several groups of cloakmakers and dressmakers and held a conference with the cloak manufacturers' association of this city.

President Schlesinger's visit to this city has been awaited with impatience by the five hundred cloakmakers of Los Angeles. During the last few years, Local No. 52 has passed through a number of internal troubles and has had many conflicts with the manufacturers, as a result of which the local became very much weakened.

The hardest blow received by the local was when, several months ago, a group of "active" union men, under the leadership of the former business

agent of the local, Jacob Lanch, had called out the Los Angeles cloakmakers in a general strike. When the International refused to recognize this strike, this group issued circulars inciting the members against the International and its chief leaders. This "general strike," and these incendiary circulars brought great demoralization among the cloakmakers and the local since then began to decline. The Union began to lose members in large numbers, so that at present the local has but a fraction of its former dues-paying membership.

It is needless to state that the weaker the local became, the faster multiplied the woes of the cloakmakers in the shops. The bosses took advantage of the tumult in the ranks of the workers and began to destroy the conditions gained by the organization three years ago. In many shops the employers reintroduced piecework, cut down wages and began to treat the workers as in the "good old days" when there was no union in Los Angeles.

President Schlesinger's coming was, therefore, not merely for the purpose of bringing the cloakmakers back to their union, but also to find means and ways of regaining the former

work-conditions in the shops. Schlesinger received a remarkable ovation. Seldom, indeed, have workers displayed so much respect and love for a leader as the Los Angeles cloakmakers have shown for their president from the moment he arrived at the railway station until the last meeting where he outlined for them plans for the near future. Schlesinger's visit has certainly brought new life among the local cloakmakers. In his talks to them he constantly dwelt on the importance of the organization and of retaining discipline within the organization.

"If you were a union for yourselves," he said "and had no affiliation with other cloakmakers' unions in the country, you perhaps would have had to call a general strike as often as you felt like it. Not tied up with other unions in the trade and not expecting any financial assistance from them, you would have had the privilege of acting upon your own determination solely. But you are allied with the cloakmakers' union of the other cities in the United States and you expect that the financial means for your strikes come to you from these other cities. In other words, you are part of our International, and you, therefore, have no right to call out a general strike without consulting first and getting the endorsement of the International.

"Owing to disagreements among yourselves," Schlesinger continued "you have ruined your union and you have destroyed the work-conditions for which you have fought so hard in 1919. Your union must

regain its strength and these work-conditions must be returned to you. As soon as I come to New York I shall recommend to the General Executive Board to endorse a general strike in Los Angeles for the spring season. It is, therefore, important that you begin forthwith to prepare for the strike. You must immediately become active in the union, pay up your dues and start a campaign to get back into the local all former members. A special organization committee must be elected at once to do this work and Vice-President Max Gornstein will conduct the work of this committee.

"If you will only take up this work in earnest, you will, within the next four or five weeks, reorganize your local and then I have no doubt that the General Executive Board will endorse a general strike for Los Angeles."

President Schlesinger advised the cloakmakers that if they prepare the ground for a general strike, it might be quite possible to avoid the strike altogether. Should, however, a strike become inevitable, the General Office will do all in its power morally and financially to help them win the strike.

As stated, President Schlesinger's coming to Los Angeles has brought to life the local cloakmakers. There is no doubt that they will energetically and scrupulously follow out his recommendation. The entire progressive element of our city hopes that the cloakmakers' union will, in a short time, again become the strongest and most progressive union of Jewish workers in the Far West.

# The Political Conference in Cleveland

(Facts and Impressions)

By ABRAHAM BAROFF

The political conference which was held in Cleveland a few weeks ago is over and the word goes on as before. No great events have taken place as yet, and those who have expected that from this conference there will come forth immediately a great movement that would break down the old parties which serve Big Business, are perhaps somewhat disappointed.

"What have you accomplished in Cleveland?" was the first question which I heard upon my return from the conference. Some asked it in earnest and with sincere anxiety, while others put it to me with a cynical look in their eyes as if to let me know that they had never expected much from the conference anyway and regarded its participants as "conservative politicians."

Neither of these, are, of course, right. Both are extreme. The fact is that we went to the conference without anticipating great events. We appreciated the fact that knowledge is the sum total of years of learning, while custom and inertia is man's second nature and cannot be changed overnight. We knew that narrow patriotism or nationalism can not be rooted out by resolutions and could not expect any world-greeting results from the Cleveland conference. We knew the delegates who participated in that conference and we watched the way they were meeting the burning problems, for which we had and still have only one remedy—a strong revolutionary labor movement that would replace the present economic system by a cooperative commonwealth.

Let me tell in brief what took place at the conferences and how it impressed me.

First, it is worthwhile noting that

all the biggest international unions in America were represented at Cleveland, in addition to the railway workmen's brotherhoods. There were also represented the Socialist Party, farmer organizations, and a number of other progressive organizations.

Secondly,—among the two hundred delegates at the conference, the overwhelming majority were native Americans, and it was both in its manner of transacting business and mode of behavior a truly American conference. It opened on time and after the chairman had addressed the delegates in a forceful speech in which he pointed out some of the poignant evils that affect our country, the political helplessness of the workers, and their economic subjugation, expressing a hope that the conference would find means and ways of organizing the farmers, the workers, the producers in city and country, for electing their own representatives to Congress and for controlling all the departments of the national administration.

After the chairman's speech, we proceeded to the regular order of business. Everything went on smoothly when the Credential Committee rendered its report—until the incident caused by the delegation sent by the Workers' Party, with which you are probably familiar from the daily press. I am not sure that this rumour would not have occurred were it not for the rather censorious and tactless speech by Mr. Keating, which provoked resentment among some spectators in the gallery and on the floor. As far as the admission of the Workers' Party to the conference, as a matter of principle, is concerned, there was no difference of opinion about it on the floor. When the Credential Committee reported, on the following morning, recommending not to admit the representatives of

the Communists, the recommendation was adopted practically unanimously.

The Platform and Resolutions Committee prepared the following platform after having digested all the resolutions brought in by the delegates, in order to save the time and the effort of debating on each of these resolutions separately:

1. The repeal of the Elch-Cummings Railroad Act and for the national administration of the railroads for the benefit of the people; national ownership and management of control of water power in the interest of the entire nation.
2. The direct election of President and Vice-President of the United States by the people; the introduction of the primary in all the States and for all government officials.
3. The courts to be short of their power to declare laws adopted by Congress unconstitutional.
4. The passage of the Norris-Singular Bill for farm credits to enable the farmers to get more for their products and the consumers to obtain farm products cheaper.
5. To increase excess-profits taxes, taxes on inheritances to be applied to the soldier-bonus.
6. A minimum wage law for women; proper laws for the protection of women workers, prospective mothers, by the state; and the provision for children of women workers.

It is true that this program makes a step ahead. Nevertheless, many delegates could not stomach very well the peculiar dictatorial tactics of Mr. Keating, the chairman of the committee. First they demanded a fuller and more complete platform, and many delegates insisted that the resolutions be read on the floor without the committee's recommendations, leaving the final word to the delegates and that the resolutions, which called for an independent political party should be left untampered with, by the committee. Mr. Keating, however, maintained that the committee had the full right to bring in their own recommendations instead of the original resolutions. This provoked a protest and on the floor Mr. Hillquit had taken a hand in the situation, did the disturbance subside.

Hillquit recommended that the platform include the following additional important platform resolutions:

1. The nationalization of coal mines.
2. Laws to protect child labor.
3. Amnesty for all political prisoners.
4. Laws to protect civil liberties in America.
5. Laws to protect the right of labor to be organized and to strike,—in other words, that it would remove the injunction plague which is at present such a powerful weapon in the hands of the employers of labor.
6. Condemning the policy of financial imperialism which controls this country and inevitably leads to war.

All these six points proposed by Mr. Hillquit were adopted unanimously. The convention also adopted Hillquit's motion that at the next session the resolutions be read by the committee instead of being pre-digested by it.

The most acrimonious discussion at the convention was, as expected, provoked by the resolution for independent political action which called upon the conference to organize a labor party that would combat both old existing capitalist parties.

The proponents of the resolution had brought forth an array of splendid arguments in support of it. Its opponents called attention to the fact that the last election had proved that the method of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," the old method, was the best one. They appeared to be intoxicated by their recent victory. They believed that through this method the workers and the farmers can elect representatives that would serve the interests of the producers. When the question came to a vote, 52 voted for an independent labor party and 44 against it.

As you can see, the wish for and the idea of building an independent labor party is very strong and the third party adherents were themselves astonished by the size of the vote they had polled.

Well, we did not turn the world upside down at the Cleveland convention. We made no revolution. But willy-nilly, it occurs to me to draw a parallel between this conference

(Continued on page 8)

# "Europe Must Be Saved"

(Special Correspondence to Justice)

By B. MAIMAN

It is quite an accepted generally that the human species is egotistic and is actuated in all its activities by self-interest. Nevertheless, there are exceptions. There are some altruists among us who will not kindly towards their fellow men even if they themselves stand to suffer thereby. Others there are who understand that their own interest can best be served if they are kind and understanding toward their neighbors.

What is true of individuals is also true of peoples as a whole. Nations are egotistic by nature—and by influence of false patriotism—and consequently they always seek to get more and more of the world's lands and goods for themselves. Nevertheless, not all nations and not at all times can pursue this grab-it-all policy. There comes a time when nations must begin to think of the welfare of other peoples; when they must begin to think of the economic situation in other lands—not necessarily under the pressure of the benevolent Christmas spirit, but in the name of very simple economic interests of their own. Self-interest, a desire to retain what "we" have forces us to do something for others.

The United States of America has about reached, at this present moment such a condition. For the first time America is beginning earnestly and honestly to think how to help Europe to rise to its feet. And no matter how little confidence we might have in the purity of the motives and the humanitarianism of our political leaders, it is, nevertheless, a step forward and must be welcomed by all right-thinking persons.

To the Senate, Senator Borah, is the author of a resolution that the President of the United States summon representatives of other states to a conference for the reduction of armaments on land and sea. The resolution also proposes that the conference be constituted as an economic conference to seek ways and means of putting the world upon a better economic foundation. The resolution reads in part as follows:

"That the President is authorized and requested to invite such governments as he may deem necessary or expedient to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of considering the economic problems now obtaining throughout the world with a view to arriving at such understandings or arrangements as may seem essential to the restoration of trade and to the establishment of sound financial and economic conditions."

Well, the mere fact that a Senator, even such an important senator as Borah had proposed a resolution for and from all of these, with the exception perhaps of the Washington Conference of last year, nothing has materialized as yet. We should have therefore attached but little importance to this resolution had not, at the same time, Messrs. John Pierpont Morgan and Elihu Root laid before the President a plan to lend Germany one and a half billion dollars—while Otto Wiedefeld, the German ambassador, was busy proving to Secretary Hughes that if Germany should fail to receive immediate help, she will be ruined entirely; her industries would collapse; her finances bankrupt; and the whole country convulsed with a horrible and bloody revolution that would shake the world. And when after all this we see President Harding coming out with the statement that "we must put Europe on her feet!"—when we put all these things together, we must come to the conclusion that America finally has taken up the task of aiding the rest of the world earnestly and conscientiously.

Has John Pierpont Morgan of a sudden become such a great philanthropist? Will the American bankers advance a loan to Germany for a billion and a half dollars as a charitable impulse? Have the politicians really in mind only the welfare of Europe? It is hardly worth while discussing now all these considerations. Of course, the American bankers will carry off a fat bone from this transaction and our politicians have certainly not become converted overnight to charity pure and simple. Nevertheless, it is cause enough for sincere gratification with this new, for every right-thinking person. The world is bleeding and it must be saved at any cost.

It is also important to know that this change in the American policy took place through pressure from the economic situation here in our own country. The American export market has shrunk and American industry is beginning to realize that this country cannot remain isolated, that when the "lambs are being sheared, the ewes must tremble." The international idea that in order that our own situation be improved we must also improve the condition of other nations, has come home to us as in the form of a very elementary lesson in political economy.

Here is a statement by Senator Borah:

"We are traveling in a vicious circle. "We enacted an emergency, and also a permanent tariff bill. Nevertheless, the cry of distress from the producers of the country is even more piteous than at any time since the war. The farmer can find no markets abroad for his surplus products, and without a market for his surplus products it is impossible for him to realize the value of that he produces."

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"We now propose to enact a ship subsidy bill, but there are no cargoes to carry and no markets to supply. If we should give our millions in the way of subsidies it would not open a single market nor supply a single cargo. Those things are not produced by subsidies. There are millions of shipping tonnage lying idle now waiting to carry cargoes which do not appear. Markets are opened and cargoes are produced by men going back to work and settling down to business, not by imposing more taxes in the way of subsidies."

Borah represents in the American Congress the progressive group. A peculiar combination of factors in America has in the past brought about the more progressive elements in Congress were the most vociferously outspoken against international action, against aiding others, in the name of a narrow nationalism. In other countries, it is the usually reactionary elements which speak and act in the name of crass nationalism while the progressives are eager to work hand in hand with other nations. It is not the place here to seek to explain the reasons why this contradictory situation has taken place. The fact that Borah, the representative of the progressive bloc in the Senate has now come out for international aid is, therefore, a subject for sincere gratification.

Together with Borah's statement there was also given out an official statement from the White House which indicates that the practical work of helping Europe in an economic sense is not very far off. Another reassuring feature of this project is that even from the most conservative sources it is asserted that final aid will be forthcoming to the European countries only upon one condition: That this money be used not for military purposes and that these countries must, under all circumstances, reduce their present armies and navies. Other important covenants are mentioned, such as the reduction of reparations, the giving up of territories belonging to other nations, etc. etc. But should even only the first condition, the reduction of armaments, be carried out in earnest it would be of tremendous importance for the world as a whole.

## Congress of the Japanese Federation of Labor

On October 1st last and following days the "Nippon Rodo Sodomei" or "Japan Federation of Labor", the most important labor organization in Japan, held its first annual Congress at Osaka.

It will be remembered that the "Nippon Rodo Sodomei" developed from the old "Yuzai Kai", which was an educational and mutual aid organization set up in 1912. During recent years this organization has been adapted so as to supply the need of a fighting labor organization. At the 1921 Congress it was decided to change the name "Yuzai Kai" into "Nippon Rodo Sodomei" (Japan Federation of Labor).

The recent Congress was attended by delegates from 43 different trade unions.

The "Nippon Rodo Sodomei" does not recognize the recent International Labor Conference (Geneva). The Congress made an unanimous declaration on the subject. The point of view of the Federation was defined in a manifesto published before the Congress was opened. Among other things the manifesto stated:

"The delegates from Japan to the conference since its first session, have not been representatives of labor, and were not elected by the labor organizations, but by groups of in-

dividual laborers, under the thumb of the governing classes."

Their appointment was made in total disregard of the protests entered by the majority of labor associations in Japan.

It is an undisputed fact that the Japanese organizations of labor have no interest in the conference, and demand its immediate abolition to make room for the convening of a new conference, which will represent and deal with the original purposes for which the conference was convened. The labor organizations of Japan claim their legitimate rights."

The Congress formulated the workers' demands. It passed resolutions on the adoption of the six-hour day for miners, and the eight-hour day for all other workers, the establishment of a minimum wage and the abolition of night work.

The Police Regulations in Japan are a standing menace to the very existence of the workers' organizations, both political and industrial. The Congress demanded the abolition of these Regulations.

"It is interesting to note that the Congress dropped the question of universal suffrage."

The Congress affirmed its desire to work for the unity of the Trade Union Movement in Japan, and condemned

the actions of those who are opposed to the principle of centralization.

In summing up the results of this Congress, the special conditions which prevail in Japan must be taken into account. The modern ideas of the trade union movement are only beginning to be grasped. Japan is rather far removed from the big movements towards emancipation

which are agitating the western countries. But progress has unquestionably been made.

More and more the Japanese Labor Movement shows itself to be a new and conscious force. It is preparing to enter the international labor army as the active defender of the oriental proletariat.

## Model Cooperative Bakery Opened

A two days' celebration marked the opening of the new model Cooperative Bakery of Brownsville, in Brooklyn, N. Y., December 16th and 17th. Thousands of members and friends of the Cooperative Bakery filled the new building to overflow. Music and speeches enlivened the three public meetings held for the dedication of the new bakery, which was built by means of funds contributed by 1,300 consumers of Brownsville.

For nearly five years, this bakery had been renting a small cellar establishment, under conditions which were far from ideal. As soon as sufficient funds could be secured from subscriptions to a bond issue, land was acquired and a model bakery plant erected. The new structure is one-story high, and is 100 by 100 feet. All work will be done above ground. There are five new ovens, which can turn out \$10,000 worth of bakery products a week. The four

motor trucks will deliver bread all over the city. Strictly sanitary conditions will prevail throughout the bakery.

It is interesting to note that the construction of this new \$60,000 bakery, with model sanitary features, realizes the dream of A. I. Shipplacoff, the President of the association, who for many years fought vainly in the State Legislature of New York for the abolition of cellar bakeries. As state representative for three terms, he introduced a bill making the eight-hour day in bake shops mandatory, and requiring sanitary conditions. The bill was repeatedly killed in committee. Now Mr. Shipplacoff, realizing the futility of political effort, took the matter into his hands and through the cooperative society, has provided the eight-hour day and model working conditions for the bakers, while the consumers will be assured of wholesome bread at cost.

# JUSTICE

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## EDITORIALS

### ANOTHER CALUMNY PROVES ABORTIVE

Another "discovery," another "sensation" has been made by that "radical" sheet in New York City whose chief business it is to feed its circle of readers, in and out of season, upon concoctions that have as their sole purpose the undermining and the sapping of the strength of the trade union movement in the needle trades. It was, namely, discovered and displayed amidst a fanfare and blast of frenzy, that Israel Feinberg, the manager of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York, had committed an infamous and horrible act of treason. He had, in the open, made a model labor agreement with the "American Cloak Manufacturers' Association," while in back of the Union and in strict secrecy, he had concluded with them an entirely different agreement, the terms of which are nothing short of a staggering blow to the workers.

The consistent thing for the Union to have done, immediately after and in recognition of this remarkable "discovery" and the zeal displayed by the gentry who had made it, would have been to send a deputation to them rendering them abject homage and thanks for their services and inviting them to come into the Union and rule it, lest the Cloakmakers' Union sink in the pool of iniquity which is closing in upon it from all sides.

What did happen, however, is quite a different tale. A meeting of the Joint Board was summoned, and at this meeting the delegates expressed to Brother Israel Feinberg, by an overwhelming majority, their fullest confidence, condemning at the same time in unmitigated terms the "radical" scoundrelmongers. What an unregenerate age, indeed, is ours. These noble volunteers, who display such warm affection for the Union and its interest, are being condemned—while the man who had "betrayed" the Union and who signed a clandestine agreement with the employers is being given a vote of complete confidence! One not directly interested in the affair cannot help coming to either one or the other conclusion from this proceeding: Either the Joint Board is thoroughly corrupt and its vote of confidence to their leader and comrade is the result of an "honor among thieves" policy, or our would-be "radicals" are contemptible liars, ready and eager to raise vile scandals at the slightest opportunity. Which is the truth?

The bare facts of the situation are that Manager Feinberg has neither made a new agreement with the bosses nor was there any secrecy attached to the matter at all. Nor were the workers in any degree injured in this situation. We are eager to remove every vestige of doubt among the members of the Union that anything had been committed secretly, without their knowledge, and without their approval. Our Union has, heretofore, been a truly democratic organization. Good or bad, it was the membership that has had to decide upon all questions affecting our industry and our Union. We would, indeed, regard it a very earnest and brave wrong, had any one of our officials dared to enter into a secret covenant with the employers, even though well-meaning and without injury to the organization. It would mean an arrogance of power that cannot be tolerated. What has, nevertheless, happened in the case before us?

None of the delegates who have criticized Manager Feinberg at the meeting of the Joint Board on Friday last, have made even the slightest allusion that he was in any shape or manner "compensated" by the "American Association" for this alleged secret understanding with it. One of the critics merely declared that Feinberg had been "taken in" by the employers' association, a remark which called forth smiles on the faces of most of the delegates. The members of the Joint Board know quite well that the average and collective wisdom of the cloak contractors belonging to the American Association is not sufficiently great to fool Brother Feinberg. Why, then, this so-called secret supplementary agreement?

The answer is that there is no secret agreement and there never was any secrecy about it. Here is what took place: When the Union was negotiating with the "American Association" and was putting its demands before it, the employers have argued continuously that they could, by no means or manner, concede some of these terms. The Union, for instance, had demanded that each contractor have no less than fourteen machines with fourteen operators working at them. The contractors argued that despite their best wishes they could not grant this demand because some of them simply did not have the necessary space for fourteen machines. Were the Union in a position to find immediate jobs for the workers of these contractors, it would have, without doubt, insisted upon the strict application of this clause. The representatives of the Union, however, knew that they have no ready jobs for these workers and, willy-nilly, this plea of the contractors had to be taken into account. It was, therefore, de-

cided that the "American Association" agree in principle to the terms of the agreement prepared by the Union and that owing to the special circumstances, which militated against the carrying out of that particular clause, Manager Feinberg, together with the representatives of the Association, be empowered to place a temporary construction upon some of the terms of the contract.

The agreement, therefore, remains in force as a matter of principle, but for a certain period, until conditions improve, some sections of the agreement are not to be enforced to the letter. Manager Feinberg was given the authority to interpret these clauses in accordance with his best judgment, and, in consequence, certain allowances were subsequently granted by him on several of the points which had been previously fully discussed by the entire conference committee.

It is, therefore, quite definite and irrefutable that there can be no thought in the case before us of any "new" agreement made by Manager Feinberg. Still less can it be said that Feinberg had the slightest intention of concealing it from the Union. A moment's consideration will make it clear to our readers that Feinberg could not have made a secret of it anyway. An agreement is not a piece of paper that can be shelved and forgotten until the time for the making of the next agreement comes due. Labor agreements are being made for the purpose of regulating the daily, the hourly relations between employers and workers. How, then, could such an agreement remain a secret?

An employer, for instance, instead of engaging an examiner undertakes to do the work himself or takes in a non-union examiner. Now the workers in the shop are neither deaf nor blind, and if they perceive that this is done by the employer in violation of the agreement, the fact will become forthwith known to the Union. When the business agent of the Union arrives at the shop to investigate the complaint, the employer in question will, of course, not fail to inform him that he is permitted to do so according to an understanding reached between the employers' association with Manager Feinberg. Could such an arrangement remain a secret long? Or take, for instance, Feinberg's interpretation that a cutter, when taken up to work is not entitled to a full week's wages if there is only work for one day during that week, and that in such a case he is to receive only pay for actual work done. We would like to know how long this arrangement could have remained a secret. At the very first case it would have become a matter of common knowledge throughout the trade. The very thought that these interpretations could remain the sole mental property of either Manager Feinberg or the employers is obviously the product of a fever-stricken brain.

In point of fact, Manager Feinberg, right after he had reached an understanding with the American Association on these various points, immediately forwarded his "secret" interpretations to the Union offices which control the "American" shops so that they might know how to act. The district managers have, of course, known and couldn't help knowing of these constructions. It would be brazen on the part of anyone to assert, therefore, that any shred of secrecy was attached to this transaction.

It is true, Manager Feinberg had failed to report to the conference committee about these interpretations, which may have been an omission on his part. But the fact is that this conference committee, as the majority of its members declare, have remains that Brother Feinberg received the full power of the conference committee to act and, when this is conceded, it is difficult to imagine how he could have acted otherwise.

One thing is certain, his action was entirely honorable, without any back thoughts and without any desire to make a secret of it. That is why the Joint Board, at its meeting last Friday, gave him its full confidence, condemning, at the same time, those malevolent detractors for whom no slander is too mean as long as it tends to the besmirching of the leaders of a Union which knows and regards them at their face value, as union-smashers, pure and simple.

Whether his point of view is the right one or not is not the question before us. The Board of Directors of the Joint Board, which had withdrawn Feinberg's interpretations of the agreement, it would seem, of a different opinion. The fact, however, remains that Brother Feinberg received the full power of the conference committee to act and, when this is conceded, it is difficult to imagine how he could have acted otherwise.

There is, however, in this situation another aspect which we must touch upon. As it must be clear to everybody, this affair, by its very nature, was entirely an internal affair of the Union. The Board of Directors of the Joint Board has discussed these interpretations of the agreement and has decided, rightly or wrongly, we don't undertake to pass upon this just at present—to withdraw them and they had been withdrawn. The matter thus came to an end, and had it not been for some members of the Joint Board, some members of the Board of Directors, who have taken upon themselves the "noble" task of peddling around this story to the sheet that capitalizes every event in the Union for its bigoted demagogical purposes, it would have remained a closed incident right there and then. To our deep regret, however, we must conclude that our Union has its bitter enemies within its own midst, who are utilizing every opportunity to blacken and be-

# A Contribution to the Gompers-Baker Debate

By S. YANOVSKY

I.  
"Where two are fighting it is best for the innocent bystander to keep out of range." That's true enough, and the bystander who has any regard for the safety of his anatomy would do well to stand very much aside in such a case. But the point is that I cannot consider myself a mere bystander; I am too deeply interested in the "open shop" question and the other allied subjects involved in the Gompers-Baker debate—and hence this uninvited "butting in" into this controversy.

I shall touch upon the chief points of the discussion a little later. I shall, first, draw the attention of the reader to a point that is, in my opinion, very characteristic of Samuel Gompers as well as of our entire labor movement in America. It is how and on account of what this debate was provoked.

President Gompers had seen in a certain pamphlet a quotation from an advertisement in the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce in which its President, Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, comes out clearly and outspokenly for the "open shop" principle. Gompers was greatly astonished by this statement; he, as he himself states, could not believe his own eyes that Mr. Baker would entertain such opinions and, in a letter, he warns the former War Secretary and the present President of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce against this "horrible step," which he can neither believe, nor comprehend.

This, to my mind, is very typical both of President Gompers and of our labor movement. Because Gompers has known Mr. Baker as a person who has worked side by side with him to win the war for the Allies; because Gompers must have heard in those days that Mr. Baker is in sympathy with the trade unions and believes that the workers ought to be organized in order to win better conditions for themselves—he, Gompers, had reached the conclusion that Mr. Baker must likewise be opposed to the "open shop." And when he had learned that it was not so, he felt a sort of personally chagrined. He, the President of the American Federation of Labor, a person of tremendous experience and a deep student of men and things, should have erred so badly about his good friend, Newton D. Baker!

How did this really happen? Is Gompers such a poor observer of human nature, or was it something else that led Gompers to the rather peculiar belief that Newton D. Baker is a friend of the closed shop?

To my way of thinking, Gompers has an excellent student of his fellow humans, and he certainly did not err in his estimation of Newton D. Baker as a man. As a person, plain and simple, Mr. Baker is one of our "good" men. He doubtless is a good father to his children, a loyal husband to his wife, and a "good fellow" among all those whom he comes in contact with socially. But Newton D. Baker is, in addition to that, an employer, a business man, a man who belongs to a definite social category, to a certain class with definite interests—no definite, in fact, that they always collide with the interests of that class in our social structure.

smirch its reputation, to soil their own nest,—the saddest side of this entire story.

Indeed, the detractors of our Union are right under its own roof. We honestly believe that the Joint Board should have either entirely ignored that sheet of shame which ekes out its ignoble existence from such "sensations," or it should have expressed in plain talk its opinion about those "union men" who carry scandal and gossip to this press sewer with the single purpose of hurting the organization in which they themselves occupy, much to our regret, quite responsible positions.

that is accepted as the producer of all wealth. But Samuel Gompers, the best representative of the American labor movement, believes that there is no such thing as class interest; that there are only good and bad men; good and bad men—workers, and good and bad men—employers; and those who are good among the workers and among the employers must naturally have the same thoughts, ideas, and impulses. In other words, from the point of view of Samuel Gompers, the "good" capitalist must be just as strongly for the union shop as the "good" worker; and it was, probably, because of that that Samuel Gompers was so astonished when he read that the good, liberal politician Newton D. Baker, has come out, as the President of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, frankly and openly for the "open shop" and against the closed union shop.

What concerns the writer of these lines, I am only amazed at the thought that a person like Samuel Gompers, with all his long experience and his deeply discerning point of view on all things that transpire in our world, could still dwell amidst such notions. I for one cannot see how it is possible for any employer of labor to have the slightest sympathy with the union shop.

To begin with, the closed union shop is directly against his interests. It is too well known that union workers will not consent to work under conditions which an employer alone might fix and consider as proper and sufficient. The work conditions in a closed shop are as a rule dictated by the union and in most cases against the will of the employer,—why, then, should he be expected to favor the union? Granted, even, that an employer of labor might derive certain advantages from the employment of union labor, who will doubt it that if employers had full freedom to choose between union and non-union workers that they would choose the latter?

Secondly, aside from definite economic considerations, an employer is perforce strongly restrained in his liberty if he is compelled to employ union workers only. He cannot hire at random without the consent of the union; he cannot, if he is not even the sole arbiter with regard to the work in the shop. In many, many instances, the union would have its say about the way and manner in which the work is to be made and, if it has the power, it carries out its will too. The union at times even insists upon examining the books of an employer when wages are involved. Why should, therefore, an employer have even the slightest sympathy with the union?

An employer of labor, any person belonging to the capitalist class cannot in his heart and soul favor the principle of a union shop. Frankly speaking, he must be its bitter enemy and opponent. And had Mr. Baker desired to be truly frank with Mr. Gompers he would have said to him, instead of long arguments and explanations, approximately the following:

"I understand quite well why the workers want to be organized and are striving that all the shops in which they are employed be exclusively union. But how can you ask that I,

the president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, make peace for a moment with an idea that is against my own interests and the interests of my class?"

That would be plain and truthful speaking. But Newton D. Baker acts differently. Instead of talking in the name of his class he speaks in the name of the collectivity, of the public. And as Samuel Gompers is not averse to playing the part of a champion of the collectivity, of society in general, it strikes me as if Justice and logic are clearly, in the course of this debate, in some points on the side of Mr. Baker. It is necessary, however, to state that the debate has at least accomplished that much that Gompers begins his second letter by making the remarkable discovery that "there is a fundamental difference between your philosophy and my philosophy," the trade union movement in relation to the labor movement and the affairs of industry in general.

That is quite well as far as it goes. It explains to an extent why Samuel Gompers and Newton D. Baker find themselves in opposing camps. For my part, however, I want to say that the fundamental difference between Gompers and the labor movement on the one side and Baker and the business world on the other, is not a philosophical difference but a class difference—a difference between two social classes and their entirely contradictory interests. Their various philosophies are only the result of this real clash of interests. It is clear to me that had Newton D. Baker been in the place of Samuel Gompers as president of the A. F. of L., and Samuel Gompers had been the president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, their philosophies would have been changed correspondingly.

Let us now touch upon the principal questions involved in this controversy between the two representatives of the two chief classes in our society. These problems are of the greatest importance for the future progress of the labor movement and the workers should clearly understand them.

Let us begin with the union shop as a closed shop in juxtaposition to the so-called "open shop." Gompers makes it quite clear that the "open shop" is only a euphemistic name for the non-union shop. He proves it with facts and an irrefragable logic that plainly cannot be refuted. He tears down the mask from all those who would conceal their enmity for union labor by all sorts of phrases. He exposes them in their true colors as the labor-union who do it for lip service but who hate it in their hearts. Gompers would have the employers come out in the open, give up the well-sounding names of "open shop," the "American plan," and declare plainly and simply that they are against the union shop; that it is the greatest menace to "their industry" and that it harms their interests; that they wouldn't have anything to do with union workers as such, and what then? Will Gompers think it then necessary to continue debating with them until he might prove to them that they are wrong, or will he adopt other methods that will compel the employers, whether they want it or not, to have union shops only? And if so what are those "other methods" that he can employ against them successfully?

Let us assume for a moment that the workers in every trade and vocation in the country are fully organized into trade unions. Under such a state of affairs there, of course, could be no question of a union or a non-union shop. Then every shop would

perform be a union shop. Where all the workers belong to unions there can be no such thing as a non-union shop. The logical inference, therefore, is that in order to have a true and undisputed union shop all the workers of the country must become members of their respective trade unions. To achieve that is a non-union organizing drive must always be conducted and the initiation of the workers into the unions must be made as easy as possible.

This is what the trade-union movement must do, with all the power and energy it possesses in order to gain the upper hand in this "debate"—this fight for the union shop. Gompers in his discussion with Mr. Baker brings out clearly the point why union workers have the full right to refuse to work with non-union people who decline to help the union, which constantly fights for the improvement of the interests of all the workers, to maintain its existence. It must, however, be said that it is not always the fault of the non-union workers that they do not belong to the unions. In many cases these workers are plainly not admitted into the union,—sometimes by prohibitive initiation fees, and sometimes by the closing of the books to newcomers. I am not in a position to state how large the number of such workers is, but it is a trades list, but their number must be quite considerable. It means, in other words, that the union itself is trying to create a big opportunity for the non-union shop and makes it rather awkward for itself to sermonize the unorganized workers for their staying outside the fold of unionism.

It is certainly difficult to believe that a time will ever come when all the workers will be organized. There always will be found some near-sighted workers who are cramped, narrow vision who will remain outside the ranks of organized labor. But granting that, there is no ground whatever for the myopic policy of many trade unions to keep out large masses of workers under numerous pretexts that do no honor to the labor movement. To demand that each shop be a union shop when there are still millions of workers who do not belong to unions—not because they do not want to but because they are not admitted into them—means nothing short of condemning the workers to starvation. And, as human beings will persevere in their desire to live, the non-union shop will continue to exist side by side with the union shop to the great detriment of the entire trade union movement.

The most radical remedy against the non-union shop is, therefore, to have the greatest number of workers possible organized in trade unions. When we consider, however, the circumstances, the special difficulties attending organization work amongst labor in this country, in the United States; the difference in language, the difference in the living standards of the workers coming from the various European and Asiatic countries—we must concede that it will take years and years before we shall be able to comprehend this respect with the organized workers of England or say Germany. We must, therefore, reckon with these facts and ask ourselves what can be done under the circumstances to check the spread of the "open shop" plague!

This, we understand, is the most important problem before the American labor movement at this present moment. For it must be clear that in this direction no aid can be expected from employers of labor, no matter how professedly liberal. The trade union movement must in this respect rely exclusively upon its own resources. It alone must lead the fight for the union shop. The question is only—in what form shall this fight be waged?

We shall return to this in our next article.



## Free Speech Wins at Somerset Mines

A signal victory for free speech and the right of labor to hold open assembly was won when the four coal and iron police in the employ of the Vinton Collieries Company and L. I. Abrogast, an official of the coal company were found guilty of assault on Arthur Garfield Hays, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union and the United Mine Workers of America. The five men were sentenced to pay a fine of \$10.00 each and the costs of prosecution.

This decision will have considerable bearing on the suit Attorney Hays is bringing in his own interest in the New York courts, asking heavy damages for assault and battery on his person and for false arrest and imprisonment. The trial will be a further test to determine by what right a corporation owning a town may suppress free speech and free assembly.

Last April Attorney Hays and a party, in behalf of the Civil Liberties Union and the United Mine Workers of America, went to Vintondale to hold a meeting on property belonging to the United Mine Workers. Not only was Mr. Hays assaulted by the company guards, but he was also thrown into jail for refusing to leave the borough. Later he filed suit against the coal and iron police. He likewise appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme

Court for an injunction against the coal company. The injunction was granted.

At the trial it was revealed that numerous armed guards are hired by the coal company to keep peace at Vintondale, a town of a little over a thousand inhabitants. The defense alleged that the Hays party had gone into Vintondale with the express purpose of violating the sheriff's proclamation. In his charge to the jury, Judge John E. Evans claimed the problem was chiefly the credibility of the witnesses. Evidently the six witnesses for the prosecution prevailed over the thirty for the defense for after remaining out two hours, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. Attorney Hays had come prepared to address the jury himself, but owing to the defense "submitting" the opportunity did not arise.

Shortly after the verdict was reached, Attorney Hays, accompanied by F. E. Cooney, John Guyer and Assemblyman-elect Patrick McDermott proceeded from Elenburg, where the trial was held, to Vintondale. A meeting was held, this time without molestation from the hirelings of the coal company. "All is peaceful in Vintondale," reported Mr. Hays upon his return to New York.

## The Cleveland Conference

(Continued from Page 4)

and the one called by President Gompers in December, 1919, in Washington. 90 per cent of those who were in Cleveland also took part in the 1919 conference. It was at the time when reaction first began to lift its ugly head in America. The wide-spread agitation for the "open shop" was storming across the continent and all the dark forces in the land united to break the unions. President Gompers summoned the heads of labor organizations to Washington to take counsel for the launching of a counter-offensive to beat back the attacks of labor's enemies. I attended that conference and vividly remember what transpired there. I see clearly the several hundred labor chiefs assembled in the A. F. of L. building, and the bitterness and resentment of their speeches against Mr. Palmer and his coal-strike injunction still rings in my ears. But the giant of labor lay helpless in the meshes of a deadening "patriotism." I recall that when I rose and proposed that the organized labor masses of America

should form an independent party and elect law-makers that would represent them in Congress—what a stillness my remarks were met with, what scorn or, perhaps, enmity gleamed in those hundreds of eyes that were levelled in my direction! Today, only three years later, these self-same leaders listened with flaming eyes and fast-beating hearts to the Socialist, Morris Hillquit, looking upon him with respect and hardly concealed admiration. Today, three years later, the same who laughed and mocked at us, agree that a new world must be built; they only disagree concerning the method and the way.

No, we have not overturned the world at Cleveland, but we are marching ahead just the same; it is true, we are marching somewhat slowly, but we must repress the desire to fly headlong, as long as the masses will not come so fast with us. We must march with them, because alone and without them we cannot materialize our great ideal of creating a world of true freedom and equality.

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# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### OIL MONOPOLY ASSURED.

Secretary of the Interior, Fall, announced the award of a contract to the Sinclair Crude Oil Purchasing Company covering the purchase of all royalty oil accruing to the government from leases in the Salt Creek Field, Wyoming, adjoining the Teapot Dome Naval Oil Reserve. This contract virtually gives the Sinclair interests complete control of the Wyoming field.

### UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE A FAILURE?

That unemployment insurance has been a distinct failure in Great Britain and resulted in intolerable tax burdens and pauperization of large masses of possible self-supporting workers with a steady tendency toward worse conditions were the statements of Prof. Hoffman of Wellesley Hills, who appeared before special commission on unemployment, unemployment insurance and the minimum wage, in the State House of Boston, Miss.

### GRANITE CUTTERS' STRIKE ENDED.

Six granite manufacturing firms of the city including several of the largest, signed agreements with the granite cutters' union and allied unions at Barre, Vt., under which they will resume operations not later than January 10 next, after a prolonged suspension of work due to labor disagreements.

### POTTERS SIGN WITH INCREASES.

Committees of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters representing the men and the U. S. Potters Association representing the employers, meeting at Atlantic City, N. J., to adjust wage difficulties reached an agreement which calls for increase of 4.8 per cent to 4.20 per cent for the men of the pottery industry.

### COAST PAPER PROFITEERS.

The Pacific States Paper Trade Association has been cited by the Federal Trade Commission for maintenance of enforced schedule prices and maintaining such schedule prices for elimination of price competition. The complaint said the Association embraces practically all the wholesale dealers in paper products throughout Oregon, Washington and California.

### ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN MAY UNITE.

Tentative terms upon which the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in an address to a single organization with a single insurance department were agreed upon by a committee of 18 representatives of the two organizations before the adjournment in Cleveland.

### AGAINST LOBBYING.

Senator LaFollette introduced a resolution in the Senate which if adopted would make it a crime for any person to attempt to influence the action of the Interstate Commerce Commission, any member of the Commission or any person connected with the Commission.

### HIGHER STANDARDS MUST STAY.

Wages will never return to the level in effect before the war, Julius H. Barnes, President of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, asserted in an address before the Washington City Club. The advance since 1913, he said, "is not war time inflation but a real increase in individual earning power," and he declared that "an economic system which can give us more for every one—more automobiles, more general education, more modern plumbing, more gramophones, and bigger real wages—must be preserved."

### WARNS OF ANOTHER STRIKE.

John Hays Hammond, Chairman of the fact-finding committee, created by an act of Congress, has issued warning of the danger of another coal strike next April. Miners and operators in the bituminous fields are deadlocked once more and the temporary truce established a few months ago will end on April 1st, unless an agreement is reached at the conference in Chicago January 2.

### UNION MILLS PAY.

Stockholders of the Kilburn Mill of New Bedford, Mass., voted to increase capitalization from a million and a half dollars to two million and a half dollars, and issue a 50 per cent stock dividend. The union cotton mills at Fall River also voted 50 per cent stock dividends increasing the capitalization to \$1,800,000. Since the extra dividend epidemic started, Fall River and New Bedford Mills have paid out close to \$2,000,000 in extra cash dividends.

### CINCINNATI BUILDING WORKERS GET INCREASE.

Eighteen building crafts were granted increased wages by the Cincinnati wage board in Cincinnati. The increase was based on what is called the "step up" plan. The ultimate increase amounted to 15 cents an hour.

### MIDDLEMAN SWALLOWS 49 PER CENT.

Farmers in the United States are receiving for their crops and live stock prices that average 12 per cent higher than the level of 1913, according to the Department of Agriculture. The average of wholesale prices of commodities is 61 per cent in excess of the 1913 level.

### BANK NOT LIABLE FOR MONEY SEIZED BY SOVIET.

Justice Ford, of the Supreme Court of New York, upheld the defense of the National City Bank that it was not responsible for funds owed to depositors in its Petrograd Branch because its assets had been seized by the Soviet and the liability now rested with the Soviet Government.

### WEAVERS WANT 1920 WAGES.

The New England Conference Board of Textile Workers at a meeting in Manchester, N. H., voted to go on record as in favor of action looking toward the restoration to New England Textile Workers of the wage scale in effect prior to the 22 1/2 per cent cut of December, 1920.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### JAPAN

#### CONCENTRATION IN JAPANESE LABOR MOVEMENT

A serious effort has been made during the last few months to create a united trade movement in Japan. Hitherto the employers, who some time ago organized a central Employers Federation Nihon Kogyo Club, were opposed merely by a number of trade unions combined only into different groups which worked independently of each other. On April 2nd last, however, the two most important workers' organizations, the "Western Labor Federation" (Kansai Rodo Domei) and the "Japan Federation of Labor" (Nippon Rodo Sodomei) arranged for a meeting of their respective Executives in order to prepare the way for fusion.

### AUSTRALIA

#### FEDERATION OF CLERICAL WORKERS

A conference of delegates from the various Clerical and Government Employees' Unions was held at Sydney September 22 last. It was decided to form a federation, to be known as the Australian Alliance of Professional, Clerical, and Government Employees' Associations.

The organizations which have already signified their intention of linking up with the alliance represent nearly 100,000 organized employees.

### GERMANY

#### PORCELAIN WORKERS' ORGANIZATION

The "Korrespondenzblatt" of the General Federation of German Trade Unions (No. 46) states that in September the membership of the "free" Porcelain Workers' Union was 70,089 comprising 37,461 men and 32,628 women.

Practically all organizable porcelain workers have now been organized. There are 2,000 to 3,000 porcelain workers, however, who are organized either in the "Christian" union or the Hirsch-Dunker organization.

## WEEK-WORK VOTE NEXT WEEK

(Continued from Page 1)

### REFERENDUM BALLOT

The Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union and its affiliated locals have decided to demand from the employers that beginning February, 1923, the system of work in the industry be changed from piece-work to week-work.

Negotiations with the manufacturers for the establishment of the week-work system and for minimum scales of wages will begin as soon as the waist and dress workers will, by a referendum vote, express their approval with the week-work system.

Each and every member is, therefore, requested to vote either for or against introducing week-work in the industry.

Those who favor the introduction of the week-work system, make a cross in the box opposite.

Those opposed to the introduction of the week-work system, make a cross in the box opposite.

An unusually heavy vote is expected on this vital issue which will determine peace or war in the industry within the next few weeks. The tens of thousands of workers in the shops now have the deciding say in this matter. The industry is upon the threshold of great events and, like the women's cloak industry in 1919, when they fought their great battle for week-work and won a complete victory, that the workers in the waist and dress industry, it is to be hoped, will vote overwhelmingly for a more humane, progressive and modern system of work and bring a complete victory from their employers as well, by peaceful methods, if possible.

### PHILADELPHIA DRESS CAMPAIGN

(Continued from Page 1.)

four or five weeks the Waist and Dress Trades will be quite busy. It is, therefore, the plain duty of every man and woman who works on Dresses and Waists in Philadelphia, now to do all they can in the next few weeks to make our Union just as strong and powerful as it used to be not so long ago.

The coming season must find all the Dress and Waist Makers united. Only by being united can we bring back into our shops the working conditions which our bosses have taken from us during the past few months.

By next season we must restore in all the Philadelphia Dress and Waist Shops the following conditions:

1. The 44-Hour Week.
2. No Work on Saturday Afternoons.
3. Minimum Scales.
4. Shop Representatives and Price Committees.
5. No Workers to be Discharged

Without an investigation by the Union.

To get back these conditions by next season it is absolutely necessary that each and every worker in the trade, men and women alike, get on the job during the next four or five weeks and do all in their power to bring into the Union as many members as possible.

### EXECUTIVE BOARD

of Phila. Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 15, I. L. G. W. U.

### NORMAN HAPGOOD RESIGNS

(Continued from Page 1)

as chairman of the Commission. President Schlesinger also declared that the Union will not give up the cloak wage investigation. If the Association does not now favor such an investigation, he said, the Union is determined to find out for itself how long the cloakmakers' annual period of employment is and what their wages are, even if the Union has to make the investigation upon its own initiative and cost.

## Educational Comment and Notes

### Lewis Gannett's Lecture

Last Thursday, December 21st, Mr. Lewis Gannett, addressed a number of our members on the subject of "The War As Affecting Labor."

This was the first of the series of Thursday evening talks on International Problems and Labor, to be given in the new building of the I. L. G. W. U.

Mr. Gannett is well-known to most of our members as one of the editors of "The Nation" and brought back to America first-hand observations of conditions in Russia, Germany, France and other countries.

Although the events discussed by Mr. Gannett had been described in the press previously, the hearers found his talk very interesting because of the fact that many of them had been witnessed by Mr. Gannett personally.

He showed how Labor occupied a very strong position in Europe just before the declaration of war, and how all expected it to be an insuperable barrier to hostilities.

The declaration of war followed by statements of various governments as to immediate dangers to their country, forced the workers to yield to the hysterical wave of nationalism that spread through Europe, and affected the ranks of labor just as it did all the other classes of society.

Mr. Gannett showed how the various labor groups responded to the situation and how during the war, practically all, with very few exceptions, became nationalistic and lost their international character. The stimulus given by the Russian Revolution was also discussed and the speaker showed how it influenced the labor organizations towards such activities as the general strikes in Germany and the seizure of factories in Italy. The reaction which followed these events was shown to be the forerunner of the split which divided labor throughout Europe up to recently.

The lecturer then discussed the present situation in the various countries and described the increasing return to unity which is being forced by existing industrial and social conditions.

The talk was followed by a number of questions which showed how deeply our members are interested in the entire problem.

Next Thursday's lecture will be on "The Theatre in Europe and America" and "The World We Live In." The speaker, Mr. William A. Brady, is one of the foremost theatrical producers and one of the best authorities on the subject.

Our members are urged to be present. They will doubtless obtain important information on this subject. The following Thursday lectures will be announced in these columns.

## Re-opening of Our Workers' University, Saturday, January 6th

The courses at our Workers' University will be resumed on Saturday, January 6th. At 1:30 p. m., Dr. Lyon will meet his class in "Prophecy in Literature." At 2:30, Mr. David S. Sapos, will resume his course on "Labor Policies and Tactics." Sunday morning, at 10:30, Mr. Alexander Fichandler will continue his course on "Psychology of Current Events," and at 11:30 Dr. Carman will meet his

class in "Political and Social History of the U. S."

New students may register for the courses at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, or at the Washington Irving High School.

Students are expected to report at the school on January 6th. No notices will be sent.

## Re-opening of the Unity Centers on Tuesday, January 2nd

Our members who attend the classes in our Unity Centers had a week's vacation. The Centers will be re-opened on Tuesday, January 2nd. The English classes will be continued as well as our special classes in Economics, Industrial and Trade Union History, Applied Psychology, etc.

We expect all our students to return and many new members to join the classes. They should not expect notices or special communications, but report to their classes on Tuesday.

### COURSE IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY BY DR. MARGARET DANIELS IN BROWNSVILLE

Dr. Margaret Daniels will start a course in Social Psychology on Friday, January 5th, in P. S. 150, Christopher Avenue, between Belmont and Sutter Avenues, Brownsville.

This course was specially prepared by Miss Daniels so that those members who attended her lectures last year will find it a continuation, while others will be able to join it as a new course. It will consist of six lessons.

Admission free to members of the International.

January 2nd. New students may register either at the Unity Center or at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

At the request of our members who were assigned to general classes in the study of English, we expect to organize special classes for them. We advise our old students as well as those members who may want to join now, to be at the school on Tuesday, January 2nd.

### NIEGER WILL LECTURE IN THE BRONX

"Social Forces in Yiddish Literature" will be the subject of a lecture to be given by S. Nieger on Saturday, December 30th, in the Club rooms of Local No. 1, at 1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx. In this lecture Mr. Nieger will show how the great works of Yiddish writers reflected the life of the Jewish people, and how late 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.

Admission will be free to members of the International.

## WEEKLY CALENDAR

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

#### Saturday, January 6th

#### 1:30 SOCIAL FORCES IN LITERATURE.

Dr. J. H. Lyon—Prophecy in Literature.

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

#### Sunday, January 7th

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

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

#### UNITY CENTERS

#### Tuesday, January 2d

Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171

103rd St. near 5th Ave., Room 406,

Industrial Crisis.

Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43

Brown Place and 14th St., Room 505

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

#### Wednesday, January 3d

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 Market As An Economic Institution

Waldman's Unity Center—P. S. 49

320 East 30th Street

6:00 p. m. Loretta Ritter—Physical Training

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.

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

#### Friday, January 5th

P. S. 150—Christopher Avenue and Saekman Street.

8:00 p. m. Dr. Margaret Daniels—Applied Psychology.

Second Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 42

Washington Ave. and Claremont Parkway

Williamsburg Unity Center—P. S. 147

Bushwick Ave. and McKibben St., Brooklyn

Classes in Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced English—IN ALL CENTRES on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

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

#### EXTENSION DIVISION

#### YIDDISH

#### Saturday, December 30th

Local No. 1—1581 Washington Ave., Bronx.

8 p. m. Sh. Nieger—Social Forces in Yiddish Literature.

#### Sunday, December 31st

#### ENGLISH

#### Thursday, January 4th

I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th Street

8 p. m. William A. Brady—The Theatre in Europe and America.

#### YIDDISH

#### Saturday, January 6th

Local No. 17—144 Second Avenue.

2:30 p. m. Max Levin—The Economic Structure of Our Present Society.

## Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

(Description of Course given at the Lower Bronx Unity Center, 1922-1923)

Men everywhere are seeking to discover what's wrong with the world! And certainly labor wants to learn just where the trouble lies, for labor suffers most from what is happening. Economics can furnish the key which will reveal the true nature of our present problems.

For economics begins with fundamentals by calling attention to the basic purpose of the complex thing we call modern industry. It shows how industry is rooted in two facts: first, in the fact that man is an animal, and secondly, in the fact that he is the highest of all animals. As an animal, he must have food and protection from the elements, which means, shelter, protective clothing and fuel. Food, shelter, clothing, fuel—give us these or we die. Because he is a social animal, man obtains these necessities by group activity.

This group activity however, has been tremendously advanced by the fact that man is the highest of all animals—a tool using animal. The tool is the second foundation pillar of modern industry. For in the continuous task of satisfying his animal wants with the aid of tools, man has advanced from the rough stone chopper of the Old Stone Age to the power driven automatic machine of today. The most complex modern machine, however, is merely a grown up, infinitely improved stone tool. Its primary function is the primary function of every productive system, i. e. the satisfaction of human wants.

Building on this basis, economics can go on to show how industry as organized today, is not devoted first and foremost to satisfying human wants. Modern industry is used for making profits. Business enterprises (profit-making) and machine production are two entirely different things.

This course will attempt to show, therefore, how the business management of modern industry has and is working out; it will point out how and where the waste in modern production comes in; it will analyze the internationalism of industry and its relation to war. Finally, it will consider the various suggestions for economic reorganization that have been made to bring modern industry back to its original purpose of satisfying human needs; and it will attempt to explain labor's part in such reorganization.

# Forest Park Unity House

## FINANCIAL REPORT

Season 1922

SUBMITTED TO JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

ASSETS	
<b>Fixed Assets:</b>	
Land, Building and Equipment (cost value) .....	\$85,000.00
Equipment (purchased) Schedule No. 1 .....	5,906.23
Additions and Replacements, Schedule No. 2 .....	5,203.54
<b>Total fixed assets .....</b>	<b>\$96,109.77</b>
Inventories, Schedule No. 3 .....	1,175.00
<b>Current Assets:</b>	
Cash—Stroudsburg .....	\$ 44.44
Cash—New York .....	7,716.80
War Saving Stamps .....	250.00
Accounts Receivable, Schedule No. 4 .....	289.56
Loans Receivable .....	60.00
<b>Total Current Assets .....</b>	<b>\$ 9,360.50</b>
<b>Deferred Charges to Expense:</b>	
Surety Bond Paid in Advance .....	5.00
Legal Expense .....	848.23
<b>Total Deferred Charges to Expense .....</b>	<b>\$ 853.23</b>
<b>Total Assets .....</b>	<b>\$109,399.40</b>

### LIABILITIES, FUNDS AND SURPLUS

First Mortgage Payable .....	\$39,000.00
Second Mortgage Payable .....	10,000.00
<b>Current Liabilities:</b>	
Interest Accrued on First Mortgage .....	\$ 1,525.00
Interest Accrued on Money Due Local 22 .....	1,699.10
Due to Local 25 .....	15,125.61
Due to Joint Board .....	5,325.60
Security from Employees .....	80.00
<b>Total Current Liabilities .....</b>	<b>\$24,024.11</b>
<b>Funds:</b>	
Library .....	\$ 377.08
<b>Reserves:</b>	
Depreciation of Purchased Equipment .....	\$ 4,973.21
Depreciation of Original Equipment .....	30,000.00
<b>Total Reserves .....</b>	<b>\$34,973.21</b>
Shares .....	856.00
<b>Total Liabilities and Funds .....</b>	<b>\$109,399.40</b>
Surplus—Entire Existence—Schedule No. 5 .....	169.00
<b>Total Liabilities, Funds and Surplus .....</b>	<b>\$109,399.40</b>

### STATEMENT OF INCOME—PROFIT AND LOSS INCOME

<b>Board:</b>	
Forest Park .....	\$35,181.33
New York .....	28,421.18
<b>Total Board Income .....</b>	<b>\$61,602.51</b>
<b>Store:</b>	
Souvenirs and Gen'l Mchse. ....	\$ 1,826.87
Refreshments (Drinks, Candy, Cigars and Cigarettes) .....	3,714.58
<b>Total Store Income .....</b>	<b>5,541.45</b>
<b>Grounds:</b>	
Laundry .....	\$ 14.46
Boats .....	818.96
Rent .....	125.00
Garage .....	61.50
<b>Total Grounds Income .....</b>	<b>1,009.92</b>
<b>Other Income:</b>	
Telephone .....	\$ 4.23
Sale of Pigs .....	56.00
Commission on Pleasure Trips .....	151.87
and Bus .....	50.84
Wrinking Machine .....	1.15
Drinking Cup Machine .....	1.15
<b>Total Other Income .....</b>	<b>264.09</b>
<b>Total Income from all Sources .....</b>	<b>\$64,477.97</b>

### COST OF MAINTENANCE FOR SEASON

<b>Cost of Maintaining Kitchen and Dining Room—Cost of Foods:</b>	
Poultry .....	\$ 4,629.79
Dairy .....	3,925.42
Eggs .....	3,019.21
Groceries .....	3,435.14
Meat and Fish .....	1,435.67
Fruit and Vegetables .....	2,297.79
Bakery Supplies .....	612.00
Bread .....	331.75
<b>Total Food Purchases .....</b>	<b>\$19,756.77</b>
Less Discounts .....	293.35
<b>Net Cost of Foods Purchased .....</b>	<b>\$19,463.42</b>
<b>Freight and Delivery Costs:</b>	
Freight .....	\$ 1,276.67
Milk Delivery .....	433.97
Transportation Expense .....	241.79
Ice Hauling .....	229.13
Stable Expense .....	197.25
<b>Total Freight and Delivery Costs .....</b>	<b>\$ 2,379.01</b>
Kitchen and Dining Room Supplies and Expenses .....	185.96
Dishes and Silverware Broken and Lost .....	200.00
Wages—Dining Room .....	2,362.39

Wages—Kitchen .....	5,459.16
<b>Total Cost of Maintaining Kitchen and Dining Room .....</b>	<b>\$30,089.94</b>
<b>Cost of Maintaining Store:</b>	
<b>Cost of Purchases:</b>	
General Merchandise .....	\$ 508.99
Souvenirs .....	1,119.93
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,628.92</b>
Less Inventory at Close .....	204.86
<b>Candy and Drinks .....</b>	<b>\$ 1,424.06</b>
Cigars and Cigarettes .....	889.94
Post Cards and Stationery .....	886.67
Less Inventory at Close .....	361.16
<b>Store Expenses and Supplies .....</b>	<b>\$ 3,417.66</b>
Newspapers .....	79.11
Wages—Store .....	120.48
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>764.07</b>
<b>Total Cost of Maintaining Store .....</b>	<b>\$ 4,380.72</b>
<b>Cost of Maintaining House and Grounds:</b>	
Coal .....	\$ 948.90
Hauling and Loading Coal .....	588.61
Engine Room Supplies .....	\$ 814.41
Less Inventory at Close .....	50.00
Wages, Heat, Light and Power .....	1,376.69
<b>Total Cost, Heat, Light and Power .....</b>	<b>\$ 3,078.87</b>
Household and Cleaning, Supplies and Expenses .....	\$ 353.90
Plumbing Supplies and Expenses .....	332.17
Building Expense .....	75.30
Wages, Housekeeper and Porters .....	935.36
<b>Total House Expenses .....</b>	<b>\$ 1,696.73</b>
Laundry Supplies and Expense .....	\$ 275.93
Less Inventory at Close .....	25.00
<b>Wages—Laundry .....</b>	<b>\$ 250.93</b>
<b>Total Laundry Expense .....</b>	<b>506.42</b>
Drugs and Supplies .....	\$ 18.57
Wages—Nurses .....	215.00
<b>Total Hospital Expense .....</b>	<b>\$ 233.57</b>
Recreation Expense .....	\$ 55.30
Talent Expense .....	56.30
Wages—Recreation .....	622.87
<b>Total Recreation Expense .....</b>	<b>\$ 615.00</b>
Lake Expense (Repairs and Painting of Boats) .....	\$ 171.90
Wages—Lake .....	325.00
<b>Ground Expenses .....</b>	<b>\$ 71.72</b>
Wages—Grounds .....	963.65
<b>Total Ground Expense .....</b>	<b>\$ 1,045.37</b>
Winter Expenses (Schedule No. 6) .....	1,122.51
<b>Total Cost of Maintaining House and Grounds .....</b>	<b>\$ 9,836.04</b>
<b>Additional Expenses:</b>	
Employees' Fare .....	\$ 620.49
Employees' Board .....	772.21
<b>Total Additional Expense .....</b>	<b>\$ 1,392.70</b>
<b>Administrative Expenses:</b>	
Salaries (Schedule No. 7) .....	\$ 3,157.22
Printing and Stationery .....	372.01
Telephone .....	80.79
Postage .....	91.59
Advertising and Publicity .....	611.55
Carfaxes .....	37.45
Office Expense .....	22.68
Committee Expense .....	334.78
<b>Total Administrative Expense .....</b>	<b>\$ 4,708.07</b>
<b>Total Cost of Maintenance for Season .....</b>	<b>\$50,186.47</b>
<b>Income from Operation of House and Grounds (Gross) .....</b>	<b>\$18,291.50</b>
<b>Deductions from Income:</b>	
Taxes .....	\$ 777.89
Insurance .....	1,765.84
Interest on 1st Mortgage .....	1,825.00
<b>Total Deductions from Income .....</b>	<b>\$ 4,368.73</b>
<b>Gross Profit .....</b>	<b>\$13,922.77</b>
<b>Profit and Loss Charges:</b>	
Provision for Depreciation of Equipment Purchased (Schedule No. 8) .....	\$ 2,170.13
Provision for Depreciation of Original Equipment .....	7,500.00
Legal Fee—Written Off .....	141.38
Surety Bond—Written Off .....	10.00
<b>Total Profit and Loss Charges .....</b>	<b>\$ 9,821.51</b>
<b>PROFIT FOR PERIOD .....</b>	<b>\$ 4,101.26</b>

### PHYSICAL TRAINING IN THE WAISTMAKERS' UNITY CENTER

The class in physical training under the direction of Miss Loretta Ritter will be continued on Wednesday evening, January 3rd, at 6 p. m., in the Waistmakers' Unity Center, P. S. 40, 320 East 20th Street.

Admission free to members of the International.

**Patronize Our Advertisers**

*Rendezvous  
Cafeteria &  
Restaurant  
7 East 15 St.  
where workers gather  
for the noon and  
evening meals to talk*

# The Week in Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

When the last ballot in the 5th Annual Election will have been counted tomorrow, Saturday, more than one candidate will feel greatly relieved; no matter what the result. Because not in many years was the feeling of anxiety to intense as in the present election.

Two years ago the campaign, too, was warm one, but somehow or other it was not as warm as the present appears to be. Not only is nearly every office contested this year also, but for the posts of Joint Board and Executive Board enough candidates are running to suffice for twice as many as are necessary.

Five and a half hours will be given over to balloting; that is from half past twelve to six in the evening. Then will follow an intermission of one hour. At 7 o'clock the counting will begin and will proceed until the last ballot is counted. From the number of contestants it will be the work of the morning before the full result will be known. The election polls, as usual, are in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place.

As was noted in these columns last week, the Executive Board, by a process of hat picking, has determined the order in which the names will appear on the ballot. The list is given below in the same order in full, so that the cutters may familiarize themselves with the candidates:

## GENERAL

### For President

Philip Ansel.  
Jacob Lukin.

### For Vice-President

Morris Jacobs.  
Meyer Zackheim.

### For General Manager

David Dubinsky.  
Meyer Tunik.

### For General Business Agent

Sam B. Shenker.  
Herman Rosenblum.

### For General Secretary

Joseph Fish.

### For Inner Guard

Sam Masover.

### For Three Delegates to Central Trades and Labor Council

Philip Oretzky.  
Benjamin Sacks.  
Isidore Sfass.  
Falk Cooper.  
Louis Panken.  
Meyer Zackheim.

## CLOAK AND SUIT

### For Five Members to Executive Board

Meyer Skluth.  
Harry Zaslowsky.  
Max Silverstein.  
Moe Diamond.  
Falk Cooper.  
Morris Jacobs.  
Henry Mustagov.  
Sam Lider.  
Isidore Sfass.

### For Five Members to Joint Board

Ignatz Fischner.  
Joe Winnick.  
Louis Gordon.  
Isidore Sfass.  
Louis Foyer.  
Harry Zaslowsky.  
Morris Steinberg.  
Louis Scheinman.  
Louis Panken.  
Falk Cooper.  
Moe Diamond.

## WAIST AND DRESS

John W. Settle.  
David Fruhling.  
Morris Feller.  
Adolph Sonen.

### For Five Members to Executive Board

Henry Robbins.  
Benjamin Evry.  
Sam Sokol.  
Harris Hacken.  
Sam Mendelowitz.  
Aaron Aberman.  
Nathan Hechtman.  
Charles W. Serrington.

### For Five Members to Joint Board

Harry Berlin.  
Max Beckerman.  
Sidney Shalat.  
Henry Robbins.  
Abe Blechtin.  
Irving Stone.  
Charles Stein No. 2.  
Charles Pollack.

## MISCELLANEOUS BRANCH

Meyer Zackheim.  
Frank Lewis.  
Morris Alovin.

In setting Saturday, January 6th, as the date when the newly-elected officers of Local No. 10 will be installed for the ensuing term, the Executive Board has acted in accordance with the Constitution of the union. The place will be the usual one, Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, and the meeting will be opened at 1:30 P. M.

The installations of Local No. 10 are always ceremonies. Officers of the International and of the respective Joint Boards usually make addresses. For the coming installation the Executive Board has been fortunate in securing International President Benjamin Schlesinger, Manager Israel Fineberg of the Cloak and Suit Joint Board, and Julian Hochman, Manager of the Dress and Waist Joint Board.

It is hoped that the members will bear in mind both the election and the installation. The activities of the organization may well be judged by the members which attend these annual events of Local No. 10.

Another big event of Local No. 10 is the annual ball. The reason why it is called a big event is that it is the one time of the year when members of the union congregate for the purpose of merry-making and forget their daily trials and tribulations.

That a success is assured from both the moral and financial point of view is a foregone conclusion, judging from the number of tickets sold. Up to the present writing some 1,500 have been disposed of. And this by no means is all, as a good many members who have not yet purchased their tickets will attend.

The purpose of the annual ball is to raise money for the Union's Relief Fund. Whatever was realized from the past affairs has been exhausted, as the Executive Board has had appear before it quite a number of needy relief cases during the year, which was a very poor one as regards work in the trade.

For this year, in addition to the intensive drive for a big sale of tickets, the Arrangements Committee has also decided to issue and is issuing a ball journal, and is letting space for advertisements, which will help swell the fund.

## WAIST AND DRESS

At the last meeting of the Executive Board, Manager Dubinsky reported that the Joint Board has decided upon a drive to organize the non-union shops that have opened lately. He also reported that he had made arrangements with the manager of the Joint Board as regards the employment of cutters in the shops which settle.

Last Tuesday, the Organization Department of the Joint Board hired and opened its headquarters in Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue, to which a few shops have already been brought down. Manager Dubinsky has requested the organizer in charge to see to it that with every shop sent back a cutter should also be sent. The reason for this request is that nearly all shops which are not yet organized are working without cutters.

It may seem strange that the union should begin at this time a campaign against unorganized shops, in view of the impending general organization campaign which may take place at the expiration of the agreement in January, 1923. However, this will not seem so strange when it is remembered that with the advent of the contracting system it is as easy to open a new shop as it is for one already opened to close.

Since the last campaign which took place some month ago, quite a number of shops have sprung up. And it will be of considerable aid to the union to organize as many of these shops now as possible, so that it may concentrate its energies upon the big problem which faces it next year.

The dress and waist cutters should not fail to bear in mind the referendum on the question of week work which will take place on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, January 2, 3, and 4, respectively, in the union's offices. As members whose local is affiliated with the Joint Board, they have an equal right to take part in the balloting in spite of the fact. While it is true that the cutters work on a week-work system, nevertheless the referendum carries with it the question of a strike. And, therefore, though the cutters are week workers they too should express their opinion on the question of a strike.

## W. A. BRADY LECTURES NEXT THURSDAY

On Thursday, January 4th, at 8 P. M., William A. Brady, theatrical producer, will lecture on "The Theatre in Europe and America and The World We Live In."

Admission free to members of the International.

The Thursday evening lectures will be continued throughout the season. Watch for further announcements.

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS, CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

THIS SATURDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 30

at

ARLINGTON HALL, 23 ST. MARKS PLACE

Polls open from 12:30 to 6 o'clock

According to the Constitution of Local 10, only those members are entitled to a vote who are not in arrears for more than 12 weeks, and are members of the Union for six (6) months or more.

## 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 Zwerling's  
Orchestra

## CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

### Notice of Regular Meetings

CLOAK AND SUIT.....Monday, January 8th  
WAIST AND DRESS.....Monday, January 15th  
MISCELLANEOUS.....Monday, January 22nd  
GENERAL.....Monday, January 29th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place