

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."

—Job 27.6

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JUSTICE

ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 8.

New York, Friday, February 16, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

JOBBER ASSOCIATION SETTLES WITH DRESS AND WAIST JOINT BOARD

INDEPENDENT JOBBERS ARE SETTLING TOO—INDIVIDUAL SETTLEMENTS WITH DRESS FIRMS PROCEED RAPIDLY—OVER 4,000 WORKERS BACK IN SHOPS ALREADY UNDER WEEK-WORK SYSTEM—GENERAL STRIKE IN EXCELLENT CONDITION

After a week's negotiations, the conference committee of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, headed by Julius Hochman, acting in conjunction with Salvatore Ninfo, Acting President of the International, and Abraham Baroff, General Secretary-Treasurer, has finally come to terms with the Wholesale Dress Association, the organization of the big jobbers in the dress industry of New York. The agreement signed between the Union and the jobbers meets fully the demands of the workers and provides for the manufacture of all the dresses purchased or sold by these jobbers in Union shops and under strict Union conditions.

This settlement marks a very distinct gain for the Union in its present general fight against the dress

manufacturers and contractors and adds an appreciable element of strength to it. The jobbers, as is universally known, are the chief distributing and merchandising factor in the wholesale dress trade and it is largely from them that the manufacturers and contractors derive their orders. It stands to reason that since these jobbers have settled now with the Union and have assumed the obligation to handle union-made garments only that they would inevitably bring every possible influence to bear upon the contractors and manufacturers to meet the terms of the Union.

That this official announcement of a settlement has brought joy and cheer to the tens of thousands of strikers, goes without saying. It has served to heighten their moral and

has added to their confidence that they are in a winning battle and will soon witness the introduction of week-work in the entire industry.

In addition to the jobbers' association, a number of independent jobbers who do not belong to the association, have also applied to Union headquarters at Union Square Hotel for settlement and as these lines are being written most of them had already come to terms with the Union.

LARGE NUMBERS GOING BACK TO WORK

The settlement headquarters of the Union at the Sagamore Hotel, 13 Third Avenue, are crowded with individual applicants from the ranks of the independent manufacturers who are eager to have their workers return to the shops under the conditions

stipulated by the Union. At the time of this writing, it is estimated that over four thousand workers employed in about 150 shops have already returned to work. These agreements are being made without hurry—only after a thorough investigation of the record of each applicant is made and security for faithful performance of the agreement is deposited with the Union. The same system of security has been applied with reference to the individual jobbers, too.

EFFORTS OF MEDIATORS FAIL

During the week, Acting President Salvatore Ninfo together with Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Dress and Waist Joint Board, upon invitation extended to them, by Bernard Shientag, State Industrial Commissioner, conferred on the possibility of mediating peace in the current strike through the offices of the Commission. The Union representatives told the Commissioner that peace could be arranged only if the contractors would concede week-work, which is the primary issue in the struggle. Our International Union has approved week-work as a national policy of the organization, and it must be included in the new agreement in the dress and waist industry.

During the week the Union has also been approached by Mr. Charles Bendheim and Miss S. Weinstein, acting for the Federal Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration, with regard to arranging for a conference with the dress manufacturers. The Union informed them that it does not believe a conference possible until the employers first accept week-work as a basis of settlement, after which the Union would be ready to take up the question of scales and other details connected with the new work system.

Convention Delegates from East and West in New York on Way to Baltimore

CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE AT WORK MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12—ALL LEAVE WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON FOR CONVENTION CITY—FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT MORRIS SIGMAN HERE AS GUEST OF G. E. B.

GOMPERS, SCHLESINGER, HILLQUIT, CAHAN AND LONDON TO ADDRESS CONVENTION

What with the strikes in the various dress trades in New York and the commotion and excitement that go hand in hand with it, Union headquarters all over New York have been quite crowded during the last few days with delegates from locals and Joint Boards from many cities East and West—on their way to Baltimore for the Special Convention summoned by the International for Thursday, February 15th.

The first to arrive was a group

from the Chicago locals headed by Vice-President Schooman, who were later joined by some Cleveland delegates. These were followed by a group of Toronto and Montreal delegates who came in with Vice-President Seidman. On Wednesday morning the Boston contingent came in with Vice-President Monomon. The delegates from the various cities were to leave all together on Wednesday afternoon with the Congressional Limited for Baltimore so as to

be ready to begin the sessions in the ballroom of the Emerson Hotel promptly on Thursday morning.

Together with the Chicago delegation there arrived in New York, at the special invitation extended to him by General Secretary Baroff on behalf of the G. E. B., former First Vice-President Morris Sigman from his secluded little place in Storm Lake, Iowa, where he has been sojourning with his family since last

(Continued on Page 9)

LOCALS 50 AND 41 BUSY SETTLING WITH STRIKE-BOUND FIRMS

CONFERENCES UNDER WAY WITH HOUSE DRESS ASSOCIATION

The strike of the members of Locals No. 41 and No. 50 is proceeding very satisfactorily. A visit to their halls and assembly places easily convinces one that the apathy and indifference which has prevailed among these men and women for so many years, because of the unusually hard times in their trades and the harsh intimidations practiced by their employers, has given way to a buoyant spirit, to a return of hope for a better day for themselves, their Union, and their dependents. One can hardly believe looking at these girls returning from the picket lines, that but a few weeks ago they would hardly dare to raise their head above the sewing machine or finishing table to venture even a mild protest to the prevailing spirit of the boss or the forelady. These men and women now have rediscovered their Union, and

because of their bitter experience of the last few years without a Union they will now stick to it at all costs.

There is no association of manufacturers in the children's dress trade worthy of the name at present, though at one time there has existed in it quite a strong aggregation of employers—of the Union-smashing kind. In this trade the Union will, therefore, quite likely, make settlements on the individual basis only. In the other, the house dress trade, there has recently been formed an association of employers which is now seeking to effect a collective agreement with the Union. Right now, the conference committee of the Union, headed by Vice-President Halperin and Manager Harry Greenberg, are conferring with this group of employers on this subject.

Philadelphia Cloak Strike Settled; Union Wins Clean-Cut Victory

JOBBERS' ASSOCIATION SETTLES WITH JOINT BOARD—ALL WORKERS BACK IN THE SHOPS

As predicted last week in these columns, the strike of the Philadelphia cloakmakers came to an end after a duration of but ten days. It terminated in a very satisfactory agreement arranged between the Philadelphia Joint Board and the cloak jobbers' association of that city, which obligates the latter to handle garments made in Union shops only and manufactured under strictly Union conditions. This settlement gives the Union complete control of the shops and the upper hand to weed out from the trade that undesirable element which had of late years eaten into the heart of the hard-won labor conditions in Philadelphia—the "corporation," or the "social" shop. The first favorable break in the strike occurred last week when the manufacturers' association, the or-

ganization of the legitimate cloak firms, had settled with the Union— which put back to work about 1,200 cloakmakers. After this initial success, the jobbers of Philadelphia had but one course left for them and that was to seek peace with the Union on the terms of the workers' organization. This they did, and now it is to be hoped that the local industry will not be hereafter disturbed, at least for the life of the agreement, and that the principal object sought by the Union in calling out the workers on strike, namely the elimination of the destructive competition waged by the jobber and his collar-shop against the legitimate Union manufacturer, is definitely achieved.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

DEBT SETTLEMENT AND SHIP SUBSIDY

MUCH enthusiastic comment was expressed since the announcement of the debt agreement between the American and British governments. Government officials, Senators, politicians of every variety and editors have been making invidious comparisons between the British "acceptance of her obligations" and observance of the "sanctity of contract" and the bankruptcy and default of France and Italy. It was therefore expected that Congress would approve the debt proposal with a minimum of discussion.

But the President's appearance before a joint session of Congress last week requesting early action on this proposal raised a hornet's nest. This is not because of the debt terms, but because the President has introduced extraneous issues into his message. He has managed to resurrect his pet measure the Ship Subsidy bill which aims to finance American shipping interests through public moneys. By coupling the ship subsidy bill with the debt proposal President Harding had hoped that he could thereby see his favorite bill translated into law.

The President only succeeded in making the anti-subsidy people, Democrats and Republican progressives alike, furious. Some of them have already worked out effective repeal measures against this bill. Senator Borah, La Follette and Brookhart declared that they would prevent the adoption by a lame duck Senate of a policy which was repudiated by the voters at the last election. And at this writing it looks as if the threatened filibuster will induce the Administration to call off the Ship Subsidy and get the debt settlement concluded. It is practically certain that the debt proposal minus the subsidy will pass the Senate as it did the House by a large majority.

THE MINE DISASTER

WITHIN a single day last week there occurred two coal mine explosions which resulted in the death of about 150 workers. About 120 men succumbed in the explosion in the Phelps-Dodge Corporation mine at Dawson, New Mexico; the rest were the victims in a coal mine in British Columbia, Canada.

Company and government officials have organized rescue crews. There was an abundance of sympathy and regret. Investigations were made. Some more investigations are promised. It is doubtful, however, whether the "mystery of the explosion" will be revealed. The responsibility for this disaster will not be fixed. The blame will be laid to some mysterious and unfortunate freak. A moment's thought, however, will dispell this fatalistic view. Ten years ago there occurred a terrific explosion in a mine in the same town in New Mexico, owned by the same company—263 miners lost their lives. Minor explosions took place with terrible regularity year after year which the press is not in the habit of reporting.

A disaster where hundreds lose their lives stirs public opinion into a faint realization of the dangers to which the miners are exposed. The demand for safety devices in the mines and other hazardous occupations gains wider support. Various legislatures pass safety laws. Inspectors are appointed whose business it is to see that these laws are observed. Yet accidents which engineers regard as preventable occur with the same frequency. It is clear that the workers cannot expect the companies or the government to protect their lives.

HOW THE "RED REVOLUTION" WAS MANUFACTURED

AT the trial of the 22 Communists in St. Joseph, Michigan, the methods practiced by the Department of Justice as well as by private detective agencies for saving our institutions from the "red menace" was made luminously clear. Frank P. Walsh, attorney for the Communists, with the help of Albert Ballin, who had extensive experience as spy for the Department of Justice, were able to lift the curtain and the secret workings of the agencies, governmental and private, are revealed.

The underlying reason for the profound concern of the private detective agencies in the safety and integrity of our institutions is clear. It is the noble desire to make money. By circulating sinister stories of underground revolutionary movements and 'red' plots, they can collect big fees from hanking and business interests for uncovering them. Industrial and financial magnates who had ample reason to preserve the present order were shown 'documents' and 'facts' which were faked by the detectives. Money was extorted from them for the 'patriotic' service of clearing this country from 'Bolshevism menace.'

Although the Department of Justice and the State governmental bureaus have pursued the same methods, their reasons were on the whole different. Their sole motive was not economical. It was political. Take the former Attorney-General Palmer, or the present Mr. Daugherty. Take Silver Ware Lusk, Archie Stevenson. It is political power and prestige that they are after. Palmer wanted to be President. Daugherty found it necessary to drown his misdeeds and suspicious partiality to Wall Street by howling that the country is on the verge of a revolution. The Luskers were animated by similar motives. They were successful for a time. People did get scared and nervous when one of the regular cries—"Here comes the red revolution"—was signaled. But this could not go on indefinitely—even in America.

Whether the revelations of the methods of the governmental and private detectives will have any effect on the Communist trial in Michigan is not certain. Michigan is one of the states having a "criminal syndicalist" law, and so many of our laws have no reason.

WHO WILL BE OUR NEXT PRESIDENT?

THIS question is beginning to cause a great deal of concern in political circles everywhere. The press carries daily from page stories on the manoeuvres of the various party and intra-party forces. It is certain that President Harding likes his job and that he is strongly desirous of "running" for office again. But Senator Hiram Johnson of California would also like to try his chance. The radical bloc in Congress, with Senator La Follette at the head, will in all likelihood try its luck by running its own candidate. And the President, far-sighted man that he is, is concentrating all his efforts to fortify the Republican ranks and establish his leadership.

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NEW YORK CLOAK JOINT BOARD ISSUES RINGING APPEL ON BEHALF OF "HIAS"

Asks All Workers to Contribute One Hour's Earning to the Sustaining Fund of the Hebrew Immigrant Sheltering Society

On February 15, 1922, the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York forwarded the following circular letter to all the 2,000 shop chairmen in the New York shops: To the Shop Chairmen and Members of the Joint Board Cloak,

Skirt and Reefer Makers' Unions—
Sisters and Brothers:

In October, 1922, the Joint Board Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Unions decided to donate one hour's work toward the "HIAS" Campaign. Due to the unexpected conditions prevailing in our industry at that time, this drive was postponed. Now we are calling upon all members of the Unions affiliated with the Joint Board to carry out this decision.

Monday, February 19th, 1923, marks the beginning of the week which is designated by our Unions as the week in which we should donate the hour's work for "Hias."

Remember, every immigrant is related to some one of us in this country, and without the protection and aid of the HIAS, they are totally helpless. We, therefore, hope that every one in our shops will contribute his full share of one hour's work to this noble cause.

Please see that every worker contributes his share. Bring all amounts to the offices of the Joint Board.

Yours for the Joint Board Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Union,

ISRAEL FEINBERG, General Manager.
LOUIS PINKOFKY, Chairman.
LOUIS E. LANGE, Secretary.

P. S.—This Drive was also unanimously endorsed by the Italian Chamber of Labor in this city.

But Washington is not the only place where thought and effort is being expended on this question. "Al Smith, the Governor of the premier State, says he is too busy to think about moving to the White House in 1924. But other people, with heavy purses, are thinking loudly on this theme. It is even rumored that our own Mayor Hylan, now at Palm Beach, who is regaling us by sending photos in his bathing outfit, is seriously planning to 'run.' Some people say that the chief reason Mayor Hylan wants an Assistant Mayor is to have more time during the 1924 campaign to show the people of the country that as a patriot he is ready and willing to save the country by becoming its President.

Do High Prices Mean High Wages?

One of the hand-picked ideas which employing interests continually pass out to the public is that high prices are caused by high wages.

Take building construction for example. Everyone knows that in 1920 and 1921 there was a shortage of houses such as had never occurred before. For years very little building had been done; far less than the normal average construction each year. The trouble was that costs were too high.

When the housing shortage was at its height and the public was crying for new buildings, the contractors, following the usual custom of employers, blamed labor. When wages would come down in the building trades, they claimed, the costs of construction would drop, and building would begin.

Since then, during late 1921, and all of 1922, there has been a construction boom which has smashed all previous records. More buildings were constructed in 1922 than any other year in history.

WAGE CUTS DID NOT CREATE BUILDING BOOM

If the employers had been correct, —if high wages had been holding back construction in 1920 and 1921,—the records would now show a tremendous drop in building trade wages scales in late 1921 and the early part of 1922.

As a matter of fact nothing of the sort has occurred. Skilled mechanics in all trades in New York City, for example, where there were more new buildings put up in 1922 than anywhere else in the country, received no reduction at all. The employers asked for a cut in advance of the termination of the wage contracts. It was refused, and when the contracts ran out building labor was so much in demand that contractors were paying, voluntarily, more than the contracts prescribed.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has published figures which show the average hourly union rate paid in 43 occupations in the building trades in 66 principal cities of the country in May, 1922, as compared with May of the year before. In 1921 the average building trades worker got \$1.02 an hour. In 1922 he got 96 cents an hour. The amount of the cut was only 7 per cent.

ONLY 37 CENTS OF THE DOLLAR FOR LABOR

This 7 per cent reduction in labor costs does not even mean a 7 per cent saving in the total cost of construction.

It would if labor costs were the only item to be considered in footing the construction bill. As a matter of fact they are only about 37 per cent of the combined cost of labor and materials. Out of every dollar expended for labor and materials in constructing a building approximately 37 cents goes to labor in wages while 63 cents goes to the manufacturers of brick, lumber and other materials. A 7 per cent cut in wages, therefore, means less than a 3 per cent cut in costs.

Obviously it was not the reduction in wages which brought about the building boom; and, conversely, it was not high wages that had limited construction in the past. It was the prices of materials that controlled the situation. Prices of materials, in turn, were, like construction, not influenced primarily by wages paid to labor.

Take lumber for example. In 1916 the price of lumber began to rise. In 1917 it averaged 35 per cent higher than in 1916. In 1918 it averaged 55 per cent; in 1919, 100 per cent and in 1920 no less than 297 per cent higher than the normal 1913 level. The high point was in the spring of 1920 at just under 275 per cent above normal. The price of brick went through much the same gradation and reached an average of 179 per cent above 1913 during 1920. The average of all materials went as high as 200 per cent above their normal level in 1920.

MATERIAL COSTS THE KEY

During late 1920 and 1921 the prices of building materials dropped almost as suddenly as they had risen before. In the fall of 1921 the average figure had come down no less than 48 per cent. In the spring of 1922 it reached a slightly lower level: about 55 per cent above normal.

The beginning of the building boom was, the figures show, coincident with the rapid decline in material costs. Wages had little if anything to do with what happened.

When employers blame labor for high prices, it is time for labor to look into costs.

STUDENTS OF 'UNITY CENTERS AND WORKERS' UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE CHANGED RESIDENCE ARE REQUESTED TO SEND NEW ADDRESSES TO OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

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FURNITURE FIRE INSURANCE THROUGH COOPERATION

In a small office in the Yorkville section of New York is housed one of the oldest and most successful co-operative societies in the United States—The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, with 40,000 members scattered over the country and a total insurance value of \$30,000,000. The Society now has branches in 52 cities. Established in 1872, the Society recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. In all these years, the average assessment for each \$100 of insurance has been only 11 cents, and recently it has been only 10 cents; insurance at from one-third to one-tenth the customary rate charged by insurance companies operated for profit.

This organization is essentially for workers only. Each member has only one vote; none but members can take out insurance. There are no dividends whatever to be paid to capitalists, for even the Guarantee Fund is paid by the members themselves.

A few German Socialists, members of the First International, back in 1871, began the organization. Propaganda meetings were held for several months. At the end of the first year, the membership was only 44. During these years a split occurred in the ranks of the European Socialists due to the disputes between the "Marxians," "Blanquists" and "Bakunists." Marx and Engels refused to serve on the General Council of the International, and as a solution to the diffi-

culty, the headquarters was moved to New York where it remained from 1872 until 1876. Naturally the majority of the Socialists, occupied with their Socialist controversies and campaigns, had but scant use for this little Co-operative Insurance Society—which, however, was destined to outlive not only the First International but one or two others besides.

For 14 years the society operated without the services of a single paid officer. In 1878 the first branch was established in Paterson, and other branches followed in rapid succession. In 1887 there were 4,000 members enrolled; in 1900 nearly 14,000; and in 1915 close to 30,000.

Today the membership includes many nationalities and the majority are probably non-Socialist; yet the original spirit still animates the society and its officers. We quote briefly from the Fiftieth Anniversary report.

"Every worker capable of thinking for himself should perceive that in an organization such as the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society . . . can be seen, in a small way, what ultimately can supplant the capitalist society based on class divisions—through a form of cooperative enterprise on a gigantic scale. The establishment of such a form of society would mean the end of exploitation in its entirety. . . ."

"What a tremendous Power this would represent! And what could the workers not accomplish in the way of material help for their members and for the intellectual advancement of the working class as well!"

THE STORY OF MANKIND

By HENDRIK VAN LOON

With "The Story of Mankind," in its ninth printing, our opinion of the book can scarcely be termed a review. But we have read it only last week and herewith join the ever-growing circle of Van Loon fans.

Perhaps our enthusiasm may be traced to the reaction from the school histories—you know the kind—Frotestpie, picture of Washington; page 124, picture of Hamilton's tomb; page 214, list of the causes of the Civil War; appendix, advertising the well known Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, list of states, list of presidents and information appertaining thereto. The high school English Histories were just as dull, Ancient Histories even more so. In the not very dim past, when we inflicted American history on our future citizens, no examination paper, passed on to us from higher authorities, was complete without question "X" and all its variations, something like this, "Give dates of following:

- (a) Landing of the Pilgrims;
- (b) Battle of Saratoga;
- (c) Kansas-Nebraska Act, etc., etc.

And now after years of close association with that same Kansas-Nebraska Bill, we can't even remember the date itself. . . .

All of which is a brief description of what "The Story of Mankind" is. Intended originally for children, it is so vividly written, so fearlessly unbiased, so fascinating in style that no grown-up can resist it.

What dusty old historian would have dared to tell young America that the Pilgrims were a "sect of Puritans who were very intolerant and therefore had found no happiness either in Anglican England or Calvinist Holland," or that Virginia and the Carolinas were "tobacco raising provinces which had been founded entirely for the sake of profit." We might quote page after page, whose breath of truth blows like a cleansing wind through brains clogged with years of text-books bunkum.

We confess that we spent an entire evening looking at the illustrations, as entranced as any child with a new picture book. And speaking of children, we prophesy that our son (now about 8 months old) will know as those pictures by heart before ever he learns to read.

* Boni and Liveright, \$5.00.

FRANCES ROBBINS.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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Health Education — Union Health Center —

VI.

THE UNION DRUG STORE

We have no doubt that the vast majority of our membership will be agreeably surprised by the announcement that the Board of Directors of the Union Health Center have decided to establish a Drug Department as a new feature of the Union Health Center.

This decision came as a result of the difficulty encountered by the great majority of the workers to afford proper drugs. Thousands of workers who have been treated in the Union Health Center have been forced to submit to unscrupulous profiteering by druggists. They have been charged from 65 cents to \$1.00 for prescriptions and some have been charged as much as \$2.00. It has made no difference whether the prescription was simple or complex. Very often inferior ingredients have been put into the medicine desired, for the motive of the average druggist is profit and not service.

As with all other necessities of life, the middleman who deals in drugs makes a large profit, the manufacturer gets his share and the retail dispenser makes sure that his profit is added to the price he pays. In addition to that a worker entering a drug store for a prescription or medicine pays for high rent, nice fixtures and various other embellishments of a drug store.

In our instance our Drug Store will have very little expense for rent, fixtures and over-head charges. It will be established in the Union Health Center and the proportion of charges will be small. Through proper buying and by means of cooperation of the various departments prices charged will be but a small percentage of the usual charge at a drug store. Because we can replace profit motives by that of service our charges for prescriptions will be at the rate of TWENTY-FIVE and THIRTY-FIVE CENTS for prepared prescriptions, the latter sum to be charged for the more expensive drugs. THE UNION HEALTH CENTER'S DRUG ESTABLISHMENT HAS NOW A FULL LINE OF DRUGS AND IS READY TO FILL ALL PRESCRIPTIONS AT THE RATES STATED ABOVE. It is not our intention to limit the filling of prescriptions to those of our own doctors. We will be ready at all times to fill the prescriptions given to our members by any other physician.

The Drug Department will also sell drugs, rubber and other goods ordered by doctors, or which form household necessities. These will be sold from 25 per cent to 50 per cent below the price at the other drug stores.

THE USE OF THE UNION HEALTH CENTER DRUG STORE IS LIMITED STRICTLY TO MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION.

The Drug Store will be in charge of a registered, competent druggist.

The Drug Store will be open from 10 A. M. to 7 P. M. every day except Sunday; on Fridays and Saturdays from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M.

UNION HEALTH CENTER

HARRY WANDER,

Dr. GEORGE M. PRICE,

Chairman.

Medical Director.

131 EAST 17th STREET

New York City

February 6-7, 1923

By FANNIA M. COHN

In the tens of thousands did they march through the streets of Greater New York. Among them were men and women, young and old, Jews and Italians, Russians and Hungarians, white and colored—they represented the living symbol of the solidarity of the working class—of the class struggle which the workers have been waging for ages and by which they intend to make the world a better place to live in.

The sidewalks were crowded with interested persons observing the very impressive march last Tuesday and Wednesday and the bystanders asked each other "Who are they?" And the reply was on Tuesday "Why, don't you know? They are the Children's Dress and Kimono Makers," and also "The Waist and Dress Makers are out."

This human mass responded to the call of their union to desert the shops at 10 o'clock in the morning and to assemble in the numerous halls and organize themselves for the expected struggle. Many a time did New York witness the onward march of these same groups. But the causes and objects varied.

There was a time when these people marched with their heads bowed down, with uncertainty in their victory. This was at a time when they were struggling for the right to be organized—for recognition of their union—and they did not as yet have confidence in their own strength. But this time they marched—Waist and Dress Makers, Children's Dress and Kimono Makers—with heads erect, with firm step and with the confidence that comes with the realization of their own strength. More than ever did they feel indignant demands were "defined" in advance. The workers' representatives were completely willing to discuss every demand was defined in advance. The workers' representatives were completely willing to discuss every demand in conference, but they wanted no strings attached.

Certainly as I looked at the marchers I recalled the last three historic strikes of the Waist and Dress Makers and the Children's Dress and Kimono Makers of 1909, 1910, 1913, 1919, and before my mental vision stand up vividly scenes of those strikes. I see before me some of the same group

of marchers of 1909 and 1910. I see them leave their shops with bent heads, with a wandering gaze in their eyes, little self-confidence in their power.

The march of the Waist and Dress Makers and the Children's Dress and Kimono Makers on Tuesday, February 6th and Wednesday, February 7th 1923, was of quite a different character. No signs of bitterness or resentment were evident in this march, and they felt a certainty of their early triumph.

With calmness and dignity they left their shops, with the realization that they were entitled to their demands. As I stood in Union Square, I heard them shout, "Long live the Waist and Dress Makers' Union, long live the International!" And these shouts echoed my feelings. The ranks were becoming thinner and thinner. I joined the end of the column and marched with them into Arlington Hall on Tuesday and into Webster Hall on Wednesday.

Nothing will so much advance the working woman as substantial achievements. Our women in our organization were ever ready to carry the brunt of the economic and industrial struggle side by side with their fellow-workers, the men. They never were willing to accept better conditions unless their brothers who were working with them were also included. Our women members realized long ago, as well as did our International Union, that there must be no such thing as sex division in the trade unions, and from the inception of our union, women enjoyed the same rights as men. And in time of strike more than at any other time, they lived up to their responsibility.

In this strike we seen even more than previously women in halls, acting as hall chairmen, with men as their assistants, and many women in important positions on the strike committees. Our brothers, the men, realize that nothing will so much encourage the women to carry the responsibility for the organization than this recognition. In the halls everywhere we notice the earnestness of the shop chairmen (who are mostly young women)—how they explain to their fellow workers the issues of the strikers and impress upon them the necessity of picketing the shop.



OUR FINANCES

White Collar Steve: Say, Fred, have you noticed that the British accepted our debt terms? Now we'll have more money.

The British Dockers and their Union

By J. CHARLES LAUE

Over in England the Transport and General Workers' Union, the amalgamation of the miscellaneous laborers and the unskilled transportation workers unions of Great Britain, is rounding out the first year of its existence. It is among the three or four largest single labor unions in the world, comparing in size and resources with the formidable German Metal Workers' Federation, the United Mine Workers of America, and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (British), organizations all with over 500,000 members and resources running into the millions of dollars. The amalgamation brought together such widely diversified trades as fishermen, teamsters, street car men, dockers, lighter men, iron and steel laborers, milk drivers, coal trimmers on barges, chauffeurs, clerks and general workers of all grades.

Whether the combination has greatly benefited the workers, it is yet too soon to judge, but the union of many diversified classes of labor has been common in England even before the movement for amalgamation began, in marked contrast to the tendency in America where the workers are divided in distinct segments as provided in their jurisdiction grant from the American Federation of Labor.

The Dockers' union of Great Britain has been a revolutionary and militant organization from the start, as these terms are used in the labor movement. Its Irish group, the Irish Transport Workers union, of which "Jim" Larkin, recently liberated from an American prison, was the active leader in the strikes that put old Ireland on the road to independence. This pioneer work is touched upon in the concluding report of Ben Tillett, M. P., general secretary of the organization for many years, which has just been received in this country.

Says Tillett in summing up the work of the Old Dockers' union:

"These humble members and those whose responsibility brought them publicly to notice, have contributed to the pages of our history, in blood and sweat and starvation, in tragedy and pathos, in failures and successes, an epic story of effort for the lives of men, for the lives of women, for the lives of children, some of whom have grown up to sturdy manhood and womanhood because of the better conditions the organization promoted for them. While memories may fade away, the work they achieved can never die, because it is built into the very vitals of civilization itself."

The history of the old Dockers' union is a history of the most glorious advances of the British labor movement, which is held up by progressive union leaders as in many respects a model for other national labor groups to profit by although not necessarily to imitate.

It is regarded as a pioneer labor union of England, having sponsored the British Labor party, striving for the 8-hour day, 48-hour week and 7-hour day, 48-hour week for the unskilled workers following the lead of mechanical trades, challenging the position of the employing class generally to determine the condition of the workers, and being the first to demand the protection of the lives and limbs of the workers by placing upon the employers and the state, responsibility for the care of the veterans and victims of industry.

The dockers are similar to what are termed longshoremen in this country but under the vigorous leadership of Tillett, Ernest Bevin, his assistant, James Wignall, Richard Holl and Mary Carlin extended the union beyond the sphere of the dock workers

and took in the laborers in fuel and chemical plants, steel and iron mills, blast furnaces, smelters, tin works, road, river and canal transit making it a general workers organization.

In addition to strike benefits and unemployment doles, in cooperation with the government, the Dockers' unions granted funeral claims for deceased members and insurances for their wives and children as do many other British unions.

It was in congratulating the union on taking part in the amalgamation process, that Ben Tillett, recalled the following familiar verses to express his thoughts:

"The moving Finger writes; and having writ,

Moves on; nor all thy Piety nor Wit Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line, Nor all thy Tears wash out a word of it."

Arthur Henderson, the chairman of the British Labor party at the time of the amalgamation expressed his conviction that it would bring about a more efficient organization, the avoidance of overlapping and the consequential dissipation of energies and resources.

Harry Gosling, like Tillett a veteran of the British labor movement is president of the Transport and General Workers union, having been elected after Tillett declined to run, while Ernest Bevin, one of the virile and younger men in the movement was elected as the general secretary.

Bevin's name is most familiar to American workers by his connection with the coal strike of 1919 and the subsequent gestures of the Triple Alliance composed of the miners, rail-

road workers and the Old Dockers' union in support of the miners.

Bevin was also instrumental in forming the Council of Action and on its behalf stated the case of the British workers against war with Soviet Russia before Premier Lloyd George and the British Cabinet.

In taking their offices both leaders of this giant labor organization drew attention to the necessary sacrifices that had to be made by the heads of the various amalgamating unions who were eliminated by the fusion of the similar organizations into one union.

A glance at the various kinds of workmen and work, women that find their defense in this great union will show its diverse nature. Predominating among these of course are dock laborers and general workers, including lamp lighters, canal boatmen, mormen, stable men, crane drivers, horsemen, lightermen, chemical laborers, porters, farm laborers, housekeepers, soap cutters, laundrymen, elevator runners, chocolate workers, and hair dressers.

In America under the present alignment of jurisdiction, labor unions of national scope are more numerous but they are essentially more simple in structure than have been developed in England.

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EDITORIALS

THE STRIKE OF THE DRESSMAKERS

The response given by the dressmakers of New York on Wednesday last, February 7th, to the general strike call of the Union, has definitely removed every vestige of doubt that may have existed in anyone's mind with regard to their attitude towards week-work.

To state the truth, the result of the referendum vote on the subject of week-work vs. piece-work, conducted by the Union among the workers of the industry a few weeks ago was not such that could be interpreted as a definite and clear verdict in favor of week-work on the part of a great majority of the workers. For this reason the representatives of the Joint Board in the Dress and Waist Industry, together with the representatives of the International, not having received from the workers what in their honest judgment would amount to a clear mandate on this demand of week-work, were ready to postpone it for a time and to put forth in its place a demand for a forty-hour week, for greater union control in the shops, etc. The employers, on the other hand, having misread this attitude of the representatives of the Union as a sign of timidity, refused to concede any of the Union's demands. The leaders of the organization were therefore compelled to bring into play the fighting will and power of the organization—with the demand for week-work as their chief fighting issue.

The tremendous outpouring of the workers on February 7 has made clear the fact that the entire great membership of the Union is heart and soul for week-work. The manufacturers were robbed of this walkout of their strongest argument against the introduction of week-work, namely, that the workers themselves wanted no week-work. It may be mere indifference or silent opposition when people fail to register their voice for or against this or that reform, but when tens of thousands abandon their jobs and sacrifice all their worldly possessions in fighting for such a reform, there can be no doubt as to their true sentiment with regard to it.

Indeed, the 30,000 dressmakers on strike for week-work are in dead earnest about it. And the dress manufacturers, if they only have realized their senses and would not ruin themselves and the industry by their obduracy, must have realized by this time that they have no other alternative but to concede this demand. To discuss at present the desirability or the possibility of week-work in the dress industry is wasted effort. The time for such discussion has gone by. Today the dress employers have only two alternatives left to them. Either to concede week-work and bring their workers back to the shops—or to remain obstinate and to leave their shops as empty as they are now.

From some of the statements issued by the dress employers to the press we observe that they still would make themselves, and perhaps others, believe that the strike will not last long; that it will soon break down and that the workers will return to the shops under old conditions. They are blundering gravely and disastrously—for themselves—in thinking that way. The dressmakers will not go back to their shops until ordered so by their Union. They will not go back to work until their employers will have conceded the demand for week-work.

If the dress employers of New York know even a little of the history of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, they know that we are 100 per cent right in this matter. In their long years of fighting for improvement of labor conditions in the industry, the dress and waistmakers have never run away from a fight or lost a battle to the enemy. To think that they will act differently now is sheer folly. Those employers in the dress industry who are newcomers in the industry may learn this from their older colleagues. The assertion that the workers will return back to work and break their own strike is an infamous insult which our brave strikers will not forget so easily.

We would advise the dress manufacturers to put a stop to the kind of statements they have been issuing to the press. Such statements will surely not bring the workers back to the shops. Today there is only one way to get the dress shops of New York into operation and that is for the manufacturers to reach a speedy understanding with the Union.

And because the entire background of the strike is so clear and simple, we would like to hope that the present conflict will soon be a part of history—adding another page of glory to the record book of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union. This strike will be won by the virtue of the same remarkable power of endurance, the same clarity of purpose, which has won for the dressmakers' union all its strikes and struggles in the past; it will be won by the same fighting spirit of the rank and file and by the firm and lofty character of the Union's leadership.

The leaders of the dressmakers have not sought this fight. They

have worked their hardest to avert it. There was nothing underhanded about their moves and methods. They have acted like men who would a thousand times rather obtain something for the workers by peaceful means than through a fight.

But the dress employers did not want peace. They have misinterpreted the self-control of our leaders as fear and weakness, and as a result our leaders have been forced to apply the last inevitable method—fight. But even in this fight they are displaying the same quality of true leadership as during the peaceful negotiations. Everything is being done with calmness and deliberation. We, for our part, are convinced that this calm firmness and determined will to win will remain unbroken until the manufacturers have conceded the demand of week-work.

Together with their rather puerile statements, the dress employers are using in this strike also their old methods, the policemen's club and the judge's injunction. How little these men do learn! Has the injunction ever helped them? Has it ever frightened away from duty a real fighter? Can not they realize that it is these mean and bitter persecutions that close firmer and firmer the ranks of the strikers and make them stronger and ever more determined?

The trouble with our manufacturers is that they are so near-sighted, so utterly mindless of the morrow. Let us, therefore, tell them that if they still intend to remain employers of labor in the dress industry they should remember that their prosperity, their business depends, so to speak, on the workers against whom they are at present waging such a savage fight. Let them remember that if the workers are now compelled to endure untold sufferings, the time may not be far off when these workers will be in a position to pay them back fully for each and every act of bad faith and cruelty committed against them.

Nevertheless, we do not believe that the strike will last very long. As we write these lines we are informed that purporters between the strike committee and a committee from the employers have again been summoned. It is a good omen. A large number of manufacturers, we are informed, are also ready to come to terms with the Union on its own conditions.

Under these circumstances we may reasonably expect that very soon the waist and dressmakers' organization will celebrate one of its big victories. Nevertheless, let it not be misunderstood that the strike is anywhere near having ended. The strike is still going on at top speed and will continue until the victory will be fully completed, until the Union will recognize it as such.

THE STRIKE OF THE CHILDREN'S DRESSMAKERS

Simultaneously with the strike of the dressmakers, the Children's Dressmakers of New York are waging a spirited strike of their own and, as we are informed, this strike will also not last very long.

As we stated in the last issue of this journal, this strike had to be called out owing to the chaotic labor conditions in the children's dress industry. The fact is that only a small number of dressmakers have remained in Locals Nos. 41 and 50 and the number of real union shops became correspondingly small. The condition of the workers in the shops grew worse from day to day and the strike for organizing the industry, for regaining the control over labor conditions in the shops became a dire necessity.

The strike, it appears, has been quite an astounding surprise to many children's dress manufacturers. They never expected that their workers whom they have so heartlessly intimidated and cowed for years would retain enough energy to go out on strike. The union, they thought, could give them no more "trouble."

Now they are beginning to see their error. The Union has had enough vitality and strength to paralyze the industry—and as a result a number of manufacturers are already willing to operate their shops under strict union conditions. The second result is that a large number of workers in the industry who have hitherto become indifferent towards the Union, have now reentered its ranks and are waging a brave fight for it.

In a word, we hope that the Children's Dressmakers will soon have won every aim they had set before themselves when they went out on strike. We also hope that Locals Nos. 50 and 41 will have emerged from this strike as strong organizations that will be in a position to defend the membership in every shop in the children's, house dress, and bathrobe trades and in this manner justify fully the reason for their existence.

THE HILLQUIT—UTERMAYER DEBATE

At some later time we shall discuss in these columns in a very thorough manner the various conflicting points which were brought out in that very important debate between Messrs. Morris Hillquit and Samuel Utermayer last Monday evening, at the Lexington Opera House.

We shall only point out here one salient dividing point in the argument of the renowned debaters. Samuel Utermayer is a dyed-in-the-wool, rock-ribbed believer in the law. He is convinced that the law is the only Holy Word that could make an end to Brindellism and such other abuses which still exist, we regret to say, in some unions. Morris Hillquit is by far not such a blind believer in the law. To him law did not drop down from heaven upon our doorsteps. Our law is embodied in men who can be just as faulty and just as much corrupt as some union leaders. How can the law be relied upon to mitigate or eradicate the alleged corruption in the trade unions?

In this respect we are fully of one mind with Morris Hillquit. We only regret why he did not dwell longer and fuller on this highly important aspect of the debate and devoted most of his

The New Immigration Bill

(Special Washington Correspondence to "Justice")

By B. MAIMAN

Restriction of immigration has been, for quite a number of years past, regarded as labor legislation in America. The American Federation of Labor has adopted it as one of the essential planks of its program and its legislative committees have been working with might and main for it. President Gompers and Secretary Morrison have never failed to appear at congressional hearings to advocate the closing of the gates of America to foreign workers. And whenever a legislative limitation of immigration has been enacted, it was regarded as a sort of victory for the American labor union.

We shall not undertake in this letter an analysis of the question whether the A. F. of L. is right or wrong in its anti-immigration policy. The more radical and progressive unions within the American Federation of Labor never agreed with this policy, always voted against the anti-immigration resolutions,—but that was as far as they ever could succeed. The overwhelming majority of the American unions have been and are for restriction of immigration to this country and have even come out more than once for shutting it off entirely. Only a year ago, Secretary Morrison proposed that American ports of entry be closed for at least two years to immigrants. What we are concerned with in this article is to shed some light on the more important clauses of the new bill in an effort to find out whether American workers could really regard it, if passed, as a victory for themselves.

The most important innovation of the bill is that it would reduce the normal from 3 to 2 per cent and that this percentage would have to be based on the 1900 instead of the 1910 census. (By the way, it would seem that although, as these lines are being written, the bill has not been reported out from the committee having been introduced only as late as last Friday, February 9, on the floor of the House, its most salient features were known to the press a long time before.) For one thing, it must be frankly admitted the new bill is not as menacing as it originally was supposed to be. In certain aspects it even liberalizes the strictures of the Johnson Act. It is true, it aims to lessen immigration; nevertheless, the new bill has within it a greater spark of humanity and would humanize the process of admitting foreigners into the country.

Take, for instance, this very clause regarding the reduction of the normal from 3 to 2 per cent. One per cent less, of course, means a tremendous difference, particularly when the 2 per cent are to be calculated on the basis of the 1900 census when the immigrant population of America

was much smaller than ten years later. The same clause, however, makes much more liberal the point with regard to the admission of relatives. It provides that all relatives of American citizens be admitted above the quotas—among these wives, children, parents, young unmarried sisters and brothers and young unmarried orphaned nieces and nephews. Declarants (those having "first papers") may also obtain the admission above the quota of husbands, wives and unmarried children under eighteen, provided these declarants have lived in America for at least two years and have had their papers for not less than one year.

What concerns Jewish immigrants in particular this point concerning relatives would almost seem to meet the situation fully. If the lists of incoming immigrants for the past year were examined, it would be found that practically all the Jewish immigrants that have arrived in American ports last year belong to the above-listed class of the relatives. Under the new law, these would be admitted above the quota. If in addition to these relatives, 2 per cent of the 1900 census would be added, the number of immigrants that will be admitted next year will be, at least, not smaller than last year. And even if the sum total of the immigrants might be somewhat less, the fact would remain undisputed that the entire business would be more humanized and more opportunity would be afforded for families to become reunited.

Another more liberal point in the new bill is the one dealing with aliens who leave this country and desire to return. Such persons, according to the new law, will also have to be admitted above the quota. America is still a haven of refuge and there are a multitude of people here who, after having lived in the United States for years, have not acquired citizenship. Heretofore such persons, if they would leave America and later wanted to return, would be in the position of newly arrived immigrants. When I was in Europe last year I met men and women of this category in large numbers. They have, for one reason or another, gone across for business, pleasure or visiting and when they wanted to return, have found that the gates are shut to them. Under the provisions of the new bill they will, however, be able to return undisturbed.

From the point of view of the American unions this bill, notwithstanding the several liberal clauses referred to above, is nevertheless a big victory, because the new law would limit immigration from such countries which, according to their judgment, have yielded the greatest

number of cheap laborers. It is common knowledge that big American industrialists have recently become very much interested in the admission of mere "common labor." A shout has been raised that America needs now a greater reserve of common labor than what it possesses. At the last hearing before the Immigration Committee, representatives of the steel industry, of the mining industry, of the National Manufacturers' Association, and of many chambers of commerce appeared and clamored that there is, in this country right now a dearth of men who are willing to do hard labor. Even the Merchant Tailors have sent representatives to prove that there are not enough tailors in America or such who would learn the tailoring craft.

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor at the hearing denounced this agitation, ascribing it to the unquenchable desire of "Big Business" to get cheaper labor and to sharpen competition between worker and worker. Even the supporters of liberal immigration had to admit, much to their regret, that these over-night "friends" of free immigration have not become such because they are against the closing of the gates of America to foreigners, or because they are moved by sentiments of sympathy to the oppressed working masses abroad, but because they are in quest of sordid "dollar and cent immigration," as it is termed in these parts. We had to admit that the representatives of these new adherents of unrestricted immigration were unmitigated selfish and were inspired by a desire to get more and more cheap "hands" so that they might defeat the unions with greater ease.

That is the reason why the A. F. of L. is so satisfied with the new bill. While it admits more relatives of citizens into the country and lessens the misery, pain and sorrow coupled with admissions of immigrants in general, it also diminishes the number of such immigrants who create, at least for a time, sharper competition in the labor market. In addition to the reduction from three to two per cent, there is in this new bill another point which might become dangerous. It is the point demanding that each immigrant obtain from American consuls abroad "immigration certificates" before they can land in this country. This certificate would have to contain a very detailed pedigree of the immigrant, his photograph in duplicate, etc., etc. It would seem as if this innovation is aimed to satisfy in part, a great craving in some quarters to introduce registration of aliens in America. We shall have to wait until we hear what the Immigration Committee was to say concerning this point by next Monday or Tuesday when the bill is reported out on the floor of the House, before we can say that our fears are really justified.

"GOD OF VENGEANCE" MOVES UPTOWN

"The God of Vengeance," by Sholem Asch, with Rodolph Schildkraut, moving to the Apollo Theatre, Monday evening, February 19th, to take care of the overflow which could not be accommodated at the small Greenwich Village Theatre. This is the second time this play had to be moved because of the growing demand for seats. Three matinees will be given during the first week on Broadway — Wednesday, Washington's Birthday, and Saturday.

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WHAT IS A JEW ?

BY

Professor Roland B. Dixon

OF

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appears in the current issue of

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time to the criticism of the bill prepared by Samuel Untermyer for the legislators in Albany. In this respect, the complaint of Samuel Untermyer that in criticizing the bill Morris Hillquit did not speak to the point, was quite correct. The question was not whether Untermyer's bill was faulty or perfect. The principal issue was whether the State should regulate the unions and their affairs in general and on this subject Hillquit spoke very little indeed.

In general, the debate was of the highest importance and it should start many persons thinking over this all-absorbing problem. The spirit of true friendship and tolerance in which the debate was conducted, was admirable, indeed. Needless to say that the huge crowd which packed the Lexington Opera House, from gallery to platform, was almost entirely with Hillquit, first, because Hillquit is by far the stronger debater of the two, and, secondly, because essentially, Hillquit was fully in the right.

We have no doubt that the regulating power of such a law, as it would be administered under present circumstances, would have a paralyzing, deadening influence upon the labor unions. Samuel Untermyer may mean, and quite earnestly, that his law would strengthen the unions, but he is decidedly mistaken.

Workers Education in the U. S.

Report of Proceedings, Second National Conference on Workers' Education in the United States, 1922, Workers' Education Bureau of America, 465 West 23rd Street, New York City. 50 cents.

One fact stands forth clearly from the proceedings of the Second National Conference of Workers' Education in the United States. Workers' Education has become a real movement. You may approve of it or disapprove; you may question its value or expect great things from it. But you cannot disregard it. And this is a sure index of its vitality.

There is something peculiarly stirring in noting the progress of this idea. For Workers' Education is not an isolated enterprise, going its separate way along the path of individualist aspiration. It is intimately tied up with the labor movement, with the aims and ideals of the working masses. Consequently we must not measure the importance of its advance only by its own intrinsic value. We must also recognize that its ever wider acceptance indicates an inner growth within the labor movement itself; a growth that is leading the workers to add to their fighting equipment such a subtle weapon, as education and to realize that constructive understanding is the best "preparedness."

The evidence of the gradual ascendancy of Workers' Education to the status of a movement in the United States is strewn all through the Proceedings. In its simplest terms, a movement is something that moves. That "something" in human affairs is usually a large group of people having certain interests and aspirations in common, who adopt various ways and means to achieve their common ends. Workers' education today meets all these requirements. It is including an ever widening group who believe that the workers and the workers' movement should acquire for their own use the important accumulations of knowledge and science which the years have piled up for man. And it moves. But perhaps the most unmistakable evidence of its character as a true movement lies in the number and kind of opinions on ways and means. Only a living (and lively) organism could give off so much heat.

On even the most fundamental problems there is an encouraging and energetic diversity of plans and ideas. Ask yourself these basic questions: Just what should workers' education be? How should it be used? What should it aim for? Then turn to the Proceedings and you will find a variety of answers. Indeed, you will find even more. For the advocates of each of the several answers are also experimenting. We shall be able eventually, therefore, to grade and judge by the acid test of results.

Just what, then, is workers' education? How does it differ from general education, from technical education, from cultural education? First the Proceedings it soon becomes evident that the active supporters of Workers' Education are more or less agreed on this point. For these questions involve merely a definition of the problem. The general outlines of the job at hand are clearly drawn.

Workers' Education is adult education. It is education, moreover, of a definite class of adults of men and women who work for wages. It implies, usually the payment of wages by an employing class who own and control the tools with which the workers labor and who stand in a certain definite relation to the employed. The best part of the worker's day goes into his job. Workers' Education can reach him only in his off-hours—evenings, holidays. It must reckon with his fatigue and compete with the hundred and one stimulants that his weariness craves—movies, dance

halls, cards, visiting, plain sleep. It must recognize that his life has probably kept him from the chance of preliminary schooling. It must seek to keep him from the constant touch with the problems of his union in particular and the labor movement in general and show him how to serve it best.

Certainly this is no mean job. Unable to have the student's full time as the public schools can, unable to bank upon student training or class-room "consciousness" as the universities can, unable to count upon nationwide special provision for workers education as Soviet Russia can, how can workers' Education be made a vital reality? This leads us to the question of method, where general agreement splits into contending opinion. That even a beginning toward the solution of such an obviously difficult problem has been made is a tribute to the pioneers in the movement. That more than one method has been proposed is an indication of the movements significance and a promise for its future.

The first task confronting workers' education is to supply instruments (schools, classes, lectures, etc.) which can be the workers' tools and offer them plans of study. Four different methods for meeting this primary need have been developed. There is, first, the educational activities carried on by various single international unions for their own members. Two unions report extensive programs of this sort, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. There are, secondly, Central Labor Colleges supported by various unions within a given city, e. i. Rochester, Passaic, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, etc.; and that central college which seeks to draw its students for full-time work from the labor movement of the entire country, Brookwood. Thirdly, there are classes for workers carried on under the auspices of various universities. The outstanding representatives of this type are the Amherst, classes and the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Finally there comes a variety of agencies which we may group as miscellaneous. The common characteristic of these miscellaneous classes is that they do not go after exclusively working class students. They include the Rand School and the cooperative schools.

It is at once obvious that only the first two of these types of educational instruments, i. e., the union classes and the central labor colleges can be called strictly of the labor movement. They represent education of the workers and for the workers. The university classes and miscellaneous group bring in a problem of extra-labor union control.

Fourteen workers' educational institutions representing experiments under each of these four large types report their year's work in the Proceedings. In these reports the inevitable contrasts in attitude as well as the outstanding general problems of the actual work stand forth clearly. Once you have gotten your students in the class how are you going to hold them there? What are you going to teach them?

Much depends, of course, on your type of class. A small study group cannot be approached in the same way as a large mass meeting. An advanced group cannot be gotten by the same means that an elementary, non-English speaking group can. Your teacher is an important element of the problem. The classes of the I. L. G. W. and the A. C. W. have grappled with all these problems. "Jazz"

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methods for mass-education; functional, discussion methods for advanced study groups (the Workers' University classes of the I. L. G. W. U. and the Active Workers' School of the A. C. W.); and a sort of combination of the two for the more elementary study groups appear to be the lines upon which the work is developing. The unions also have developed a program of Local Meetings Lectures. The courses of study have concentrated chiefly around the social sciences, literature and English.

Finally, the advance of Workers' Education has brought before the movement the problem of text-books. To me, at least, it was tremendously inspiring to find that it is contemplating the provision of text-books written especially for workers' classes. Spencer Miller, Fannia Cohn and Arthur Gleason have been appointed to serve on a text-book committee. A fund contributed by a friend of the movement is at their disposal and various text books are already in preparation.

Nothing reveals more sharply the attitude of the Workers' Education movement than its constant tendency to stand off and look at itself. Caught as it is in a continuous round of really stirring activity, the temptation to be impressed with the commotion of mere activity must be very strong. But again and again the workers in the movement turn a critical eye on their own doings. "What's all the shoo-in' for?" they ask, "Where are we going? What are we trying to do?"

Here again ideas vary. The chief bones of contention seem to be two. Shall we concentrate on small classes which seek to accomplish really serious work and "train leaders" or shall we devote energy also to that "mass" education that involves workers into sitting through a lecture by giving them a concert before and a dance after? Or shall we "propagate" into our work? On the other hand, there appears to be rather complete agreement on two other points. Workers' Education cannot give that sort of individualist education that will push its students out of the working class. Those who would become dentists, doctors, etc., or "snobbish browns" must go elsewhere. All workers' education should proceed from a genuine sympathy with and acceptance of the basic aims of organized labor.

Clearly, worth-while work is being done here. The significance of and need for that work is indicated by its rapid extension. The Workers' Educational Bureau is both an index and instrument of this extension. It plays an important role in coordinating the various educational activities, aiding new enterprises, "spreading the gospel," and centralizing the work of the movement as a whole. The American

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

THE MESSENGER
The Only Trade Union Publication for Negro workers in America
2305 Seventh Avenue
New York City

A GREAT ACADEMY OF
DESIGNING AND
CUTTING
EMBROIDERING DESIGNING
FROPPY PATTERNS,
41 West 24th Street
Courses for Young Ladies,
Masters of Tailoring and
and Women's GARNISHES, \$2.50
Public Places, \$2.50

Federation of Labor is now officially identified with the Bureau. Indeed the character of the Bureau's Executive Committee illustrates how truly representative the workers' educational movement has become. All the various shades of opinion in the American Labor movement can speak through such a body. The officers of the Bureau for the current year are: President, James H. Maurer, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; Vice-President, Fannia M. Cohn; Secretary-Treasurer, Spencer Miller, Jr., and Matthew Wolf, Chairman of the Executive Committee. Finally, together with the representatives of workers' educational activities in Europe, delegates from the Bureau met in conference at Brussels. Workers' education today is an international movement.

But with all these signs of advance many knotty difficulties still confront workers' education, especially in America where the size of the country and language barriers alone offer tremendous problems. Moreover the field of actual educational work is still almost a virgin territory in which the opening of new trails await the pioneer. And in this fact lies one of the greatest attractions of the movement.

To the engineer mountains and rivers mean no barriers but tunnels and bridges. The Workers' Educational movement needs still more engineers. Although the pioneering work has been done, there are mountains that must be tunneled and rivers that must be spanned. To all active workers this should be a summons to help the good work.

But it should be a summons especially to members of the I. L. G. W. For it is their union which has launched the entire movement in America. It is their union which obtains the credit and recognition for pioneering. Will they help carry on the torch they have lit?

STYLIA KOPALD.

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

FLOGGINGS ORDERED BY ARKANSAS PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

Emmett Crosby testified before a legislative committee that city officials of Heber Springs ordered workers flogged to secure information regarding alleged depredations on the Missouri & North Arkansas railroad.

Crosby said he was taken from his home by a mob after receiving a warning to give information from Mayor Vinson, who acted as spokesman for the mob. Crosby said he was tied to a pole and whipped by three men. He was then warned to leave town before sunrise, he said.

Witnesses stated that the citizens' committee has established mob government and driven out of town every worker and sympathizer the mob happens to dislike. The test of citizenship the mob has set up is loyalty to the Missouri & North Arkansas railroad. Anyone who says aught against this corporation, whose defiance of the railroad labor board resulted in the present strike, is liable to be lynched or flogged.

MANY POTATOES WASTED.

About 50,000,000 bushels, or more than 11 per cent of last year's record crop of white potatoes, were wasted or consumed on farms or left undug, according to the department of agriculture.

Heavy production last year resulted in prices which made it unprofitable for many farmers, especially those in the central northwest, to dig their crop, some sections being able to obtain only 20 cents or less a bushel.

REWARD STRIKEBREAKERS.

The Southern Pacific Railroad, it is announced, will reward its strike-breaking shop men.

The announcement reads like a report from a battle front in the world war, as the public is informed that many division officials "rendered service of distinction" in the strikebreaking stunt. A low estimate is placed on the worth of the ordinary strikebreaker, who will be paid as low as \$50.

PATRIOTS SETTLE.

The government has adjusted its differences with the Lincoln motor car company, which so patriotically and unselfishly aided in winning the war.

The government charged that during the excitement incident to the war the company was overpaid \$9,188,561 for the manufacture of munitions. More than \$2,000,000 was paid because of the loss of "anticipated profits."

Since the war the company has gone through bankruptcy proceedings, and its plant has been sold. The government agreed to a settlement of its claim by the payment of \$1,550,000, or \$7,438,561 less than was originally demanded. The bankruptcy sale wiped out all claims of stockholders, and the deal leaves but 47 cents on the dollar to satisfy 800 merchandise creditors.

OPPOSE SHIP SUBSIDY.

President Gompers has called on the trade union movement to resist the final effort of reaction and greed to pass the ship subsidy bill. Senators are being subjected to the greatest pressure to pass this legislation, which would mean an annual loss to the people of more than \$150,000,000, according to the numerous authorities.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly condemned ship subsidies, and President Gompers urges every unionist to forward protests to their senators and urge every other opponent of subsidies to take similar action.

OPPOSE STATE INSURANCE.

Casualty companies oppose state-controlled workmen's compensation insurance. These private concerns are leading the mails of legislators with their propaganda in favor of exploiting the misery of disabled workers and the families of workers killed in industry.

TEXTILE DIVIDENDS REST ON CHILD LABOR.

The oft-repeated claim that the huge textile dividends rest on low wages and child labor was again developed at a conference of women in this city.

Atherton Brownell, a member of the national child labor committee, said that the cities having the greatest percentage of child labor are also the cities which have the greatest amount of cotton manufacture, and they are all located in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

"The city having the undesirable distinction of being the worst in the country with regard to the employment of children is Woonsocket, R. I., closely followed by Fall River, Mass.," he said. "Then comes Pawtucket, R. I., and then New Bedford and Lawrence, Mass. All of these cities have more than 17 per cent in child labor. Compare these with the large cities, which have no such manufactures, and you will find them ranging from 7.2 per cent in Chicago down to less than 3 per cent in Cleveland. Boston shows 6.4 per cent."

In reply to recent denials by New Bedford cotton manufacturers that they were using child labor to a large degree, Mr. Brownell said:

"I am now able to say on the authority of the United States Census Bureau that of the 2,122 children of New Bedford from 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, 1,296 were employed in the cotton mills in 1920. In Fall River, out of a total of 2,660 children employed in all activities, 1,775 were at work in cotton mills."

**R AND
SCHOOL**
1 East 15th St.
Saturday, Feb. 24th, 3:30 P. M. "Is Europe Coming or Going?" Charles Zerklin

Courses Beginning
February 18, 8:40 P. M. . . . SCOTT NEARING
"Labor Economics"
February 20th, 8:40 P. M. . . . HERMAN EPSTEIN
"Meaning of Music"

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

SMALLER BIRTHRATE.

The birth-rate of 1922, in England and Wales, was 20.5 per cent of the total population and was the lowest on record for the war years, 1915 to 1919. But it was also the lowest on record for any year in respect to deaths of babies. These figures are from the Registrar General's report.

A PEOPLE'S THEATRE.

A plan for establishing a people's theatre in the East End of London will shortly materialize. The scheme is promoted by Mr. J. T. Grein, the well known dramatic critic, and Mr. A. E. Filmer, the producer of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre; and it will involve a small capital, a living wage for each actor, while the net result will be divided between a reserve fund, management remuneration, and the actors, pro rata to salary.

IS CIVILIZATION COLLAPSING?

According to the intellectuals of today, Western civilization is doomed. Mr. H. G. Wells wrote recently in the Daily Herald about the stupendous instability of the Western world, "and declared the 'system is breaking up.'"

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, in their book on "The Decay of the Capitalist Civilization," write—"Capitalism will die by violence, and civilization will perish with it from exhaustion."

Mr. Frederic Harrison, the Comtist, wrote just before his recent death—"Every board in civilization is cracking. The British Empire is melting away, just like the Roman in the year 300, and from the same causes." Similar views have been expressed recently by Professor Graham Wallis in Bedford College, London, and by Herr Spengler, the German, in his books.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS AND THE RUHR.

In the statement issued by the Executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Second International and the Vienna Union, after their meeting in Amsterdam, announce their intention amongst other action of a propagandist nature to bring pressure upon the governments to refer the Ruhr question to the League of Nations to which Germany must first be admitted. The statement also calls upon the workers everywhere to demand the instant withdrawal of all occupation troops from the Ruhr district, and calls upon the German workers to compel the German Government and German capitalists to fulfil Germany's obligation to make the fullest possible reparation.

LABOR PARTY TRIUMPH.

At their recent by-election at Newcastle, Arthur Henderson, leader of the Labor Party in the last Parliament and defeated by a small majority in another constituency at the last General Election, was returned by a majority of 4,384 over the Liberal candidate, this showing an increase of 1,299 in the Labor majority for Newcastle since the seat was contested at the General Election in November last.

LORD ROBERT CECIL ON DISARMAMENT.

In a plea for disarmament, made at a London Working Men's College on January 30, Lord Robert Cecil said that the armed forces of Europe were greater now than in 1913, and only a serious reduction in armaments would avert another war. The French were spending at the rate of 160 million pounds a year on armaments, and would probably get by reduction as much as they are likely to get from reparations obtained by force.

FRANCE.

THE WEAPON OF HUNGER.

Against the Ruhr strikers the French Government's only weapon is that of hunger, and that weapon may shortly be brought into play. The first effect of the isolation of the Ruhr will be to cut off the food supplies which now enter the region from unoccupied Germany, and, in order to feed the population thus artificially deprived of its only food reserves, the French are already taking steps to bring food supplies up the Rhine from Antwerp and Rotterdam, but the food, it is obvious, will not be available for strikers.

Convention Delegates on Way to Baltimore

(Continued from page 1.)

Mag. Brother Morris Sigman looked hale and hearty and obviously quite happy to shake hands again and to swap stories with the large crowd of friends and well-wishers that surrounded him. General Secretary Baroff and Acting President Ninfo also extended cordial invitations to attend the Special Convention to former president Schelsinger of our International Union, President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, Abraham Cahan, Editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; Morris Hillquit, legal adviser of our International Union; and Meyer London, Socialist Congressman.

CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE AT WORK

The Credential Committee of the International, the same committee which was appointed for the Cleve-

land Convention and which according to our Constitution is to have a credential committee from one regular convention to another, has been summoned by General Secretary Baroff to come to New York and to verify the list of the accredited delegates of the locals and the Joint Boards affiliated with the International that are entitled to be seated at the coming Special Convention.

The Committee began meeting on Monday morning, February 12th. As far as possible objections or disputes on the qualifications of the delegates are coming up before the Committee, its Chairman, Vice-President Breslaw and Secretary Vice-President Dubinsky, expect to get through with the work in record time and be ready to leave for Baltimore together with the other members of the G. E. B. on Wednesday afternoon.

Educational Comment and Notes

Dr. Lieberman's Course on Poetry and Life

Saturday, February 3rd, Dr. Lieberman began his series of discussions on the general topic of Poetry and Life.

Dr. Lieberman is one of the best known younger American poets. His contributions appeared in a number of magazines and received very favorable criticism. He published a volume of poetry, "The Paved Streets," which attracted considerable attention and received praise from our best critics. Dr. Lieberman is not only a poet but an experienced and excellent teacher of literature. He is the head of the Department of English in the Bushwick High School in Brooklyn.

Last Saturday he pointed out what constitutes true poetry and devoted most of the time to a discussion of Walt Whitman. The lecturer showed that Walt Whitman is the first

great original genius of America. He also showed what his characteristics were and read to the class some of the finest selections from Whitman's works. These readings were accompanied with explanations and interpretations.

During the remainder of the course, Dr. Lieberman will continue a discussion of some of the best known modern poets who are particularly interested in expressing themselves in relation to modern social problems.

Our members who are interested in modern literature, particularly in poetry, are urged to take advantage of this opportunity to hear Dr. Lieberman. Poetry means beauty and adds to the richness and value of life. Workers certainly have but too little of this. This course will contribute to their experience and supply some of this beauty and happiness.

Professor Overstreet's Lecture on Psychology

Sunday, February 4th, Professor Overstreet, head of the Department of Philosophy in City College, met our class in psychology in the Workers' University. He discussed the place of instincts in our life and showed the difference between the conduct of human beings and that of animals.

The question of changing the way in which instincts express themselves was also raised, and Professor Overstreet suggested various methods by which this can be done.

A great deal of discussion was carried on during the session and the members of the class gained considerable information on this subject.

CONCERT AND LECTURE ON WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

An interesting concert and lecture has been arranged by our Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 20, for February 22nd, Washington's Birthday, in the Washington Irving High School.

Among the artists will be Rose Dreihorn who will entertain the audience with her beautiful singing of opera selections and Jewish, Russian and English folk songs.

H. Rogoff will lecture on "The Relations between Europe and America."

This entertainment will be of artistic and educational value. Admission free to members of the Union.

T. B. Patient's Play Produced at Sanatorium

Edward Fleishman, a patient in the Denver Sanatorium, maintained by the Jewish Consumptive's Relief Society, has written a play, "Broken Leaves," which has just had its premiere in Denver. Fleishman wrote "Broken Leaves" during his residence in the sanatorium. The play was directed by Ruth Spivak, who has been a member of the Wilkes Players, one of the Wilkes stock companies, that has been showing at the Denham Theater in Denver for several seasons past.

Fleishman is not the only member of the profession struck down by the white plague, who has found a haven in the Denver Sanatorium. A goodly number of actors and singers are included among the 250 patients. A New York actor, only recently from England, whose wife is expected in New York shortly, and who is still

unaware of the fate that might have befallen her husband had he not found a suitable home, was admitted in November. Physicians, lawyers, chemists, rabbis, journalists and other professional men, as well as mechanics, salesmen and industrial workers, who have not been able to obtain sanatorium care in pay institutions, constitute a considerable proportion of the population of this haven for the tuberculous.

Members can obtain the announcements of our educational activities for 1922-1923 at the office of their local unions or at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

WEEKLY CALENDAR

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

Saturday, February 17th

- 1:30 p. m. Social Forces in Literature.
Dr. E. Lieberman—Poetry and Life.
2:30 p. m. Paul Brissenden—The Development of Trade Agreements.

Sunday, February 18th

- 10:20 a. m. A. Fichandler—Psychology of Current Events.
11:30 a. m. Dr. H. J. Carpan—Political and Social History of the United States.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, February 19th

- Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43
Brown Place and 135th St., Room 305
8:30 p. m. Dr. Margaret Daniels—Industrial Unionism.
Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 84
Stone and Glenmore Aves., Room 319.
8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopold—Banking Control of Modern Industry.

Tuesday, February 20th

- Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171
163rd Street, Near Fifth Avenue, Room 406.
8:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—The American Federation of Labor.
Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40
320 East 20th Street, Room 305.
8:00 p. m. Solon De Leon—Industrial Waste.

Wednesday, February 21st

- East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63
4th St. Near 1st Ave., Room 404
8:30 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—The American Federation of Labor.
Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 147
Crotona Park East and Charlotte St., Room 501
8:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—The Factory As An Economic Institution.
Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40
320 East 20th Street

Friday, February 23rd

- P. S. 150—Christopher Ave. and Sackman St., Room 206.
8:00 p. m. Dr. Margaret Daniels—Social Psychology.
These courses will be continued throughout the season at the same place, day and hour.

Second Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 42

- Washington Ave. and Claremont Parkway
Williamsburg Unity Center—P. S. 147
Bushwick Ave. and McKibbin St., Brooklyn
Classes in Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced English—IN ALL CENTERS on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.
Admission to all of these courses free to members of the International.

EXTENSION DIVISION YIDDISH

Thursday, February 15th

- Local No. 90—Casino Mansion—85 E. 4th Street.
9:00 p. m. Dr. J. Goldberg—The Worker and His Health.

Saturday, February 17th

- Local No. 12—32 Second Avenue.
1:00 p. m. Dr. J. Goldberg—The Worker and His Health.
Local No. 1—Clubrooms, 1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
8:00 p. m. H. Glantz—Development of Yiddish Literature.

Sunday, February 18th

- Harlem Educational Center of the I. L. G. W. U.
62 East 108th Street
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—Economic Structure of Our Present System.
Local No. 1—Club Rooms, 1581 Washington Ave., Bronx.
10:30 a. m. L. Lehrer—Social Psychology.

Tuesday, February 20th

- Local No. 21—193 Montague Street, Newark, N. J.
8:00 p. m. M. Levin—Aims and Problems of the Labor Movement.

Thursday, February 22nd

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

Local No. 20

Lecture—Concert

WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL

- 2:00 p. m. H. Rogoff—Relations Between America and Europe.

Labor and Publicity

By EVANS CLARK

Description of a talk given at Workers' University of the I. L. G. W. U., February 10, 1923.

1. Is it worth while for labor unions to try to get their side present in the capitalist newspapers?
The answer is: "Yes."

2. This answer depends on the answers to two other questions.
First: Can labor get a fair "break" in the capitalist press if it tries?
Second: Do fair stories do labor any good?
The answers to these two questions is also—Yes, although the first yes is not quite so positive as the second.

3. In New York, labor can get just about as much space for its side in most of the papers, as the employers can provide there is real "news" in the story, and provided also the story is written and given to the papers by someone who knows how.

This is not true of editorials. However, one inch of news space is worth ten inches of editorials. Each city differs in the amount of space labor can get. New York is probably the best city for labor in this way.

4. Newspaper space helps unions mainly by its effect on the employers and public officials. It gives an impression of power which seriously affects employers' nerves and makes public officials watch their step in the way they treat the workers.

5. Newspaper publicity is one of labor's strongest weapons. Its effect in struggles to employers is out of all proportion to the time and effort it involves.

6. It hinders the employers and on the other hand does a great deal to maintain the morale of the workers.

The Woman's Clothing Industry in New York State

By ABRAHAM TUVIM

(Record Dept. of I. L. G. W. U.)

One of the most interesting studies of the industrial life of New York State is contained in the recently issued 14th census of manufactures in the United States. The document is issued by the Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C. New York is the chief manufacturing state in the nation, and, according to the census, a comparison between the year 1919 and the preceding period of five years shows great strides both in volume of production and in the value of the products throughout the state. In this five-year period the increase in the number of persons engaged in manufacturing was 18 per cent which contrasts with an increase of only 7 per cent during the period of 1909 to 1914.

What is even more interesting is the fact that the chief industry of the state was that of women's clothing with a total output in value of products of \$886,984,000.00. Compared with the total output of all the manufactures of the state (\$8,867,200,000.00) the women's clothing industry is responsible for 10 per cent of the grand total. Its nearest competitor in the state is the manufacture of men's clothing which is credited with 6.1 of the total output of the manufactures in the state.

The next four industries in turn are slaughtering and meat packing, printing and publishing newspapers and periodicals, foundry and machine shops and bread and other bakery products. Yet the combined value of these four industries barely equal the value of the products in the women's clothing industry.

The women's industry also led the state in the number of wage earners employed on the average during the year of 1919. This total 102,652 or 8.4 of the grand total for all industries, which was 1,228,138. The nearest competitor was again the men's clothing industry, employing 62,008,

constituting 5 per cent of the total for the state. Altogether 5,288 establishments were considered in the census of the women's clothing industry, out of a total of 49,330 in the state.

The census sub-divides the 5,288 shops included in this survey of the women's clothing industry into two sections. First, under the caption of regular factories, which include suits, skirts, cloaks, shirt-waists, dresses, undergarments, petticoats, wrappers and house-dresses.

The total of these factories is 3,475. This includes, however, 540 factories manufacturing women's garments other than those mentioned above. The second division is for 1,813 factories doing contract work on the garments enumerated above. Of this total 166 manufacture garments other than those mentioned.

The nearest competitor to the women's clothing industry in the state of New York in the number of shops considered in the census was the bakery industry with 3,597 shops reporting. Next in line came the men's clothing industry with 2,537 and the printing and publishing industry with 2,538.

The five year period 1914-1919 showed a decrease in the number of wage earners in the women's clothing industry, though the combined industries of the state showed an 18 per cent increase in the total employed. The number dropped from 108,393 to 102,652. The percentage of men employed in the women's garment industry decreased in this period from 40.7 to 38.3, while the percentage of women increased from 58.9 in 1914 to 61.2 in 1919. Despite this fact, however, the value of products jumped from \$345,316,000.00 in 1914 to \$886,984,000.00 in 1919. During this same period wages increased in total from \$64,128,000.00 to \$137,673,000.00. The

increase in wages during this period was slightly over 100 per cent, but increase in value of production, however, was over 150 per cent.

Another very interesting fact derived from the government report

is the statistics on the hours of employment and the comparison between 1914 and 1919. Following is a chart showing comparison between hours of employment in this industry for the two periods.

Total Number Employed	44 Hours & Less	Ret. 44-48	48 Ret. 48-54	54 Ret. 54-60
1914-1909,293			4,761	79,856
1919-102,652	87,375	3,568	4,750	3,961

A careful study of this chart will give sufficient evidence of the progress made by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union towards the abolition of the sweatshop hours of employment, not only for its own membership, but for the workers in the entire industry.

Thousands who are not members of this Union have, inherited the tremendous improvement in hours which was forced by the activity of the Union. The preponderance of those employed in the second column are affiliated with the Union. None of

the number working 48 hours or over are members. The census of 1919 also gives a division of the number of industries in the various cities of the state having 50,000 inhabitants or more. An analysis of the women's clothing industry by cities shows that practically all of the industry is concentrated in the city of New York. The following is a chart dividing the industry into Manhattan and Brooklyn, giving the proportion of the product of Manhattan and Brooklyn to the total for the state.

TOTAL PRODUCT FOR STATE
(\$86,984,000)

	Value of 1919 Product	Percent of State Total	Increase Over 1914	Percent Increase Over 1914
Manhattan	\$34,787,496	94.1	\$67,906,400	155.4
Brooklyn	26,095,949	3.0	14,571,689	120.2
Total	\$61,483,465	97.3	\$22,478,089	

A "Workers' Cooperative" at Minneapolis

The Minneapolis Cooperative Electric Association started as a workers' corporation for doing electrical work and selling electric equipment. It started in a strike of the Electrical Workers' Union. Somebody advised the striking workers to organize a "workers' cooperative," to be owned and controlled by the workers. They did so.

Unlike most such attempts, this one succeeded. It made money. It has become so successful that now the stock is all owned by six men. The result of this "cooperative" has taken six men out of the ranks of labor and converted them into capitalists. They employ a large number

of other men. They make as much money out of the consumers of Minneapolis as they can. No social problem of today is solved nor is there any approach made to the solution of any problem—except for the six men whom the enterprise created.

The tendency of the so-called producers' "cooperative" is for ownership and control to fall into fewer hands. The tendency of the consumers' cooperative is expansion. The Franklin Creamery of Minneapolis has 6,000 stockholders. The Electric Association has six. Both are successful. But it depends upon what kind of success we are after.

Are Labor Unions Our Hope or Our Despair?

Employers, labor leaders, economists, workers, and representatives of that mythical third party—The Public, venture answers in the February number of

THE WORLD TOMORROW

SAMUEL J. PROKESCH, employer:
"Labor Union or Company Union?"

A. J. MUSTE, of the Brookwood Workers' College:
"The Union of the Future."

ALICE KIMBALL, a factory worker:
"In the Silt."

POWERS HAPGOOD, coal miner:
"From the College to the Ranks of Labor."

OTTO BEYER, economist with the Labor Bureau:

"Do Unions Care About Production?"

CEDRIC LONG, of the Co-operative League of America:

"Our Hope and Our Despair."

GEORGE SOULE, of the Labor Bureau:

"Questions Before Labor."

HERBERT A. JUMP, of the Public:

"That Plumber of Yours."

J. B. SALUTSKY, of the A. C. W. of A.:
"Corruption, Dishonesty and Violence."

GEO. S. LACKLAND, a minister:
"The Churches and the Unions."

NINA SAMORODIN, of the National Labor Alliance:
"Quiet Life of an Organizer."

Verse, book reviews, a story.

The Week in Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

Undoubtedly our readers are fully acquainted with the fact that the General Executive Board, at its last session in Montreal, accepted the resignation of Brother Schlesinger as President of the International and called a Special Convention to take place in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 15th. This means that the delegates who represented our local at the last convention in Cleveland will have left for Baltimore on Wednesday afternoon, to express their choice as to who should be President for the remainder of the term.

Although our local went on record as favoring the candidacy of Brother Morris Sigman as President of the International to succeed Brother Schlesinger, nevertheless we cannot be sure of his candidacy, until the last moment, as it will largely depend upon Brother Sigman himself to accept the nomination. We feel certain that should Brother Sigman definitely accept the nomination as candidate for the Presidency there will be no opposition and he will be elected unanimously to that office.

By the time these lines will be read definite results will be known. Should it be that Brother Sigman will be our next President, we will be proud of the fact that we were the first local of the International that requested him to accept nomination.

The convention will practically be over by Saturday morning, and the newly-elected President will receive the wholehearted support from every member of the International.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The last Cloak and Suit Division meeting, which was held on Monday, February 5th, listened attentively to the report of General Manager Dubinsky, who dwelt at length on two particular points, and the question of the non-union men joining the organization and the tendency of the jobbers to open cutting departments.

The question of the non-union men has been previously discussed in these columns. However, we again wish to stress this point, as it is a great evil confronting the cutters. In most of these cases it is the fault of the men working in the shops where these non-union men are employed, as no report is made to the office so that action may be taken against them.

Manager Dubinsky pointed out that at every Cloak and Suit meeting there are a number of people obligated, and though a number of them are dropped or resigned members, the majority are new men. And the only reason why they join the organization is the fact that the men in the shops feel soft-hearted towards these boys, not realizing that this is an evil not only to themselves as individuals, but to the trade as a whole.

The result is that after the boys work in these shops a year or two or switch from one shop to another, they know enough of the trade so that they can be kept, and we are naturally compelled to take them in to our fold.

We wish to warn the members that the Executive Board will be very strict with such offenders and will use every means within its power to punish them.

Brother Dubinsky, in his report, further explained that the jobbers are beginning to realize their error in having their work going out to contractors and by the end of the season having thousands of garments returned on account of sizes being incorrect. The question very often asked is "Why is it that when one contractor gives an estimate on a garment another contractor is able

to quote a much similar price?" The answer is very simple.

The contractor who gives the last price must make up for this somewhere, and the result is that they begin to "skin" on the garments and instead of giving the manufacturer the sizes required, say 42 or 44, the result is 36 or 38. Naturally, when a retailer orders a 44, he cannot use a 38, and the garments are returned to the jobber. By the end of the season the jobber finds himself with these returned garments on the rack, which garments have to be sold at a loss.

Realizing this, a number of these jobbers began negotiating with the organization, requesting that they be permitted to open cutting departments, so that they can do their own cutting and send the work out to be operated in the contractors' shops.

There was a bit of resistance on the part of the operators' locally, but even they are beginning to realize that it will be much better for the industry if these jobbers will be allowed to open cutting departments, and their opposition has lessened considerably. It is hoped that in the very near future the jobbers who have applied for this privilege will be granted same.

Apropos of this we wish to inform the Cloak and Suit cutters that in view of the fact that there is a General Strike in the Waist and Dress Industry, should they wish to see Manager Dubinsky with reference to complaints or any other business, they may be in the office after five o'clock in the evening, at which time Brother Dubinsky will be in the office and able to attend to such business as is not connected with the strike.

WAIST AND DRESS

The Special Meeting of the Waist and Dress cutters, which was held in Arlington Hall on February 6th, to endorse the action of the General Strike Committee in calling a strike in this branch of the industry, filled the hall to capacity. It endorsed the action of the General Strike Committee unanimously. The meeting further went on record unanimously as endorsing the resolution submitted by the Executive Board, which is as follows:

Whereas, ever since the inception of Local No. 10, the cutters have always favored and practiced week-work in all of the branches of the ladies' garment industry; and

Whereas, in the present struggle with the manufacturers the main issue is the establishment of the week-work system throughout the dress and waist industry; and

Whereas, the cutters in all past struggles waged against the employers demonstrated a unity and a spirit of solidarity with the rest of the workers in the industry and have always felt that their interests were closely interwoven with those of the workers of the other crafts in our industry;

Therefore, Be It Resolved, that we, the Dress and Waist Cutters, members of Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U., in meeting assembled on this Seventh day of February, 1923, pledge our cooperation and will stand by the other crafts until our employers submit to all of the demands of the Union.

The General Strike in the Waist and Dress Industry, which was called on Wednesday, February 7th, is in full swing and all the committees functioning. When the strike was originally called, the cutters went down to the halls assigned to their respective shops. However, since last Monday, the General Strike Committee granted the request of the Cutters' Union that a special hall be hired where the cutters could congregate. As usual, Arlington Hall was chosen for that purpose.

Those of our cutters who as yet have not registered in Arlington

Hall should immediately proceed to do so, as failure to register will be considered an offense.

At the time these arrangements were made it was understood that the cutters are to picket the shops in the morning and evening, and any other time required by the shop and also attend shop meetings with the rest of the workers of the shop whenever called upon to do so, but that they are to be in Arlington Hall the rest of the time so that we may be in a position to know their exact whereabouts at all times.

Brother Dubinsky has instituted a new system of registration cards, whereby it will be possible to know which men reported at the Hall, and all those who did not report will be immediately summoned to explain their absence. The registration cards formerly used simply bore the date when the men appeared in the hall, their cards were punched, but we were not in a position to ascertain whether they had been in the hall on a certain day unless in possession of their cards.

With this new system, each man will have a duplicate card on file, bearing a similar number to the one on the card which he keeps. The original, which he keeps, will have his number in a number of boxes and as he appears in the hall, his card will be punched and one of these numbers will be torn off. In the evening these numbers are checked off on the respective duplicates.

The strike so far has been very successful, and quite a number of large shops, as well as a big number of open shops which we did not expect to respond have done so and are standing loyally by the organization.

Efforts are being made by the Picket Committee, under the leadership of Brother Harry Berlin, to take down as many open shops as can be handled by the Picket Committee. The cutters of these open shops, as well as a number of others in which there are no operators employed, have responded, and settlements are being made. Of these there are

quite a few shops, especially waist shops, whose work is being done mainly in Porto Rico, and the cutters in these shops have also responded and settlements will be made in the very near future which will be satisfactory to the organization.

Quite a number of shops have already been settled, and the cutters returned to work, having obtained wages increases which bring up their minimum scale to \$48.00 per week, and no cutters are returned to work unless they secure new white working cards and no less than \$48.00 per week.

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Attention of Dress and Waist Cutters

Members of Local 10

By order of the General Strike Committee
All Dress and Waist Cutters of Local 10 who are on strike against union and open shops, and also those who are unemployed, are instructed to register in

ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place, and report twice a day.

DAVID DUBINSKY, Manager.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

GENERAL.....Monday, February 26th
CLOAK AND SUIT.....Monday, March 5th
WAIST AND DRESS }Monday, March 12th
MISCELLANEOUS }

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place