

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

—Job 27.6

# JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 12.

York, Friday, March 16, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

## PHILAD'F GENERAL DRESS STRIKE EXCELLENT SHAPE

ONE HUNDRED SHOPS ALREADY SETTLED—2,000 WORKERS BACK TO WORK UNDER UNION CONDITIONS—SECRETARY BAROFF ADDRESSES GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE—UNION IGNORES EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION

"The strike of our waist and dress makers in Philadelphia is in splendid condition! It is a great deal better than anticipated by the most optimistic among us." This is an extract from the very encouraging report from the Philadelphia front brought in by Secretary Baroff early this week after a visit to the dress and waist strikers of that city. Secretary Baroff attended a meeting last Monday evening of the General Strike Committee and listened to a complete report of the various divisions of the committee. According to this statement, the situation of the strike is as follows:

Up to last Monday evening, the union had settled with 95 firms and about 2,000 workers have already returned to the shops. These settlements were made with each firm individually. The union is determined not to have anything to do with the manufacturers' association in the trade as it is convinced that the leaders of this employers' group are seeking to destroy the union and would have no peace in the industry on the

basis of a collective understanding with the workers.

Among the settled shops there are several association houses, which signed individual agreements with the union. The union is convinced that sooner or later many other members of the association will be compelled to sign up with the union, if they want to operate their shops with competent help. At any rate, the end of the strike is already in sight. It is very likely that before the beginning of next week, the strike will be over and Local No. 15 will emerge

from it with a membership 3,000 strong.

The fighting workers in the Philadelphia dress industry deserve the sincere congratulations of every well-wisher of labor. Vice-President Elias Reiberg, manager of Local No. 15, and the chief leader of the strike, as well as the active group of workers who have stood by the union loyally and unflinchingly and who have carried the brunt of the battle, deserve the hearty congratulations of their fellow-workers the country over upon the great and speedy victory they have scored in this walkout.

### President Sigman Visits Chicago

President Morris Sigman has spent this week in Chicago in the interests of the organization. He went there at the request of several of our Chicago Locals.

While in Chicago, President Sigman will complete the plans for putting the Western Organizing Depart-

ment into working order. A manager will be selected, an office established and all other necessary preparations made.

Details of President Sigman's trip will be given in these columns in our next week's issue.

## NEW YORK CLOAKMAKERS' UNION ESTABLISHES JOBBING DEPARTMENT

Vice-President Harry Wander Becomes Manager of New Division

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers last week created a new department to control the jobbing end of the cloak business in New York City. Brother Harry Wander, for the last six years manager of the Skirt and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 23, was appointed manager of this department.

The urgency of such a new branch for the cloakmakers' organization of New York is quite obvious. Jobbing is becoming an ever greater factor in the making of cloaks, and it was natural that the union would seek a means of controlling it insofar as work conditions are involved. Brother Wander will have a staff of a half-dozen men, business agents and capable accountants and bookkeepers, who will be ready to investigate the business of the jobbers in case they are suspected of sending out work to non-union shops. Vice-President

Wander's job is a big one; he has been charged with a very important duty upon the successful carrying out of which will depend a great deal of the strength and integrity of the workers' union in the cloak industry.

## White Goods Workers, Local 62, on Eve of General Strike

STRIKE APPEARS INEVITABLE—BIG MASS MEETING ON THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 15, TO REACH FINAL DECISION

In our last week's issue we stated that conferences between the White Goods Workers' Local No. 62 and the Cotton Garment Association have been going on for several weeks past for the purpose of reaching a peaceful understanding on the demands of the workers, and the signing of a new agreement. These negotiations still continue at the present writing, but, as it seems, a strike is unavoidable, and the union is taking all preparatory steps for it.

The owners of the white goods shops in New York are obdurate. They seemed to have lulled themselves into a secure feeling that the workers' organization in their trade is not strong enough to call a general strike, and it is quite likely that they are protecting these negotiations in order to ascertain whether the union is in earnest about it.

The sentiment that a strong union that would rigidly control the conditions in the industry is a prime necessity for the workers, is becoming more and more widespread in the shops. Members of Local No. 62 who have been laggard in paying their dues and assessments, are now coming to the office and "making good," paying up their obligations and otherwise showing a profound interest in the union.

On Thursday evening, March 15, the union will hold a mass meeting in Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street. This meeting will be addressed by

some of the best speakers in the labor movement of New York. In addition to Secretary Baroff and Vice-Presidents Ninfo and Lefkowitz, there will be on the platform ex-Congressman Meyer London, B. C. Wladick, Rose Schneiderman of the Women's Trade Union League, Arturo Giovannitti, Max Fine, and Mary MacDonald.

The union has already appointed a general strike committee to lead the expected conflict with the employers. The chief officers of the committee are the following: Abraham Snyder, Chairman; Samuel Grackin, Chairman, Hall Committee; Rose Harriott, Chairlady, Organizing Committee; Mr. Zeisels, Chairman, Settlement Committee; Mr. Snyder, Chairman, Law Committee; Molly Lifshitz, Chairlady, Finance Committee; Fania M. Cohn, Chairlady, Speakers' Committee; Jacob Halperin, Chairman, Picket Committee.

### Strike of Cloakmakers in San Francisco

The cloakmakers of San Francisco went out last week on a general strike. The conflict came about as the result of the refusal of the local employers to recognize the union. They would have a "free hand" in the shops, unrestricted right of discharge and no legal holidays.

The strike is under the manage-

## International Begins New Countrywide Campaign

President Sigman's New Plan Adopted by Special Meeting of General Executive Board—Country to Be Divided into Zones, Each Under Supervision of Able Organizer—Entire Work Under Supervision of President.

On Friday last there was held in the Council room of the International Building a special meeting of the members of the General Executive Board in New York City. The meeting was attended by Vice-Presidents Feinberg, Halperin, Wander, Lefkowitz, Heller, Dubinsky, Schoolman, Miss Cohn, Secretary Baroff, and Vice-President Perstein, who was in New York on his way from Boston to Cleveland. President Sigman was in the chair.

The principal object of the meeting was the discussion of a plan proposed by President Sigman for coordinating and supervising the organizing work all over the country with a view to placing it on a more systematic and cohesive basis than heretofore. According to this program, the organizing territory is to be divided into various zones. Of these the Eastern zone

department has already been established under the supervision of Vice-President Jacob Halperin. This department has been functioning for several months and has accomplished very gratifying results. It operates in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Maryland and on Long Island.

The tendency of ladies' garment manufacturers to run away from the big cities to the adjacent small towns is, however, confined not to New York City alone. It is just as prevalent in the West and the Middle West. President Sigman therefore suggested that a western zone organizing department be established to include Chicago, Cleveland, Toledo, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Wisconsin towns. This western department will soon be opened under the management of a competent person to be chosen by President Sigman.

The problem of the "subsidized" locals—the local unions that have to be continually supported by the international office—was also discussed at length. President Sigman was of the opinion that the International must bend every effort to make these locals self-supporting, as otherwise these dependent organizations become accustomed to receive continuous aid from the International, and, instead of becoming stronger, grow even weaker and less self-sustaining.

ment of Vice-President Max Gorenstein. As it is quite likely that the San Francisco cloak employers would make an attempt to import strike breakers from the East, the cloakmakers in this section of the country are warned against any such efforts to lure them to the Far West.

# Topics of the Week

By N. S.

## A SNAG IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

**F**OLLOWING the debt settlement between England and America, the press announced the beginning of a new era of Anglo-Saxon harmony and friendship. Then our loquacious Ambassador Harvey delivered one of his numerous speeches in London in which he dug up a note that Lord Balfour, the Foreign Minister under the former Lloyd George government, had written some eight months ago, with the result that Anglo-American amity is for the moment in a ruffled and disturbed state.

Lord Balfour's note was not flattering to America. It stated that business considerations were the ruling motives of America in the late war and that she had insisted that Great Britain guarantee her loans to the other Allies. American statesmen, government officials and newspapers vehemently denied these charges. The American government, however, was silent. But only last week, months after the Lloyd George government had been replaced by the Bonar Law cabinet, our ambassador came out demanding the vindication of the good name of America by formally withdrawing the Balfour note and apologizing for the tactless charge that America is dominated by such sordid motives as money and profits. Lord Balfour replied, and the press of both countries took up this row and spread it over long columns. Now, the diplomats are trying to find a way out of the muddle.

But the Harvey-Balfour muddle is not the only scar in Anglo-American relations. There is also the Hughes-Curzon note which is causing even greater friction. It has to do with the former American Consul in Newcastle, a British port town, who, according to the British government, had been acting as consul and agent of American shipping companies at one and the same time, to the detriment of British shipping interests. The Consul, it was claimed, had shown decided reluctance to vouch the passports of those going to America on British vessels. Secretary Hughes vigorously denied this charge. Foreign Secretary Curzon was adamant. The Consul was consequently withdrawn and no one sent to replace him. Newcastle, the chargin of many business men and travelers, is now a city without an American consul.

## THE GOVERNMENT TOURING THE COUNTRY

**W**ASHINGTON is now a deserted city. As soon as Congress adjourned President Harding and his family caught the next train for Florida. An exodus of Congressmen and Senators followed. At first blush one may be led to believe that our lawmakers are out for a vacation, for a temporary relief from the harassing labors of running a government. But a deeper scrutiny reveals the fact that they really plan to do some strenuous work between now and the opening of the next Congress.

Now that the 1924 election campaign is approaching, President Harding has decided to take the American people into his confidence. Instead of talking to Senators he will now directly address himself to the voters. He has already managed to write a couple of letters from his train. He will follow these up by a number of speeches when he starts on his grand trip to Alaska. His chief message will be the international court idea. But this message will not go unchallenged. Senator Hiram Johnson, before his departure for Europe, had already fired his first shot against this plan. He will doubtless return heavily loaded with ammunition against any American alliance or intervention in European affairs. Senator Borah, on the other hand, favors a radical revision of the American foreign policy. He is for effective, helpful cooperation with European peoples. He is for full recognition of Russia and Mexico. He is for the release of the political prisoners in this country. The Progressive bloc, headed by Senator La Follette, will come to his aid in regard to many of his proposals. Other political groups are busily hatching schemes and issues for the next election.

The American people may now expect a prolific crop of panaceas for national and international ills of all kinds. In reality, however, these cures could be readily found under different names perhaps, in the old campaign books of the two major political parties. Their futility and hypocrisy have been demonstrated over and over again.

## CHILD SLAVERY IN AMERICA

**T**HE Children's Bureau of the Federal Department of Labor made a study of child labor in the beet sugar fields of this country, in 1920. The National Child Labor Committee made a similar study in 1922. Their preliminary reports are just off the press. They contain illuminating material.

The Department of Labor found that "in the families studied 67 per cent of the children between six and sixteen were found at work in the sugar beet fields. One-fourth of these workers were less than ten years of age and only one-fifth had reached the age of fourteen years. Three-fourths of the boys and three-fifths of the girls of these ages had helped in the beet fields in 1920, as had 7 per cent of their mothers."

"The working day," the government report says, "was found to begin about 6 a. m., continuing with the shortest possible rest time until 6, 7 and sometimes 8 or later in the evening. Over a fourth of the children reported eleven to fifteen hours of daily work in the fields."

The National Child Labor report shows that a large number of children put to work in the fields, "where a fourteen-hour day during the hot summer or the freezing cold November was common, were only five years old! The children under sixteen at work in the beet fields comprised 49 per cent of the total labor supply.

What is the nature of the work these children are doing? Here is a description found in the report of the National Child Labor Committee:

"Thinning and weeding the beets is usually done while the worker crawls along the ground on his hands and knees, or, more literally, on his

# Among the Connecticut Corset Workers

On the spur of the recent gain of a five-day, 40-hour week by the New York waist and dress makers, Elsie Gluck, organizer of the International's Out-of-Town Department in Connecticut, assisted by a committee of Local No. 35, has this week started an open organization campaign among the women employed in the corset factories of Bridgeport. Circulars printed in three languages urging the necessity of a unified front against the prevailing long work hours and low wages, and calling the workers to attend an organization meeting on Tuesday, March 13th, were distributed broadly—among the corset workers of some five local shops employing about 2,500 workers.

This open campaign marks the second stage of the organization revival in the Bridgeport corset industry. Miss Gluck has been in Bridgeport for several months but has endeavored, during the early period of her work, to secure members for the organization by personal contact and appeal only, frowning entirely upon publicity. Using only the method of personal contact, which has been accepted by labor as the most effective method of organizing, she has heretofore largely limited her activities to small group meetings arranged by herself and to visits in the evening to the homes of prospective members. Persistent and patient, Miss Gluck has enlisted a corps of enthu-

siastic supporters in a union that already shows a steady gain in membership.

The time is now ripe, however, for broader tactics. The imminence of a return to the 55-hour week and the menace of further wage reductions make the open organization campaign especially imperative at the present time to the corset workers in Bridgeport. The ground-work has been laid through the personal contact method—now the structure can and must be built.

Simultaneously with the campaign among the Bridgeport corset workers, Miss Gluck has begun the organization of the corset workers of So. Norwalk, Conn., where a meeting was called for Thursday, March 15. The call to the meeting was preceded by a thorough circularization of the working in not only the corset shops, but in the Norwalk dress and house-dress shops as well.

BUY  
WHITE LILY TEA  
COLUMBIA TEA  
ZWETOCHNI CHAI  
Exclusively

wrists and knees; as a small boy said, 'Yes! like a dog.' . . . We saw wrists that were swollen and lame, hands that were sore, cracked and full of dirt, and knees that were sore, cracked and calloused. The glare of the sun is a very severe strain upon the eyes of many children. One thing must not be lost sight of—this posture is retained quite steadily for 12 or 16 hours a day, six or seven days a week!"

## LABOR AND ROYALTY

**L**AST Thursday evening a group of labor members of the British Parliament dined with the British King, Queen, several Lords and Ladies and some Ministers. It was reported to be a brilliant affair. Royalty and the nobles appeared of course in their dazzling regalia, but even the labor chiefs—J. H. Thomas of the Railwaymen's Union, J. R. Clynes and Philip Snowden—came in silken knee breeches.

They were all the guests of the garrulous and sprightly Lady Astor who is trying so hard to impress people with her American democracy. Historians say that for the first time in history royalty dined with workers' representatives. And once a precedent has been established, such dinners will be repeated at frequent intervals. In fact the next Labor-Royalty dinner is scheduled for March 15 in the Buckingham Palace. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Labor leader in the House of Commons, will join his comrades, J. H. Thomas, J. R. Clynes and Philip Snowden, at the royal dinner.

What is the significance of it all? What does this knobbing between His Majesty and the workers mean? Obviously it transcends the purely social aspects. Some are inclined to view these social amenities as the prelude to a far-reaching and pivotal change in British political and economic life. As is already known, the Bonar Law government sustained serious losses in the bye-elections in recent weeks. And it is not improbable that in the very near future the rapidly falling prestige of this government will sink to a point where it will be forced to give way to labor. Very well. But where do the Royalty-Labor dinners come in? Will not the too intimate relations with royalty have a restraining or even a pernicious effect upon the policies of a Labor government?

## THE COMMUNIST TRIAL

**S**T. JOSEPH, MICHIGAN, is now the scene where 32 Communists are being tried under the State Anti-Syndicalist law. But it is not only the State government that is prosecuting these radicals. The Federal government, through the vigilant Department of Justice, has been chiefly responsible for pushing the case against them.

The Communists are now being tried on some very grave charges. They were caught by agents of the Department of Justice scheming toward the overthrow of American institutions, the dissolution of Congress, the forcible occupation of the White House, and, finally, the proclamation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Some eight months ago these "dangerous conspirators" were surprised by Mr. Dougherty's spies in the lonely woods, some twenty miles from St. Joseph, where they had been holding a secret convention.

Political and industrial trials have been common in this country during the last couple of years. The miners' trials in West Virginia and Illinois; the Socialist trials in New York, now followed by the Communist trial are only different phases of the class struggle of the privileged interests against organized labor. As Frank P. Walsh, counsel for the defendants, has already shown, the Department of Justice together with a number of private detective agencies had been "manufacturing" photos, spreading horrible tales, and sending fake letters to prominent 160th percentile, threatening them with death and confiscation. Through the confession of government spies the whole sordid tale came to light. It is the Department of Justice and the Criminal Syndicalist law that will be on trial and not the radicals.

## A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP  
(London Daily Herald Service.)

After a fortnight's absence in unoccupied Germany, it is interesting to return to England and find that the only debates in parliament with any life in them are those that turn upon the foreign situation and its effect upon industrial distress in Great Britain.

Both the Labor and the Liberal amendment to the Address on the King's Speech gave Labor members an opportunity they did not fail to take. "Unless there is a great modification in our foreign policy, or in any respects a complete reversal of it, there will be no permanent cure for the evils of unemployment," said J. R. Clynes, in moving the Labor amendment, which demanded amongst other things that the League of Nations should be made representative of all countries and used for arbitration in such cases as that of France's action in the Ruhr. "We must resist the tendency to exchange British blood for foreign oil," continued the Deputy Chairman of the Parliamentary Labor party, referring to the deadlock in the Near East, while, in further reference to the European situation, he reminds his hearers that security was to be found only in the establishment of goodwill, and until there was a state of amity between France and Germany, fear would continue.

The Labor position was restated on February 19 by Mr. Arthur Henderson, in dancing the debate on the Liberal amendment, calling also for the re-

ference of the Ruhr question to an impartial committee with American representation on it. As he pointed out, organized labor in this country had always maintained that Germany could and would repair the damage in the devastated areas of France and Belgium, but that the inclusion in reparations of pensions and dependants' allowances was contrary to the terms of the armistice.

Of course, both amendments were defeated in a House with a Tory majority supporting the Prime Minister's policy of benevolent neutrality, whatever that may mean. But Labor members returned to the charge again with awkward questions concerning the consent of the British government to allow France to use a certain part of the British line of railway in occupied Rhineland, for the transport of troops into the Ruhr; and this evidence of the policy of "neutrality" French by a partial consent to their outrageous demand for the use of the Dusseldorf railway.

THE GERMAN POSITION  
Meanwhile, no one can pretend

that the position in Germany is growing any better. Every day, with prices going up (whatever the mark may do temporarily or artificially, the privations of the people increase, and as their suffering becomes greater, so does it become easier for extremists either from the right or the left to use the present crisis to make a rising in favor of a monarchy or a commune. There is, too, always the danger, as Prince Max hinted in his speech at Baden yesterday, that French militarism in the Ruhr may goad the Nationalists into offering a futile resistance with inadequate arms, which must mean more useless massacre in return, because "it is better to die than to become slaves." On the other hand, you cannot go about among the great mass of organized workers in Germany without realizing their genuine desire to meet the French with a solid passive resistance, to avoid violent riots or resort to armed resistance, and to keep in mind the probability that, as Edo Fimmen (Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions) said recently in an address to German Trade Unionists at Elberfeld, the real antagonists in the Ruhr are not France and Germany, but Labor and Capitalism. This letter view is, of course, stressed everywhere by the Communists, just as the cry for the "united front against France, the common enemy," is stressed by the extreme Nationalists everywhere. On the other hand, Herr Grassmann (secretary of the Central German Commission of Trade Unions) expressed a pretty general opinion among German workers when he said in reply to Edo Fimmen that if the German capitalists were really in league with the French capitalists behind the workers' backs, they could have made an agreement with them by now to let France have 60 per cent of the proceeds of the Ruhr industries. Certainly, if Frau's object in invading the Ruhr was to get coal she has utterly failed. But, as everybody knows, her object is not to get coal but to get the Ruhr and the Rhineland, and the German capitalists are probably torn between their German feelings and their class feeling in seeking a solution of the present impossible situation.

### IRELAND

If any answer were needed to the contention of some of the Irish Re-

publican extremists that England is waiting her opportunity to rush back and reconquer and subdue that country, they should find it in the general indifference now shown here over events in Ireland. Rebels may be caught and shot, or caught and pardoned; Free State supporters' houses may be blown up at a moment's notice; rumors of peace moves may be circulated or contradicted—all in one to the British public which, having washed its hands of the Irish question, is now only too glad to be rid of it. Yet to those of us who know and love Ireland the continued chaos over there is a perpetual reminder of our own past misdoings, and one can only hope that there may be something in certain peace murmurs of the past week, and try to keep the faith, except to me in a letter just received from one of the homeless victims of a recent bomb outrage, that these things have a meaning not yet clear, and out of them something may be struggling to birth that may yet be worth while waiting for.

### HOUSING

The new government shows no more signs of grappling with the housing question than were shown by the late government. Existing houses are to be controlled by degrees, those of lowest pre-war rental to be left until 1925, though enormous numbers of tenants paying comparatively low rents will be decontrolled in 1924, and these will be people of the clerk and city worker type who just managed, before the war, to rent a house in the suburbs at a rental between £35 and £70. Meanwhile, the working-class, allowed to remain crowded together like pigs in parts of houses without paying extra rent for this gracious privilege, are seeing their standard of living forced down, day by day, not only by attacks upon their wages and their few hours of leisure ensured by the 8-hour day, but also by this horrible indecency of overcrowding in filthy, insanitary houses, in hundreds of instances condemned long ago by the health authorities, but from which the tenants cannot be evicted because there is nowhere else for them to go. If there is not a revolution of some sort on account of the housing scandal alone, I think there will never be a revolution in this country about anything.

## YOUR DENTIST

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The Dental Department of the Union Health Center served 10,000 workers during the year 1922, members of the I. L. G. W. U and their families.

The Dental Department is equipped to serve EVERY member of the Union this year.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center is Your Dentist. Charges are based on costs, not profits. Remember, a small cavity today means a bad tooth tomorrow.

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Daily, 10 A.M. to 8 P.M.  
Saturday, 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

## The Hillquit-Keating Debate on April 15th, in Brooklyn

Morris Hillquit, noted Socialist writer and orator, will debate with former Congressman Edward Keating of Colorado on April 15, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. It was announced yesterday by the Brooklyn Forum, under whose direction the debate will be held.

The two men, both of whom are members of the national committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, will discuss labor politics, Mr. Keating taking the position that labor's best political method is to enter the primaries of the Democratic and Republican parties and nominate favorable candidates. Mr. Hillquit will assert that labor's best

bet is to organize a labor party on a national scale, independent of the two old parties.

Hillquit has written and spoken much in favor of an independent party for labor, and at the recent Cleveland conference for progressive political action, he voted, together with the other Socialist delegates, for the immediate organization of such a party.

Keating is the editor of Labor, the weekly organ of the sixteen railroad neighborhoods, and is one of the leading advocates of the so-called non-partisan plan.

Both men are considered orators of marked ability.

## JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Office, 9 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel: CHEFNY 2148

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

Vol. V, No. 12. Friday, March 16, 1923.

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

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1921.

## Dividing up the Earnings

Here is a picture of the issue between capital and labor.

In the center, a little back from the foreground, is a huge pile of dollars—many millions of them. This pile was accumulated during the last week, let us say, by the operations of a big cotton factory, although any factory would do. It came in payment from merchants who bought the gins from the company that operates the mill. From this pile a sufficient number of dollars have already been taken to pay for the raw materials used in the week's production of cotton, and the fixed charges which the company must meet.

In the right foreground stands a small group of well-dressed and prosperous-looking individuals. These are the stockholders and directors of the mill.

Off to one side, and close to the stockholders is a group of the active managers and superintendents of the plant.

On the left stands another group. There are several thousands of them in contrast to the score or so on the other side. They are men, women and children and almost all of them are far less well-groomed and prosperous looking than the stockholders and managers who stand on the opposite side. They are the workers from the mills.

**How Much Goes to Each**  
The two groups are not separated by a very wide distance in the picture, but they act as if there was a chasm between them. The leaders are shouting at each other and appear, most of them, to be excited and angry. They are arguing about how much of the pile of dollars each group is to have—the owners in dividends and the workers in wages. The superintendents are publicly taking the stockholder's side of the argument although some seem to be having some private discussion with individual directors of a not too friendly nature.

There is an impression created by

the picture that both parties to the dispute are using more than arguments to gain their ends. On labor's side is the shadow of mass organization; on capital's the outlines of economic power, the law, the courts and the police.

Recent investigations have revealed some interesting facts about the way this conflict results. They may be listed as follows:

1. The earnings of industry and the productivity of labor have increased very rapidly during the past thirty years.
2. Capital and labor divide them up roughly on a 50-50 ratio.
3. On the whole the relative share of capital and labor has not varied much in the past.
4. In some specific industries which have been separately studied capital has increased its proportion at the expense of labor's share.

Facts numbers 1, 2 and 3 are based on the following sources. The United States Census shows that the earnings of industry were six billion in 1904, eight in 1909, almost ten in 1914 and twenty-five billion in 1919. Investigations by the Labor Bureau, Bureau of Economic Research and others show that production per capita has increased about 25 per cent between 1899 and 1920. These same studies show that the income of factories as a whole in the United States in 1889 was divided 44 per cent to labor, 48 per cent to capital and 8 per cent to salaried officials; while in 1919 some 45 per cent went to labor, 46 per cent to capital and 12 per cent to salaried officials.

**Capital's Sixteen to Labor's One**  
These facts taken together lead to some interesting conclusions.

No one knows just how many owners of stocks and bonds there are to compare with the number of workers in the companies which have issued them. There are about 15,000,000 workers in factories, mines and transportation according to the 1920 Census. A rough guess would put

the number of stockholders at 1,000,000. A sixteen to one ratio is probably a conservative estimate.

Suppose the earnings pile contains \$2,000,000. If the pile is divided approximately equally capital gets \$16,000,000 and so does labor. But of those \$16,000,000 each worker gets one dollar while each security holder gets sixteen. If the earnings double the individual security holder gets sixteen dollars out of the increase where the worker gets but one. As a matter of fact the division favors capital more because the ratio is not exactly 50-50 but capital's 46 to labor's 42.

Fact number four is based on recent investigations by the Labor Bureau into the cotton, silk and stove manufacturing industries. In these fields labor's share in the earnings pile is considerably less than capital's and is less now than it was in the past.

In 1914 labor's share in the income of the cotton manufacturing industry (including salaries of officials) was 59 per cent of the whole, but in 1919 it had dropped to 47 per cent. Capital's share, on the other hand, increased in the same period from 41 to 53 per cent.

If the cotton mill workers of the country had received the same proportion of the income of the industry from 1914 through 1921 as they did in 1914 the purchasing power of their wages would have been \$756,321,000 more than it was.

The silk industry shows figures strikingly the same. In 1899 labor's share in the total income was 47 per cent, while in 1919 it had dropped to 36 per cent. Capital's share jumped from 53 to 64 per cent during the same time.

(Labor Bureau, Economic News Letter, March, 1923.)

## Union Health Center News

### GARMENT WORKERS LEARN THEIR "DAILY DOZEN"

On Tuesday evening, March 13, the course in Physical Exercises for Workers was begun by Dr. Ward Crampton, formerly director of physical education of the Board of Education of New York City, at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street. Dr. Crampton introduced his discussion on posture by a few apt descriptions of how workers sat at their machines and at their tables. He then proceeded to show what the habit of sitting means to the internal organs of the worker and to his general physique. The class were horrified when they realized that the round shoulders of the garment workers meant narrow chest, limited lung power and a tendency to such diseases as pneumonia, colds and heart disease.

Then followed the real fun! Workers, men and women who had been sitting at their machines all day long, proceeded to follow Dr. Crampton through a series of exercises. They did what is popularly known as the "daily dozen," a dozen or more exercises which every worker should know and should do, some time either before or after work.

The first meeting of the class was a great success and promises one of the most successful courses the Union Health School has ever given.

On Tuesday evening, March 20, at 8:15 p. m., there will be given the second lecture of the course, "which will take up "Special Exercises to Prevent Constipation." Dr. Crampton has secured the services of a model who will perform the exercises for the workers and then have them participate. This is the first time that a course of this sort has been given to workers, and the fine at-

tendance at the first lecture indicates that the garment workers appreciate the necessity for living special exercises.

### SPECIAL TO MEN MEMBERS OF THE I. L. C. W. U.

On Friday evening, March 16th, at 8:15 p. m., Dr. M. W. Brunet of the Medical Department of the American Social Hygiene Association, will lecture on "What Every Man Should Know About Sex Hygiene." This will be a special lecture for men only. It has been arranged upon the request of many of the students of the Union Health School. This meeting will start promptly at 8:15 p. m. The question period will follow the regular lecture.

On March 23rd there will be a special lecture for women only on the "Physiology of Women's Dress." This lecture will be given by Dr. S. W. Boorstein, orthopedist of Fordham Hospital.

Have you had your cold this year yet? It is the general opinion of workers in shops, stores and offices, that they must have a cold every winter and surely during the period between the snowfalls of winter and the first days of spring. That belief is not true! It is not necessary to have a cold and you can prevent it in various ways. But, first of all, you must have a thorough physical examination made of yourself at this time in order to enable you to withstand the coming wet and damp days. The Union Health Center of the I. L. C. W. U., 131 West 17th Street, is ready to give a thorough life extension examination to the members of the Union. It is necessary that you make an appointment for this examination, but be sure that you do it immediately.

## Louis Pasteur

All over the world the Centenary of Louis Pasteur, the world-famed chemist, was celebrated last month. Born in 1822, the son of a journeyman tanner he was given a thorough education and sent to Paris to study science.

Pasteur was one of those simple souls who devoted his entire life to research work and to work of such a nature that society as a whole would inevitably be benefited thereby. It was he who first discovered that only

germs produced germs, and also the principles of fermentation. He also produced many methods of isolating and cultivating various kinds of germs.

The contribution which Louis Pasteur made to Science can not be described in so brief an article. His influence upon the life of the workers of all countries is so great that every worker should know something of his life and his work.

Are you receiving the *Justice* each week?

Do you know of any member who does not get *Justice* regularly?

Take the matter up with your secretary, or write to

PUBLICATION DEPT., I. L. C. W. U.,  
3 W. 16th St. New York.

## SENATOR BORAH TO SPEAK AT GARDEN FOR RUSSIA

Recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States will be the question in the lineal fight Sunday, March 18, when Senator William E. Borah of Idaho addresses the big mass meeting for recognition at Madison Square Garden. The meeting is scheduled for 8 in the evening and William H.

Johnstone, President of the International Association of Machinists, will preside.

The report recently made public by the American Relief Administration about conditions in Russia lends dramatic interest to this mass meeting. In that report Colonel Haskell indicates that the worst of the food shortage in Soviet Russia is over, but that the country is in dire need of machinery and credits. Secretary Hoover, in publishing this statement, concurs in the view expressed.

## RAND SCHOOL

Course beginning March 17th, 8:15 P. M. H. W. L. DANA  
March 20th, "Current Events" CLEMENTE WOOD  
April 6th, "The Russian Revolution" LAURA GARRITT  
Every Saturday, March 24th, 1:30 P. M. Grand Opera - "H. F. FOSTER"

## Substitutes for Labor Unions

By J. CHARLES LAUE

While the trade unions have been growing rapidly in influence and strength in the United States in the last forty years, capitalists have been busy fostering substitute ideas with the view of weaning away the workers from the entrancing notion that "in union there is strength."

The two most popular schemes are pensions and profit-sharing. Fully occupied with the strain and struggle to obtain better wages and to retain what they have already won, the labor unions have had but little time to correct the false ideas that employers' groups are busily propagating to put off the day when their toilers will organize and act collectively. It is usually left to the commonsense of the individual to reject the smooth-sounding bunco game.

The most elaborate scheme of pensions as a reward for service rendered has been developed by the U. S. Steel Corporation and it has been imitated by practically every other large labor-bating corporation. Profit-sharing by the issuance of stock to its workers has been carried on by the Bell Telephone Company; the Beef Trust, after it had crushed the union, gave donations of hams and turkeys to the packing-house workers in the holiday season; while public utility companies, like the Consolidated Gas Company of New York, distribute special issues of stock to the public in order to still the clamor for regulation and the curtailment of profit.

A total of \$1,266,661.74 in pensions was paid out in 1922 by the United States Steel and Carnegie

Pension Fund according to the twelfth annual report just made public. This makes a total disbursement of more than \$8,000,000 since the fund was established in 1911. The 1922 "handout" showed a gain of \$300,000 over that distributed in 1921.

There were 3,886 persons on the active list of the Steel Trust's pensioners on December 31, 1922. The records for 1911-1922 inclusive showed that the average age of these worn-out workmen was 66.28 years, the average service period 31.39 years, and the monthly pension \$25.75.

For the pitifully small reward of \$25.00 a month from the most powerful corporation in the world today, granted at the end of 30 years of service, the 200,000 employes of the Steel Trust are expected to remain docile and to sweat out their blood in front of the Bessemer furnaces and in the rolling mills, content to think of what may come to them in the distant future. The thought of the possible pension is expected to compensate them for the work-day of 12 hours and the virtual industrial slavery under which they toil.

A \$5.00 a week wage increase for the 40,000 workers in the Pittsburgh district alone would amount to more in one year than the entire proceeds of the trust's beneficence in eleven years. The pension investment at that rate pays the trust incredible dividends in security and good will, for the steel slaves have never gotten

one penny more in wages than the trust was willing to pay. This they have sacrificed so that they might get pensions in the "sweet by and by."

Pensions are also granted to superannuated employes of the railroads. This was one of the many factors that helped the roads break the strike of railroad shopmen. The old mechanics and foremen who had earned their rest and were getting a pittance from the roads were called back into the shops to supervise the work of the scabs. They had to, or the pensions granted them and on which they depended in their old age would have been cancelled. That is one of the beauties of the system. The corporations that give can also take away, and it is entirely in the hands of the directors or their managers to deprive these veterans of industry of their bread during their old age.

The practice of granting pensions to railroad workers grew up before the unions were strong enough to control it and is a survival of the days when a boy signed articles as an apprentice and in time became a competent journeyman mechanic. The shop foreman and the master mechanic were the rulers and there was a graduated form of seniority or graduation of service in which the oldest and most experienced men stood at the top and the learner at the bottom. The man with the highest ranking got the preference of day work over night work, vacations, overtime and the better paying and less dirty jobs.

While the union agreements that superseded these shop conditions recognized them and insisted upon the retention of the ratings of all mechanics on the basis of seniority, the linking of the pension system proved

to be a serious obstacle during the strike of the shopmen which began last summer and which is still in progress on many eastern railroads.

The most formidable club the railroad managers had was the desire of the strikers to get back to their old ratings and so resume the earning of their pensions. Many of them, counting on this income, had made no provision for their old age.

That is one of the benefits of the pension system to the large employers. It allays the unrest and the aggressive spirit of the best workmen and creates in them a false sense of security that takes the place of the desire to make enough wages, while they are still vigorous, to provide for their days of impotence as industrial workers.

The degrading spirit of patronage behind the various systems of deception practiced by the employers is vigorously denounced in a recent article by H. L. Mencken, the magazine writer. He says:

"I believe that every man who works for another is that other's slave, however cunningly that relationship may be disguised. What I protest against is the custom of swathing the whole transaction in cant. I am myself a member of one of the sub-orders of the capitalist class, and live in part upon the labor of railroad men. But I am not going to insult those men by arguing that their interests and mine are identical—that when they crawl along the top of a swaying train on a bitter winter night they are doing for themselves precisely what they are doing for me, who am snoring in bed. Nay, instead

(Continued on page 5)

# THE RUSSIAN NOOK

A transplanted bit of real Russia . . . Artists, musicians, business men, and just people . . . Much talk and the informal fun of home . . . Entertainment *al fresco*, but you are within your rights not to be entertained . . . Atmosphere, yes, but not as a substitute for good food, mostly Russian . . . Stimulating contacts with real people, or rest and quiet . . . Clara Seidel, the hostess, sees you get whichever you want . . . That's all, except those eye-filling paintings and decorations by Louis Bromberg

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# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.  
Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. Tel.: Chelsea 2143

A. SAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager  
S. YANOFSEY, Editor.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor

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

Vol. V, No. 12.

Friday, March 16, 1923.

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

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 24, 1919.

## EDITORIALS

### THE STRIKE OF THE PHILADELPHIA DRESSMAKERS

The Philadelphia dress manufacturers have rejected the proposal made by the Union and seconded by the Director of Public Safety of Philadelphia, to submit the demands of the workers for arbitration.

This attitude of the Philadelphia employers can be interpreted in two ways. First, it may have meant to say: "We know that the just demands of the Union are unanswerable; we know that the Union has incontrovertible proof that our shops have become unmitigated sweat-nests. Why should we consent to a public exhibition of these conditions? As long as there exists no law compelling us to arbitrate, we shall refuse to countenance such a proposal, the Director of Public Safety and the general public to the contrary notwithstanding."

Another explanation of this arbitrary attitude of the Philadelphia dress profiteers is that they would by no means be convinced that the Union is in a position to call the workers out on strike. Since the last struggle in the dress industry of Philadelphia, a year ago, these employers have left no stone unturned to make it impossible for their workers ever to rebel against them. They have actually kept them on bread-and-water rations, have treated them like chattels, and have done everything they could to break down their spirit. In addition, they have gained the impression that the workers have entirely lost their faith in the Union. After the failure of the 26-week strike in 1922, they thought the workers would not dare to leave their machines, should the union determine to issue another call in the industry. The Philadelphia employers may have based their refusal to negotiate with the union upon this calculation.

Well, in this respect, their reckonings have failed them entirely. On Wednesday, March 7th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the great majority of the dress and waist shops of Philadelphia became empty. Three thousand workers left their machines like one person, going out on strike against the condition of semi-slavery prevailing in these shops.

By this time it must be clear to the Philadelphia manufacturers that their method of subjugating the workers by sheer despotic force has been entirely faulty. Their limitless exploitation has only augmented the bitterness, the desperation and demoralization of the workers to make an end to the miserable work conditions in the shops. It is characteristic of these Philadelphia manufacturers that, of all methods that employers antagonistic to trade unions might adopt in an attempt to wean away their workers from the union, they have resorted to means only of brute force and compulsion. They would not treat their workers in a humane way and show them consideration in an effort to weaken their bonds with organized labor. Instead of that, they leaped upon them like animals of the jungle, endeavoring to crush out of them the very marrow of their bones and the last trace of spirit and life. The natural result was that the Philadelphia dressmakers have remained loyal to the Union, and, when the Dress and Waist Makers' Union of Philadelphia issued the strike call last week, the workers responded wholeheartedly and spiritedly to it.

We should like our workers to memorize this date—an epoch-making date, in our firm conviction, for the dressmakers of Philadelphia. On that date, there began a new and great fight for unionism in that city, and this fight will not be abandoned until the Union triumphs.

It must not, however, be understood that this conflict will necessarily be conducted along the lines of the fight of 1922, which was waged for 26 weeks until it had to be given up for sheer exhaustion. The tactics pursued in the present conflict will quite likely be altogether different,—for the aims of this fight are also entirely different. In 1922 the Union had as its purpose a collective agreement with the so-called Dress Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia. Because of that, the fight was naturally waged, not against the individual manufacturers, but against the association as a whole.

At present, however, since the "Association" had refused to arbitrate the grievances of the workers, the Union would have nothing to do with it and will ignore it entirely in this conflict. The Union will direct the fight against each and every employer individually. Such of them as will settle with the Union and agree to operate their shops under union conditions will have their workers returned to them forthwith; while those who might prove obstinate may rest assured that the Union will give them little peace or comfort. The Union will harass and embarrass them at every given opportunity until they become convinced that they cannot manufacture dresses in the city of Philadelphia except under union work-conditions.

Indeed, the Union will not duplicate the 1922 fight in the Philadelphia dress industry. It is determined to disregard entirely that group of labor-baiters who style themselves the "Association," and will seek no collective agreement with them. The Philadelphia strike may run along lines quite different from those of an ordinary general strike. It might come to a halt for a time, only to begin again a short while later,—if not in the form of a general strike, at least as a series of recurrent individual encounters with this or that particular exploiter. And, though we cannot prophesy how long this conflict will last, we are certain that it will not come to an end before any trace is left of the "Association" and before a single non-union dress shop is left in Philadelphia.

This new fighting method has not been applied by the International heretofore because conditions have not warranted its use. To Philadelphia falls the rather dubious honor of having in one of its outstanding local industries employers against whom the workers are compelled to wage real guerrilla warfare. The Philadelphia Union, together with the entire International, is determined to wage such a fight, as consistently and as systematically as it has waged all its conflicts in the past. There can be little doubt that sooner or later the Union will come out on top.

### THE COMING FIGHT OF THE WHITE GOODS WORKERS

As yet, nothing appears to have resulted from the negotiations between the Union and the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association. As things look now, a strike is inevitable. One cannot help reaching the conclusion that the manufacturers in many of our industries have not yet matured to the level of being able to conduct peaceful negotiations with union representatives.

It would seem that as yet they understand only one language, one tongue,—the argument of fight and conflict. It would seem that, as long as they find their workers still in their shops and at the machines, they will remain deaf and blind to other arguments. Such was the case with the dress manufacturers of New York who had to pass through the throes of a strike before granting the demands of the workers. Such was the case with the children's dress manufacturers, the cloak and dress employers of Boston—and such seems to be the case with the white goods manufacturers of New York. Is it worthwhile indeed even to begin negotiations with such employers, if the inevitable end of these conferences is strike, strike and strike?

The action of the white goods manufacturers might have been a good deal clearer to us had the union indeed presented to them extravagant demands. In truth, however, the demands of the workers are exceedingly moderate. They, for instance, demand a raise in wages. What is the matter with the employers if they have been going on in the white goods shops of New York for the past few years, which today actually makes it impossible for the workers to eke out even a bare living, such a request is admittedly far from immoderate. The workers likewise demand price committees, and, in the light of their past record of fixing single-handed the wages of their workers, the white goods employers surely cannot complain that such a request is extraordinary. It is such minimum demands that the white goods manufacturers are balking at, as if they involved nothing short of "confiscation" of their shops. In the conference with the association, there have participated, on behalf of the Union, President Sigman, Morris Hillquit, and a committee of Local No. 62 headed by Brother Snyder. We need not emphasize, therefore, that these demands have been presented to the employers in a most tactful and convincing manner. Yet, it would seem that their wobbling and indecision, and their dodging a straightforward solution of the workers' grievances will in the end nullify the sincere effort of the Union to avert the strike in the industry.

In defense of this vacillating attitude on the part of the white goods employers, it might be said perhaps that, for the past few years, they have had too free a hand in their shops, insofar as the workers are concerned, to tolerate now a more vigorous interference by the Union on behalf of the men and women employed by them. During these years, the protest of the union against their arbitrary actions has been but feeble indeed. It may be stated here that the White Goods Workers' Union has suffered in recent years very strongly from poor management, which has weakened materially its hold upon the industry.

The white goods employers might be inclined to doubt that the union is in dead earnest about these demands. Let us declare to them, therefore, for their own benefit, that they are faced today with a totally changed situation. Local No. 62 has a new management and is under the full control and supervision of the International Union. Its membership is imbued today with a new spirit, and the apathy and subservience of the past have vanished.

The White Goods Workers' Union is passing through a period of renaissance, of revival and awakening, and we desire to assure the white goods manufacturers that, if the white goods workers are forced into a fight, it will be a life-and-death struggle, a fight for the preservation of all that is dear and cherished in their existence.

Let the employers heed this warning, and perhaps, at the last minute, conclude that it is not altogether advisable to play with such a flame.

### THE BUSY WEEKS

At a meeting of the New York members of the General Executive Board, President Sigman proposed a new plan for an organizing campaign,—a campaign that would be conducted with greater system, cohesion and thoroughness than ever before. This plan was enthusiastically concurred in by all the members of the Board and President Sigman was unanimously requested to proceed to carry it into practice forthwith.

## What Is A Jew?

(In place of a feuilleton)

By Z. W.

What is a Jew?

Could anything be simpler? A Jew may be a dressmaker, a tailor—or a prize-fighter; a rabbi—or a pawn-broker; a lecturer on ethical culture—or a butcher; a Tammany Hall district captain—or an adherent of the Moscow International. In a word, most everything and anything under the sun; to be sure, dangerously near what most every other human being is likely to be.

This question, however, was propounded by a Harvard professor—as the "Nation" has broadcasted it widely—and when a professor asks a question, no matter how simple, laymen perform find it sort of perplexing to answer.

The "Nation" has placed an order for a series of articles, in the form of a symposium, with a number of competent authorities on the "Jewish problem." The "Nation" would learn why Jews are disliked, why Jews are beaten and persecuted. And to settle the identity of this beaten and persecuted Jew, the "Nation" has invited Professor Dixon of Harvard, a well-known anthropologist, to enlighten us on the subject.

Professor Dixon's method is as simple as the nose on one's face. As a matter of fact, the learned professor conducts his investigations, so it would appear, according to a strictly scientific policy, along the head and nose line entirely. The rigid rules of science would have it that a Jew must possess an oblong head and a long hooked nose. And, since most of us Jews have, in this era of creation, heaven only knows why, round heads and rather moderate-sized noses, Professor Dixon declares that there consequently ain't no such thing as a Jew. Imagine what consternation such a conclusion would have caused among the hordes of Russian and Polish Pogrom-makers! Picture their infinite chagrin! Here they have been going around for years splitting heads and smashing noses under the honest impression and belief that these were Jewish heads and noses, and of a sudden, upon the authority of an honest-to-goodness Harvard professor, these self-same heads and noses they were practicing upon were not Jewish at all. What a bitter joke! What a horrible mistake!

But aside from the Hoilgans—what worries me personally is,—what has become of our long heads? Somehow the disappearance of our indefinitely-sized noses does not stir me very much. According to Professor Dixon, they were not ours to begin with. We, so states the professor, sort of borrowed or pilfered them from a certain Asiatic race some thousands of years ago, and later, when we came to another land where shorter noses were in vogue, we sent these back to their original owners and with true Jewish adaptability, took up the nasal shape and size of the country to which

We shall defer for another time a detailed exposition of this plan and its difference from all our former organizing campaign plans. We are concerned for the while with the sole fact that the successful carrying out of this plan requires funds. These organizing funds were voted by the Cleveland convention in the form of a \$4 per capita tax, but as yet a considerable number of our members have not met this tax obligation.

There may have been good reasons for it—poor seasons, unemployment, individual incapacity, and similar other excuses, sound or bad. Today, however, these alibis will not avail. Our members in all trades and industries are quite busy these weeks and are earning decent wages. This is the time to pay up debts owed by them to the Union; this is the time to prepare for the new organizing work, for the new fields our Union is determined to conquer.

we had come. But, heavens, what has become of our oblong heads?

There are two sorts of Jews, says Professor Dixon, the Sephardi and the Ashkenasi. Telling one from the other is just a matter of walking into a Jewish prayer-house and scrutinizing the prayer-books. If the books are of the Sephardi version, one can scientifically and on the spot determine that the members of that particular prayer-house are Sephardi. If, on the other hand, the prayer-books are of the Ashkenasi version, the congregation members should be labeled Ashkenasi. But what about that large, very large number of Jews who do not pray at all? How our good professor will manage to catalogue this multitude is naturally beyond my humble powers.

In his diligent search Professor Dixon has succeeded in discovering just a handful of oblong heads among these very Sephardi, especially among those with an Oriental strain. But what about us,—poor Russian, European and American Jews? We can hardly fit into this Jew family at all, it would seem. As a matter of fact, Professor Dixon insists that there isn't even the slightest physical distinction between a Polish Jew and a Great-Russian peasant. This, he says, has resulted from the practice of mixed marriages indulged in by our granddaddies and grannies generations and ages ago.

And here I must rebel. Not enough that we have lost our oblong heads and our Biblical shape of noses, but the wise and scientific theory of the professor would have my grandma and granddad marry Russian peasant boys and girls—in distinct violation of every written and traditional inhibition of the race. He would have us appear like a mongrel race, a motley crowd,—these are his actual words—Professor Dixon's.

But honestly, where did we get our round heads? What has become of our Oriental scalps? Hard to answer indeed. And why cast the whole blame on our poor inoffensive, long-forgotten granddads and grandmas? Can't anthropology, ethnology, or for that matter any other branch of science find a more acceptable, less hurtling solution of this riddle?

Have a heart, Professor Dixon.

### WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

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## Little Sketches from Life

### I. Leah Smiles Again

The ward was very dark save for a shaded green light on the desk between the long rows of beds. Leah lay on her white iron cot and hated life. She railed at the pain that pierced her shoulder and would not let her sleep, she reviled the fate that had sent her a severe attack of inflammatory rheumatism in the midst of a busy season, but most of all she despised the pretty blond night-nurse sitting in the big arm-chair at the desk.

Leah's East Side childhood had given her a vituperative vocabulary which she occasionally used to advantage when she and Miss May had a wordy battle over the exact requirements of a nurse's duties. Miss May feared her sharp tongue, but towards the others in the ward she was utterly indifferent.

A timid little old Jewish woman, a cardiac case, awoke and quaveringly asked, "Please be so kindly, give me some water." Miss May looked up, frowned and answered sharply, "It's one o'clock. Be quiet and go to sleep." Leah seethed with rage and then fell into a restless doze wherein she dreamed that Miss May lay dying of thirst on the burning desert sands while she, Leah Cohen, calmly held a glass of water to her lips only to snatch it away from the wretched woman.

She awoke and saw that young Dr. Simons of the surgical ward was paying his usual 2 a. m. social call. The arm-chair was pushed to the side of the desk in the shadow cast by the medicine cabinet. Miss May was smiling now as she whispered sweet nothings to the doctor seated on the arm of her chair. Furtively, they glanced about the silent ward and

reassured, bent toward each other in a clinging kiss. Leah, watching through half closed eyes, giggled delightfully. With an exclamation of anger, Miss May stepped over to the bed and giving her a savage shake, whispered, "Turn over and mind your own business." Dr. Simons laughed and caressed a guiltily crushed red rose that gleamed like a huge splash of blood against the snowy whiteness of his coat. Leah, fearful of waking the others, wept quiet tears of pain and anger. When she looked up again, the handsome doctor and pretty nurse were once more oblivious of their surroundings, secure in the knowledge that the night supervisor had already made her rounds. As for the patients, they mattered no more than the walls.

Leah, facing the door, saw her first. The bluish lovers kissed on, while Miss Henry gazed coldly at the pretty scene. Grimly and suddenly she spoke. "Dr. Simons, what are you doing in the medical ward at this hour?" With a gasp the happy pair sprang apart. Crash! went the overturned arm-chair as it fell violently against the medicine cabinet. Then bedlam broke loose! Mingled with the clatter of broken bottles, thermometers and glasses rose the screams of the panic-stricken patients. Mrs. Clancy, within a few feet of the wreckage, shrieked, "Oh, God save us, God save us!" while with equal fervor the cardiac case loudly moaned, "O! Gevalt, Shma Israel!"

It was almost two hours before quiet again descended on Ward M. Leah's pain had mysteriously disappeared. She smiled contentedly, turned over and this time, really went to sleep.

FRANCES ROBBINS.

## Pharaoh

When Egypt flourished on the Nile  
And pyramids were all the style,  
A nut named Pharaoh was the king;  
Gee! What a scepter he could swing!  
Among his varied kingly tricks  
Old Pharaoh manufactured bricks;  
And every little while he'd say  
"Cut down upon the rate of pay!  
The men do not work long enough;  
Those Hebrew chaps are strong and tough,  
From dawn to twilight let them sweat,  
For more production we must get."  
His agents jumped when Pharaoh roared,  
For he was chairman of the board,  
And he had sworn, this winsome gent,  
That dividends of twelve per cent  
On common stock he would declare  
Each year that he was in the chair.  
The brickyards went from bad to worse,  
One day a chap said, with a curse,  
"We cannot live on at this rate;  
We need a walking delegate."  
So they elected Moses, who  
Took up the burden of the Jew.  
He tried to arbitrate the case,  
But Pharaoh laughed right in his face;  
"Go chase yourself!" said he with scorn.

"I made bricks here ere you were born.  
The way I run the yards suit me  
And I'll be darned if I can see  
Why I should listen to the kicks  
Of any lowbrows who make bricks."

"All right," said Moses, "then we'll fight  
Until you give us what is right."  
Whereat old Moses pulled some stunts  
That never have been matched, not  
once.

He brought on plagues of flies; of  
blood;  
Of slimy bullfrogs sired in mud;  
Of cattle sickness; and of lice—  
(Which really wasn't very nice—  
Of locusts; darkness; boils; and hail;  
And when all these had seemed to fail  
To make old Pharaoh cry "Enough!"  
He brought on something mighty  
tough—

The fearsome, haunting plague of  
death

When all the first-born lost their  
breath.

That made the king capitulate  
To Moses, walking delegate  
Of Egypt's Local No. 1  
Brickmakers' Union, which had won  
The first of all the countless scraps  
'Twixt capital and labor chaps.  
Then Moses cried, "Go, pack your  
tools;

If we remain here we are fools."  
So out of Egypt's bounds they went  
Towards Canaan's milk and honey  
bent.

They left old Pharaoh to bemoan  
The greatest walkout ever known.  
—Wallace M. Baylis in Saturday Evening Post.

# The Stage

## "The Lower Depths"

(A drama in Four Acts. By Maxim Gorky. The Moscow Art Theatre. Presented by F. Ray Constock and Morris Gest at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre.)

Two events make it especially worth while for workers to ponder the work of the Moscow Art Theatre. The first centers upon the this but persistent stream of comment which has flowed recently from Russia testifying to the alienation between Stanislavsky's art and the new revolutionary strivings in creation. The second lies in the announcement that the New York engagement of the Moscow Players will be extended. What can we in America expect to get from these Russians whom their own countrymen are abandoning on the shore of "things as they are" while they venture into new revolutionary waters?

The comments from Russia usually run in one tenor. In the Russian number of the *Survey Graphic* (March, 1923) Sergej Matielavsky writing of the new Russian Art under the title "Where Drama is Life," discusses Stanislavsky's Plays in the following words representative of this general line of criticism:

"The Moscow Art Theatre to which we owed so much in the past, is also outside of the (new) movement. It was too intimately connected with our past to survive it. The void which the revolutionary explosion created in the old life affected it with especial force. It continued to exist during the revolutionary years as many other things did, but it led a purely physiological life. It is still beautiful but with a museum beauty. It caresses the eye, but does not touch the heart. And the Moscow Art Theatre will never arise from the dead. For what constitutes the essence and moving power of the great present-day movement is alien to it and hopelessly so. And Stanislavsky, an authentic and profound artist, understanding this, has made no attempt to adapt the theatre to the new era. His hopes and faith have shifted to another center, to another undertaking, which has accepted the fundamental tradition of the Art Theatre, namely, the organic connection with contemporary social life, and which through its personnel, is intimately connected with the revolutionary present. This center is the third studio of the Moscow Art Theatre, created by Stanislavsky's greatest and truest disciple, Vakhtangov, who died in the spring of 1922."

Contrast this absolute break with the ecstatic critical welcome and surprising "box offices" extended to the Moscow Players in New York. Does the contrast mean that our American artistic and intellectual life must always lag behind European thought? Are we condemned eternally, as it were, to turn rapturous handspenders over artists at which Europe is already shrugging its shoulders? Or is Russia wrong? After all, we were not alone in hailing the Moscow Players. France and Germany also turned handspenders. Which estimate lies nearer truth?

Perhaps no one play in Stanislavsky's New York repertory serves as a better text for solving this puzzle than Gorky's *Lower Depths*. Mirroring the bitterest experience tasted by the Russian masses, it should find an echo in their souls, still so near to the old miseries. Written by one of the proletarian class, who has joined the revolutionary movement it can serve as a bridge between the old and the new built of that best of materials, common suffering and understanding.

Acted by a group whose fundamental tradition is the drama's "organic conception with contemporary social life," it should transmit something of the universality of human wretchedness. Does the Moscow Players' performance of Gorky's *Lower Depths* succeed in fusing all the elements connected lingering past and developing present latent in the play?

To my mind, there can be little question but that it does. It is a surprisingly moving spectacle which these actors enfold before one's eyes. What better proof of their high artistic success can there be than that the supreme tragedy of wasted lives as they play it gets across the barrier of language. I understand only one word in the whole play—"Pravda." And yet I sat through it, heavy with the bitterness of senseless human waste, oppressed by the bleakness of physical suffering, and yet encouraged by the final triumph of spiritual vitality over even the rock bottom of life.

There is a richness, a complexity in the portrayals of each of the characters that move through the Night's Lodging that immediately gambles the better between stage and audience. Only human life itself can be so infinitely varied, so deep, so contradictory in its peaks and its levels. Vaska Popel with his swaggering assurance in his one great asset—strength, and his pitiful collapse before the first spiritual test that could not be met by force. Poor locksmith Klestch giving over to his dead wife the greatest pride of his life, the tools which purchased him a craftsman's pride and independence. Desolate Nastaya, escaping the horrible actuality of prostitution in romantic day-dreaming. The broken actor fighting for his precious windy oratory against the insistence of the inviting "drink." The Baron attempting to hide his present degradation in the broken shell of his former aristocracy. Luka the pilgrim, moving through the *Lower Depths*, with his protruding kindly little eyes and his tough faith in the ultimate triumph of man. All, all walk in the cellar with a truth and fidelity that comes only from complete submission of actor in role. Life, itself, flows through these *Lower Depths*.

But the real importance of the Moscow Players' performance comes not so much from their fidelity to life, but from the completeness with which they see that life. It would be so natural to walk through the cellar of human experience and see only how the shadows and the damp creep into the souls that move through it. Anna, coughing away the last sparks of life left in her poor, broken body as she clutches frightenedly at the edge of the world seems a symbol of the defeat of all who belong to the depths. These wrecks, tossed carelessly by life on the shore of "has been" surely dare not try the sea again. But they do. And in that lies the significance of Gorky's message to the future.

Beaten physically by the society which is so quick to condemn them (even Klestch after two or three spasmodic gestures of revolt submits to the odds against him), these wrecks exhibit a spiritual toughness, a vitality that contributes irrefutable evidence to Satine's challenge: "Man—that is the truth. . . . Man alone exists. . . . everything else is the creation of his hands and his brain." Yes, if these men rise from the quicksands that tug, tug at their souls, there is no truth but man. To hear song, laughter, dancing, understand-

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ing, philosophy, rise from the lodging makes one realize that not even the deepest cellar can keep man from looking at the stars.

It is significant that the only really despicable persons in the lodging are those who have transmuted physical suffering. Grumbling, mean, scolding Kostyloff whose desires are so much stronger than his courage; Vassilias, dangerously sleek and sure of what she wants; Miedriedif, the polkeman, unctuous hypocrite who cannot tolerate basic integrity; this little ring of the "petty bourgeois" alone is intolerable. In the others, violence becomes the protest of thwarted desire; meanness appears, the revenge of balked instincts. The *Lower Depths* through them seem an indictment of the past and a promise for the future. They leave us grateful that they, and not the middle class layer above them, shall be the survivors.

Now, how does such a performance fit in with Red Russia's rejection and our joyous acceptance of the Moscow Players' art? Of course the new Russian art, as all else Russian, is still in a formative stage. It is still difficult to discover just what the new men are after. Matielavsky's hope in the new theatre—Vaghtangov's studio, has given thus far the Miracle of St. Anthony by Maelerlinck and Princess Turandot by Gossz. Yet a writer in the *February Liberator* based Red Russia's break with Stanislavsky's art on the fact that the Cherry Orchard, Frinca Fyodor Ivanovich, etc. do not mirror the problems and interests of Present Russia. On the other hand, we read that Myerhold's work in Russia centered on an attempt to obtain "the complete fusion of the stage with the auditorium, the perfect communion between spectator and actor, the drawing of the spectator into the action." Certainly the Moscow Players seem to do just that.

But the problem appears to have a firm basis even though it is still so difficult to contrast the aims of the old and the new. One can find this basis in Stanislavsky's fundamental tradition. Once again the need for an "organic connection with contemporary social life" lights up dark corners for us. The Russian Revolution may be even now building its own theatre organically connected with the new life "instinct with communist fervor—using new material, derived from those firm and creative masses which are making the Workers' and Peasants' Russia." But for the very same reason that Russia may have outgrown Stanislavsky's original theatre, we still need it. In our social life, men are just beginning really to sound the *Lower Depths*. With us,

axes are still at work in the Cherry Orchards. What Russia has been we are just becoming. Our handspenders over the Moscow Art Theatre, therefore, are as understandable as New Russia's stage.

Those of us who have not yet seen the Moscow Players should take advantage of the extension of their engagement. They should at least see the *Lower Depths*. We still have great need of its contribution to thought and feeling.

SYLVIA KOPALD.

## SUBSTITUTES FOR LABOR UNIONS

(Continued from page 5)

of that I admit to them openly that they are getting the worst of the bargain and that I hope I may never have to change places with them. This much I owe to them in common honesty and common decency."

Mencen, like the Socialist, acknowledges the fundamental and inescapable antagonism of employer and worker arising out of a system in which wages are only part payment for services performed and the withheld portion of which is the capitalist's profit.

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# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### POLITICAL LEADERSHIP BY BANKERS URGED.

Business men and bankers must give more attention to shaping the political future of the country, Frederick W. Gehle, Vice-President of the Mechanics and Metals National Bank told the bankers forum of the American Institute of Banking. "Big business and banking must supply a more definite leadership if the country is to take its proper place in the world's business and if prosperity is to continue on a sound basis," he said.

### KANSAS AND WISCONSIN SUPPORT MINIMUM WAGE LAW.

Kansas and Wisconsin filed in the Supreme Court briefs as friends of the Court in support of the Minimum Wage Law of the District of Columbia which was held unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals. These states with others which have laws regulating minimum wages and hours of labor of women and girls were permitted to submit briefs and counsel selected by them will be permitted to participate in the oral argument.

### CHILD LABOR IN SUGAR FIELDS.

Women and children work in the sugar fields of the middle western states under conditions detrimental to health, educational development and the proper standard of living, reports the Department of Labor. "In families studied, 67 per cent of children between 6 and 16 years were at work in the beet fields," the report stated. "One fourth of these were less than 10 years of age and only one-fifth had reached 14 years of age."

### CHURCH COUNCIL URGES PEACE MOVE.

Expressing fear that the world is drifting toward war, economic ruin and moral disaster "that may possibly cause the eclipse of civilization for centuries" the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America addressed a message to 166,000 Protestant churches of 30 communions urging them to call upon the government to adopt the policy of cooperation with foreign nations and take a larger part in international problems.

### TEXTILE WORKERS TO DEMAND WAGE INCREASE.

The Fall River Textile Council representing 30,000 textile workers at a meeting recommended to the various affiliated unions that they petition the manufacturers of Fall River at their meeting this month for an increase in wages, and that the delegates from the unions to the Textile Council be empowered to name the amount and to take the necessary action in the direction of obtaining increases.

### EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR RAILWAY CLERKS.

The eight-hour day with time and one half for overtime was granted to another class of railroad employes by the United States Railroad Labor Board in the dispute between the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes and a number of carriers. The rule providing for one day off each week also was granted, both provisions being effective March 1st. Approximately 65,000 employes are affected to the extent of about \$3,000,000 annually by the pay increases.

### \$1.60 PROFIT PER TON OF COAL.

Producers of Pennsylvania anthracite are netting an average profit of a dollar and sixty cents a ton at present wholesale prices according to estimates placed before the Federal Coal Commission by the United Mine Workers' Committee made public. An annual production of 76,000,000 tons the anthracite companies are obtaining an apparent net income at present prices of \$193,600,000.

### SHANGHAI LABOR TO STRIKE.

The labor associations of Shanghai are planning a general strike in March, affecting all trades and public utilities as a protest against the killing of laborers on the Kihnan Railway. They demand the immediate disbandment of all troops in excess of the number needed and the ending of the Tuchun power.

### WAGE INCREASE FOR ALABAMA MINERS.

30,000 miners and other laborers employed in coal and ore mines in Alabama received notice of a wage advance (really wage restoration) of 12 1/2 per cent. Camillus Cutlery Co. of Syracuse, N. Y., announced an increase in wages to all its workmen. The advance is the second within a six months period.

### FARMERS ORGANIZE TO CONTROL PRICES.

A nation-wide combination of farmers to control production and stabilize agricultural prices was founded in Chicago. The new organization proposes to organize the farmers into precinct units on an intensive organization plan.

### LARGEST MEAT PACKERS COMBINE.

Preparations apparently are proceeding for an early consummation of the Armour & Co. and Morris & Co. merger, notwithstanding the complaint filed against them by Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture.

### RAILROADS MAKING BIGGER MONEY.

Railroad earnings during December nearly set a new high record for several years, according to returns of the Class 1 carriers compiled from the Interstate Commerce Commission records. The total revenues were \$512,000,000 or 20 per cent more than in December, 1921, and the net income was \$70,000,000, as compared with \$78,869,000, during the same month a year ago.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### HUNGARY

#### BILL FOR RESTRICTION OF NIGHT WORK IN HUNGARY.

A bill has recently been submitted to the Hungarian Parliament empowering the Minister of Trade to prohibit by decree work between the hours of 8 p. m. and 6 a. m. in any branch of industry, except where night work is deemed necessary on account of the nature of the industry or in the interests of the public welfare. Decrees issued for the purpose of prohibiting night work shall not establish unequal conditions of competition for establishments in the same industry or trade.

### ROUMANIA

#### RIGHTS OF LABOR IN THE NEW ROUMANIAN CONSTITUTION.

During December, 1922, the Committee appointed by the Government of Roumania to draft the new Roumanian Constitution, discussed the labor clauses to be included in the Constitution. It is proposed to establish the following principles: freedom of work, equality of the various factors in production, right of association, right of intervention in collective labor disputes and state social insurance.

### RUSSIA

#### PRICES IN MOSCOW.

In the Russian Supplement to the Industrial and Labor Information, a publication of the International Labor Office, is given a table of prices in the open market in Moscow as of November 26, 1922. The prices are given in 1922 roubles; the rate of exchange on the 1922 roubles being 2,200 for one American dollar on the date the prices were quoted.

The following table of some of the items contained in the list is very interesting. In one column are given the prices in 1922 roubles in Moscow and in another column is given the American money equivalent. These prices, if they are true, make it appear that Russia would be an extremely cheap place in which to live at the present moment.

	1922	
	Roubles Nov. 26	Dollars Nov. 26
Eye bread, per pound	44	.02
Potatoes, per pound	14.8	.007
Beef, per pound	250	.113
Butter (cooking) per pound	554	.25
Butter, per pound	746	.33
Milk, per quart	105	.047
Eggs, per 10	410	.18
Lump sugar, per pound	763	.34
Crystallized sugar, per pound	247	.11
Salt	46	.02
Tobacco (low grade)		
Men's boots	13,850	6.30

### JAPAN

#### PROPOSED LABOR LEGISLATION IN JAPAN.

Among the various bills drafted by the Japanese Government with a view to submission to Parliament during the coming session, the following concern labor questions:

- (1) Bill for the amendment of the Factory Act.
- (2) Bill providing for the separate financial administration of the Health Insurance Act.
- (3) Insurance of Seamen Bill.
- (4) Bill for the amendment of the Seamen's Act.
- (5) Bill for the application of the decisions of the International Labor Conference regarding agricultural labor.

### ITALY

#### UNEMPLOYMENT IN ITALY.

Unemployment is still very prevalent in Italy. During the period March to August, 1922, the number of unemployed had decreased slightly, and in August it reached its minimum of 64,382, but since then it has increased as follows:

September 1	317,896
October 1	312,814
November 1	321,011
December 1	354,238

### AUSTRALIA

#### THE WAR SERVICE HOMES SCHEME IN AUSTRALIA.

Up to the end of August, 1922, the Commonwealth Government of Australia had spent over £15,000,000 in providing homes for soldiers under the War Service Homes scheme, exclusive of an expenditure of almost half a million pounds by way of administrative costs. Homes may be obtained without deposit and the rate of installments is 6 per cent in the capital cost—5 per cent interest for the loan and 1 per cent for the sinking fund. The department has provided to date 19,206 houses for ex-soldier applicants under the scheme.

The War Service Homes Act has inaugurated an insurance scheme under which all war service homes must be insured. The commission in charge insures against fire, flood and tempest. No other insurance scheme in the southern hemisphere, it is stated, includes provision against the last mentioned risk. The premiums are on the average 30 per cent less than those charged by private companies.



## EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



### How Shall We Spend Our Leisure Hours?

By FANNIA M. COHN

How will the dress and waistmakers utilize the additional four hours' leisure they have gained? This is a question asked by many, to which various answers have been received.

There was a time when the workers spent their entire time and energy in the shops. The long hours of work exhausted them so much that it deadened in them every desire for intellectual effort. It has always been so. When workers had to exert every bit of energy in earning a bare living, they could not think about their intellectual or spiritual well-being. This holds true of every group in society. As long as people have to struggle to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life, they can hardly develop their desires for the beautiful and ideal, or for the kind of education that enriches life and increases their understanding of their own condition and of the social and economic structure in which they live.

The activities of our educational department are the outgrowth of the changed condition in the trades in which our members are engaged. The decreased working hours stimulated in us members a desire for intellectual effort, and our Educational Department has always tried to satisfy this desire. The strike of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union has now resulted in a further reduction of the working hours. The tens of thousands of members of that union will no longer have to be in the shop six days a week. This means that they will have two full days to themselves. The question arises, how will they spend the additional four hours they have gained?

We feel that the members of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, of whom about 85 per cent are women,

should discuss this question intelligently, especially bearing in mind the fact that, as the activities of women in modern society increase, and as their clamor for equal rights becomes louder and louder, their responsibilities increase in equal proportion. The working women, even more than the working men can find expression through their industrial organization—the trade unions. There they have a chance to develop their personality, to strengthen their character, and to broaden their views. But to be effective they must have a wider knowledge of the trade union movement, a better understanding of its functions, its possibilities, and even its limitations. This can be accomplished by combining the practical knowledge they have acquired from their activities in the union with the theoretic information they can acquire in the classroom, where experienced teachers in labor problems analyze for them the aims, policies, problems, and achievements of their organization, and the relation of their union to the industry as well as to the labor movement as a whole.

How may we find out what our members are thinking on this subject? When we consider how large our family is even in the city of New York, where it consists of about 80,000 members—distributed among a population of 6,000,000—we realize that it is not an easy matter to discuss this subject personally. But there is a medium through which our members can express their opinions and exchange their views on this question, the medium of correspondence. Everyone can put his opinion on paper in the language in which he can best express himself.

The Educational Department invites such comment from our members.

### Alvin Johnson's Lecture on the Ruhr Situation

Last Thursday evening, March 1, Alvin Johnson, editor of the New Republic, met our members in the auditorium of the I. L. G. W. U. Building and discussed with them "The War of Capital in the Ruhr."

Mr. Johnson's position and information made the evening very valuable to the audience. His talk was followed by many questions and much discussion which added to the interest of the evening.

In discussing the Ruhr situation, Mr. Johnson presented the following views:

"French policy in the Ruhr appears plainly designed to bring about a state of war. The French official announcement that a nationalist uprising may be expected; that the German government is back of it and will be held responsible, is simply a device by which ordinary rioting, such as is likely to take place at any time in any occupied district, may serve as a moral basis for declaring war on Germany.

"What do the French want? Not actual fighting, slaughter and destruction. The state of war they are seeking is chiefly a matter of legality. They want to get rid of such restrictions as are imposed on them by the Treaty of Versailles and put their relations with Germany on the basis of naked force. They want to do this

in order to revise the scheme of economic control of the Ruhr-Lorraine industrial region.

"This region, as a unit, is by natural endowment the richest in Europe. Here is an oval of territory, 120 miles long by 75 wide, with the richest deposits of iron ore at one end, and the richest mines of coking coal at the other, with the Rhine and its canals giving cheap transportation inside the district and the ports of Antwerp, Rotterdam and Bremen within 150 miles. Before the war almost the whole district was under German rule, and was developing rapidly into world leadership. Cheap labor from Poland, Czech-Slovakia, Russia, Italy, was being drawn in to form a polyglot, denationalized working population.

"The peace treaty cut the industrial unit in two, giving the iron to France and leaving the coal to Germany. Only later did the French government realize that Germany still had the best of the bargain. Ruhr coal could be utilized with less waste here. The ore is useless without Ruhr coal. So the French have been trying for several years to get some sort of control over the Ruhr. They have used the indemnity as a club and have tried to make the Germans give them a majority of the stock in the chief Ruhr mines and industries.

### Weekly Calendar

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

Saturday, March 17th

1:30 p. m. Social Forces in Literature.  
2:30 p. m. H. W. L. Dana—Contemporary Drama.

Sunday, March 18th

10:30 a. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology of Current Events.  
11:30 a. m. Dr. H. J. Carman—Political and Social History of the U. S.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, March 19th

Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 84.  
Brown Place and 115th St.—Room 805.  
8:30 p. m. Dr. Margaret Daniels—Summary of the Course "Industrial and Trade Union History of the United States."  
Brownville Unity Center—P. S. 84.  
Stons and Glenmeade Aves.—Room 310.  
8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—The Social Challenge to the Present System.

Tuesday, March 20th

Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171.  
102nd St., near Fifth Avenue, Room 406.  
8:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Summary of "Survey of the Comparative Development of Industry and the Trade Union Movement in the United States."  
Wainmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40.  
230 East 20th Street—Room 303.  
8:00 p. m. Selon De Leon—Summary of the Course "Applied Economics."

Wednesday, March 21st

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63  
4th Street near First Avenue—Room 604  
8:30 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Summary of "Survey of the Comparative Development of Industry and the Trade Union Movement in the United States."  
Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61  
Cromtona Park, East and Charlotte Street—Room 601  
8:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Summary of the Course "Economic Institutions."  
Wainmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40  
6:00 p. m. Loretta Ritter—Physical Training.

EXTENSION DIVISION

Thursday, March 15th

Ladies' Branch, Local No. 9—231 E. 14th Street  
8:00 p. m. Symposium on "The Place of Women in the Labor Movement."  
Speakers: Miss Theresa Wolfson, Miss Fannia M. Cohn.  
I. L. G. W. U. Building  
8:00 p. m. Stuart Chase—What Do We Get Out of Life.  
Russian-Polish Branch—315 East 10th Street  
8:00 p. m. Dr. M. M. Kadetz—The Worker and His Health.  
Local No. 9—Wainmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40  
320 East 20th Street—Rooms 402-403  
6:00 p. m. J. A. Rubel—English.

Saturday, March 17th

1:00 p. m. Max Levin—The Economic Structure of Our Present Civilization.

Sunday, March 18th

Clubrooms Local No. 1—1581 Washington Avenue  
10:30 a. m. L. Lehrer—Social Psychology.  
Harlem Educational Center—I. L. G. W. U.  
62 East 100th Street  
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The Economic Structure of the Present System.

Friday, March 23rd

8:00 p. m. Local No. 2—66 E. 4th St. Manhattan Lyceum  
S. N. Nieger—The Writer, the Reader, and the Critic.

Saturday, March 24th

Clubrooms Local No. 1—1581 Washington Ave.  
8:00 p. m. Joel Enteen—The tendencies in Modern Yiddish Drama.  
Local No. 9—228 Second Avenue  
1:00 p. m. Max Levin—The Economic Structure of Our Present Civilization.

French capital has been able to use national policy for its own ends through the combination of interests among high finance, the steel interests, the munitions group and the army, which controls both government and press.

"The Germans were willing to give the French a minority interest in the Ruhr, but not majority control. The invasion of the Ruhr was at first expected to bring the Germans to terms. It was a move in the struggle between French capital and German capital, but not between France and Germany. The French took great pains not to stir up the working class. They claimed that they had no quarrel with the workers, but only with the capitalists. What the French had not calculated on was that, little as the workers liked the German capitalists, they were not of a mind to be handed over like chattels to the French capitalists.

With the workers showing such a spirit, a mere agreement among capitalists offers no security for French control. It might turn out that a denationalized and disillusioned body of workers would produce no surplus for any capitalists. Accordingly the French appear to be falling back on a military solution that leaves the industrial unit out. They are prepared to force a war, in order to take the Rhine province away from Germany.

"If the Germans are able to maintain passive resistance long enough, the French policy will fail and the capitalists will have to make some compromise arrangements for working the industrial unit. If the Germans resist, most of the Ruhr industrial establishments will be destroyed and the economic condition of western Europe revert to a lower order, with agrarian influence predominant, as it is in eastern Europe."

## Cooperative News

### NIGHT SCHOOLS IN COOPERATION FOR SENATORS

Senator Brookhart, the cooperators' greatest exponent in the United States Senate, wants to make the Senators attend a night school on cooperation.

When Senator Jones, leader of the ship subsidy forces, warned the Senate that it would have to meet in night sessions so that the Administration's reactionary measures could be passed, Senator Brookhart took up the suggestion immediately by proposing that the time could not be more profitably spent than in studying the principles of cooperation.

"I think we ought to start a night school of cooperation. I have had quite a good deal to do with night schools in my time. I have been a teacher all my life, and have had a great many night schools with the farmers and a good many with the laboring people and quite a good many with the soldiers, so that I rather welcome the proposal to have a night school in the senate. I talked to the farm boys about that, and told them I thought we could organize the Senate into a school on cooperation. I am sure that nothing could happen in the United States that the farmers would approve more than that. So far as I am concerned, I can tell the Senate something about what I would suggest in reference to that school. I have a little volume here on the subject of cooperation the world over with special relation to the subject of cooperation in credits.

"I have agreed that at these night schools I will take up some of these propositions with the Senate myself. I am only going to present the kindergarten phases of this proposition myself, but I think they need to be studied most carefully. After I get through with that we are going then to turn the big guns loose and give them a high-school course and a university course; so I really believe that this night school may become the greatest cooperative school that has ever been conducted in the world."

Like all lazy boys, the Senators didn't want to go to night school, so Senator Brookhart's generous offer of instruction wasn't accepted. Neither was the ship subsidy lost passed.

### SWEDISH COOPERATIVES PROSPER IN BAD TIMES

Bad times hit Sweden this past year, as they did most every other country in the western world, but the

### LECTURES ON HEALTH AT THE BUSINESS MEETINGS OF OUR LOCAL UNIONS

We note with satisfaction that the number of health lectures arranged for our local unions is increasing—probably not as fast as we should like it to, but the growing request for these lectures is a sign of progress.

The lectures so far have been very successful. The lecturers have been prominent physicians assigned to us by the New York Tuberculosis Association, and the talks have been given in Yiddish, English, and Russian. We expect more of our local unions to arrange such activities. The local result of this movement, however, will probably not be felt until next season.

Needless to stress the importance of such lectures to our members. The medical world has always emphasized the importance of preventive measures. Especially is this essential for workers who, after they become victims of a disease, find it very difficult to rid themselves of it on account of their limited means.

cooperative movement sailed right through with flying colors.

Despite the great unemployment and depression of wages, the Swedish Cooperative Wholesale Society reports to the All-American Cooperative Commission an actual increase in trade. The price of groceries and foodstuffs fell a 19 per cent, but sales for the year amount to 63,824,499 crowns, showing an increase of 1,452,244 crowns over the previous year. An increase of 20 per cent in the quantity of groceries and foodstuffs indicates that the workers of Sweden are depending more and more on the Cooperative Wholesale Society to help them in reducing the high cost of living.

### JUGOSLAVIA, FOSTERS TWO THOUSAND COOPERATIVES

When the diplomats and imperialists, meeting in Paris in 1918, carved up the little country of Yugoslavia, mixing in a few Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Germans and Hungarians, they made such a grand mess that it threatened to destroy the possibilities for a strong cooperative movement in that part of old Europe. National sentiment is so strong among these peoples of different races, even stronger than the political and economic bonds which would bring them together, that the cooperators of Yugoslavia have found it exceedingly difficult to organize a united movement.

Despite these difficulties, nine cooperative unions exist throughout the country, with 2,795 member societies, according to a report received by the All-American Cooperative Commission. The Union of State Employees' Consumers Societies of Belgrade has 88 societies affiliated with it, with a membership of 21,447. The turnover of its 11,000,000 Department amounts to over 11,000,000 crowns. The Principal Union of Serbian Agricultural Societies is even larger with 705 consumers and 871 agricultural societies with a turnover in 1921 of 675,000,000 crowns. Three more unions of cooperative societies, in what was formerly the province of Carniola, have 538 affiliated cooperatives. The cooperatives of Slavonia are federated in the Croatian-Slavonian Agricultural Society, and number 177 consumers and 19 agricultural cooperatives. Still another, the Central Organization of Dalmatian Cooperative Societies, combines 252 cooperatives. Beside the ninth union of cooperatives, with its 145 affiliated societies, there are hundreds of separate organiza-

### THE LABOR INJUNCTION

By JOHN FREY

"The Labor Injunction," by John P. Frey, has just come out. Mr. Frey, a student of labor problems, is the editor of the International Molders' Journal. The institution of Injunctions is presented in this book from labor's point of view. A detailed and interesting review of the book, by our editor, Mr. Yanofsky, appeared in last week's issue of JUSTICE.

It is advisable that every officer and active member of our Union should obtain a copy of "The Labor Injunction." The book costs \$2.50, but through our Educational Department it can be secured by our members at the reduced price of \$2.00.

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izations, which are not members of any central body. At present the largest consumers' society is the "First Workmen's Consumers' Society of Lalmach," which was established in 1895 and now has 11,606 members, with an annual business turnover of 366,600 crowns.

The foundations for a powerful cooperative movement have been laid in Jugoslavia. As soon as suspicion and national prejudices subside, the new Slavic Kingdom will take its place in the vanguard of the cooperative countries of Europe.

### A LABORERS' COOPERATIVE FOR HUNGARY'S UNEMPLOYED

The Hungarian government has embarked on a progressive program to care for the thousands of its unemployed building laborers. It has decided to help the central cooperative association in the formation of cooperative productive societies to undertake excavations, road construction, and similar work for the employment of the men now idle.

A bill has been introduced in the Hungarian parliament providing for the necessary credit to get these producers' cooperatives started. The state may help either by giving subsidies to cover the costs of organization and

the necessary equipment, by the guarantee of loans to cooperative societies granted by the Central Credit Association; by lending state experts to supervise the work undertaken by the cooperative societies; or by paying part of the railroad fares in case of work undertaken in remote districts.

Funds for the laborers' cooperatives have already been provided for by a government appropriation of five million crowns, which is to be increased next year to twenty million crowns. Cooperatives may take part in all competitions for government contracts, and the ordinary surety will not be required of them. All other conditions being equal, the government commits itself to give preference to cooperative societies over other competitors.

Hungary's constructive program for the unemployed stands out in remarkable contrast to the apathy, indifference, and negligence of the British government, toward the even greater unemployment problems in that country. The definite program offered by the British Labor Party for the productive employment of large armies of unemployed has been met with inaction on the part of the Government. Hungarian workers are fortunate in having their government meet this serious industrial crisis with a forward-looking program.



Drawn by ART YOUNG.

A month ago: "France Says Germany Wants to Fight."

Today: "France Warns Germany to Stop its policy of non-resistance."

### CORRECTION

In the review of John P. Frey's book on the Labor Injunction, by S. Yanofsky, which appeared in the last issue of Justice; Brother Frey was referred to as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We desire to correct this statement, as Brother Frey, while high in the councils of the Federation, has never been a member of its Executive Council. He is the editor of the Molders' Journal, the official organ of the International Molders' Union.

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

# The Week in Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

## GENERAL

The Executive Board, at its session on Thursday, March 8th, had a guest in the person of Brother Morris Sigman, President of the International. It is very seldom that a president of our International has visited our Executive Board, and it is the first time known to the writer that such an event has occurred in Local No. 10.

It is not the first time, however, that Brother Sigman has visited our Executive Board; he has come first in the capacity of general manager of the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, then as manager of the Joint Board of Waist and Dressmakers, and finally as First Vice-President of the International; heretofore, however, his visits have always been on business, while at this meeting of the Board last week it was actually a social call paid by the President of the International to our Executive Board.

Brother Sigman, in the address which he delivered to the Board, commencing with the salutation of an address, "as he put it. However, judging from the interesting speech he gave, which we cannot quote verbatim, and from the length of time consumed by it, we believe the apology was not needed.

"During the course of his remarks, the new President made mention of the fact that his being President of the International at this time is largely due to the telegram received by him from our local, as well as the telegrams that subsequently came from other organizations and individuals, requesting him to accept the nomination for that office.

At the time that the telegram was received by him, he was in the hospital recuperating from an illness. He read the telegram over carefully. There was one phrase of the telegram which specially impressed him, and that was "that not only would he be able to follow in the footsteps of our former President but he would be able to bring together all of the elements of our organization."

Brother Sigman then proceeded to relate his activities in the labor movement ever since his boyhood; first in London, England, and then here in the United States, particularly in the ladies' garment industry in New York City, having held various positions until he finally attained the First Vice-Presidency of our International. During all the years that he was connected with the movement it never had occurred to him until about three or four months ago, that he would ever become president of the International. When he resigned as First Vice-President of the International and went to a farm in Iowa, which he began to cultivate in order to earn a livelihood, he resigned as an official of the labor movement but in reality he remained heart and soul with it. He never intended to come back as an official.

But upon the receipt of our telegram, as well as those of other locals and individuals, he took the matter under advisement, and came to New York, with the intention of seeing whether he would be able to persuade ex-President Schlesinger to resume the leadership of our International, and in the event of failure in this attempt, to himself become a candidate for the office in question. Upon his arrival in New York he immediately got in touch with Brother Schlesinger, but, as we already know, he was unsuccessful in inducing him to change his mind. He then announced his own candidacy.

The election of Brother Sigman as

President followed, and, with the promised support of the various locals, as well as of the members of the General Executive Board, he assumed his new duties. He believes, therefore, that with the pledged cooperation, as expressed by the various organizations and individuals, he will be successful in his new office.

Brother Schlesinger then outlined to the Executive Board a few policies which he intends to pursue. They are: (1) the organization work of the International, and (2) the problem of the small shops in our industry. In explaining the organization work of the I. L. G. W. U., his contention is that the best policy for the International to follow would be to place an organizer in a certain territory, whose duties would be to keep in constant touch with the workers of said territory with never a let-up, in contrast to the previous arrangement whereby a man was placed as an organizer of a certain district for a few weeks or months and then dismissed. Naturally, little could be accomplished by that method.

By this new plan to keep an organizer constantly in certain territory, Brother Sigman believes that even if we are not altogether successful in organizing all the workers, nevertheless the knowledge on the part of the manufacturers that the organization is constantly keeping an eye on them would eventually force them to better the conditions of the workers, thereby eliminating the keen competition between them and the unionized centers.

President Sigman then outlined the second proposition, and that is the tremendous change that has taken place in our industry; i. e., the change from big shops to small shops. As to the waist trade, he is not ready to state anything just at the present, although he believes that it shows signs of revival. Regarding the cloak and suit and dress trades, he believes that a complete change should be instituted there in order to eliminate the existing evils. The constant activity on the part of the employers to evade the conditions resulting from the gains achieved by the union are a known fact, and he therefore does not take the manufacturers' word that they are interested in seeing that the industry is unionized. It is consequently up to the unions themselves to eradicate all the evils confronting them. It is true that a union cannot accomplish the solution of all problems, but Brother Sigman believes that the great evil fought by our organization in 1913 and also recently still exists, and that the organization should take all the necessary steps tending towards its eradication.

Brother Sigman has under advisement the system under which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are working, and as soon as he arrives at a proper solution, he will submit it for the approval of the members, as he firmly believes that the agreements under which we are working at present are not the proper ones.

In his concluding remarks Brother Sigman stressed the point that we have a strong organization and a loyal membership but that we should be better prepared morally as well as financially for the future struggles with our employers than we have been in the past.

Upon the conclusion of Brother Sigman's speech, Vice-Chairman Jacobs, who was in the chair in place of Brother Evry, who was indisposed, thanked Brother Sigman for the courtesy extended our Local by his visit, and expressed his desire, as well as that of the entire Executive Board,

that Brother Sigman pay us another visit in the very near future.

## WAIST AND DRESS

In the issue of JUSTICE of Friday, March 2d, there was mentioned the fact that Brother Dubinsky reported to the Executive Board on the good work performed by Former General Secretary Brother Israel Lewin, who spent a great deal of his time in Arlington Hall during the recent strike in the waist and dress industry. The fact was also mentioned that he rendered valuable services in settling a number of open shops, with the owners of which he became personally acquainted when he was manager of that division a few years ago. However, we did not state at the time the action of the Executive Board.

We are therefore now taking this opportunity of expressing to Brother Lewin the thanks not only of the individual officers of the organization, but the entire Executive Board.

Following the good work done by Brother Lewin for the cutters during the recent waist and dress strike, comes the good news that Brother Lewin has been appointed by the International as manager of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 45, of Boston, Massachusetts. Brother Lewin left for Boston Tuesday morning, and will assume his duties as manager of the above-named organization upon his arrival in that city.

We hope that Brother Lewin will

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meet with as much success in managing the Boston Local as he has met in the various capacities in which he has served our organization in the past. Speaking both for the officers as well as the members of Local No. 10, we wish Brother Lewin great success in his new undertaking.

The regular business of the waist and dress division was taken up at its last meeting in Arlington Hall on March 12th. This included the reading of the Executive Board minutes, as well as the report of the general manager. The report contained the new change in the agreement with the manufacturers, which provides a fifteen per cent increase in wages for cutters who are not permanently employed, i. e., where they only work a few days.

## MISCELLANEOUS

We wish to call the attention of the cutters of the Miscellaneous Division to the fact that a Special Meeting of this branch will be held on Monday, April 16th, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place.



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## CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

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GENERAL ..... Monday, March 26th  
WAIST AND DRESS ..... Monday, April 9th  
SPECIAL MISCELLANEOUS ..... Monday, April 16th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

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