

"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. III. No. 36.

New York, Friday, September 2, 1921

Price, 2 Cents

LABOR DAY—1921



Courtesy American Federationist

LABOR ERECT, CONTEMPLATIVE; WITH HANDS EMPTY, TO BE SURE, BUT WITH A SERENITY OF COUNTENANCE THAT BETOKENS A SUPREME AND ABIDING CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE.

DISINHERITED OF SO MUCH THAT HE HAS CREATED, HE YET STANDS FORTH AS THE CONQUEROR, THE KEY FIGURE IN THE WORLD'S SOCIAL ORGANISM.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By MAX D. DANISH

DEBS AND THE GERMAN TREATY

EUGENE DEBS is still behind federal prison bars.

The German treaty is signed. The treaty with Austria is signed, and even the treaty with Hungary is concluded. The war is dead—save for such ghostly remnants like our new-born national grandeur, the American Legion, and a hangover of war-time "edition" laws that have yet to be repealed, automatically or otherwise. But Debs is still in prison,—not for what he had done but for what he is likely to do or say after he gets out.

Now we are told that Debs and his fellow political martyr-prisoners will have to wait a few more months until these treaties are ratified,—first, by our own Congress and later by the Reichstag and the legislative assemblies of our erstwhile enemies. Only then, you see, shall we have peace; only then will it be safe to let such a hardened criminal like Debs out of prison. Then will our courageous Administration, who themselves admit that they have not the slightest color of justification for keeping American's greatest altruist behind prison bars any longer, pick up enough spirit to face the venomous stings of a handful of black reactionaries who parade in the mantle of former service men, nurtured and fostered by the most predatory elements in the land.

And meanwhile, Eugene Debs is still awaiting the "end of the war."

HARDING'S UNEMPLOYED CONFERENCE

THERE are six million men and women unemployed in the country. These are cold, conservative figures based upon Government investigation that cannot be suspected of exaggeration.

These figures, if anything, are rather far underestimated. It must be kept in mind that summer is not gone yet, that during these months some people are still regularly employed in mill, field and factory and that the hard months of lay-off, of chronic unemployment, the bitter months of winter are still ahead. The prospects of a ten-million idle population during next winter are staring at us in horrible, bold relief, in all its naked, unvarnished ugliness.

Small wonder that even the Washington gentry, the leaders of the party that has given us a Fordney, a Lodge and similar working-class benefactors, have begun feeling a bit uneasy. After they had hammered down with ill-concealed derision the manly and practical proposal made by Congressman London to divert some of the armament money for the relief of the millions of unemployed, they have now decided that it would not be had politics to play a little of the unemployment game on their own account and strictly, of course, in accordance with their own rules.

A conference is to be called in Washington in September which will be participated in by "representa-

tives of industry," the "public" and "also of organized labor." At this conference it will be sought to find out why it is possible that so many millions should "suffer want in a land of plenty like ours," to use the rather naive phraseology of our Secretary of Commerce. At the same time it is strictly set forth that "factual issues will play no part in the discussion and that such questions as the closed shop, wages or condition of labor are to be strictly barred."

In other words, the conference will not seek any real light on the underlying conditions of unemployment, will not endeavor to enter into the "economic" side of the situation, as the dispatches have it, but will confine its efforts to the "human" side of it, to the "getting of jobs" for those who need work, and to an attempt to form a clearing house for unemployed on a semi-charitable plane, with the aid of "good-natured and public spirited" employers.

The rest of the tale is simple. No further comment is required.

LABOR AT THE DISARMAMENT FARLEY

THE Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, speaking through its President Gompers, has voiced its opinion that American labor should be represented at the international disarmament conference which is to be held in Washington next fall. Labor is a Washington integral part of the body politic of American life, it is most vitally interested in the disarmament question and has been the pioneer in this country and in every other land of the idea of peace among nations. It is therefore entitled to have its voice heard at the conference.

We do not expect much of this disarmament meet. It has stripped itself of sincerity too far in advance, and, if we read the signs clearly, it will resolve itself into a party where certain alliances will be sanctioned on certain conditions and the spheres of influence in the Orient and the Far East will be "equitably" partitioned between all the sizable participants. But this really is not the point in question. We are only interested in the reply received by Gompers from Harding, which promises that the state of mind of our ruling officialdom and the place it assigns in our social scheme to American working manhood and womanhood.

Says the Washington dispatch: "President Harding has informed Samuel Gompers that he cordially believed in labor being represented 'as far as possible' at the forthcoming conference, but that in general the idea of President Harding is to choose as delegates persons who show particular qualifications for the post, rather than those who represent certain groups."

Enough said. You see Lodge, perhaps Penrose, and a handful of other plutocratic politicians, they have the necessary qualifications, they do not represent "certain groups"—perish the thought!—but labor, where did it get its qualifications to sit in with a coterie of international highbidders, approximately of the same stripe and hue that connected the famous Versailles Treaty? It is a huge piece of affront, anyway, this attempt of tens of millions of working class, un-couth Americans to be represented at a confab where the question of the life and death of their children, themselves and their kin might be taken up for discussion—as barren, at least, as

the effort of the women of the land to participate in the conference!

Is it wondered why the disarmament promoters at Washington have put their foot on it?

THE MINGO MARCHERS

AS these lines are being penned, the march of the miners of West Virginia into Mingo, is in the process of dissolution. The columns of the protesting workers are being disbanded and the miners are returning back to the adjoining counties from where the march began. They have listened to the counsel of their leaders, and to avoid bloodshed on a colossal scale, they have turned back, while the bloodhounds of their masters are sniping and killing defenseless stragglers in the rear.

It was not a march bent on pillage or murder as the kept and sullied "big" press of the country has been announcing in brazen, lying headlines day in and out. It was a huge, intensely human demonstration on the part of tens of thousands of workers in the corporation-owned state of West Virginia against the unprovoked, inhuman martial law prevailing in the Mingo district, against the barbarous, generation-old oppression of everything and anything that severs of labor organization, and against the "iron heel" under which Governor Morgan has placed the mining population of the Mingo coal fields.

The miners do not demand anything extraordinary. They wanted and still want the right to be allowed to exercise their constitutional privileges, supposed to be guaranteed to every American—even a workman—when in West Virginia. They want to form labor unions, they want to be permitted to trade freely in stores of their own choosing, to go about as they please without the sinister and bloody supervision of gunmen and spies; they want to have the murderers of their leaders brought to justice and not to be allowed to roam the countryside scot-free; they want their wives and children not to be brutally ejected from the company "homes" and to have a voice in the determining of their working and living conditions.

And when in reply to these moderate demands the Governor of West Virginia had declared the mine fields of Mingo under martial law, the miners of the adjoining counties rose like

one man with a huge cry of protest and started an elemental march upon the million-creden Mingo district. Their idea was to give back, by this demonstration, their State to the people, to restore their district to civil rights and civil law.

The Mingo march, in spite of the clamor of the press, has not failed. It turned the flashlight upon a scene of industrial horrors and depredations enjoyed only in the past by the Ludlow atrocities in the mines of Colorado. The spirit of the Mingo miners will win for their battle for human rights, sooner or later.

CANADIAN LABOR WITH AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL

THE thirty-seventh annual convention of the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada, which opened in Winnipeg, has adopted a resolution of adherence to the International Trade Union Federation of Labor of Amsterdam.

We quote from the report: "We have the utmost confidence in the ability of the Congress to successfully meet the present crucial conditions and continue to function in guarding the interests of its affiliated membership. In Canada, as in practically all other countries, the trades union movement has suffered from those who 'boring from within' aim to bring about the disruption and destruction of the labor movement and throughout the Dominion these tactics are being carried on insidiously and persistently. There has been no let-up in the campaign (dictated by the Third Internationale of Moscow) of 'belittling,' 'wandering' and in every possible way undermining confidence in all who hold office in our movement. This has brought about a temporary weakening of the morale and self-discipline of our members with the result that the efforts of greedy employers and entrenched interests to bring about a reduction in the standards of wage earners and to destroy the growing power and influence of the trade union movement have been far more successful than otherwise would have been the case."

While expressing disapproval of some of the declarations and tactics employed by the American International of Trade Unions during the last year the report stated that "the best interests of all will be conserved by our continuing to take active part and interest in the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions."

Revival in Toronto

Last week's trip of General Secretary Baroff to Toronto was a notable success from every point of view. It appears from his report that the lethargy which had overtaken our Toronto organization during the past year is coming to an end and that the Union is on its way to sure recovery.

This revival of spirit and activity was particularly noticeable at the big mass-meeting on last Saturday night, August 27, which was addressed by Secretary Baroff and former Vice-President Max Amfor, the Manager of the Toronto Joint Board. Toronto cloakmakers cannot recall a meeting of such size and enthusiasm and the rapt attention with which the speeches delivered at the meeting were listened to in a long while. When Secretary Baroff drew a picture of the destitute condition in which the local cloakmakers find themselves owing to the weakened state of their organization, every man and woman

present was deeply touched. He appealed to the hearts as well as the minds of the audience to shake off the apathy and lack of interest that has been dragging down their spirits and to prove so detrimental to their well-being, and to get back to their former activity and interest in the organization.

It is expected that this meeting will open up a new page in the history of the Toronto Cloakmakers Union. Of course, we must not anticipate that this change will come overnight. There is still a great deal of bitterness among the cloakmakers of Toronto and resentment against what had taken place in that city during the last few years. It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that well-planned and careful agitation will produce the desired results and the Cloakmakers Union of Toronto will be strong enough, by the next season, to exert its proper measure of influence upon the cloak industry of that city.

PHILADELPHIA WAIST AND DRESS MAKERS IN GENERAL STRIKE

The great meeting of waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia, held on Thursday evening, August 25th, at the Arch Street Theatre, has voted amid scenes of indescribable enthusiasm, to retaliate against the employers in the waist and dress manufacture of that city.

The assembled were fully aware of the gravity of the step they were deciding upon. One of the speakers, President Schlesinger, had deemed it his duty to remind the workers that the struggle might be a prolonged one and while the entire organization is sure to come to their assistance, they have a big job on their hands. The thousands of waist and dressmakers in the auditorium, nevertheless, responded like one person: "We'll fight until we win!"

Even before the meeting had opened there was little doubt as to the temper of those present. There was no need for fiery speeches or any particular rousing of emotions in order to convince the workers that the fight was imminent. The manufacturers themselves, through their brazen and high-handed action, have seen to that. And the members of Local No.

15 had no other bedding answer to give but that of a general strike. The meeting only laid the stamp of formal approval upon what was a foregone conclusion and the speeches of Elias Reiberg, Morris Sigman, Abraham Baroff and Benjamin Schlesinger were met with such outbursts of approval because they had expressed in a full measure the feeling of wrath and indignation and the willingness to fight of the thousands that came to the meeting.

It was not our leaders who precipitated this strike nor did they want it. Our leaders are fully aware of the immense hardships that such a strike entails for those directly or indirectly involved in it. They have left no means untried in order to prevent it. But the manufacturers have apparently decided that this was their opportune hour for smashing the Union and the Union workers were compelled to take up the challenge thrown down by the Association.

The strike call was issued on Tuesday morning, August 30, and in the course of a few hours every waist and dress shop in Philadelphia came to a standstill. The 30th of August, 1921

will remain a memorable day for the workers in the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia, as well as for the employers and the entire population of that city. The workers will remember it because that day will constantly remind them of the sinister attempt of their employers to break their unity, and of the heroic fight which they had undertaken in order to nullify this attempt, under the most adverse circumstances. They will recall with pride the great meeting in the Arch Street Theatre, where this conflict was decided upon.

The 30th of August, 1921, will be remembered with a feeling of despair and dismay by a number of waist manufacturers who are bound to come out of this strike crippled, if not totally ruined. They will bitterly regret the fact that they permitted themselves to be misled by a handful of bigger manufacturers, but their regrets will come too late. The entire population of Philadelphia will remember that day with a sense of pride and recognition of the fact that the women workers of their city have not shirked the duty of a struggle for the preservation of their Union when the fight was forced upon them.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERY MANUFACTURERS THREATEN UNION WITH GENERAL LOCKOUT

The Bonnaz Embroidery Protective Association and a large number of independent employers have presented a demand for a 30 per cent. decrease in wages to the Bonnaz and Hand Embroiderers' Union, Local 66 of our International, coupled with the threat that in the event that Union should not accede to their demands, the employers will be forced to "give up business" or to run non-union shops.

The collective agreement between the Union and the Association in this trade, as well as the agreement concluded with all independent firms, is to expire in August, 1922. Nevertheless, these bosses appear to insist upon their demand, which is in clear violation of that agreement and which shows clearly how little respect and regard they have for agreements and pledges.

The Association has called together a conference of all Union shop owners in this city and has invited the leaders of the Union to state their position with regard to the employers' demand. This trade conference took place on Monday, August 29th, at the Hotel Martiniere, and the Union has served notice at that meeting that it will reply with individual strikes against individual lockouts, and with a general strike to a general lockout. The Union has, nevertheless, expressed its willingness to revise wages of certain workers in shops when the bosses are able to prove to the Board of Review of the Union that their contentions are right, particularly in cases of wages above the Union scale of \$75 a week to first-class operators and \$65 a week to second-class operators.

The employers, nevertheless, insisted upon their demands and many of them have already locked out their workers. Among the most militant of the employers are found the firm of Richter Bros. of 30 West 14th Street, the biggest embroidery shop in the country; the Millinery Novelty Co. of 25 West 26th Street, the Cleo Embroidery Co. of 133 West 23d Street, Service Embroidery Co. of 16 East 35th Street, Brachman Embroidery Co., 222 West 28th Street, and several others.

The war in the industry has therefore been started by the employers already, and it is quite likely that many other shops will soon lock out their workers. The Union workers have taken up this challenge courageously and are firmly determined not to permit their employers to break down their standard of living. The workers fully realize that the reduction in wages will not bring more work into the shops and the cut-throat competition between the employers will not in the least be diminished through a reduction in wages. On the other hand, spurred on by these wage reductions, the employers will continue to compete for a reduction in wages at the expense of their workers. The embroidery workers are determined not to allow the contractors to crush them between the upper and nether millstones of their competition. The Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers will certainly not permit the embroidery contractors who are fighting the Union to obtain work in their shops. The Union has a strong treasury and is fully equipped for a fight to a bitter end.

OHIO COURT ENJOINS CLEVELAND UNION AND ASSOCIATION; FINES UNION \$2,500

The story which we are to tell in these columns is not the product of anyone's fantasy, nor is it the least exaggerated. It is a true fact and it took place in a small town near Cleveland, Ohio. The heroes of this tale are the Union, the employers and the judge. We think that this preface is not superfluous, as we are afraid that without it our readers might suspect us of a hoax.

Before Judge Reynolds in the small town of Painesville, Ohio, there were brought three co-defendants, the Union, the Manufacturers' Association of Cleveland and the Board of Referees in the cloak industry of Cleveland. As a result, the court is-

sued a permanent injunction against all joint defendants, but fined with \$2,500 the Union only. You see, the three defendants were supposed to have been equally guilty of the alleged crime, but the punishment was visited solely upon the head of the Union. Such is equity in the little town of Painesville, Ohio!

This, however, is only one queer point of the story. The story in its entirety is not a bit less queer. A Painesville sub-manufacturer, Meyer, by name, used to get work from a cloak firm in Cleveland, a member of the Cleveland Cloak Association, and, therefore, under agreement with the union. According to this agreement no cloak firm in Cleveland is per-

mitted to give out work to outside firms who pay smaller wages than what the Cleveland workers get in inside shops. Nevertheless, this firm gave out work to the Painesville shop, where the wages are much lower than against them before the Board of Referees. The Referees decided in Cleveland, apparently under the assumption that its agreement with the Union is only a scrap of paper. The Union, however, took this matter quite seriously and after it found out that the firm of Landsman-Hirschman is giving out work to the Meyer firm in Painesville, where the workers get much lower wages than the Cleveland scale, they brought charges (Continued on Page 4)

Russian Famine Relief Drive in Full Swing

The great and sacred work of aiding the famine sufferers of Russia has already begun in the various shops under the control of our organizations in New York City. The main work, however will begin only within a week, when the big Cloakmakers' organization will put into effect the decision to aid starving Russia.

In order to arrange matters speedily and properly, Brother Philip Epstein, the Director of the relief drive for Russia, has called together a meeting of all the shop chairmen in the New York cloak industry for next Thursday, September 8th, at West

ster Hall, right after work. This meeting will, in point of fact, be the real starting point for the relief campaign.

It is hardly necessary to describe here the magnitude of the Russian catastrophe. Elsewhere in this paper the readers will find the appeal issued by the Relief Committee organized by our International and signed by its executive officers. The shop chairmen are only reminded once more that in spite of the fact that work in the shops is far from plentiful, that this decision adopted by the conference of all international locals in the City, must be carried out in a spirit of unqualified loyalty and generosity.

Boston in Line for Russian Famine Relief

The following telegram, which requires no comment, was received at the General Office a few days ago from Brother Abraham Snyder, the Manager of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of Boston:

"The Boston Cloakmakers' Union will aid the famine sufferers of Russia. All members of the locals affiliated with that Joint Board will donate two hours of work for the great cause of relieving the starving workers and peasants of Russia. This decision was adopted at a meeting on August 25th and the money will be collected at an early date, just as soon as all necessary plans are worked out."

The Membership of the New York Cloak Locals

(Results of semi-annual census, June 30, 1921)

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

Director Department of Records and Research, I. L. G. W. U.

When the Record Department was preparing to take the semi-annual census of the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. locals in July it was faced with the grim facts of an industrial standstill which, according to official government reports, has brought the army of unemployed up to 8,000,000 strong. It also was aware of the continued, progressive decrease in trade-union membership all along the line. At the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor the average membership of the Federation was reported to be 170,000 less than the previous year. At the recent session of the A. F. of L. Executive Council President Samuel Gompers is reported to have stated that the unions affiliated with the Federation have shown a decrease of about 750,000 since the industrial depression set in. With our own industry at the lowest ebb at the time, when work should be in full swing, we approached the task of counting our good standing membership with a heavy heart and prepared to accept the inevitable. In the face of the staggering number of unemployed, the wholesale slash in membership among the various powerful unions, and a continued decrease in our own industry, we could not but expect a decrease in our numbers.

In addition, the census was taken on an entirely new basis. While the preceding censuses were based upon a fifty-two-week period, that is, all those who were in arrears not more than fifty-two weeks were considered members of the union, the present census was taken on the basis of thirty-nine weeks and all those who owed dues for more than thirty-nine weeks were suspended by the Record Department for non-payment of dues. The new census basis was established in conformity with the revised constitution of the International.

The Record Department has just completed the tabulation of the results of the fifth semi-annual census of the membership of all the locals affiliated with the Joint Board of the N. Y. Cloak, Suit and Skirtmakers' Union. An examination of these locals shows that the New York Cloakmakers have weathered the storm and have come out of the protracted industrial depression with flying colors. Their organization at the end of the first half of this year has remained intact and in fact showed a slight increase in membership. The census was taken during the month of July for the year ending June 30, 1921. Although the two or three months preceding July are always dull in the industry and the members fall behind in their dues, the present census was taken after a year which marked the lowest period in our industry for the past several years.

Membership of Cloakmakers' Locals.

The total membership of the thirteen locals affiliated with the Cloakmakers' Union was, on July 1, 1921, 47,702. The Operators' local headed the list with 9,918 members, or one-fifth of the total membership of the Joint Board. The Italian local follows with 7,369 members, or 15.4 per cent. of the membership; the Finishers' local has 6,976 members, or 14.6 per cent. of the total; and the Pressers' local comes close with a membership of 5,998, or 12.6 per cent. Together these four locals represent almost two-thirds of the Joint Board mem-

bership. The rest of the locals come in the following order: Skirtmakers' local with 4,663, or 9.8 per cent.; the Cutters' with 4,643, or 9.7 per cent.; the Tailors' with 2,569, or 5.4 per cent.; the Rectifiers' with 2,545, or 5.3 per cent.; Brownville local with 1,916, or 4.0 per cent.; the Bushlers' and Regraders' local with 518, or 1 per cent.; the Newark local with 296, or 0.7 per cent.; the Button-hole makers' local with 245, or 0.6 per cent.; and the Designers' local with 152, or 0.3 per cent.

Comparison with Census of January 1, 1921.

The census of the Joint Board locals which was taken six months prior to the present one (January 1, 1921) showed that the total number of members of these locals who came within the thirty-nine-week period was 47,587. On July 1, 1921 these locals had, on the same basis, 47,702 members, showing, therefore, an increase of 115 members. Not all locals have fared in the same manner. Some showed an increase, while others were slightly reduced in numbers. With the exception of one period local the decreases were insignificant. Table I gives the total membership of the Joint Board locals for January 1st and July 1st of this year and shows the increases and decreases with percentages which were effected between the two censuses.

TABLE I.—Comparison of Increases and Decreases of Good Standing Members in Locals Affiliated With the Joint Board of the N. Y. Cloak, Suit and Skirtmakers' Union. Census June 30, 1921.

Membership	Membership	Increase	or	
Locals Jan. 1, 1921	Locals July 1, 1921	Decrease	Per Cent.	
(39 wk. basis)	(39 wk. basis)			
1, 9,786	9,918	+130	+1.3	
2, 7,371	7,369	-20	-0.3	
3, 6,999	6,976	-23	-0.3	
4, 5,975	5,998	+23	+0.4	
5, 4,663	4,643	-20	-0.4	
6, 2,569	2,545	-24	-0.9	
7, 2,545	2,545	0	0	
8, 1,916	1,916	0	0	
9, 518	518	0	0	
10, 296	296	0	0	
11, 245	245	0	0	
12, 152	152	0	0	
13, 152	152	0	0	
Total	47,587	47,702	+115	+0.2

Comparison of Good Standing Membership.

While all the members who were in arrears not more than thirty-nine weeks were considered as members of the union, the Constitution provides that only those who owe dues for not more than twenty-six weeks shall be considered as good standing members. A comparison was therefore made of the standing of the various Joint Board locals with regard to the number of members who come within the twenty-six week period. In view of the unpromising economic condition of our industry, with employment less prevalent than at any time during the past several years, it was feared that the percentage of good standing members in the various locals would be far below the figures of the previous censuses. The facts disclosed by an analysis of the results of the present census of the good standing membership showed that the Joint Board locals had not only maintained the previous ratio but had materially increased the proportion of those who come within the constitutional period of twenty-six weeks. Thus, while on January 1, 1921, the International could claim only 74 per cent. of its members as coming within the twenty-six week period, the Joint Board locals can now boast of having 81,846, or almost nine-tenths

of their members in good standing. Table II gives the percentage distribution of the membership of the various locals of the Joint Board who come within the twenty-six week period. It will be seen from this table that Local 35 is at the top of the list with 94.5 per cent. of its members in good standing; Local 1 follows with 92.2 per cent.; Local 21, with 91.6 per cent.; Local 23, with 89.9 per cent.; Local 11, with 88.9 per cent.; Local 9, with 88.6 per cent.; Local 83, with 87.9 per cent.; Local 17, with 84.8 per cent.; Local 3, with 83.9 per cent.; Local 48 with 83.7 per cent.; Local 64, with 78.4 per cent.; Local 10, with 76.6 per cent.; and Local 45 with 69.7 per cent.

TABLE II.—Comparison of Percentage Distribution of Good Standing Membership of Locals Affiliated with the Joint Board of the N. Y. Cloak, Suit and Skirtmakers' Union Based Upon the 26-Week Period. Census June 30, 1921.

Locals	Percentage of Membership Within 26 Weeks
1, 9,918	94.5
2, 7,371	92.2
3, 6,999	91.6
4, 5,975	89.9
5, 4,663	88.9
6, 2,569	88.6
7, 2,545	87.9
8, 1,916	87.4
9, 518	83.9
10, 296	83.7
11, 245	78.4
12, 152	76.6
13, 152	69.7

Average 87.7
If we should consider those mem-

Ohio Court Enjoins Cleveland Union and Association; Fines Union \$2,500

(Continued from Page 3)

favor of the Union and fined the firm \$200.

This is the first part of the story. The second chapter begins with a suit instituted by the Painesville firm against the Union, the Manufacturers' Association and the Board of Referees, charging that the Union provided in restraint of trade, asking for an injunction and damages to the amount of \$12,000. It was this case that was tried last week before Judge Reynolds in the Court of Common Pleas at Painesville.

Now to the decision of the judge, the third chapter of the story. To begin with, the Judge discovered that there is no such thing as a "sub-contractor" in the legal vocabulary. Consequently, he decided that the Meyer firm was an independent and self-subsisting cloak firm that cannot be bound through the contract between the Cleveland Association and the Union. Secondly, the learned judge discovered that since Painesville was removed a few feet from the county where the agreement between the Union and the Association had been concluded, that this agreement has no validity in that little town, and, consequently, the Cleveland cloak firms may give out work to Painesville firms whether Union or not.

And finally, with impetuous wisdom, the Judge decided that while the Referees who ruled in favor of the Union were compelled to do so by

the rules of the agreement, the only true offender was the Union, and it must pay the sub-contractor \$2,500 as damages for injuries sustained. The logic of the court is sublimely simple. The Union was the original party who had brought the complaint against the Painesville firm. The Union, consequently, started the entire trouble. So the Union is the sole culprit!

In court it was also found that the true complainant against the Union was not the Painesville sub-contractor but the Landsman firm, which is hiding behind the shoulders of Meyer. At any rate, this decision, it is openly acknowledged, clears the way for a number of unscrupulous manufacturers to open sub-contracting shops in Cleveland suburbs, employ women workers at starvation wages and be protected under the precedent set up by Judge Reynolds of Painesville. Of course, this strikes at the very heart of the Cleveland agreement and imperils its entire existence, together with all that has been accomplished in Cleveland during the last few years.

The Union, however, has, meanwhile, decided to appeal this queer decision to the higher court. We do not know as yet whether the Cleveland employers and referees will take part in this appeal jointly with the Union, or will allow the Union to go alone in its fight for the sanctity of agreements.

FOR THE FAMINE SUFFERERS OF RUSSIA

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

Sisters and Brothers:

This very day, upon a stretch of thousands of miles, on the plains of unfortunate and sun-parched Russia, millions of men, women and children are drifting westward, stamped by the inexorable hand of Hunger. The weather in this vast, ill-starred domain is hot and dry with a wind that swirls the dust and spreads the plague, while flocks of hungry crows hover above.

By boat, by train and by caravan, this pilgrimage of starving hordes, speaking a multitude of tongues and wearing all kinds of rags and patches, is choking the highways and byways of what used to be once the Granary of Russia, the provinces that supplied food to the rest of Russia and sent a great surplus abroad. These haggard millions of human beings are straggling along, dying as they go, filling unnamed graves, living off the impoverished country on their way. In their wake there follow the diseases that are inseparable from famine: cholera, typhus, dysentery and other merciless plagues of the human kind.

Fainting by the roadside, flee the panic-stricken, maddened people. And from these vast plains a shocking cry rises that reverberates sharply and painfully across every continent of the globe. Of a sudden, humanity has become aware of a catastrophe that hardly finds a parallel throughout the run of history. Humanity has found itself face to face with the possible, if not probable, destruction of tens of millions of human lives already forced to subsist on herbs, grass and adulterated mixtures that are greedily devoured as the staff of life. And the heart of the world has responded. In spite of the walls of prejudice that have been artfully erected against the unfortunate population of Russia during the last few years, this cry for bread has been heard. The working masses, the toilers of the world, have been deeply stirred by this call for help from the millions of starving Russian peasants and the half-starving workers of the Russian cities. Never before has a single incident in the memory of the present generation aroused so much deeply-felt sympathy and compassion for the fate of their fellow men and women as the great Russian catastrophe has aroused in the hearts of toiling men and women the world over.

And right here in America, the pitiful appeal from the millions of Russia has found its first and most direct echo among the masses of workers in the needle trades, the tens of thousands who compose the membership of our International Union. No sooner did the first cry for aid reach our ears than we sounded a summons to our members for speedy relief. Without the loss of a single unnecessary hour, representative men and women from our organization came together and decided, as a first effort, to levy upon themselves a voluntary assessment of a half day's pay for the famine-stricken population of Soviet Russia. Immediately thereafter, the entire machinery of all our organizations in New York City was put at the disposal of a Directing Committee, and the work of collecting the Famine Fund was started.

The Committee has deliberated about the best method for collecting this huge donation from our members and come to the decision that instead of a single day, the collections in the shops of our various trades shall be arranged so as to meet the individual conditions in these shops and trades, during the next four weeks, but that all collections be turned in not an hour later than October 1st, 1921. Of course, the great majority of the workers in our shops will have this money turned in much earlier than that. October 1st is the very last day, the final windup of the drive.

It is difficult to size up in advance the magnitude of the fund that the membership of the International will raise in New York City and in every other city in the land where this heart-rending cry

for help has already found a response. We are certain that not a single man or woman belonging to our organization—not a person working in any of the shops controlled by our organizations in New York City and elsewhere, will not cheerfully, whole-heartedly, and without stint or reservation contribute a half day's work to this great cause of a people in the throes of despair. Our members have responded with a will and a spirit of loyalty to the interests of the working class during the great Steel Strike and during the last Amalgamated strike. Our members have responded, with hundreds of thousands of dollars, under less favorable circumstances, to the great drive for Jewish war sufferers' relief in 1918. In comparison with the huge disaster that has overtaken the millions of workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, those instances, however, appear small. Can there even be a shade of a doubt that our men and women will respond to this cry for aid as they have never responded before, that they will donate their half day's pay with even greater unanimity, will and cheer?

There are ties unseen, subtle ties, that bind the great masses of our workers to Russia. Thousands of them have obtained their first spiritual awakening on these selfsame vast, famine-stricken plains. Thousands of them had hoped for years that the workers and peasants in Russia will some day, some distant day, shake off the tentacles of the Tsar's despotism that has for centuries kept them in the dust. And when the miracle of the Russian Revolution did finally happen, and after years of struggling, the masses of Russia have gradually begun to evolve a form of life based upon working-class domination and independence, this Revolution thrilled the hearts of our workers as nothing else in their lives. The fruits of this Revolution must not be endangered through the scourge of famine and plague! To a man, we shall do our share to avert this great calamity and to lift the arms of the famished population of Soviet Russia!

Keep in mind that every cent collected in this great drive will be sent directly to the famine sufferers of Russia. Not a penny will be spent for the work of collecting and the management of the drive. The International will also take a direct hand in seeing that the funds collected from its members be distributed in the form of grain, wheat, medicaments and whatever other supplies, to the needy population of Russia.

Sisters and Brothers! This is, indeed, a historical opportunity. After the ravages produced by a merciless and blind nature will have been healed, after these memorable and tragic events will have run their course, this outstanding event of generosity, of working class solidarity on our part will forever remain a source of deep satisfaction to ourselves and to those who come after us. Remember, the working class of America, we ourselves, are on trial today, and history alone will give its verdict of our record, our share of help and of our achievement in these momentous days!

THE RUSSIAN FAMINE SUFFERERS' RELIEF COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER, Chairman
ISRAEL FEINBERG, Vice-Chairman
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary
PHILIP KAPLOWITZ, Executive Director

Press Committee: S. YANOFSKY
M. D. DANISH
JACOB HELLER
M. K. MACKOFF
H. GREENBERG

REMEMBER --- October 1st is the last Day of the Drive

IN THE SKIRT SHOPS OF NEW YORK

By S. PRISANT, Manager

The firm of ITZKOWITZ BROS., of 163 West 24th Street, approached their people last season, for a reduction in wages, offering a guarantee for a certain time. It has then been agreed that they work for six months with a guarantee, the operators at a \$6.00 reduction—with the understanding that after the agreement expired, the old scale to be maintained. However, at the termination of the agreement, the firm refused to pay the old wages, and there was no other alternative, but to declare the shop on strike.

The strike, however, was of short duration as an understanding was soon reached and the people returned back to work.

The firm of SELTZER & GOLDBERGER, of 4 W. 22nd Street, laid off their cutter, doing their own cutting. When the Business Agent inquired as to the reason for same, they refused to discuss the matter, and the shop has been declared on strike. Most of the strikers went to work elsewhere, and three men remained to picket the shop.

The people of B. SHUSTER, of 17 E. 12th Street were suspected of working by piece. Also one of the operators of being a silent partner. We stopped the shop, demanding of the contractor security that union conditions will be lived up to. Upon his refusal to comply with our demand, the shop was declared on strike.

In the following shops, strikes have been called and adjourned:
WRONA, 81 E. 10th Street.

This is a new skirt shop. Was declared on strike, demanding a security that union conditions will be lived up to. With the elapse of a few days, the contractor in question gave a security and the people went sent to work.

BORENSTEIN & PRINCE, 264 W. 30th Street.

A new skirt shop. Was stopped off, and a security demanded that union conditions will prevail. After a few days, said contractor deposited a security with the Union, and the people were permitted to return to work.

COHEN & BLOOM, 34 W. 21st St.

A new dress shop. After the people were stopped, the firm came down to the office giving a security that union conditions will be maintained in their shop.

The firm of ROSENBERG & SCHARFSTEIN, of 1211 Broadway, installed a basting machine in their factory, requesting one of their finishers to work at same. When the chairman informed the firm that the workers will not tolerate the installment of a machine during the time when the finishers will not work a full week, the firm promised that no finishers will be laid off while the operators are working. The chairman then permitted the finisher to work at the machine aforementioned.

However, on the following week, the finishers were laid off for one day. The firm was then requested to pay the latter for the days' work. Since the firm refused, the shop was declared on strike. After striking one day, the firm agreed to pay the finishers for a day's work, and a half day's last time for the entire shop.

Back pay collections in 25 shops, \$499.64.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Office, 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y. Tel. Subscription 1126
R. SCHLESINGER, President A. YANOFSKY, Editor
A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer ABRAHAM TUBAY, Business Manager
MAX D. DANIELS, Managing Editor
Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year.

Vol. III. No. 36. Friday, September 2, 1921

Entered as Second Class matter, April 18, 1906, 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 26, 1919.

EDITORIALS

LABOR DAY—1921

In point of fact, the radical labor unions in this country have two labor holidays to celebrate. On May First they demonstrate their solidarity with the workers of the entire civilized world who have adopted the first day of Spring as the day of demonstration and protest, a day on which they reassert their determination to wrest from life all they are rightfully entitled to as the builders and producers of all social wealth. Our second labor day is the first Monday in September, chosen many years ago by organized labor in America as a day for demonstrating its power, its importance and its firm determination to gain a greater measure of happiness for the workers of this land.

Our radical unions are taking part in both these demonstrations. They are ever mindful of the fact that the great stretches of water which separate this continent from other lands mark no fundamental division of interest between the workers of America and the workers of Europe. The greater the strides made by European labor in their fight for "a place in the sun," the greater are our own chances for progress and advancement. We also take part in the Labor Day of the organized workers of America because we are part and parcel of this movement. True, we have our compunctions about the philosophy and the point-of-view of the American labor movement. True, we believe that the American labor movement ought to be more radical and more class-conscious. We are, nevertheless, far removed from the thought that because of its shortcomings we must keep aloof from it. Such a policy would have been the height of folly and would condemn us to total impotence.

It is equally true that Labor Day in America has heretofore been pale and unimpressive of its true purpose and has degenerated into a day on which petty politicians grind, with cheap solemnity, their petty grist. This, however, is not essentially the fault of the Labor Day idea. Originally, Labor Day was designed to be a true labor holiday, a day when the growing strength of the working class is demonstrated throughout the land. The fact that Labor Day was not heretofore used for its proper and original purpose should not, in the least, deter the workers this year from converting it into a day of great mass meetings, parades and demonstrations from one end of the country to the other.

The workers of America have today on their hands a very bitter and determined defensive struggle. Labor Day this year has therefore an earnest and grave message for the workers of America. Impressive demonstrations must be held in every city of the land to serve notice upon organized capital that labor is determined not to permit itself to be crushed by its enemies and that it stands ready, in spite of adverse conditions, to fight with old vigor and enthusiasm until the exploitation of labor will totally disappear from the face of the earth.

Such must be the meaning and the character of the coming Labor Day. And this meaning and message should be made clearer and clearer from year to year, as organized labor in America gradually, though slowly, opens its eyes to the true situation in the land. Of course, our radical unions will not fail to participate in such celebrations of America's Day of Labor.

THE PHILADELPHIA WAIST AND DRESS STRIKE

The inevitable happened. The Waist and Dressmakers' Union of Philadelphia had no other alternative but to call its members out on strike.

Indeed, the waist and dress employers of Philadelphia had made it impossible for the workers to decide upon any other step. If the differences were centered only upon issues amenable to discussion and argument, it is quite likely that the strike would not have been precipitated so quickly. The workers might have chosen to adopt an attitude of wait and waiting and individual shop strikes. The employers, however, decided to break entirely with the Union and to act as if there had never been a Union in the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia at all. They employed intimidation against those of their fellow manufacturers who were not quite eager to abide by their wage-cutting tactics. It also became apparent that behind the Philadelphia Waist and Dress Association there stood the combined industrial forces of Philadelphia, and it was definitely alleged that the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce was one of the principal sources of inspiration in the fight of the waist and dress employers against their workers.

As regarded from this point of view, the Philadelphia dress and waist strike is, therefore, not an ordinary strike, not a strike for a larger loaf of bread or a bigger slice of meat. It is a strike against the saddling of a yoke upon the necks of the workers; a strike for the defense of their strongest weapon, the Union. Of course, the cutting of wages is a very important item in the life of a worker. This item, however, has now been relegated to the background

among the issues of the present fight. This strike has become a movement of self-defense on the part of the workers, a struggle to thwart the conspiracy of their employers to destroy the mainspring of their independence as men and workers, their right and privilege to act collectively in the defense of their interests. It must also be kept in mind that while the issues at stake involve, for the time being, only the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia, the importance of this strike transcends the limits of that city. Whatever its outcome, this conflict will not fail to have its influence upon all other industries under the jurisdiction of our International, as well as on the labor movement of Philadelphia in general. This is probably the principal aim of organized capital in Philadelphia. The attempt to smash the Waist and Dressmakers' Union is obviously but the first step in the direction of a campaign to break down the labor movement of that city in general.

The Philadelphia waist and dress strike is, therefore, the strike not only of our own locals of that city. Behind the strikers every organized man and woman of Philadelphia will line up like a stone wall, prompted not merely by feelings of fraternal aid, but by the very concrete feeling of self-defense and subsistence. It stands to reason, of course, that the International and all its affiliated bodies—throughout the width and breadth of the land—will not permit Local 15, a strong and important link of its chain, to become weakened or broken up in this conflict. They will lend to this fight not only their enthusiasm and good wishes, but the necessary sinews of war, the best fighting weapons available: funds to conduct the struggle.

It is, of course, difficult to forestall the duration of this fight. The energetic and unanimous resistance of the workers might bring a number of manufacturers to their senses very soon, and make them quickly realize the absurd folly of their plan to smash the Union. It is also quite likely that the strike will last weeks and months. We are only certain of one thing: The Philadelphia waist and dress workers will never return to their shops beaten or vanquished. They will only return to their machines when the conditions of labor over which the Union had had a say heretofore will again be under their influence and control.

We say to the Philadelphia strikers: The fight which was forced upon you and which you have vowed to wage to a victorious end, is one of the most important in the history of our industry. It is not a fight for bread alone; it is a struggle for human respect, for freedom—issues far greater in importance to a thinking person than problems of petty pennies. Your fight is not only of supreme importance to yourselves, but to our entire International. The banner of the International is at present in your hands. Keep it firmly aloft, so that it may not be either sullied or wrested from your hands. Fight with the utmost energy at your command. Permit no thought of defeat to enter your mind, and victory is yours.

THE UNION KEEPS FAITH

In the garment trade papers of New York (one of which expired these days)—a fate which it deserved long ago on account of its being the worst edited and poorest gotten-up trade publication in the city, in addition to its policy of calumny and misrepresentation of labor) a lot has been said, largely at random, about alleged complaints by cloak manufacturers with reference to non-productivity of their workers. Anonymous threats have also been made in these columns, from time to time, that manufacturers were going to reduce wages and would withdraw from the agreement with the Union.

Of course, in all these tales there was not a scintilla of truth. It was too obvious that no responsible cloak manufacturer would lodge any complaints with the reporters of our trade press regarding lack of productivity on the part of their workers, nor would they confide to them that they were going either to reduce wages or to break their understanding with the Union. The source of these highly colored reports, bordering on fabrication, could be traced, first of all, to the unbridled passion of our trade press for sensationalism, and secondly, to the following, rather ordinary incident, out of which, with the aid of reportorial fantasy, there grew out this story of the "hydra-headed doc."

The case in question was as follows: The Joint Adjustment Committee elected last June by the employers and workers in the New York cloak industry for the purpose of adjusting non-productivity complaints, took up for the first time during its existence, two weeks ago, a complaint lodged by a cloak manufacturer against a worker based on the charge of substandard work. Indeed, the claim that this was the first case of its kind, is the best testimony that the cloakmakers of New York have fully kept the pledge of the Union and left no ground for complaint. After the Joint Commission had investigated the charge, it found that the employer was right in his contention and the representatives of the Union fully concurred in the discharge of the worker from his job, which was additional testimony to the determination of the Union to remain true to itself and its obligations.

It can easily be seen that the cantrips which are assiduously spread in the trade press of this city in an endeavor to create a strained atmosphere between the Union and the employers are thoroughly baseless and quite malicious in their nature. Of course, the times in the cloak industry at present are far from good, and when times are not prosperous, employers are likely to lay the blame at the door of the Union and aggravate otherwise peaceful relations. It may be quite possible, therefore, that the relations between the Union and the employers may soon undergo a change to the worse. We have already heard that our employers are nurturing new plans for dealing with our organization. Instead of a loose protective association, we hear, they are planning a national protective association in the cloak industry, with branches in every cloak center of the land. We make our guess that the employers do not purport this plan in order to create any particular advantages for the Union. The idea probably is that on a national scale they can fight the International with a greater degree of success than

How The State "Owns" The Railways in France

By MARION LUCAS

Italian labor launched its revolutionary program in the fall of 1919. French labor launched its evolutionary program likewise in 1919. Today it may be admitted that not only did the revolutionary program fail, but that it resulted in a reaction so strong that it has affected not only the elections but the future of the Italian communist party. In France the work of the Labor Economic Council, appointed by the General Confederation of Labor to carry forward its plans for the gradual change of society, is going forward steadily. One of their first projects, the nationalization of railroads, is proposed in order to prevent the exploitation of the enterprise except for the needs of the public. At present travelers and merchants complain that the French railroad service is insufficient, that trains are irregular, that there is no definite plan for regulation of traffic, and, in short, that the railroad system is in a state of general disorder.

The railroad system of a country is in reality its circulatory system. Agriculture depends on railroads in that it depends on the inexpensive and quick transportation of its product. The normal functioning of railroad service means that food products, the most necessary to human life, can be transported cheaply and easily with as little waste as possible. The irregularity of traffic means expensive losses to farmers and high prices to the buying public.

Under a capitalist government there are two methods of administration of railroads. They may either be run by the state or they may be run by private companies which construct and exploit them at their own risk. Both systems have been tried out and the German railroads, which were run by the state, were run as efficiently as the English roads, which were in the hands of private companies. In France, however, a mixed system was adopted which combined the faults of both systems without deriving any advantage from either.

In theory the state in France is the owner of the railroad system. The state allows private companies to run the roads, however, for a limited term of years. The private companies furnish the rolling stock, the signals, stations, stores—all that might be called the superstructure. The rolling stock is the property of the private company and, in case of the return of the road to the state, the company keeps it. The rails, tunnels, viaducts (the internal structure of the roads) belong to the state and are installed by it, theoretically. In reality it is most often the companies that install the equipment and receive pay for this work from the state. It is not surprising that French railroad equipment costs 100,000 francs a kilometer more than German or English. This excess charge is paid by the public.

It is claimed that because the private companies put millions into

French railroads it is to their interest to keep them in good condition. But the matter does not work out this way. In the first place, eight-tenths of the capital invested in French railroads consists of obligations at fixed revenue. That is to say, the state pays this revenue when it pays for the rolling stock of the company. So, no matter if the rolling stock is in bad condition, if the roadbeds are badly kept up and even if the companies are unable to pay interest on their loans, the stockholders still get their dividends. Therefore, have no financial responsibility.

Ordinarily stockholders run a risk of not getting dividends and even of losing what they have invested. This is not true of the stockholders in the French railroad companies. The state grants them no guarantee of their interest. Even if the road runs with a deficit they are guaranteed a minimum dividend of 55 francs a share on the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean; 54 francs 10 on the Nord; 50 francs on the Orleans; 50 francs on the Midi and 35 1/2 francs on the Est. Not only do the holders in these companies run no risks at all, but if there are dividends in excess of the minimum guaranteed them, they receive them. There is a generous maximum dividend fixed by the state and above this sum dividends are divided between the state and the stockholder, the state getting two-thirds. Only one line, that of the Nord twice found itself in a position to distribute the higher dividend before the war. But this line spent its excess dividends on more or less useful equipment instead of sharing it with the state.

The railroad companies are administered by the majority stockholders. This throws control of the railroads

into the hands of the bankers of France, like the Rothschild firm, the Hottenguers, the Mallets and other well known concerns. The bankers control not only the railroads but the legislative assembly of France, making a convenient arrangement for the administration of the roads. It is easy to see how the director of a coal mine or head of a rail business can get himself nominated to the board of direction of the railroads and thus throw the business into his own pocket. The well known bankers have an assembly of France, making a convenient arrangement for the administration of the roads. It is easy to see how the director of a coal mine or head of a rail business can get himself nominated to the board of direction of the railroads and thus throw the business into his own pocket. The well known bankers have an assembly of France, making a convenient arrangement for the administration of the roads. It is easy to see how the director of a coal mine or head of a rail business can get himself nominated to the board of direction of the railroads and thus throw the business into his own pocket.

The railroad companies are the biggest buyers of coal, of steel and of machinery in all France. The mining societies, which are in complete agreement with the bankers, have succeeded in getting 19 of their administrators elected to the administration of the railroads. The metallurgical societies were not less fortunate, since they in the 23 directors of a railroad administration. It was discovered last year that of the 108 administrators of the French railroads, 76, or three-quarters were directly concerned with selling equipment to the roads.

Because of this situation the Labor Economic Council has begun to urge nationalization of the railroads in order to secure better service and lower rates. A proposal has already been submitted to the French parliament on this subject. With the backing of the Confederation of Labor, which has a million and a half members, it seems likely that it will not be long before the proposal is accepted or radical reforms are introduced into the French method of administering the railroads.

Law - and - Order Anarchy

(From the Nation, August 3, 1921)

In the state of Texas during June, nine persons were kidnapped by bands of citizens and tarred and feathered. During the week of July 18-25 at least eight more, one of them a woman, were subjected to the same indignity. In Miami, Florida, a British subject, archdeacon of the Episcopal church, was similarly treated because he was said to have advocated social equality between

negroes and whites. The British Government has declined to take action in the matter. Cecil Harmsworth, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is quoted as saying in the House of Commons: "I am confident the United States authorities will take such steps as may be necessary to see that justice is done without representations from His Majesty's Government." It is profoundly humiliating to be compelled to voice our

conviction, based on similar occurrences in the past, that the United States authorities will do no such thing. The Ku Klux Klan, the 100-per-cent Americans, the American Legion all conduct their kidnapping or horsewhipping or tar-and-feathering parties with impunity. It has even been charged recently by Justice Hamilton, of Texas, that the fault lies not with the law but in the laxity of the person whose duty is to enforce it. Again and again, in lawless outbreaks of this sort, no persons have been arrested, although the victim was able to recognize his persecutors, and there is at least one case—that of a Texas who had been horsewhipped for alleged cruelty to his wife—in which no action was taken by the jury except to return three indictments against the victim. On one of the latest of these occasions, namely the tarring and feathering of two citizens of Deweyville, Texas, the "Beaumont local of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" assumed responsibility for the affair in the newspapers.

Texas and Florida are, of course, not the only States in which lawlessness prevails. In Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania, in South Dakota, in California, to mention only a few, the same sort of thing goes on. Homes of foreigners are burned, Japanese are "deported," men are tarred and feathered. This is exclusive of actual lynchings, of which the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute reports 36 in the first six months of 1921, as against 12 during the corresponding period of 1920. The outstanding fact in almost every one of these cases is that nothing is ever done about it. The law continues to be defied and the vast majority of American citizens do ignore all such happenings. From time to time more or less feeble attempts are made to rectify the matters by passing a law.

Thus it is reported that the House Judiciary Committee "is considering" an anti-lynching law introduced by Representative Dyer, of Missouri—an excellent bill, by the way, which might do much to remedy the situation if it were passed. It is expected, however, that Southern members will filibuster against it if it ever reaches the House. Again a resolution questioning that a bill providing penalties for persons "disguising themselves and violating the laws of the State by inflicting punishment upon persons against whom no legal complaint had been filed" be submitted to the Texas Legislature, has been presented to Governor Neff. The bill aimed at the Ku Klux Klan, but as yet no action has been taken on it.

This sort of thing has gone on in America for two hundred years. Of late it has become worse instead of better. And why not? After four years of war, of spread-head atrocities or behalf of civilization and democracy on the front page of every newspaper, what wonder that violence should become the order of the day? War is organized, legalised mob action; the present mob action is only the more dangerous because it is unorganized and illegal. And there is another phase to the situation which is even harder to combat: Mob action is immensely enjoyable for everyone taking part but the victim, who, after all, cannot expect much consideration. Schoolboys derive much sport from the more or less harmless torture of a comrade at a "fraternity initiation." There is no doubt that the same spirit actuates the staid business men who dress up in a sheet and, calling themselves Knights of the Invisible Empire, pour tar over the body of a member of the community they dislike and then rip open a feather pillow above the

(Continued on page 9)

AN ENLARGED "JUSTICE."

Upon the occasion of Labor Day, and in accordance with a decision of the General Executive Board adopted at its last quarterly meeting, "Justice" will henceforth appear in an enlarged format—two pages instead of eight.

We deem it needless to say that the additional four pages will not only enlarge our journal, but will make it richer in substance and will enable it to cover more comprehensively our own trade interests and the field of the labor movement in general.

Limited to eight pages, "Justice" has, during the past three years of its existence, endeavored to keep our readers in touch with all high points of interest in the American labor world. We sincerely hope that the added space will afford us finally the long-sought opportunity to greatly improve its appearance and contents and to enhance its influence in the world of labor.

The Laws That Destroy

By MATHEW WOLL

(From an article in the Forum, July, 1921)

II.

In England all laws against combinations, intended to perpetuate competition, failed utterly. The Trade Union Act is a legislative recognition of the fallacy of all former attempts to restrain the operation and development of economic laws. This act confirms the right of organization to employers and workmen, and permits co-operation between these groups for the purpose of improving the conditions of work and promoting the interests of industry.

Before the passing of the Act of 1876 there might have been some doubt as to whether a society imposing restrictive conditions with regard to the transaction of business was a trade union. This doubt led to the passing of Section Sixteen of the Act of 1876, specifically permitting employers' associations and trade unions to combine for the purpose of "imposing restrictive conditions on any trade or business."

The terms of the statutory definition are very wide. In order to show a combination does not come under its provisions, it is not sufficient to prove that the regulations imposing restrictive conditions on any trade are only such as are necessary to secure results beneficial to such trade. Thus combinations which fix the rate at which companies federated to the association may charge for their goods are held legal as coming properly under the provisions of the Trade Union Act.

In Australia only such agreements

and trade combinations as operate "to the detriment of the public" are prohibited. Combinations between associated employers and organized workers are permitted, not to fix wages, hours and conditions of work alone, but may also regulate and enforce prices which shall not operate "to the detriment of the public." In other words, combinations to regulate the industry are not illegal per se. Only the abuses of combinations are prohibited by law.

Under this act an arrangement between mine owners and the mine workers' union was worked out, consisting of two agreements, called the vent agreement and the shipping agreement. The one provided for the fixing of uniform prices for coal taken from the field, allotting the total trade between the members in certain proportions, and limiting throughput of various collieries to the allotted proportion. The shipping agreement

was entered into between shipping companies and the collieries, making the former the selling agents of the collieries for interstate trade, with exclusive agreements on each side and with certain price-limiting provisions. The court, in passing judgment on these agreements, taken separately or together as part of a single scheme, decided not only that these agreements were legal, but pointed out clearly and forcibly the recognized advantages to industry, commerce and the public in certain agreements in restraint of trade, especially in the form of trade unions.

In our own country the officers of the United Mine Workers of America

have been indicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law merely because of their insistence upon collective agreements with associated employers relating to wages, hours and working conditions. Here we find that anti-combination laws and combinations of wealth and associations of employers in regulating industry have and are being used successfully only against trade unions of workmen—a purpose wholly foreign to those laws when originally enacted.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was never intended to apply to trade unions. They have been the only organizations successfully prosecuted under it. The Sherman Law was intended to restrain combinations of wealth and of employers. Today we have a greater concentration of wealth, effective associations of employers than ever heretofore. The labor sections of the Clayton Law were specifically enacted to exempt labor organizations from the operation of the Sherman Law. This exemption has been almost entirely destroyed by the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Duplex Printing Machinery Company case.

In New York State the courts ruled that the photographing of a crowd under the provisions of the Donnelly Anti-Business Law, and that this craft rendered a service and did not create a commodity of common use. The court held that the organization of workmen, of employers and their co-operative effort to protect and promote the craft were not only legal but laudable in that they had brought harmony and stability into the craft where formerly chaos, contention and disorder were found. At the solicitation of a small but influential group of newspaper and trade publishers, a suppliant legislature was appealed to. As a consequence the advanced view

of the courts of at least one state has been recalled because of old prejudices and misconceptions upon those great problems.

The American wage earners have long experienced the dangers of all anti-combination and conspiracy laws and doctrines. They are fully familiar with the economic laws and tendencies which govern industry and the development of industry. They have come to recognize the fallacy of attempting to stem the tide of progress and advancement by law. They have come to know that old methods for the solving of present-day problems are no more effective today than they were yesterday. They have declared that in the light of existing economic laws and industrial tendencies a combination of a system of laws or court decisions, and decrees of a decadent age, annual or existing anti-combination and conspiracy policies, and substitute in place a system of co-operative effort between associated employers and workmen organized into trade unions.

It must be clear to every student of the history of our industrial development that after all it is the men and women in industry who are best able to solve the present-day industrial problems. It is not enough that there is a field of human activity where the intervention of the government, whether it be through the legislative, judicial or executive branch, will cause more harm than good. What is thus apparent to all right-thinking people should be clearly and forcibly impressed on all who attempt to express the mandates of the government through law. If we are to progress and to prosper as a nation, the people of our time must free themselves from the jungle of laws and doctrines founded upon and suitable only to a simple and primitive system of industrial organization.

The Victory of the Dutch Clothing Workers

By T. VAN DER HEEG

(Secretary International Clothing Workers' Federation)

Just as in all other parts of the world, so in Holland, too, a strong reactionary tendency has set in among the employers during the last few months. In various branches of industry the employers have already attempted to reduce wages and increase the hours of labor. And we find the organized master clothiers of Holland making similar efforts in the Spring of this year. The aim of the master clothiers was to reduce wages 10 to 20 per cent, and they wanted to conclude an agreement with the workers' organizations for a very short term, namely, until July, 1921.

The workers, of course, opposed this plan on the grounds that on previous occasions only yearly agreements had been concluded. The object of the employers was to terminate the agreement in the middle of the slack period in order that they could then come forward with fresh proposals for a further reduction of wages. As a result of these tactics of the organized employers with regard to the agreements a strike involving about 400 "ready-made" tailors broke out on March 16th in Groningen, a provincial town which is an important center of the "ready-made" clothing industry. After this strike had lasted for about a week, the men's tailors belonging to the various firms in other towns also came out on strike. A few days later the organized master clothiers proclaimed a general lockout for the whole country.

In spite of their efforts in that

direction, the employers did not succeed in involving the male and female workers of the women's wear shops. The result was that on Monday, April 4th, 1921, it was chiefly the men's tailors who were locked out. The total number of male and female workers involved in the lock-out was about 5,000. The result of this vigorous attack on the part of the employers caused close co-operation of the various tailors' organizations which exist in Holland. In addition to the Catholic organizations and the Protestant organizations there are in Holland about 200 tailors who are organized in a "Syndicalist" organization. Although the Dutch Clothing Workers' Union, which is affiliated with our International, exercises great influence upon the male and female workers engaged in the clothing industry, it can be readily understood that the existence of so many various unions presents great difficulties in the event of a wage dispute.

The employers in Holland always endeavor to keep the workers' organizations divided. Shortly after the commencement of the lockout the leaders of the Catholic organization tried to come to an understanding with the employers' organizations without consulting or conferring with the leaders of the other clothing workers' organizations. Without consulting their members the Catholic leaders accepted the proposals of the employers. It is, nevertheless, characteristic as showing the spirit which at present prevails even among the denominational trade unionists that

the great majority of the Catholic workers, instead of obeying the dictates of their own leaders, continue the struggle side by side with their other comrades.

The organized master clothiers, who had based their hopes upon the Catholic workers, were compelled, as a result of the firm attitude of the workers, to enter into fresh negotiations with the Executive Committee of the Clothing Workers' Union and the "Syndicalist" organization.

On Wednesday, April 20th, the employers' and workers' representatives came together and at their meeting the employers' representatives declared their readiness to withdraw their proposals, which aimed at disintegrating the working conditions of the tailors. As in other years, an agreement has been concluded for one year—until the Spring of 1922.

The wages per hour for men's tailors are now as follows:

Group I.....	57 cents.
" II.....	82 cents.
" III.....	77 cents.
" IV.....	72 cents.

In addition to these hour-rates, there are bonuses of 24 per cent per hour for materials. Every tailor who by July has worked three months with the same employer is entitled to three days' holidays. Every tailor who by July has worked six months with the same employer is entitled to six days' holidays. Also the home workers receive their holidays in the form of a sum amounting to 45 times the hourly wage.

In case of illness the employer is obliged to pay the worker 70 per cent of his wages for a period of 13 weeks. The wages for public holidays are paid out in full.

Those tailors who work in workshops are entitled to wages for 1,150 working hours for each half year, provided they have been engaged for a half a year with the same employer.

These 1,150 hours are computed in such a manner that the tailors receive a guaranteed wage for 15 hours per week during the busy season and for 38 hours per week during the slack season.

Although the tailors have succeeded in repelling the attacks of the employers, we are convinced that there is a period of hard fighting in store for the Clothing Workers of Holland. It is quite possible that the employers' organizations will renew their attacks in 1922. As a result of our successful struggle in the men's tailoring branch, new agreements have been concluded in the furrier trade, as well as in the ladies' tailoring branch. The employers in these branches also have been unsuccessful in their attempts to reduce wages.

Along the whole front the clothing workers of Holland have succeeded in repelling the reactionary plans of their employers.

IN MEMORIAM.

We, the members of Local No. 123, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, of Paterson, N. J., wish to announce with deep-felt grief the loss of a sister of ours, our former secretary, Esther Simmons, who died on Wednesday, August 10th.

We mourn the loss of a fellow worker and a comrade who has done much for the organization and sustenance of our local.

SAMUEL FRIEDMAN,
President.

SAMUEL WALKOWITZ,
Vice-President.

SAMUEL KAHN,
Secretary.

ADOLPH LEVIN,
Executive Member.

Women Workers and The A. F. of L.

By KATHERINE FISHER

(From an Article in the New Republic, August 3, 1921)

The woman question appeared at the 1921 convention of the American Federation of Labor in a resolution to amend the constitution of the Federation to secure to women opportunity for union membership on the same terms as men. The convention answered the question by a substitute resolution which leaves the women's case where it was before, in the hands of the national and international unions. Last February a conference of representatives of the A. F. of L. and of these unions put at the top of a list of rights which it called in the public to recognize and support, "the right of the working people of the United States to organize into trade unions," and appended their names to it with the statement: "To the above declaration and appeal we pledge ourselves and those whom we represent."

Among those who made this appeal and pledge are the President and another representative of the International Molders' Union, and the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, both of which unions expressly exclude women from membership. The names of Samuel Compers and all the other members of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. appear as representing the Federation and pledging it to "the right of the working people of the United

States to organize into trade unions." Yet, a few weeks later Secretary Frank Morrison wrote in answer to an inquiry: "The American Federation of Labor would have authority to issue charters to women members of a trade only where such course would be authorized by the international organization having jurisdiction."

An example of how this works is that when the women barbers of Seattle, denied membership in the Barbers' Union, asked the A. F. of L. for a separate charter, it was refused, because the Barbers' Union objected.

Either the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations do not recognize and support the right of the working people of the United States to organize, or they do not recognize women as people. The second assertion contains the most truth. The stock defense of the A. F. of L. for not living up to its "stand," and its "declarations" in favor of "organization of all the workers, regardless of sex," is, "The A. F. of L. cannot dictate to the internationals." In this matter, "the autonomy of the internationals" is stretched into a dictatorship of a single international over the A. F. of L. But the real trouble is that union men, too many of them, believe in men's right of dictatorship over women.

The fact that only five interna-

tional explicitly exclude women, and also the fact that discrimination of various sorts against women occurs in organizations that are most firmly on record as favoring equality for women, have been concealed reasons for not demanding action by the A. F. of L. in convention. But women who believed that a step toward industrial equality for women would be taken by forcing the question upon the attention of the Denver Convention, formed the Women's Committee for Industrial Equality and drafted the following amendment, which was introduced in the form of a resolution by Delegate Ethel Hague:

Nothing in this constitution shall be construed as recognition of any right on the part of the American Federation of Labor, or any affiliated union, or of any other officers of such union, to deny or abridge the right of workers to membership and all the privileges of membership in the union of their trade or industry on account of sex; and women in a trade under the jurisdiction of a union which does not admit women, to membership on the same terms as men shall not be denied a separate and direct charter from the American Federation of Labor for lack of the consent of the international.

This amendment made the principle of industrial equality paramount. It provided that if one door of entrance to the A. F. of L. was closed to a group of women, another should be open. But it avoided direct interference with "autonomy" by not being mandatory on the internationals.

The amended time, which was adopted reads: "Resolved, that the international and national organizations that do not admit women workers give early consideration for such admission." This is even more meaningless than it sounds, because two of these organizations, the Barbers' Union and the United Brotherhood of

Carpenters and Joiners, will not hold conventions until 1924; another, the Molders' Union, has not yet set the date for its next convention; and each of the three presidents of these organizations admits that no consideration will be given the subject by his union until its convention is held. As President Hutcheon of the Carpenters was a member of the Committee on Law, which reported the substitute resolution, the committee certainly knew just how "early" the consideration of the women carpenters' case would be.

The industrial equality amendment proved in a measure a touchstone to test the live elements in the convention.

The numbers of delegates and delegations who readily pledged their support to it surprised the Industrial Equality Committee. Although only a small fraction of the delegates were interviewed, over 12,000 votes out of the 38,294 cast by the 523 voting delegates were pledged in favor of it. The women who worked for the report for a record vote by the adopting of a substitute resolution and the impossibility of getting a roll call at half-past five from a convention facing an evening session, prevented. The amendment made hundreds of men think and talk of women's relation to the labor movement. It brought speakers to its support, and there were more of these ready than time allowed to be heard. After its defeat, the Committee for Industrial Equality continued its propaganda and increased its membership. It has changed its name to the National Woman's Union and plans to secure the adoption of the same or an even stronger resolution at Cincinnati in 1922.

Sacco-Vanzetti Verdict Universally Condemned

By EUGENE LYONS

Boycott of American ships and American goods in Italian harbors is one of the projects under serious consideration throughout Italy as a protest against the conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the labor organizers recently tried on a murder charge in Dedham, Mass., according to a special radio message to the New York Call. The idea is said to emanate from leading members of the Federation of Marine Workers, one of the leading labor bodies in Italy. It is reported that some sailors, infuriated by the verdict against their compatriots on insufficient evidence, have taken steps, independently of their organization, to interfere with American shipping.

Detailed accounts of the trial and its outcome, printed in the greatest daily newspaper in the country, "Avanti," roused all the labor elements, and in a measure also the rest of the country. The labor press, which is so powerful in that country calls the case an outrage and talks continually of reprisals. It evokes the memory of the case of Etor and Giovannetti, almost sent to the chair by the money interests in punishment for their activity in the Lawrence strike, in the same state which now may electrocute Sacco and Vanzetti.

Among those who are taking the lead in Italy in demanding fair play for Sacco and Vanzetti is the Socialist Group in the Chamber of Deputies, comprising 139 deputies. The Department of Foreign Affairs is holding off action until it will receive a complete report on the trial, as prepared

by Marquis Ferranti, Italian Consul in Boston.

In America, too, the protest against the verdict is gathering strength. The Defense Committee is in receipt of numerous letters and resolutions from labor unions all over the country, expressing their unqualified belief in the innocence of the two Italians and pledging their support of the fight in behalf of a new trial or a reversal of the verdict. A resolution by Local 548, International Association of Machinists, in Salem, Mass., is especially significant because the local is so near the scene of the trial and therefore thoroughly conversant with the facts. After asserting faith in the innocence of the two men, the resolution demands "that Brothers Sacco and Vanzetti be granted a new trial in another country where personal prejudices will be swept aside and the scales of justice permitted at least to balance evenly."

Indicative of the way the conscientious men and women in the community here, even among the conservatives, are affected by the verdict is the fact that John Lawrence Hurley, Professor in the Suffolk Law School and a prominent Republican leader, came out publicly for a new trial. After going through the record of the proceedings which resulted in the conviction, he was convinced, he says, that a terrible miscarriage of justice had been made, and volunteered to speak in behalf of the Italians at a meeting arranged for the purpose in Union Hall.

A conservative paper, the Boston American, also condemned the verdict. The editorial says in part: "The evidence as it appears from the stenographer's notes is most unconvincing to us and we are informed that nearly all the newspaper reporters

from the Boston papers, who covered this trial, agree that the verdict of guilty was not justified."

Condemnation of the process of sending men to the electric chair on circumstantial evidence was voiced by J. A. Hopkins, national chairman of the Committee of 48, who points out in a public letter that the injustice of circumstantial evidence has been demonstrated time and again. He uses the Sacco-Vanzetti case as an example of conviction on such evidence. "The evidence against them," he says, "is entirely of a circumstantial nature and in many respects of the flimsiest character."

Meanwhile the enemies of labor in Massachusetts are doing their best to discredit the defense of the two men. Friends of Sacco and Vanzetti were blamed in the newspapers here "by a high state official" for starting a run on the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank, the theory being that the run had been inspired for revenge. This has, of course, been shown to be false and preposterous.

LAW-AND-ORDER ANARCHY

(Continued from Page 7)

black, sticky, loosehouse mess. It is, like the fraternity party, usually harmless. The victim does not die. Until a majority of the population can be made to see the enormity of mob action in a civilized state, no anti-Ku Klux Klan bills or anti-lynching bills will make any difference. No bills will even be passed. Ninety per cent of the people of the United States are law-abiding and utterly indifferent to the other 10 per cent who, while calling themselves 100 per cent Americans, are deriving amusement from not being law-abiding—by means of tax-and feathering or by defying the prohibition amendment, perhaps. Until we remedy this major defect we must go on fearing, not the overthrow of the Government by the Reds, but its overthrow by the Red-White-and-Blues.

Campaign To Repeal Post-Office Gag.

An active campaign to repeal the one remaining section of the espionage act under which a number of publications are now barred from the mails will be undertaken by the American Civil Liberties Union, as soon as Congress reconvenes. That section makes non-mailable any publication which advocates "treason, insurrection or forcible resistance to any law of the United States." Although Postmaster General Hays has been liberal in his rulings, the law creates a censorship of political opinion and in practice interferes with expressions which do not come within the actual definition of prohibited language. The interpretation put upon a phrase in the old obscenity statute by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in the New York mail case shows how far the courts may stretch language which looks definite on its face. Senator William E. Borah, who sponsored the repeal of the war laws, will probably take charge of the repeal of the section in the Senate.

The elaborate machinery of censorship built up under Burleson has been dismantled. The forces of translators in New York have been reduced, and Eli but one of the special assistants to the Solicitor at Washington have been let out under Solicitor Lamm's refusal of clerks were occupied by censors. Under Solicitor Edwards since June 1, the work is done by him and an assistant, who, with Postmaster General Hays, give personal attention to all complaints of unfairness in barring publications. There is now no secrecy about the decisions of the Department, the names of the publications nor the reasons for the action taken, as was the case under Burleson.

The Postmaster General has publicly encouraged personal interviews with editors of radical papers who think they have been unfairly treated.

Educational Comment and Notes

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The 16-page booklet announcing the courses of the Educational Department for 1921-22 has just appeared from press. This pamphlet describes the aims of the Educational Department and contains a description in English of the courses for the Workers' University and Unity Centers prepared by the teachers as well as a description of the courses of the Extension Division in English, Italian and Yiddish.

Members of the International can obtain these announcements free at the office of the Educational Department, 31 Union Square.

OPENING OF OUR UNITY

On Wednesday evening, September 7th, members of the I. L. G. W. U. can register for our eight Unity Centers.

In every Unity Center an excellent program of work has been planned, with many improvements upon last year's. We wish to urge upon our members to continue their work which they commenced last season.

Let them remember that education is never completed. The courses they took last year were but a beginning and if they want to complete the work, they must continue it as long as they possibly can.

Not only do we want them to continue their studies at the Unity Centers, but we want them to advise their fellow workers to do the same. Make them understand that the greatest weapons in the hands of the workers is knowledge—knowledge of the Labor Movement, knowledge of the economic and social structure of society.

LABOR DAY THOUGHTS

By FANNIA M. COHN

Labor Day is the day adopted by the workers in this country as a holiday. Although so many of our men and women have adopted the First of May as the day on which they express their solidarity with the working class internationally, this does not prevent us from joining our American fellow workers in demonstrating the solidarity of the workers of this country.

Any day and every day that the workers think about themselves as a class is of great significance. We fully and fraternally stretch out our arms, grasp their hands and unite with our fellow workers to celebrate such a day. We tell them that all of us are workers of one class. Although there may be some differences of opinion as to the methods of attaining our ultimate aim, yet consciously or unconsciously we are all striving toward the same point and are after the same goal.

"It is inconceivable," said Secretary Hoover, "that America with its surplus in food and clothing, with housing—though crowded—and with an abundance of fuel, could allow any suffering among those of our own people who desire to work." In a country with plenty of raw material to produce more all the time, in such a country almost six millions of workers who are responsible for the support of whole families are going around idle in search of work, although they are only too willing to produce so as to enable them to enjoy life.

This is the question which will predominate in the minds of the American workers this Labor Day. They wish to obtain an explanation of the long-discussed question: "Why unemployment—and how to solve it?"

in which they live and which they wish to reconstruct.

Our eight Unity Centers in Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn will be opened for registration Wednesday, September 7th, and for study Monday, September 13th. To enable us to make the best possible arrangements, we urge upon our members to register as often as one of the following Unity Centers:

East Side Unity Center, P. O. 61, Fourth Street, near First Avenue.
Washington Unity Center, P. O. 46, 320 East 10th Street.
East Side Unity Center, P. O. 371, 120th Street, near Madison Avenue.
Second Unity Center, P. O. 24, Intervale Avenue and Freeman Street.
Washington Avenue Unity Center, P. O. 42, Washington Avenue and Second Street.
Lower East Side Unity Center, P. O. 61, New York Avenue and Second Street.
Washington Avenue Unity Center, P. O. 24, Second Street and Washington Avenue.
Washington Avenue Unity Center, P. O. 147, Washington Avenue and Second Street.

Our members can select the Unity Center nearest their homes and register either in the office of their Local Union, at the office of the Educational Department of the International or at the Unity Center.

Register today!
Bring as many of your fellow workers as you can!

In every Unity Center classes will be organized in English for Beginners, Elementary, Intermediate, Advanced and High School.

There will also be a class in arithmetic.

One night a week will be devoted to Health, consisting of a lecture on health topics and gymnasium practice.

Courses will be given on Labor and Unionism, Applied Economics and Socialism.

Every Unity Center will be modeled after a Workers' College.

Is there any honest and earnest-minded person holding a responsible position in our public, economic or social life who will dare come out and justify such a condition? Will an honest economist or other man of thought dare come out to explain and justify such a phenomenon as unemployment or stagnation—in a country of plenty? This is only figuratively speaking. They do dare come out and explain away such things. They do justify such conditions in our institutions of learning. They try to build up theoretical explanations of all these happenings. Therefore we, as workers feel that we shall not any longer entrust such institutions to formulate any theoretical basis for our present economic and social institutions. We feel, as workers, that we ourselves should establish these institutions where true information and explanations of such happenings will be given without coloring.

The American workers feel now more than ever that the time is ripe for us to build our own institutions of learning, in which the best American minds among our scholars be invited to present their views and ideas, unchecked and unhampered by a board of trustees who represent accumulated wealth and in whose interests it is to retain conditions as they are.

This Labor Day will find the workers more than ever before realizing the necessity of developing their own intellectual leadership which will be able to approach philosophic, social and economic questions and share this knowledge with their fellow workers in the shops and factories. They realize the necessity for the growth of labor colleges and universities in every industrial center or-

History of the American Labor Movement

By MAX LEVIN

Outlines of Lessons given at the Unity Centers of the I. L. G. W. U.

Lesson IX

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION (Continued).

7. The activities of "Operators" and Cloak Makers' Union No. 1" culminated in famous general strike of 1894, which was completely lost to the workers.
8. With the termination of general strike 1894 the Operators and Cloak Makers' Union No. 1 disbanded.
 - (a) Inexperienced leadership, legal prosecution, internal dissension, the crisis 1893 and the loss of general strike of 1894 broke up this Union.
9. Short as was "Operators Cloak Makers' Union No. 1" was, nevertheless succeeded in impressing upon the workers the importance of Unionism.
10. In 1896 the N. Y. Cloak Makers again organized the United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers.
 - (a) The United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers carried on its activities slowly and cautiously.
 - (b) It soon entered into an agreement with the larger manufacturers, thereby gaining recognition and assuring its existence.
11. The United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers had to contend with many evils.
 - (a) It suffered greatly through mismanagement of its funds.
 - (b) Later injunctions were added as a further menace.
12. It soon became obvious that the United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers could not, if isolated, survive or achieve its aims.
 - (a) It could not successfully fight injunctions alone.
 - (b) Its officers were not responsible to any higher body and there was therefore no way of preventing the expenditure of its funds.
 - (c) The importance of union label was realized and it was imperative to popularize the union label on national market.
13. At close of 19th century a movement was started to organize a federation of all cloak makers of the country.
 - (a) On June 2, 1900, eleven delegates met in convention in City of New York.
 - (b) These delegates represented six cloak makers' unions and a total membership of 2,380 members.
 - (c) At this convention the I. L. G. W. U. was organized.

CAUTION! This is not a complete lesson. It is merely a suggestive outline.

ganized, financed and controlled by the workers and for the workers. They will distinguish between classes organized by somebody for workers and those classes organized by themselves for themselves. It is not their intention to narrow down their activities in their own educational institutions. Their curriculum will embrace "all-around education."

The workers believe that human mind and human endeavor cannot be checked by narrow dogma, whether it be capitalistic or radical. It is their desire that learning be many-sided, that it satisfy human yearning for knowledge and understanding of every phenomenon, which in turn will tend to develop broad-minded men and women with vision and foresight.

The workers believe that education, however, should have a bias in their own institutions—a bias which will embrace their interests and welfare and which will tend toward the attainment of the ultimate aims of the working class who produce and create wealth—those who are producers by hand or brain.

In our educational institutions it should be perceived that as workers we stand for reconstruction—that we strive toward a new life and dream of a world where economic and social justice will prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as co-operated commonwealth and where love, friendship and fellowship will replace selfishness.

To attain this end it is necessary for the workers not only to possess knowledge and power, but also to develop a social conscience and a sense of responsibility to the Labor Movement. With this end in view the workers should organize their educational work.

On this day, when Labor dedicates itself, it is well for us—members of the International—to ponder over our own educational activities. They must realize that workers' education must be coordinated with the interests of their organization. Workers' education cannot be called such if it is carried on abstractly. We, workers, should understand the principles, methods and problems of our own organization, and, above all, how to solve them.

As workers, we must understand the relation of the industry in which we are engaged not only to the Labor Movement but to society at large and the place it occupies in our economic structure.

All this can only be learned through practical experience which results from participation in the activities of our union, strengthened by theoretical instruction received in our classroom, and one cannot be effective without the other.

It is well for us to remember that while organization gives us power, education gives us the ability to use our power wisely and effectively, and that ignorance is essential to industrial slavery; while knowledge is essential to industrial democracy, and the group which accumulates knowledge is the one which predominates in our economic and social life.

Above all, we and our comrades remember that Workers' Education depends on faith—faith in the ultimate aims and achievements of the Labor Movement. On Labor Day it is fitting that we ponder over these questions.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF COURSES ARRANGED BY OUR EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT FOR 1921-22.

The 16 page booklet announcing the courses of our Educational Department for 1921-22 has just appeared from press. This pamphlet describes the aims of the Educational Department and contains a description in English of the courses for the Workers' University and Unity Centers prepared by the teachers as well as a description of the courses of the Extension Division in English, Italian and Yiddish.

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With The Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

(Minutes Meeting of August 24, 1921)

Brother Harry Berlin in the chair. President Benjamin Schlesinger of the International addressed the Joint Board on behalf of the Philadelphia waist and dressmakers.

He stated that about six or seven months ago the Waist and Dress Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia made a demand upon the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 35 of that city, for a reduction of wages and an increase of the hours of labor. The Union refused to accede to the demands of the Association, with the result that a series of conferences between the Union and the Association were held in which the Mayor of Philadelphia participated.

As it was unable to come to terms, the Mayor of Philadelphia suggested that the demands of the Association be left in abeyance for a period of six months, until July 15th. At the expiration of this term, the Association renewed its terms and requested that same be submitted to a Board of Arbitration. As the issue proposed for arbitration involved the very existence of the Union, our organization refused to accept this ingenious proposal. The Mayor then proposed conciliation, which was accepted by both parties. However, the conciliation did not accomplish any definite results and the controversy remained undisposed of. Shortly thereafter the Association ordered its members to display in their shops signs announcing that hereafter they will be conducted on the open-shop basis. This resulted in a number of individual strikes.

The expectations at the present moment are such that unless the unforeseen happens, there will be either a lockout on the part of Association or the Union will be forced to declare a general strike in order to check the inauguration of the open-shop system.

President Schlesinger is of the opinion that whatever may occur in Philadelphia, a lockout or a general strike, the conflict will be a bitter and protracted one as both sides seem determined to carry this fight to a finish and that whatever may result out of this controversy, it will affect our industry in New York as well, since Philadelphia is the nearest industrial center to New York. He therefore requested our Joint Board to take up the Philadelphia fight as their own and to render it all the moral and financial support that will be required.

Brother Baroff, General Secretary-Treasurer of the International, spoke along similar lines.

A lively discussion arose in which all members present participated, all speakers sharing in the opinion expressed by Brothers Schlesinger and Baroff. It was unanimously decided

that should the conflict break out in Philadelphia, our Joint Board will do its utmost to help along in every possible manner to bring it to a successful termination. It was also moved and adopted that the Board of Directors be advised to work out a definite plan as to the raising of funds required for the financing of the prospective strike or lockout.

It was also agreed, upon motion, to send a telegram to the Waistmakers' Union of Philadelphia, conveying to them the spirit and feelings of our Joint Board in connection with the impending conflict and pledging them our fullest support and co-operation.

Bros. Sam Halperin and Max Tristman, members of Local 66, appeared before the Board of Directors, stating that at present the Embroidery workers are frequently involved in single strikes. The situation with the embroidery manufacturers reached a stage which may lead to a general strike. They, therefore, requested that the Joint Board participate in the affairs of Local 66 more actively than heretofore. The Board of Directors, considering that similar requests were received from Local 66 for the last few weeks, decided that a committee of the Board of Directors attend the next meeting of the Executive Board of Local 66 in order to acquaint themselves with the situation in the local.

A communication was received from Brother Mackoff, Secretary of the Joint Board, stating that the Unity House Committee requested that all the moneys collected by the Joint Board be turned over to the Unity House Committee. According to the Secretary's opinion, the Unity House is to be open for three or four weeks more and, judging from the reports received, there will be a very small deficit this year. Considering that the Joint Board, on one hand, advanced towards the maintenance of the Unity House \$10,325 and, on the other hand, the Unity House can do without having all the moneys turned over to them, he consulted Brothers Halperin and Berlin and with their advice and consent, he went to the Unity House for the purpose of establishing

1. The balance of money in the bank there.

2. Amount of money to be paid on outstanding bills.

Miss Switsky, Manager of the Unity House, did not find it necessary to show the balance in the bank to the Secretary of the Joint Board, as well as the outstanding bills, which, in his opinion, would either prove the contention of the Unity House Committee that they need that money or would prove the contention of the Secretary, that they can do without all

(Continued on Page 12)

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WAIST and DRESSMAKERS

Members of Locals 10 22 25 58 60 66 and 89

There are manufacturers in your trade who are using the slack period which we are now going through as an opportunity for not employing cutters. There are also instance of improper methods in settling prices for piece workers. This is in violation of our agreement and you are therefore requested, especially if you are a Shop Chairman, to take cognizance of the following:

(1) If your employer is not employing a cutter in your shop, notify your union officers immediately.

(2) Advise with your Union before settling prices for piece workers.

(3) Determine whether the Embroidery brought into your shop is being made in a Union Embroidery shop. If not, report to your Union Office immediately. Pay special attention to these suggestions.

Fraternally yours,

JOINT BOARD DRESS & WAISTMAKERS' UNION

J. HALPERIN, General Manager

M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

LADIES' TAILORS, SAMPLE MAKERS AND ALTERATION WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL No. 3

ATTENTION!

It is very important for our members to attend their Branch meetings which will be held for:

SAMPLE MAKERS, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3RD, AT 1:30 P.M., AT LABOR TEMPLE, 14TH STREET & SECOND AVENUE.

Be sure to be present at your Branch meeting, as very important Trade questions will be taken up.

S. LEFKOVITS, Manager-Secretary.

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

DESPITE the unexpected hot weather, there was a good attendance of the members of Local No. 10 at the special meeting held Monday, August 29th, at Arlington Hall, for the purpose of hearing the final reading and ratifying the amendments to the Constitution. However, it was too much to have expected a full attendance throughout the entire meeting, hence a number of amendments were not taken up and were left over for another meeting, which will be called shortly by the Executive Board.

Contrary to the usual procedure at special meetings, where no other business is taken up but the business for which the meeting is called, President Dubinski entertained a communication signed by ten members. This communication calls upon the delegates representing Local No. 10 at the Joint Conference Committee for the Relief of Famine-Stricken Russia to agitate for the distribution of the money raised for the whole of Russia, and that no percentage of it go to any particular sect or race. Upon the information of the chairman that such was the stand of the delegates, the communication was filed. Following this, the secretary read for the third time the amendments to the Constitution as required.

Section 1 of Article IV, which relates to the creation of an office of General Manager, Secretary-Treasurer, and Committees, contrary to expectations, again gave rise to lengthy and heated discussion. At the last special Good and Welfare meeting, as was stated here last week, the members discussed this as well as all other amendments. However, the members again saw fit to return to a discussion of it. An amendment was offered, which the Constitution Committee incorporated in its original. And this amendment compels the Executive Board to place before the membership for ratification the name or names of business agents that it may deem advisable to appoint from time to time, or as conditions may warrant.

Section of Article V, subjecting anyone who may vote fraudulently to a fine or expulsion, was adopted. Section 10 of the same article, which compels candidates to sign a resignation blank, giving the right to the organization to remove an officer for unfitness of office, was adopted, with the amendment that concurrence shall require a two-thirds vote at a membership meeting. No candidate's

name will be placed on the ballot unless his blank is in the hands of the Executive Board ten days preceding an election. Article VII, Section 7, was adopted, which relates to the removal of any officer found guilty of malfeasance of office after proper trial. All found guilty under this clause will not be permitted to run for or hold an appointive office for a period of five years.

At first, the removal of an officer through the invocation of his resignation, and removal for malfeasance of office, were thought to be, by some members, as one and the same thing. However, the Constitution Committee pointed out that one who is guilty of an offense against the organization is guilty of malfeasance, while it would be unjust to consider anyone removed for unfitness of office as guilty of malfeasance; hence, the two clauses. The members should therefore not confuse removal of an officer for unfitness with malfeasance.

A lively discussion arose when Section 12 of Article VII was placed before the house for discussion. This amendment deals with the imposition of a fine of \$1 in the event that members fail to attend one meeting each quarter or four meetings per year. Those who advocated and urged the adoption of this clause were of the opinion that it is not degrading to force members to attend, as activities of all organizations are carried on by minorities. This clause was finally carried.

CLOAK AND SUIT BRANCH

In the four weeks during which the office was being moved from 21st Street to 231 E. 14th Street, Manager Perlmutter stated that no shop meetings were held because of the confusion. However, now that the office is put on a normal basis, it will be possible to call shop meetings. The manager, therefore, wishes to inform the members employed in Association houses that during the next few weeks notices will be sent them to this effect. They are required to have their dues books and working cards with them.

Despite the unusually poor season in this trade, the cutters, from the point of view of the office, could fare worse. While there are no full weeks of employment, still, due to the fact that shops have not got the past season's big lots to cut, but have lots of small cuts, it has been, nevertheless, possible for the cutters to manage

along during these abnormally dull times. In view of this condition, which necessitates frequent change of jobs, the manager calls the attention of the men not to fail to turn in their working cards when they are laid off, and to secure working cards when they change jobs. Another result of the dull season has been the filing by cutters of a large number of complaints for equal division of work, which have all been settled to the satisfaction of the men involved.

It is gratifying to report that the Joint Board has appointed Business Agent Meyer Schary to the office of manager of the Independent Division of the Downtown office. Manager Perlmutter points out that this is very important, particularly when it is borne in mind that that section is largely composed of sub-manufacturers, most of whom are anxious to do their own cutting. The appointment, therefore, of a cutters' representative to such an office as manager will unquestionably be to the advantage of the cutters, since he will devote a good deal of his time to the prevention of such violations and will place cutters in all such shops where employers are violating the agreement in this manner.

Business Agent Nagler has been transferred from the Downtown Division to the Protective Division of the Joint Board, taking the place of Business Agent Schary.

WAIST AND DRESS BRANCH

This division will also occupy itself during the next few weeks with the calling of shop meetings, due to the fact that it has been unable to do so until now on account of moving.

Conditions in this trade are as poor as they have been during the entire year, which has made for the unemployment of a large number of cutters. This week, however, has seen a slight change for the better, as a number of calls for jobs came into the office. In spite of the dullness,

the Joint Board in this trade is by no means idle with regard to organization work. Renewed efforts are being made to organize the waist and dress trade on a more solid basis. For this purpose a meeting was called on Thursday, August 25th, at the People's House, where the executive boards of all the locals in the waist and dress trade were called upon to discuss the report submitted to them by the General Manager and managers of the various departments, for the organization of the trade. Due to the fact that a good deal of discussion took place on the report and the suggestions made, it was impossible to arrive at any basic conclusion. The meeting was therefore continued last Tuesday at the headquarters of the Joint Board, where all the executive boards were present, as well as the Executive Board of Local No. 10, to the members of which letters were sent out, notifying them of the meeting. A report of this, as well as

WITH THE DRESS AND WAIST JOINT BOARD.

(Continued from Page 11)

the money, for the time being. After a lengthy discussion, the Board of Directors expressed that the Unity House Committee is working independently of the Joint Board and they may, if they like, submit the required data to the Secretary of the Joint Board, or they may not. The Secretary was therefore instructed to immediately forward all the monies collected by the Joint Board for the Unity House to the Unity House Committee and that the General Manager call a special meeting of the Unity House Committee.

This part of the Board of Directors' report was approved, the remainder having been postponed until the next meeting of the Joint Board.

Brother LiCausi sent in his resignation as a Business Agent of the Joint Board. Upon motion, the resignation was accepted.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10 ATTENTION!

On August 1st, the Office of the Cutters Union moved to

231 E. 14th Street

(Between Second and Third Avenues)

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

WAIST AND DRESS, SPECIAL

Case of Bro. Julius Levin

Monday, September 12th

MISCELLANEOUS: Monday, September 19th

REGULAR, GENERAL AND SPECIAL:

Purpose: To adopt Balance of Amendments to Constitution

Monday, September 26th

Meetings begin at 7:30 P.M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

Cutters of All Branches

should secure a card when going in to work and return it when laid off. They must also change their cards when securing an increase.



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