

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

—Job. 27.6

JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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PHILADELPHIA WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS IN GRIM FIGHT FOR SELF-DEFENCE

The general strike of the Philadelphia waist and dressmakers is in excellent condition. The strikers are full of enthusiasm for this just conflict which they strove so hard to avoid, and which their employers have practically forced upon them. Before long these employers will realize that they have erred in their calculations of an easy and crushing victory over their workers and the elimination of their organization as a factor in the industry in Philadelphia.

To be sure, this brazen scheme of the employers to crush the Union has had just the contrary effect upon the Philadelphia waist and dressmakers. The thousands of men and women belonging to Local No. 15 have been united closer than ever before by this move of their bosses and are fighting now with unprecedented zeal and determination for the right to live like free human beings.

The workers in the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia know their employers pretty well. They know how little they can rely upon the sense of fairness and square deal of

the average Philadelphia waist manufacturer and they are not going to lay down their weapons now until this obstinacy and bad faith of their bosses is definitely removed and safeguarded against. The fact that a great many workers from heretofore unorganized shops have gone out together with the organized shops is ample proof of the general condition of dissatisfaction prevailing in the entire industry, a dissatisfaction which is based on real, basic grievances and which the Union is determined to remove before this fight has been brought to an end. These unorganized workers have now joined the Union and together with their fellow workers from the organized shops, will fight shoulder to shoulder to the end.

What the outcome of this strike will be is fairly indicated by its history for the first few days. The call of the Union, as indicated above, was responded to not only by the members of the organization but by a large number of non-Union workers. All told there are involved in this

strike about three thousand workers, practically all employed in the trade. Already about 30 manufacturers, among them three influential members of the Employers' Association, have signed agreements with the Union and about six hundred workers have returned to their shops.

Right after the workers had left their shops the Union organized mass meetings in every section of the city and these meetings were addressed by General Secretary Baroff, of the International; First Vice-President Morris Sigman and Bro. Elias Reinsberg, the manager of Local No. 15. The meetings were very enthusiastic and the speeches of the officers of the Union were received with cheers and ovations. General Secretary Baroff also addressed meetings of the strikers on Thursday, September 8, for which he came especially from New York.

The strike is under the immediate supervision and leadership of Vice-President Morris Sigman and Manager Elias Reinsberg, of the local organization.

New York Ladies' Tailors Settle With Employers

The employers in the ladies' tailoring establishments in New York City took a long chance a couple of weeks ago and presented a demand to their workers for a reduction of "at least" 15 per cent of their wages and the increasing of the work-hours to 48 per week. The ladies' tailors of New York, however, are at present a part of the powerful Cloakmakers' Joint Board and are under the jurisdiction and protection of this body. The ladies' tailors employers had, therefore, for the first time in their history to deal directly with the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union and in reply to their demands they received a most emphatic: "Gentlemen, this cannot be done!"

Several conferences did take place between the organized owners of ladies' tailoring establishments in New York and representatives of the Joint Board and at all these conferences the attitude of the Union officials remained steady and unchanged against any wage decrease or lengthening of work hours. The employers have, therefore, been compelled after a good deal of heated discussion to withdraw their demands.

Conditions in the ladies' tailoring industry, as a consequence, remain as before and all controversies have been amicably settled and removed. The Union was represented at these conferences through the following persons: Louis Pinkovsky, Chairman of the Joint Board; Israel Feinberg, General Manager; Samuel Lefkowitz, manager-secretary of the Ladies' Tailors Union, Local No. 3; Jacob Rubin, manager of the "Protective" Division of the Joint Board and Brothers Brodfield and Shuchman.

GOMPERS WILL PLEAD CIGARMAKERS' CAUSE BEFORE CLOAK JOINT BOARD

Several weeks ago, President Schlesinger went to Washington upon a special invitation extended to him by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, to take part in a conference on behalf of the cigarmakers of Greater New York. This conference was called at the request of President Perkins of the Cigarmakers' International Union in connection with an organizing drive being undertaken by his organization in the New York territory.

It appears that the New York dis-

trict, wherein a large number of cigar shops are located, has in recent years become the chief non-union center in the cigar industry in the United States—the happy hunting ground of the Tobacco Trust and its subsidiaries. Wages and other work standards have sunk very low and in recent months wage cuts have been ordered in most New York shops without mercy or regard to living conditions.

Of course, both President Gompers and Perkins realize that the Cloak-

makers' Joint Board, the strongest individual labor body in New York, is probably the only big labor organization, broad-minded and generous enough, to extend to the cigarmakers aid in their citywide drive. Hence the invitation to President Schlesinger to take part in that conference.

President Schlesinger has arranged to call a special meeting of the New York Joint Board for September 10th, at 110 East 125th Street, Horton Hall, at which President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and President Perkins of the Cigarmakers will both appear and lay the cause of the New York cigarmakers before the cloakmakers' delegated body.

Chicago Ladies' Tailors Strike Against Wage Cut

A strike affecting about 20 ladies' tailoring establishments belonging to the members of the newly formed Chicago Ladies' Tailors Association began on Wednesday last when the employers announced a 20 per cent. reduction in wages as well as other changes in the working standards. More than 300 workers are affected.

We received the following message in connection with this strike from the strike committee of Local No. 164:

"On August 26th, we received a resolution from the newly formed Association of Employers in our line with the following demands: A 20 per cent. reduction in wages; discharge at the discretion of the employer or foreman; and several other demands of minor importance.

"Of course, we refused to accept any such proposals or terms. The result was that they have locked us out in about 20 shops, and it looks as if the situation will not improve;

it may spread to the 40 other shops in the local industry.

"Now what we request from our fellow workers, the tailors of New York, is that in case they come across orders that they might recognize as strike orders from Chicago to refuse to make these. This attitude will prove to the sharks that are out to swallow the bit of bread that we are earning that the workers of New York are with us in this fight."

President Schlesinger Off for a Ten-Day Vacation

President Schlesinger, whose health has been far from desirable for the last several months, has finally decided to take off a few days from his business tasks for a little vacation.

He left last week for Mt. Clemens, Mich., a well-known cure place for persons suffering with rheumatism, and expects to stay there for ten days after which he will return to New York to resume active work.

NEW YORK UNIT-CENTERS WILL OPEN MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12TH.

All the International Educational Unity Centers will open up on Monday evening, September 12th, in Public Schools enumerated last week in "JUSTICE."

The members of our locals should not fail to take advantage of this early opportunity and register.

Remember: Knowledge is might!

Cloak Chairmen Meet for Russian Famine Relief

The relief work for the starving masses in Russia launched on a wide scale within our International Union is branching out and assuming a more and more concrete and practical character. The Directing Committee of the Drive is doing all in its power to stimulate the collection of money in the shops.

At the mass meeting of cloak shop chairmen—which is to be held to-night, Thursday September 8, at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street, New York City, a report of the progress of the Russian Famine Relief Drive will be laid before the assembled chairmen by Director Philip Kaplowitz and the other officers of the Directing Committee. It is expected that definite and immediate plans for the collection of money for this relief fund will be devised and approved for action at this meeting for all the cloak, skirt and reefer shops of Greater New York. We shall report this meeting in full in the next issue of "JUSTICE."

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By MAX D. DANISH

THE MENACE OF THE NELSON BILL

REACTION has another trick up its sleeve, another attempt to rob the people of its few and rapidly diminishing prerogatives.

Without much heralding—publicity is not the thing in such matters—the "venerable" Knute Nelson, that unadulterated 100 per cent arch-reactionary of the United States Senate, has introduced, and had it passed in the Senate, a bill which would, to all intents and purposes, nullify the ancient writ of habeas corpus as far as our Federal courts are concerned and would give Federal judges the right to bring an indicted person into their jurisdiction without the "annoyance" of a local hearing in the district where defendant lives.

It does not require any particular amount of sagacity to divine the sources and aims which inspired this obnoxious piece of legislation. With the prerogative of habeas corpus out of the way, what could be easier in times of strikes or other periods of "social unrest" for federal judges, responsible to no electorate, to order before themselves the "culprits" from any adjoining district without being hindered by any local authorities and to deal with them summarily?

Small wonder that the Executive Council of the Federation, alarmed over the possibility of this bill becoming a law, calls upon all organized workers and freedom-loving citizens to "use all power and influence at their command to defeat this proposed legislation and to rally to the defense of our liberty." And the warning is not a bit too soon either. As at present constituted, the House of Representatives is likely to pass any piece of legalized kidnapping, as long as it is aimed against the interest of the workers of the country.

LABOR DAY THEMES

LABOR DAY came and went, with parades in a number of cities and a number of speeches from rostrum and pulpit.

The keynote of speechmaking this year, as it was to be expected, was unemployment. The out-of-work situation, bad enough as it is, with six million breadwinners idle, holds out even more alarming prospects for the coming winter. With the coming of cold weather and the return of hundreds of thousands of itinerant farm laborers to the cities, the destitution is likely to assume appalling dimensions.

Meanwhile, not a single bill had been favorably acted upon by the present Congress for the alleviation of the unemployed workers; not a single measure, in general, calculated to benefit the workers of the country had been favorably reported; not a single thing had been done to protect the workers in their constitutional rights. On the other hand, measures without number against labor and in the interests of the moneybags have been introduced and enacted into law.

In a word, while in the past Labor Day has been a holiday "in the honor of the man who toiled," this year Labor Day, from one end of the country to the other, has been dedicated to the jobless millions, and filled with a mighty cry and call for an effort to put the idle hosts back to work lest a catastrophe overtake the land.

Will the cry be heard?

IS THE MEXICAN MENACE REMOVED?

THE American oil magnates have carried the day.

Mexico City dispatches this week carried reassuring information to the effect that "satisfactory arrangements have been effected between American oil companies and the Government" following closely the decision rendered a few days ago by the Supreme Court of Mexico in favor of these companies.

As a result of these arrangements, the Tampico oil fields, closed down for the past three months, have resumed work again and conditions in the oil district are expected to assume a normal aspect again in the near future. In brief, the basis of taxation put on oil produced by American interests was abandoned by the Mexican government and the article of the Mexican constitution which nationalizes oil deposits was declared non-retroactive and therefore not affecting the huge properties owned by American capitalists.

The interesting feature about this settlement was that by having arranged these peace terms upon their own accord, the oil magnates have practically ignored the very cordial efforts which the State department has been making on their behalf. Washington was left, as it were, in a lurch and can claim no credit for having forced the Mexican government to bow to the will of Standard Oil and its allied interests.

The principal question which lingers in the minds of the average citizen now is: At present, when the enormous appetites of the oil profiteers have been satisfied and after they had forced the Mexicans to part with a good deal of their sovereign powers, is the danger of a collision with Mexico completely over, or will our neighbor republic still remain unrecognized while the clouds of a conflict hover over her horizon?

ORGANIZED LABOR TO THE FRONT IN GERMANY

THE assassinations of Erberger by henchmen of the reactionary clique in Germany has sharply awakened the masses of the German workers to the realization of the fact that reaction had declared an open fight upon the republic in Germany and that it is going to be a fight to the hilt—like in the days of the Kapp insurrection when for a while it did seem as if the monarchy had carried the day in the distracted Fatherland.

The virtual declaration of martial law by Ebert has had already some salutary effect upon the extreme Right, the junkers and the adherents of Kaiserism. The crucial crisis, however, remains Bavaria and there the workers will have to concentrate all their efforts in the near future to stamp out the hotbeds of reaction, if necessary, through the means of a general strike.

One thing is certain. The organized workers of Germany will not permit the adherents of monarchism to raise their head too menacingly. The 11,000,000 members of the German trade unions belonging to the general and independent federations have informed Ebert that they were ready "to go to the front" in defense of the republic. The Socialists, of all shades and party affiliations, also informed the cabinet that they demand that the Government proceed without fear or favor against the elements responsible for the numerous anti-republican demonstrations and

other Pan-German machinations. The deputations also demanded in the name of the radical parties fundamental reform in the civil service and the judiciary.

"REASONABLE" RENT IN NEW YORK

THE problem of defining "reasonable rent" which has been the subject of great controversy between tenant and landlord in the innumerable clashes that have taken place during the last few years in the municipal courts of New York, has finally been settled last week. As a result, jubilation reigns in the camp of the landlords.

The summary of the decision of the Appellate Division amounts to the following: A landlord may charge gross rentals that will not him, after all possible charges and taxes are deducted, ten per cent of the present value of the property. In other words, the owner of the property had best not own a few years ago, or, for that matter, last year when he may have acquired it, but what its market value is now after the owner, and perhaps a half dozen of his predecessors, had

raised and re-raised rentals on that piece of property during a period of feverish inflation, speculation and profiteering lasting several years.

Can there be anything fairer or more "reasonable"? Little wonder that no sooner had the members of the Lockwood Committee heard of this decision which in substance annuls all their efforts and findings of last winter, that they have demanded from Governor Miller to call a special meeting of the highest court in the State to determine the proper way in which to arrive at the true market value of a house, value based not upon a record of unconscionable profiteering but upon the original value of the property or as near that value as possible.

Of course, one must not allow himself to be deluded by too much hope in that direction. Like in all other instances where the interests of the exploited have come into clash with the interests of the exploiters, the courts seem to be invariably the last haven of the fleece of the masses. We shall not be greatly surprised if, after all, the courts will take pity on the hounded landlord and award him the rate of interest he had so anxiously set his heart upon.

Information and Instruction for the Collection of the Half Day Pay for the Russian Famine Sufferers

In accordance with the appeal by the Conference of the International Locals in Greater New York for a Half-Day Pay from all members of the International—to be collected between now and October 1st—shop chairmen and their assistants in the matter of collecting these moneys are requested to observe the following rules:

Collections from cloak shops can be brought to all the offices of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, namely:

New York City: 40 East 23d St., 35 E. 2nd St., 1714 Lexington Ave. Brooklyn: 99 McKibben Street. Brownsville: 219 Sackman Street. JERSEY City: 76 Montgomery Street Newark: 103 Montgomery Street.

Collections in shops of the waist and dress industry are to be brought to the following offices:

Joint Board, 16 W. 21st St., New York
Dressmakers' Union, 16 W. 21st St., New York
Waist Makers' Union, 16 W. 21st St., New York
Italian Waist and Dressmakers Union, 8 W. 21st St. Brooklyn: 60 Graham Avenue

Collections from shops of other locals of the International in Greater New York are to be brought to the following offices:

Embroidery Workers Union, Local No. 6, 394 E. 150th St.
Raincoat Makers Union, Local No. 20, 22 W. 17th St.
House Dress Workers Union, Local No. 41, 22 W. 17th St.
Children Dress Mks. Union, Local No. 50, 22 W. 17th St.
White Goods Work. Union, Local No. 62, 112 Second Ave.
Custom Dress Mks. Union, Local No. 90, 724 Lexington Ave.
Sales Clerks Union, Local No. 131, 71 W. 118th St.

The collections are to be conducted in the following manner:

The shop chairman is to collect the money from the workers individually or is to get it in bulk from the employer, if prior arrangements had been made with the latter for the deduction of the half-day pay. The chairman is to bring all such money collected to his nearest Union office, written out on a list supplied to him by the Union or upon any other list that he might use. For the total amount collected and handed over the chairman will receive a receipt from the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and this amount will subsequently be acknowledged in the "Justice," "Gerechtigkeit" or "Glustizja," including the amount and the names of the shop chairman and of the firm.

In addition to this receipt, the chairman will get in the office of the Union a stamp for each worker, which stamp is to be pasted upon their Union books for identification that they had contributed their half-day pay towards the Russian Famine Fund. This stamp is not a receipt, as it does not indicate the amount contributed by each individual, but the receipt for the shop as a whole, is the actual receipt for the money turned in by the shop.

Coal Profiteering in France

By MARION LUCAS

Because in its opinion the production of metals is the basis of the economic life of a country, the Labor Economic Council established by the French General Confederation of Labor has recommended the nationalization of the mines of France. This is not a new project for a labor union, as it has long been advocated for England by the English miners' union and was one of the objects for which the recent long and bitter struggle was waged by the miners of that country. The French council urges this step, however, as part of its program for the rapid rehabilitation of France, which was physically more oppressed by the war than any other country except, perhaps, Belgium.

The old law enacted in France in April, 1810, governed the working of the mines of that country today. Needless to say, mines are owned and operated in France by private individuals. A large part of the mines are the property of single companies, composed of one or two owners, who pass their property on to their children. Often not only the mine itself is owned by a single owner, but also the property on the surface above the mine.

There is a powerful group of mines in Anzin, in the department of the Nord. The president of these mines is Monsieur Cuvint, a senator.

Founded in 1787, these mines include eight concessions, which extend over a territory comprising from thirty to thirty-five kilometers. The first concessions were granted in 1840 and 1855. The profit made in this group of mines has been enormous, not only for the original investors, but also for those who bought stock in the mines later. The early holders received an interest of over 9,309 per cent on their money. Later buyers received an interest of 440 per cent.

In addition to these dividends, it is necessary to consider the profits derived from surface property above the mines, which is in the hands of the same owners. The company which owns the Anzin mine is also the owner of the railroad line going from Somain, in the French department of the Nord, to Peruwé, Belgium. The profits from this railroad line alone are great.

Another example of profiteering may be seen in the mines of Aniche, also in the department of the Nord. Their dividends appear small at first glance. But these owners have also acquired the surface property over their mines and have exploited it in addition to receiving their dividends from the mines. The history of enormous profits made through the individual exploitation of mines is repeated in the case of the Béthune mines, the Bruay mines, the Courrières mines and the mines of Liévin. Something of the large rates of interest paid stockholders in these mines may be estimated from the fact

that, for every franc of capital invested in the Anzin and Aniche mines, the investor received respectively 90 and 1,120 francs.

The Mines' Committee has established the fact that the average return on the initial capital invested in mines is a dividend of two per cent. In Algeria the average return is only one per cent. When it is known that some mine owners are receiving dividends of 440 per cent and 9,309 per cent on their money, it may be understood how great the losses must be in many other mines to drag down the average interest rate to two or one per cent. This only makes another strong argument in favor of the nationalization of mines, according to the French council. Good mines bring great fortunes to a very limited number of people, whereas mines which do not succeed bring ruin to many. Those who are hurt by the failure of a mine include not only those who are particularly interested in the mines but also many poor people who can always be found to speculate on an "easy chance." Small speculators are most often the losers in such propositions because they have no way of getting a proper estimate of the reliability of the promoters.

A study of the reports of various French capitalist enterprises shows that, in all capitalist governments, there are certain men whose names appear as directors on the boards of many enterprises. Several mine owners are heads of the transportation system, construction companies, banks, insurance companies, and also on their active governing boards. The economic future of the country lies in the hands of a few wealthy men.

The French Mines' Committee is one of the most important capitalist organizations in France. It has great influence with parliament. It holds a basic position with regard to all other industry, for it is the regulator of production for many essential materials. France has always paid higher for her coal than any of its neighboring countries due to the fact that mining companies have always made "gold of coal." Protected by the law, the French companies have curtailed production of this necessity in France.

It is claimed that there are 400 concessions in France today that are not being worked. It is also stated that France need not be inferior to any other European country in the production of metal, should there be an honest production of metal in that country. Mines are being worked there today chiefly for immediate revenue and not for the good of the nation as a whole. Nationalization of mines would further their exploitation for the good of the general

public, for increased production, would bring the organization of miners and bring a general improvement in their working conditions.

Several mines which were given up as dangerous under the law of 1810, after visits by government inspectors, were quietly sold to other holders and later worked, to the gain of the stockholders. The stockholders got their dividends from the mines by destroying the mines themselves, without protest on the part of the government. In many cases miners became complete invalids as a result of working under unsanitary or dangerous conditions, but no protest was made against this by government inspectors. Mines taken from their holders as well as other previously unexploited holdings, reaped millions for their eventual owners, at the sacrifice of either mines or lives.

There is a general police regulation applicable to mines under the old law of France. As in many other countries, this law has never, or rarely, been applied. The proof of this may be found in the many accidents which have taken place in several French mines. Horrible and many have been the explosions and fires, as well as other catastrophes occurring in French mines without protest from the government.

Reviewing the present situation of the mines in France, one sees that the stockholders are the financial power in the mining companies' trust. Their power is delegated to councils of administration. Those who are on the central committee represent three or four different societies. The working of the mines is entirely in the hands of the body of mining engineers. Many of these are men with high ideals, experienced in the technical administration of mines and capable of unlimited devotion to their duty. The only thing which keeps them from their duty is the trust formed by the mining companies. It is due to the fact that this is a national organization that nothing can be done against it. It is the law of economic determination forcibly applied.

Federal interest is slowly disappearing in favor of national interest and the rule of the greatest good for the greatest number. The scheme whereby mines may be worked for the benefit of the nation and not of the individual is evolutionary in character. Gradual acquisition of the mines is proposed, with adequate recompense and eventual control by the state.

Nationalization of French mines would mean sweeping away the prejudices and traditions of some hundreds of years. It might, however, mean hastening the progress of a nation which is having hard work getting back to pre-war conditions.

A Labor Spy's Confession

The superintendent of a Baltimore strike-breaking agency became, conscience stricken and has made an "open confession," which he hopes "will be good for my soul." He was employed by the "Bureau of Industrial Relations," an organization formed by union-busting employers of the Monumental City and given charge of breaking the strike or lockout which has been on in the printing trades since May 1.

The spy, who gives his name as Joseph H. Thomas, appeared at the offices of Baltimore Typographical Union No. 12 and voluntarily told the story of how he had operated in an attempt to have men and women break their obligations and return to work as strikebreakers. Thomas put his "confession" in writing, a copy of which has been furnished Labor by Arthur I. Jackson, president of Baltimore Typographical Union.

"On May 1," writes Thomas, "I was made a tempting offer by the Bureau of Industrial Relations—which was financed by the employing printers—to come to Baltimore and break the printing trades strike or lockout. It was my business to get the men and women back to work on the 48-hour week basis and to defeat the 44-hour week which the employers had contracted to inaugurate on May 1. I held conferences with representatives of the employing printers and got busy.

"I was told that if Baltimore Typographical Union, rated as one of the strongest unions in the lockout struggle, could be whipped, it would break down the morale of other unions and materially aid employers everywhere to defeat the demands of organized labor. Due to my experience in handling such matters I was given full charge with power to go the limit.

"The first step taken by the officers of the agency was an attempt to get the officers of Typographical Union

No. 12 on the payroll in some way. A man was sent to their homes with instructions to carefully interview the officers. Report was made to our headquarters of the appearance of the man and the conditions of his home. On receiving this information one of our agents got in touch with the union official, using the pretext of representing an efficiency engineering company. The agent made tempting offers and painted roses and gardens and other things of like manner. Now, then, did they succeed? I want to tell you that they did not succeed, because the scheme was so crude, and put over in such a crude manner, that the officers of the union saw through it and it fell flat."

Thomas says that he obtained a list of all union members locked out and put his operatives to work visiting their homes, gaining entry on the pretext of selling insurance, and in some cases talking the co-operative plan, making it a point to introduce the strike situation in order to have members or their wives give an expression on this subject.

"After my operatives reported," continues Thomas, "I made a list, one called 'good' and the other 'bad.' On the good list were the names of those who had expressed themselves a little in favor of wishing that the strike was over or had never been called. The bad list bore the names of those in favor of the strike and its continuance until the 44-hour week is won. I can truthfully say that 90 per cent of the printers thus interviewed were on the 'bad' list.

"Other operatives called upon those on the 'good list' and endeavored to have them tear up their cards and return to work. This scheme did not prove successful, even when informed that if they did not do so they would never be able to again secure employment at their trade in Baltimore.

"Another method used to coerce the strikers was to close the credit of

the men. A good many of them are buying homes, furniture, etc., on the installment plan. The word was passed around that the banks were to get in touch with the building and loan companies and the furniture stores and have them refuse extension of time to all members of the printing trades.

"So much for the outside work, which is called missionary work. I will now go into detail of the inside work and the methods used. The first thing to do was to get some member of the local to keep us informed as to what was going on at the meetings. Several men were put on the payroll to give me a detailed report of everything that went on in Locals 12, 44 and 61. These reports I received every day in their own handwriting, and I had duplicate copies made and given the employers. These men were known to the employers by number and not by names, I being the only one here in Bal-

more knowing the names. These names I have given to your union officers, and they will deal with them.

"Now, for the finer work. I had men also who were members of the I. T. U. These men are called trouble makers. By that I mean that they were always ready to find fault of some kind, no matter whether it was right or wrong, but just to cause hard feelings would even go so far as to insult members of the local. Another class was the man who would gain the confidence of his man, and then in a polite way try and talk him into dropping the union. These are the methods used; that is, the main points of attack."

Not having made any appreciable headway, a meeting of the union-busting employers was held July 23, in one of the hotels. The managers of the strike-breaking agency were informed that the funds of the "Bu-

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Through the Eyes of a Standpatter

By OBSERVER

Intelligent opinion and a broad view of things are usually not regarded as falling within the domain of the Department of Justice. After the long and tedious spout of Palmerism, with its witch-burning and "red" hunting bubbles, that department of our national administration has been looked upon as the headquarters of political twaddle and spuriously patriotic rant. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that a representative of the Department of Justice has attracted the attention of the intelligent elements of the country by a truly interesting and illuminating speech.

We refer to the opening address delivered before the convention of the American Bar Association at Cincinnati, by James M. Beck, Solicitor General of the United States. It is, indeed, a remarkable address, touching as it does in no superficial manner upon the various phases of the world-wide discontent. Mr. Beck has the courage to see things as they are and the insight to discern moral forces which as yet are latent. In his speech on "the moral psychology of the present revolt against the spirit of authority" the Solicitor General proves himself a searching diagnostician of the world's malady, apparently going down to the bottom of things and seeking there the causes of the external symptoms.

Yet his proposed cure is a quick, pure and simple, at any rate it is absurdly inadequate as a remedy for the world's ills; and this is because his mental efforts and intellectual power are misapplied in the wrong direction, are wasted in a mass of metaphysics instead of being applied to the world

of realities. With all his clear thinking he is not open-minded and with all his power to see things he is unable to understand them in correlation with the general scheme of human society.

Mr. Beck sees symptoms of world-wide revolt against authority in every realm of social life. In religion, in art, in industry, in sex—everywhere the mutiny against the old is ablaze, everywhere man seeks to cast off the conventions, traditions and laws of the social order that has outlived its day. Speaking of political unrest, he points out that it is not merely a reaction against "tyranny," for "even in the most stable of democracies and among the most enlightened peoples the underground rumblings of revolution may be heard."

Nor is he deceived as to the nature of the particular industrial struggles in this or that country. In his words: "This would be serious enough if it were only the world-old struggle between capital and labor and had only involved the conditions of manual toil. But the insurrection against the political state in England was more political than it was economic. It marked, on the part of millions of men a portentous decay of the belief in representative government and its chosen organ—the ballot box."

"Great and powerful groups have suddenly discovered—and it may be the most portentous political discovery of the twentieth century—that the power involved in their control over the necessities of life, as compared with the power of the voting franchise, was as a 43-centimeter cannon to the bow and arrow."

The fact that Mr. Beck has dis-

cerned this new potent force, this most portentous political discovery of the twentieth century, testifies to his power of penetration, to his ability to see things beyond the narrow horizon of a state functionary. But having ascertained the fact, having classified it as an epoch-making discovery, the Solicitor General betrays his utter inability to explain it, to link it with the swift moving events of our troubled times. Perhaps it is not his innate inability to comprehend the cross-currents in our industrial society that accounts for his failure to explain the fact after he has recognized it. They are none so blind as those who would not see, and Mr. Beck evidently refused to see any flaws in the established economic and political order. He starts from the tacit assumption that all is well with the world, save the revolt against authority. He does not even so much as hint that this revolt may be rooted in the basic characteristics of the present order, in the maladjustment between capital and labor, in the failure of the democratic institutions to function in the interests of the masses.

Having thus abandoned the realm of concrete realities, Mr. Beck plunges headlong into a veritable mire of abstractions and metaphysics. Shutting his eyes to the evidence that is staring him in the face, he starts on a hunt of elusive clues and traces in the trackless spaces of the human soul. There he seeks for an explanation of the world-wide revolt against the organs of the established order.

We are loath to burden our readers with the fine-spun abstractions of Mr. Beck, but a sample of his "deep stuff" may not be amiss. Well, here is it:

"The great indictment, however, of the present age of mechanical power is that it has largely destroyed the spirit of work. The great engin-

which it propounds to us, and which, like the riddle of the Sphinx, we will solve or be destroyed, is this: 'Has the increase in the potential of human power, through thermodynamics, been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the potential of human character?'"

It is a small wonder, after this, that in the matter of suggesting a cure Mr. Beck falls flat, nay, sinks to the degree of mentality of a district politician or a rabid injunction-judge. After a final spurt of high-falutin' language, in which he suggests that the law and the legal profession may save the world by "protecting the soul of man from destruction by the soulless machine," the Solicitor General delivers himself of an utterance which, for all its big words, runs true to the pronouncements of the open-shop champions. Quoth Mr. Beck:

"We must defend the right to work against those who would either destroy or degrade it. We must defend the right of every man not only to join with others in protecting his interests, whether he is a brain worker or a hand worker—for without the right of combination the individual would often be the victim of giant forces—but we must vindicate the equal right of an individual, if he so will, to depend upon his own strength."

Well, we may have failed to keep up with the representative of the Department of Justice in his flight to the dizzying height of philosophy, but the above statement of his is clear and plain to us, for all its high language. It means to say that the law has to be fair to organized labor and at the same time protect the open-shop conspirators and encourage their dupes.

Which is, after all, no more than one might have expected from a representative of our Washington officialdom.

INTIMATE IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE

By ALEXANDER FICHANDLER

There are several ways of discovering what the situation is in another country. One is to visit officials of labor organizations, well known writers on labor subjects, prominent members of labor parties, authorities of all kinds on social and economic problems and other persons of similar character. This method has certain advantages and enables one to form impressions from the opinions of people who are devoting their entire attention to the question at issue, and whose opinions therefore are of considerable importance.

In my case, however, the impressions of the European situation came from entirely different sources. They came mainly from people whose names are not known to the world, or even to myself. They came from casual acquaintances in railway carriages, on boats, on omnibuses and elsewhere. They came from factory workers, railroad engineers, cab-drivers, on the one hand and perfectly respectable merchants, business men and professionals on the other. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that they are the result of talks and chats with ordinary people of all classes of society.

England had always meant to me the country where the labor problem is being solved in the happiest possible way, the country where labor is coming into its own, slowly but

surely, the country where workers are asserting themselves as nowhere else, and are gathering power and authority.

But what a disappointment! One or two prominent students of labor turned to me with a grin saying, "Why do you think all that of England? It is you Americans who are doing so much in the cause of labor."

And truly, as discouraged as we may be sometimes in America as to the comparative weakness of the labor movement, and particularly of the grave situation today, we feel less so, after observing conditions in England.

Perhaps the best analysis of the labor situation in England was made to me by a very courteous Englishman with whom I walked and talked for about three hours. He is a merchant in the city of London, quite comfortable economically, cultured, refined, but thoroughly conservative in his views. I asked him question after question as to the various social, economic and political problems confronting England, to all of which I received intelligent and thoroughly frank replies.

"What about labor?" I asked.

"Labor? Why, we have no fear of labor today. You know, during the war labor was the top dog here. They did what they pleased. They had us completely at their mercy. But today, it is quite different. Labor is completely crushed. It has lost

its spirit. Unemployment is so serious here that labor does not dare anything."

"And in addition," he added quite calmly, "labor is all split up, don't you know. The workers are fighting among themselves. They have no confidence in their leaders. Some of them think the leaders are too radical. Others think the leaders are too conservative. And then they are quarreling among themselves. (Don't you see, we have very little to fear when a group of people is crushed, has lost its spirit and is full of internal quarrels. There is nothing at all to fear from it.)"

I smiled in agreement with him. I hope he did not notice the bitterness in my smile.

The tragedy of the situation spelled the day for me. This frank opinion, expressed by a thoroughly representative type of the capitalist class, pointed to the sore spot in the labor movement more clearly perhaps than could be done by most workers. The tragedy of divided and quarrelling labor attempting to fight the thoroughly concentrated and united capitalism, seemed to me almost hopeless.

But I had some comfort later, when in discussing this matter with workmen, I found that although they agreed the situation was exactly as described above, there was a very strong feeling among them that this is but a transient, temporary condition. As soon as unemployment fades away, labor will reassert itself and will continue in its onward march.

That the workers in England are full of a revolutionary spirit and are prepared to make radical changes in the economic structure of England, is something that a great many of us believe to be true. All that is necessary to dispel this belief is a conversation with English workers,

picked up here and there without any selection.

The whole spirit of England breathes conservatism or conservative radicalism. While many English people are alive to the inequity of the present economic system, and while most of them advocate changes, when the question of method is put before them, the reply is startlingly unanimous.

To my question, "What are you going to do about it?" practically all say: "Why, we shall get there somehow or other. Something will be done. We must organize. We must use our political power. We have managed similar situations before. We will do the same again."

There are others, extreme radicals, who preach immediate action. They are enthusiastic, sincere and well meaning. But they confess that they are very few in number. Whether they will increase in number in England is extremely doubtful.

Perhaps one of the reasons why these extreme radicals will not increase in large numbers, is the tolerance of the English government. It is true that several Communist leaders are committed to prison for two or three months, but after all this is insignificant when compared to the attitude of the government towards the free expression of communist views.

(To be continued)

BUY

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EVILS OF GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION

The modern use of the writ of injunction, especially in labor disputes, is revolutionary and destructive of popular government. Our government was designed to be a government by law, said law to be enacted by the legislative branch, construed by the judiciary, and administered by the executive.

An injunction is "an extraordinary writ issued out of equity enjoining a threatened injury to property or property rights, where there is not a plain, adequate and complete remedy at law."

The definition of equity is "the application of right and justice to the legal adjustment of differences where the law by reason of its universality is deficient," or "that system of jurisprudence which comprehends every matter of law for which the common law provides no remedy . . . springing originally from the royal prerogative moderating the harshness of the common law according to good conscience." In other words, it is the exercise of power according to the judgment and conscience of one man.

It was for this reason that in Great Britain, whence the United States derives its system of equity, as well as of law, the equity power was limited to the protection of property or property rights, and in such cases only where there was no remedy at law; the words adequate and complete have been added here.

When the courts of equity take jurisdiction over, and issue injunctions in, labor disputes they do so to protect business, which, under late rulings by several courts, is held to be property. These rulings are disputed and condemned by other courts, which hold that relations between employers and employees, between buyer and seller, are personal relations, and as such, if regulated at all, are regulated by statute or common law only. If the latter contention be right, and of this we believe there can be no question, the ruling that makes business property, or the right to carry

on or continue in business a property right, is revolutionary and must lead to a complete change, not only in our industrial, but in our political life. If the court of equity be permitted to regulate personal relations, it will gradually draw to itself all legislative power. If it be permitted to set aside or to enforce law, it will ultimately arrogate to itself jurisdiction now held by the law courts and abolish trial by jury.

The constitution confers equity power upon the courts by stating that they shall have jurisdiction in law and in equity in the same way that it makes it their duty to issue the writ of habeas corpus, and in substantially the same way as it provides for trial by jury. Equity power came to us as it existed in England at the time of the adoption of our constitution, and it was so limited and defined by English authorities that our courts could not obtain jurisdiction in labor disputes except by the adoption of a ruling that business is property. If business be property in the case of a strike or boycott, and can therefore be protected by the equity court against diminution of its usual income, caused by a strike or boycott conducted by the working people, then it is not merely matter of property at other times, and therefore entitled to be protected against loss of income caused by competition from other manufacturing or business men. Business and income from business would become territorial and would be in the same position as land and the income from land. The result would be to make all competition in trade unlawful; it would prevent any one from engaging in trade or manufacture unless he comply with the whims and fancies of those who have their trade or means of production already established.

No one could enter into business except through inheritance, bequest or sale.

In order to show the fallacy of this new definition of property we here state the accepted legal definition.

Property means the dominion of in-

definite right of user and disposition which one lawfully exercises over particular things or subjects and generally to the exclusion of all others. Property is ownership, the exclusive right of any person freely to use, enjoy, and dispose of any determinate object, whether real or personal. (English and American Encyclopedia of Law.)

Property is the exclusive right of possession, enjoying and disposing of a thing. (Century Dictionary.)

A right imparting to the owner a power of indefinite user, capable of being transmitted to universal successors by way of descent, and imparting to the owner the power of disposition from himself to his successors. (Austin, Jurisprudence.)

The sole and despotic dominion which one claims and exercises over the external things of the world in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the world. (Blackstone.)

It will be seen that property is a product of nature or labor, and that the essential element is that it may be disposed of by sale, be given away, or in any other way transferred to another. There is no distinction in law between property and property rights.

From these definitions it is plain that labor power or patronage can not be property, but aside from this we have the thirteenth amendment to the constitution, prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude.

Labor power can not be property, because it can not be separated from the laborer. It is personal. It grows with health, diminishes in sickness, and ceases at death. It is an attribute of life.

The ruling of the court makes of the laborer a serf, of patronage an evidence of servitude by assuming that one may have a property right in the labor or patronage of another.

Labor, on the other hand, is defined as:

That which occupies the time, attention and labor of men for the purpose of effort and improvement. (American and English Encyclopedia of Law.)

That which binds or that which occupies the time, attention or labor of one, as his principal concern,

whether for a longer or shorter time. (Webster's Dictionary.)

Physical or mental effort, particularly for some useful or desired end. Exercise of the powers for some end other than recreation or sport. (Century Dictionary.)

It will be seen from these definitions that, while there is a fundamental difference between property and business, there is none at all between business and labor, so that if the earning power of business can be protected by equity power through injunction so can the earning power of labor—in other words, the laborer may obtain an injunction against a reduction of his wages, or against a discharge, which would stop the wages entirely.

If this new definition of property, by including therein business and labor, be accepted, then the judge sitting in equity becomes the irresponsible master of all men who do business or who labor.

We contend that equity power and jurisdiction—discretionary government by the judiciary—for well-defined purposes and within specific limitations granted to the courts by the constitution has been so extended that it is invading the field of government by law and endangering constitutional liberty—that is, the personal liberty of the individual citizen.

As government by equity (personal government) advances, republicanism (government by law) recedes.

We have escaped from despotic government by the king. We realized that after all he was but a man. Are we going to permit the growing up of a despotic government by the judges? Are not they also men?

The despotism of one can in this sense be no better than the despotism of another. If we are to preserve "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," any usurpation by the judiciary must be as sternly resisted as usurpation by the executive.

What labor is now seeking is the assistance of all liberty-loving men in restoring the common-law definition of property and in restricting the jurisdiction of the equity courts in that connection to what it was at the time of the adoption of the constitution.

The Bryn Mawr Experiment

A summer school for women workers in industry was conducted for the past two months at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania. The object of the school, as stated in the circular of announcement, was "to offer to young women of character and ability a fuller special education and an opportunity to study liberal subjects in order that they may widen their influence in the industrial world, help in the coming social reconstruction, and increase the happiness and usefulness of their own lives." As there is more than one interpretation of the phrase "widen their influence in the industrial world and help in the coming social reconstruction," it would seem that the real object of the school was to offer it as a substitute for the Rand School, the various grade union colleges, and the newly planned Workers' College at Katonah, N. Y., all of which have been banned by the New York state legislature.

The summer school was suggested by Miss M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College who was interested in workers' education in England. It was directed by a joint administration committee composed of representatives of women workers in industry, representatives of the college, and of the alumnae association.

The instructors, for the most part, were previously associated with workers' education in England and America. If they had been allowed the "absolute freedom of teaching and discussion" to which the school in theory stood pledged, and if the wretched tutorial system had not been attempted, the students would undoubtedly have been as eager and enthusiastic in the economics, labor and government courses as they were in the courses in social and political history, literature, composition, appreciation of music and physiology and hygiene.

Majority Unorganized

The majority of the students came from unorganized trades and were products of the Y. W. C. A. They were amazed at the discussions of the radical minority from the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Telephone Operators. The girls from this latter organization were splendidly class conscious—girls to be proud of in the American labor movement. The characteristic attitude of the average American student in the class discussion was a bewilderment: "We like our boss, we pity the poor boss, you would take everything from him. We are satisfied. We do not want to belong

to a union." Unfortunately, their psychology is the all too familiar psychology which one helplessly confronts in organizing the American elements in the small towns where the tailoring industry is rapidly developing.

Among the organized girls were those representing the Ladies' Garment Workers, a militantly rebellious group from Baltimore, Chicago, Boston, and New York, and the Telephone Operators, likewise aggressively rebellious, from California, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. The New York Millinery Workers were equally splendid, as was the radical representative of the Hotel Workers, who organized the maids while at the summer school. There were several extremely interesting girls from the United Garment Workers from Seattle and Denver, radical, keen, class conscious young women with no illusions about their organization.

A Radical Minority

This fighting radical minority created much unrest at the school and prevented the summer school from being valueless. They have an insight into a world previously unknown, a wonderful, beautiful world, for nowhere else in America does one find a college with such wealth of beauty and richness of culture as at Bryn Mawr. But they have learned that culture often covers much that is false and insincere. It is not a

world of the workers—only for two brief months were they allowed a glimpse of it. Then they must return to workshop and factory to produce the wealth of the world which makes it possible for such institutions to flourish.

UNITY HOUSE TO CLOSE SEPTEMBER 11TH.

Unity House will be closed Sunday, September 11th; but not before five hundred of our members and friends are gathered in a Labor Day celebration, and not before guests of the House have put forth some effort to help the Russian relief funds.

The Unity House Committee is making special arrangements to see that at the time of celebration and fun-making at Ughy, our members will also have an opportunity to express their desire to help Russia in some very tangible way.

Meanwhile, registration for the week-end is completed. A very fine program is promised. Water sports and various competitions will be staged on the grounds. A season, which has been very successful considering the condition of the industry, is drawing to its close. If workers want to keep on taking their vacations at Ughy, they should be ready to co-operate in making the Debenture concert at Carnegie Hall on October 25th a great success. No one should leave the House without tickets for this concert.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE PROPER SPIRIT

The reports from the Philadelphia waist and dress strike are very encouraging. The strike is barely one week old, and already about thirty firms have settled with the Union and from five to six hundred workers have returned to their shops. This is, of course, quite an important, and from the point of view of the employers' association, a rather disquieting breach in their supposedly invincible stone wall. Among those who had settled there are several firms of substantial influence in the trade. All told, it is a very comfortable beginning and it may be followed very soon by a number of other manufacturers and a stampede to get under cover and to settle with the workers' organization.

On the other hand, the spirit among our workers is excellent and their courage, unity and will-to-win continues on the increase, as the panicky feeling among the employers becomes more and more evident. Of course, we had a right to expect such an indomitable morale from our Philadelphia strikers. Their past history is eloquent proof of what resistance they are capable of offering when their life interests are at stake. Nevertheless, we cannot refrain from restating, with pride and confidence, that we have entrusted the banner of our International in firm and virile hands and that we shall receive it back from them, after the victorious issue of the conflict, as unscathed and as unharmed.

It is not our intention to create, through these remarks, the impression that the strike is all but over, or that our victory is already "cinched." Such an assurance, at the present stage of the fight, would be detrimental in its effect and, through overconfidence, would perhaps endanger the outcome of the strike. It is possible that our Philadelphia strikers still have a long and obstinate fight ahead of them, until they succeed in convincing their employers of the hopelessness of the attempt to break our Philadelphia waist and dressmakers' organization. We only wish to underscore the inspiring beginning of the fight, its reassuring signs and the sanguine expectations it presages. That the employers are already despondent of victory can be easily seen from the methods they have adopted to break the unity of the workers. Arrests of peaceful pickets have already begun and the police, inspired obviously by more than mere "friendship" is, as of old, doing yeoman service for the bosses. We can expect, as the spirit of the workers' resistance grows more and more mature and adamant, that the employers will resort to even more desperate and mean methods. We are not, however, in the least alarmed over it. The greater the fury and bewilderment of the employers, the safer is our fight and the greater will become the resisting power of our strikers. The aid and the sympathy extended to our strikers by the Philadelphia population and the labor movement in general will not fail them under any circumstances. Our Philadelphia strikers know full-well, by this time, that it had fallen to their lot to be the pioneers, the "shock troops" in resisting the employers' onslaught upon the standards of the International gained at such terrible costs, and this conscience is sufficient to keep them steadily and faithfully at their posts.

And to our workers of other locals and trades—whether in Philadelphia or other cities—we wish to say as follows: Regardless of its auspicious beginning, the Philadelphia waist and dress strike must be supported by every means within our possession. We must make this strike our own, we must act like one big body of men and women. Let others talk of a "one big union" and practice everything but that. The membership of our International must by act and fact demonstrate to the world the true and living meaning of a "one big union."

OUR CAMPAIGN FOR STARVING RUSSIA

The real campaign for starving Russia will begin next week—when the cloakmakers' organization of New York sets its machinery in full motion for that purpose.

It is true, the times in our industry are rather hard at present. There is hardly a cloak shop in the city that is working on full time—in addition to the fact that thousands of cloakmakers had been idle altogether for a number of weeks. Under such circumstances it is difficult to expect a great deal. But if we know our cloakmakers well, it appears to us that they will do their very best even under such adverse circumstances. We are certain that our cloakmakers will bear in mind that no matter how difficult the present moment is for them, it cannot be compared to the terrible situation in which millions of children, men and women find themselves in Russia today. Perhaps, their own straits will spur them on to a greater measure of generosity towards the unfortunate famine victims of

Russia. A starved person is oftentimes likely to remain deaf to the cry of the hungry, but he who has tasted hunger and want knows its terror and meaning.

We are confident, therefore, that our cloakmakers will muster sufficient grit to share their slice of bread with those multitudes to whom this crumb is the only life-giver and savor. No matter how difficult and sterile the present season is for our cloakmakers, they will remember that their lives and those of their dependents are not as yet menaced, while in Russia death, pitiless starvation is actually claiming the lives of thousands daily. Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances, our cloakmakers will do everything within their power to make the International relief campaign for Russia a thorough-going success.

WE CONGRATULATE LOCAL 3, THE LADIES' TAILORS

The owners of the ladies' tailoring establishments in New York have made an attempt to exploit the present situation in the trade for a wage-cutting experiment, to increase work-hours and for similar other "reforms." For a while it looked like a fight, as the Union never, even for a moment, considered the possibility of accepting such terms.

Fortunately, a conflict was avoided. After a great deal of negotiating with the employers, the leaders of the organization, Vice-President, Lefkowitz, the manager of Local No. 3, Israel Feinberg, General Manager of the Cloakmakers Joint Board, Louis Pinkovsky, the President of the Joint Board and several others, together with President Schlesinger, succeeded in persuading the employers that the Union stands ready to resist their aggression. As a result, it was agreed to leave everything status quo until next December.

When one considers the general situation in the land, the six million of unemployed and the concerted drive of capital to reduce wages and to destroy organized labor, this energetic attitude of our Union and its practical achievement is, beyond doubt, a matter to be sincerely proud of. Our representatives have learned how to talk to the employers in our trades and the latter, it seems clear, are fully aware of the fact that regardless of critical times our workers are standing fast by their Union and their loyalty is not a bit diminished. The bosses knew that when our leaders spoke of resistance to their demands they meant "business" and have found it to their own best interests to abandon aggressiveness.

MILITARISM IN THE SADDLE

On November 11, diplomats and statesmen from every part of the globe will gather in Washington to discuss ways and means for ridding the world of the curse of militarism. This disarmament Conference is in itself an almost unprecedented event in World War, waged ostensibly for the purpose of "making an end to militarism," and which had destroyed one half of the world and brought the other half to the verge of ruin, was a failure. It is true the militarism of Germany was smashed to a degree. But the other nations are still armed to the teeth and the race between nation and nation for greater armaments goes on, since the days of the armistice, as merrily as ever. So our world rulers have decided to forego their in Washington to find the means for bringing this mad rush to a halt, if they cannot abolish it altogether.

It is said by some that the entire conference will end in nothing and that all will remain as of old. It is said that all those who will participate in the conference are, deep in their hearts, inveterate war-adherents. They neither believe in the abolition of war nor do they think it desirable. Practically all of them are those who had permitted the horrible World War to break out and had seen it waged to a bitter end. None of them, as yet, have seen it fit to repent publicly for the great crime they had perpetrated against humanity and civilization. It is also stated that the interests of the rulers of these lands are in just as sharp a conflict today as they were in 1914 and perhaps even more so. Many of them have come out of this War bigger, richer and more powerful, even though it had been waged for "democracy" exclusively. And now that they have acquired new lands and domains they are loath to part with them. Still other nations have come out of this War badly beaten and crushed. Their hope is for a day when they might recover their losses and recover their former possessions from the victors.

All of which leads one to doubt that the Conference summoned by President Harding for November 11 will accomplish the least results in the direction of disarmament. It is possible that some limitations of armies and navies will be adopted. But who can guarantee the faithfulness of their performance and who can prevent the violation of the adopted covenants? Again, only a few days ago President Harding had made it unmistakably clear in one of his speeches that there can be no talk of the abolition of armies. Armies, he stated to his audience and to the rest of the world, are necessary for "the maintenance of law and order." Without military form, law and order are in jeopardy, he said, pointing, as an example, to the strike, or rather the state of civil war in West Virginia.

In West Virginia the miners are trying to organize themselves into a Union, a perfectly legitimate and legally sanctioned object. The mine owners however, are bent on preventing them from forming a Union, so they have hired men-killers to disrupt the efforts of their men, and now the miners have declared a fight against these hired mercenaries. Their fellow workers from other States and mine fields have come to their assistance. And here is the rub! Law and order have suddenly become endangered and the strong hand of the Federal Government is needed to suppress them. While the hired rangers have been systematically killing the miners and ejecting them from their homes, law and order in West Virginia was perfectly safe and secure. But the moment the miners have begun showing fight and have determined to stand up and fight against the Hessians imported by the mine-owners, the latter have raised the cry of law and order. Of a sudden, Harding, the apostle of peace, has become an apostle of force. He rains proclamations

WHEN RAGE IS MUTE

By HARRY LANG

(Impressions from Executive Council Meeting.)

There is a kind of anger that bursts forth in frothing rage, that fumes and foams, that feverishly clinches one's hands into fists; an anger that snarls and fights, an anger that grinds hard substances into dust and casts panic on near and far. And there is a rage that chokes the throat and cramps the heart, that scatters green sparks of dismay before one's eyes, yet seals the lips in unbroken silence.

It is the rage of the latter kind that makes itself apparent these days in the American labor movement. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. had a meeting last week in Atlantic City. The meeting considered the industrial situation in the land and the status of the labor movement. In its summaries the Council exhibits unmistakable signs of anger, but it is anger without a storm, anger without a clenched fist. It is indignation with lips tightly sealed.

The enemies of the labor movement will be impressed but little by this anger. They may feel a bit uncomfortable, but that is all. They will continue their campaign of wage-cutting, of undermining labor unions and will go on just as ever oppressing, stifling and slaying the rights of the

upon the heads of the marching strikers and declares in solemn tones to the departing soldiers that they are going on a sacred mission, a mission for law and order, and that "military force we shall always have with us." We can just surmise how far the Washington Conference will advance in its work to destroy militarism.

And because of that we feel not the slightest bit disappointed over the fact that Harding had refused the request of Gompers that organized labor participate in that Conference. Gompers' intentions may have been very good. Who is more interested than the workers in making an end to militarism? Who suffers more than the workers in times of war and who brings greater sacrifices after its end? It is true, Gompers might have learned a great deal more from his experiences during the last War—which he himself had aided in bringing to an Allied victory. He had met all these statesmen who are about to engage in the work for a "world peace." He knows their insincerity and their hypocrisy. He knows well enough that they will not give up military force as long as there is "law and order" to keep up, as long as there are strikes to suppress. It would seem, however, that Gompers profits but little from his experiences. He may be old but his heart is ever young and constantly overflows with new illusions. This time his illusion was smothered early in the bud. President Harding informed him that the Conference was not to be a "group or class representation," and that as the President of a "one and undivided America" he will appoint as delegates the most fitted and best adapted for the task.

Hard as it is to admit, we must say that this time logic is on the side of Harding not of Gompers. Had Gompers believed in the class struggle and fought to accentuate it, he would have had the right to demand from President Harding that the working class be represented at this Conference. But this is not the case. Together with Harding, Gompers does not believe that America is divided into two opposing classes. To him there exist only good and bad persons, such as can be found in every human stratum. He knocks at the door of both capitalist parties, hence his championing of "non-partisan politics." Why then make room at the Conference for the representative of a group or a class the existence of which neither Harding nor Gompers recognize?

Yes, logic was, indeed, on the side of Harding this time. If Gompers and the American Federation of Labor—and with them the workers of every other land—had firmly decided that they abstain from working in military factories or refuse conscription, and had carried out their decision, Gompers would have been spared the trouble of requesting Harding for a seat at this Conference. World peace would then be an accomplished fact, with or without the sanctioning of President Harding. Even "law and order" could not then prevent from bringing the curse of militarism to an end. As long, however, as the workers persist in forging tools of murder under one or another excuse, as long as they either enlist or acquiesce in conscription, peace conferences, such as the one that is about to assemble in Washington, will accomplish very little for the peace of the world even with the participation of representatives of labor.

workers. The silent rage will not deter them.

I do not intend to place the blame for the distracted conditions of labor at the door of the Executive Council. I shall leave that to either demagogues or naive persons who know no better. I do not believe that present conditions would improve if the leaders of the A. F. of L. had of a sudden become "revolutionary" leaders. Reaction is sweeping all over the world and a sickly lethargy is overtaking the working masses in every land and clime. There is a labor union crisis in England, and France is even worse affected. Regardless of the fact that the workers of England and France are more class-conscious and are far better organized politically than our workers, their two wages are being cut and working standards reduced, and there too the labor unions are as hopeless as ours. There is a general action, an all-perilous darkness the world over and the forces of hell have full sway and wing.

Ideed, how may we expect that the temper of our labor movement be fiery and stormy while the labor masses, the great multitudes are quiet and apathetic? At the very outset of the wage-cutting epidemic, the labor movement has thundered forth a deafening "No!" "Refuse lower wages! Strike!" The standard of yearling living must become narrower and smaller but wider and even

higher! Right at the beginning of the so-called "reconstruction" period the official labor movement had made its stand clearly known. What response did it meet with? Did the workers refuse the decreased wages? There were strikes here and there, it is true—there are strikes now too—strikes against reduced wages; but there was no conflagration, there was no general outburst and there will be none at present. And now when the Executive Council has again proclaimed that the cutting of wages must be resisted, its anger is only the bitterness of a saddened heart, of a stifled throat, and of silenced lips that smother the sound of gnashing teeth.

"The time of phrases is past. It is time for action. Unemployment eats into the very heart of the nation, it is becoming bad and ever worse. The evil genius of poverty and degradation hovers over the country. The pestiferous beast of degeneration is spreading its wings over the heart of the land. Things must be done, action is imperative. We are wondering, we are wondering."

Thus sounds the declaration on unemployment, adopted by the Executive Council at its last meeting which is directed to the powers that be in the land, to leaders in industry. It is indirectly also a call to the workers. Will this warning be heeded by the leaders of the country? Will this call find an echo among the millions of unemployed who are now looking sheepishly at the shut-down doors of their factories? Hardly. It would rather appear that it will remain a call in the wilderness. The administration of our country will continue playing politics, the leaders of industry will go on brazenly speculating. And the workers? They will crawl into their winter holes and will meekly accept every charitable crumb proffered them.

Tragic? Isn't it? How long will it last?

The Executive Council at Atlantic City treated at this meeting every important question that concerns the welfare and the interests of the workers and of the people in general. The Council did not confine itself only to mere protest against unemployment. Aside from stressing the chronic nature of unemployment and of the great importance of studying this problem that can only be solved with the change of the wage system, the Council also proposed measures of immediate relief. It calls upon the government to undertake great public works, national constructive activities that will give labor to millions; canal digging, the irrigation of parched lands, reforestation, lumber cutting, building of highways, housing to relieve the overcrowding of the masses in the cities—in a word, both in its approach of the unemployment problem and its proposals for solving

it, the Council spoke the language of healthy and constructive radicalism.

The Executive Council came across the question of education in the land. The Teachers' Union had brought up this problem and the council stated its opinion in rational and sound terms. The educational system of the schools and colleges must be determined by pedagogues, by the teachers, and must not be made the tool and instrument of the ruling classes. The labor movement must not ignore any social force in the land, particularly one charged with the duty of molding the minds of the young. Labor must find its true refer in the text-books used in the schools and educational institutions of the land.

Again, a discussion arose as to what steps to take in order to shatter the indifference and apathy of the working masses, to enable the toilers of the country to properly express their aims, minds and needs. The Executive Council's response thereto was that the labor movement must not remain contented with trade journals only. It must have big newspapers to accomplish its aims. The Executive Council decided to get in touch with the central labor bodies of the big cities of the country and to launch a number of big labor dailies in such localities.

Yes, these are wonderful decisions, constructive plans, inspiring resolutions, but what avail they, if the scales of life beats so low and the blood courses so slowly within the veins of the masses? The best testimony to this the reader can find in the vagueness of the decision of the Council to "continue the non-partisan political campaign." About a year ago, the Executive Council decided to organize the non-partisan political work through the A. F. of L. Unfortunately it became a trade journal committee for the Democratic party and, of course, it brought no results. This time the Executive Council worded its resolution in the sense that the central labor bodies in cities and states form a political machine to conduct an independent campaign during the next Congressional elections. Would it mean that the Executive Council has decided to declare itself as a political party? The New York "Times" says, yes. To me it seems as if it is a reversioning of the old policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." Nevertheless, the signs are not totally lacking that the Executive Council would want an independent labor party. Its conclusion seems to justify it, yet it is afraid to speak directly and unequivocally, because it feels that the social pulsation within our labor movement is still rather weak.

We understand its quiet anger, its silent rage, its tragic gnashing of teeth behind lips sealed with bitterness.

A LABOR SPY'S CONFESSION

(Continued from Page 2.)

ress of Industrial Relations" were exhausted. It was decided, however, to scrape together sufficient money to keep the spy system on the job until August 1. Thomas was ordered to transfer his operations to the women's bookbinding organization. He refused and was discharged. He wasn't "dirty" enough to fight women, although he admitted he had fallen very low.

George P. Nicholas, chairman of the wage scale committee of Baltimore Typographical Union, said the "confession" of Thomas had revealed little not already known to his committee. He added that the union had been aware of the activities of the secret service system of the employers since May 1, and that the spy had exposed only a few of the schemes of the employers.

ALEXANDER FICHANDLER, OUR EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR RETURNS FROM EUROPE

Mr. Alexander Fichandler, our Educational Director and Mrs. Fichandler returned last week from Europe, where they spent their vacation. They visited England, France and Germany, where they had ample opportunities to observe conditions. They had interviews with many persons in the Labor Movement and brought back much interesting information which they will share with our members through the columns of this publication.

We welcome them back and are glad to have Mr. Fichandler again with us.

SINCE HOMER SANG

By NATHANIEL BUCHWALD

In a front-page "story," brimful of enthusiasm, a New York daily carries the glad news that a certain Federal building in Wall Street holds within its walls an immense quantity of gold amounting to one and one-half billion dollars. And lest you remain unimpressed and unmoved by the bare statement of the fact, the writer of the "story" drives the point home by means of a number of variations upon the gleeful theme. Thus:

"This mass of gold weighs over two hundred and fifty tons or upward of five hundred thousand pounds.

"It is, perhaps, one tenth of all the gold that men have won from the bowels of the earth since Homer sang.

"Compared to this vast treasure, the wealth of Midas, King Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, is like the savings of a thrifty clerk."

The immense gold heap continues mounting, we are informed. Not a week passes but more and more millions are added to it. Not a ship crosses the seas but is laden with more gold destined to that Federal building in Wall Street. And no one knows when the flow will cease.

You are overwhelmed. You are stupefied. One fifth of the world's wealth, one tenth of all the gold since the dawn of history is concentrated in one building, in our great metropolis, in our celebrated Wall Street! Glorious America, great New York, almighty Wall Street! All hyperboles shrink to paltry insignificance, all the gold palaces of all the fairy tales combined become as niggardly as the generosity of a miser.

Face to face with this gigantic tower of gold, one loses one's sense

of money and its value and power. As the inconceivable numbers measuring astronomical spaces paralyze one's sense of space, so one's sense of money, one's instinct of money and its value is stunned by this golden vastness.

In this state of intoxication, ecstasy and hypnosis, the ordinary mortal becomes a prophet, a seer who penetrates the universe at a glance and in one instant reviews the march of countless generations since history began.

Since Homer sang:

From among the half-forgotten pages of human history arise and come to life apparitions of the ancient world, of the Middle Ages down to our day. The savage, beautiful, murderous, lovely, bocheanial, martyred chaos of historic writer passes before the eyes of the seer, and once again mankind goes through the process of growing, blossoming, fading, struggling, inventing, dreaming, that thousand-fold, tortuous process that is civilization. Military leaders, writers, inventors, birds, builders of pyramids and enchanters of the arts, Homer and Alexander the Great, Attilla and Angelo, Jesus and Machiavelli, Buddha and Ivan the Terrible—all the mile-posts and beacons upon the unending road of history arise before the eyes of the seer and beckon and lead him on in the direction of the Twentieth Century, the year 1921, which finally has crowned the elemental processes of history, which has cemented the last stone in the towering pyramid of human achievement—a structure that holds one-tenth of all the gold since Homer sang.

The legends, the dreadful lore which ages have woven around the pyramids of Egypt, the history of the pyramids and the pyramids themselves, constitute the most impressive monument of colossal waste, eternal

symbol of senseless, meaningless toil. Men were cemented alive among the stones of the pyramids, infants were thrown into the mortar pits, according to the legends that are known to us. "These meaningless sepulchral piles," writes H. G. Wells in his "Outlines" "exhausted the resources of the country in the course of three reigns, and Egypt became devastated as if by war."

Look at the modern pyramid in Wall Street and you will no longer marvel at the stupendous insanity of the Pharaohs. The pyramid of gold which weighs over two hundred and fifty tons and is ever increasing is much more than the Egyptian pyramids a monument of human madness and an occasion for torturing and enslaving mankind. For you must know that lives are destroyed, nations are tapped of their vitality, countries are thrown into the mortar pits, according to the legends that are known to us. The earth there is hunger and privation and crushing toil, and appalling infant mortality—and all to the end that the pyramid in Wall Street become even greater, that one-tenth of all the gold since Homer sang. The governments of the world have, directly, pawned the existence of their peoples for generations to come in the pawn-shop of Wall Street and our Treasury Department, and for years, for decades the tolling maces will toll harder, the starving masses will starve even more that we get more gold. Every additional ounce of gold that reaches our shores signifies misery and privation so common among the nameless, countless beings that are mankind. The diabolical blockade against Russia, the insane demolishing of Germany's economic structure, the slaughter in India, the massacres in Egypt, the brutality in Haiti and St. Domingo—the endless narrative of murder, martyrdom and betrayal the world over—all that our gold pyramid might grow and increase.

We are everybody's creditor. Every people in the world owes us gold. Only an insignificant portion of the

debt has been paid so far, but this insignificant portion amounts to one-tenth of all the gold since Homer sang. This pyramid of gold is the very incarnation of the madness of our day. It is the nightmare hovering over mankind and poisoning its very life-breath. Europe is writhing in an agony of starvation, economic breakdown and dark hopelessness. Homes remain deserted, factories lie in ruins, the populations are without food and without work because there is not enough gold, because all the available gold must be shipped to the victor of victory.

The sinister power of the yellow metal has never before stood before us so cynical and nude. The madness of gold has never before been so rampant. Men strive for gold, fight for gold, die for gold, though gold is not, the prime necessity of their lives. The industrial depression in America with all its consequences is a direct result of this mad hoarding of gold. The more gold we get the worse the situation becomes; for more gold in our country means more ruin in Europe, and more ruin in Europe means less work for us and—more ruin for the American people, if not for the America that owns the pyramid of gold. But ours is the cult of madness, and we demand gold and heard it without end and to no purpose, against our own interests, against our own security. Like the possessed, like the hypnotized, we do the blind bidding of an evil spirit and build ever higher the pyramid of gold which may some day bury us under its ruins.

A time may come when man will cast off the evil spell of the gold demon, when he will free himself from the gold obsession, from the mountain of gold, which is a tenth of all the gold since Homer sang, there will burst forth and resound the Homeric laughter of mankind that at last has come to its senses. Already, in some distant parts we hear peals of such laughter. And the laughter will spread—for laughter is contagious.

Labor's Strength in Austria

ANISE, in Seattle Union Record.

I went up cheerfully to Anton Hueber, secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions in Austria, and presented my letter of introduction, signed by Jimmy Duncan and sealed with the seal of the Seattle Central Labor Council. He read it through carefully and then he stared at the letterhead. "Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor," he saw there.

"That is Mr. Gompers' organization," he asked me, coldly. I admitted that it was.

"There is nothing for me to say to you," he remarked. "Your Mr. Gompers refused to associate with European labor at the Amsterdam congress, and all your American labor movement, which he seems to hold in his hand, went with him. You have nothing to do with us any more."

I protested that we did not all of us agree with Mr. Gompers and that Jimmy Duncan, who has signed my letter of introduction, had twice voted alone against Mr. Gompers as president. It was in vain.

"Your American movement has withdrawn from Europe," he said, "it wishes nothing from us. It desires to go alone. Very well, you in America will travel the road of Moscow."

"What do you mean?" I cried. "We in America are far too reactionary. We have few Socialists even, much less Communists."

"Precisely." It is the reactionary countries, like old Russia, and like your country, that must have these violent overturnings and dictatorships. We in Austria are strong enough to go definitely, step by step, discussing our path and understanding it. But you in America—you will go like Russia, because you are so reactionary and ignorant."

I was a bit flustered at this cheerful way of classing my country, but he left me and went to lunch. We were all eating in the restaurant of the Social-Democratic party in the Parliament building, set aside for Parliament members. The meal costs somewhere between 10 and 12 cents in our money; it was very simple, soup, a tiny piece of meat, potatoes, beets and a little pudding. No bread or butter was served; sour is the expensive thing in Austria, as it comes from foreign countries.

I compared the very plain cooking and service, the long tables without napkins, with the life of our congressmen at Washington, and I realized that we and Austria have changed places. For even while she has been moving from the ancient monarchical splendor to a democratic simplicity in government, we have moved from the simplicity of our early days and have become the most luxuriously plutocratic class in the world, except, possibly, London.

Perhaps the lunch softened the mood of Mr. Hueber. At any rate he changed his mind about the interview and came up afterward to ask what I wanted to know. I told him I wanted facts about wages and the organization of the unions in Austria. He gave me a whole collection of statistics.

He had a right to brag of Austria, I discovered, and to look down on American labor as something still in the backwoods. For one person in every seven in Austria is a member of a trade union. When you count the families of the unionists, you see that makes about half the population.

"What proportion of all workers are organized?" I asked, and he told me about 80 per cent. "In many industries we have 100 per cent, but, taking Austria as a whole, it would be 85."

"How about the women?" I asked.

"About in the same proportion," he replied, "and the women are, if anything, better organized than the men."

There are 894,000 trade union members in Austria, in a population of 6,000,000. The number is increasing fast, more than 600,000 having been added since 1918. Before the war there were about 250,000 members and during the war, when men were away and labor was repressed, the number went down to 168,739 in 1916. Since the revolution it has been multiplied by eight!

All these are members of Socialist trade unions. There are also some 30,000 members, Mr. Hueber told me, in the church trade unions.

Employers are not allowed to discharge their workers in Austria now without a permit from the government. I talked with a large employer about this, and he admitted that it was a good and necessary law.

"Over in America, if a man loses a job he can go elsewhere to hunt another," he said, "but Austria is so small that if a man loses a job there is no other opening likely for his kind of work. He cannot go to Jugoslavia, or Czechoslovakia, or Poland, or Hungary, for they would not let him in there. And we do not have the machinery you have in America which allows a man to work at many kinds of things. Here it is all specialized skill, and there are not many places for each kind of worker."

"However," he added, "while it was necessary for our Social-Democratic government to get this law for the workers, yet it is a heavy tax on the industries, for they are now employing many workers for whom there is no work. Many of our large plants have been manufacturing surplus stocks for nearly a year now, and we have no market for them. I myself have 100,000,000 crowns tied up in things I have made and cannot sell. Yet as long as I have money or credit I am compelled by the government to keep on paying workers and producing goods."

"It is a necessary law for the country and much fairer than turning the workers out, but, unless we get a market soon, many plants will have to close down, and then unemployment will be very bad."

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

ABROAD

ENGLAND

London municipalities are facing difficult social problems through the demands being made by the unemployed in various districts where there are labor majorities on the local boards.

The British miners will demand free baths at the pit mouth according to a resolution passed today by the Miners Federation. Other measures include a fortnight's annual holiday with pay and a pension of \$1 a week after the age of 60.

Scores of unemployed former service men are reporting to the Spanish Consulate for enrollment in the Foreign Legion of the Spanish army.

270,000 years of human labor are lost to Britain in one year as a result of sickness among the insured population alone, according to the annual reports of the Ministry of Health.

The India office reports that the entire disturbed area of Malabar is now threatened with famine and martial law has been established in many districts.

Martial law has been proclaimed in five sub-districts of Malabar, India, on account of the continued rioting by natives.

The British Government returned the railroads to private ownership. The expense for the wartime operation was \$150,000,000.

Morgan Jones, Labor Party candidate, was elected to the House of Commons recently in a by-election in the Caerphilly constituency in the mining district in South Wales. He received 13,699 votes as against 8,958 cast for his Liberal opponent.

GERMANY

The Minister of the Interior prohibited the publication of a number of nationalist organs in accordance with the decree issued by President Ebert, barring publications likely to encourage seditious movements.

200,000 people here demonstrated their loyalty to the republic in a great parade.

Nearly all the German undertakings of importance show increased

AT HOME

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. forwarded a cable message to Lloyd George urging him to continue the peace with the Irish Republic until the forthcoming conference at Washington.

Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. denied reports that the Federation had suffered a slump of 750,000 members during the industrial slump.

Organization of Philadelphia's two new labor banks is progressing steadily. Stock in both banks is being sold mainly to labor unions, lodges and individual members of labor organizations.

Governor Morrison ordered two companies of militia to suppress disorders growing out of strike of the cotton mill workers in North Carolina.

Indictments were returned by a Grand Jury against the president and secretary of District 17, United Mine

profits and a marked tendency to increase their capital.

RUSSIA

The Soviet authorities have offered Fridtjof Nansen a first mortgage, backed by a \$50,000 Russian asset, as security for a \$50,000 loan which he is trying to raise among European Governments.

Premier Lloyd George, said in the House of Commons that over 55,000,000 people in Russia needed relief.

Food prices in Russia have risen greatly. A pound of bread costs 9,000 rubles. Money on the other hand is dwindling in value.

Norman Hapgood declares that the fate of Russia is due largely to other nations. The American and French policy of intervention and blockade is blamed for the present condition.

CANADA

A new Canadian Labor Party has been formed which hopes to run candidates at all federal and provincial elections.

ITALY

The Government intervened and induced the owners of the textile and metal industries not to reduce wages and thus averted a general strike among these crafts.

HAWAII

Homesteaders near Hilo, Hawaii, are finding it impossible with the present scarcity of labor and the low prices of sugar to meet the Government's demand for land payment and taxes, and have appealed to the Governor for aid.

JAPAN

After its suppression 14 years ago the Socialist League of Japan has again emerged recently and organized into a political party which is rapidly gaining adherents among the Japanese workers.

The Japanese Labor Federation has asked the A. F. of L. to use its influence to the end that labor may be given a place in the Japanese delegation to the disarmament conference next November.

Workers of America and two organizers in connection with the deaths last May of Ambrose Goodin and Dan Whitt.

Attorney General Daugherty, speaking before the American Bar Association, Cincinnati, declared that there should be compulsory investigation of controversies between capital and labor and eventually laws making such controversies impossible.

That labor cannot accept a lower wage while living cost maintains its present level, as declared by the A. F. of L. last week, is a fact which merchants of the country should take to heart, says J. H. Trowe, executive secretary of the National Association of Credit Men.

Millions of tons of soft coal are being wasted every year by wasteful methods of mining in Kansas. This was one of the important findings of the Kansas Industrial Court following its long investigation of the coal-mining business.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at its session in Atlantic City discussed the movement to bring about public ownership and democratic control of the country's railroad system.

President Gompers of the A. F. of L. told the Atlantic City union men that whenever a wage reduction was proposed it was better to resist and lose or compromise than not to resist at all.

Minimum wage laws for women and miners now in force in fourteen states and eight-hour laws for some are endangered by the action of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals in granting a rehearing of the appeal of local employers against the favorable decision of the lower court upon the minimum wage law for the District.

The Baltimore Federation of Labor has begun a crusade on rent profiteers. The rent committee will be revived by the mayor to work in co-operation with the Federation.

Charles J. McCarthy, former governor of Hawaii, who is back of the movement in Congress to impart Chinese cookies into Hawaii, is in Washington to establish headquarters as representative of the Chamber of Commerce in Honolulu.

AMONG THE DESIGNERS

By E. LINKOFF, Secretary

The present critical situation in the women's wear industry has already affected to a considerable extent the designers. As the trade goes, so, of course, goes our local. Only last year our local had over 50 per cent of the designers organized. Due to short-sighted persons in the trade and also, to a certain extent, to the negligence on the part of some business agents who did not give the proper attention to the designer when controlling the shops, our organization got a setback.

But the unbearable conditions in the trade are making the designer feel, and feel more and more strongly, that he could better himself economically only as part of Local No. 45. We want to bring to the attention of our brothers that the individual contracts between the designer and manufacturer, which in the past was the only protection in the hands of a designer, are no more binding the manufacturer. We know, and so does every designer, of many cases where the manufacturer had abrogated the contract with the designer before it ran out. Only last week a member of our local brought a complaint that he was discharged eight weeks before the contract expired. We approached the firm asking it to settle with our member, and when the firm refused a strike was declared. Only after the workers had struck for a few days, the firm came to terms.

We hear more often of manufacturers refusing to give contracts at all, and we are certain that before long the "contract system" will be abolished. Our office has complaints about firms who had given notice to designers that unless they accept a reduction of a thousand dollars per year, they must look for other pos-

W. Jett Lauch, consulting economist of the railroad unions, praised the course followed by the Railroad Labor Board and declared that the recent decision relative to punitive overtime had prevented a national railroad strike.

About 40 per cent of all the skilled and unskilled labor in Maryland is out of work, according to the estimate of Charles J. Fox, chairman of the State Board of Labor and Statistics.

Wholesale prices dropped during the month of July in all commodities except foodstuffs and farm products, the decrease varying from one-half to 1 per cent in clothes and clothing to 6 per cent in housefurnishings.

There has been a decline of 41 per cent in exports for the seven months ended with July and a decrease in imports for the same period of 37 per cent.

C. M. Reed, chairman of the Kansas Public Utilities Commission, told the Interstate Commerce Commission that the Western railroads have concealed profits amounting to nearly \$200,000,000.

Eight hundred and five thousand two hundred and twenty-eight immigrants arrived in the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, as compared with 430,000 for the previous fiscal year.

Due to lack of organization, the competition among the designers is very great, and it is a very heavy task to find a suitable place. Every member of our local must bear in his mind that it is a wrong idea to compel a designer to become a member of Local No. 45 or to pay up his dues. Your duty is to convince your designer friend to join our local. We have now orders to stop shops where the designer refuses to join the Union or pay up his dues, but we want a volunteer organization, not a compulsory. Only being confident in the morale of the members and the justice of our cause will we succeed in building up a strong organization of designers.

At the last meeting of our Executive Board, following the recommendation of the previous member meeting, it was decided to call an open meeting for all designers in the cloak, suit, dress and reefer trades, on Saturday, September 17, 1921, the place of which will be announced in the near future. The duty of every member is to begin immediately intensive propaganda among the designers, to convince everyone who had not yet joined our organization not to delay in doing so; to call upon everyone who is in arrears to pay up his dues in an honorable way. It is not of great credit to a member of an organization to wait until he is troubled by the business agents. The latter were instructed by the Joint Board to examine the books of the designers. We also wish to bring to the attention of our members that the Executive Board in order to facilitate the entrance of the designers into the organization decided to reduce the initiation fee to five dollars (\$5.00 from September 3rd to September 17th, inclusive). We urgently ask our members to be present at this meeting without fail. Ask your friend designer to come and to discuss the problems of the designing trade.

Educational Comment and Notes

COURSES TO BE GIVEN NEXT SEASON

1. History, Principles, Problems and Methods of the Labor Movement in the United States

Our work in the United Centers next season will be conducted as before for several purposes:

(1) To help our members with the language of the country in which they live, i.e., teach them English from the elementary to the High School stage.

(2) To give them information on other subjects which they find of importance or interest, such as arithmetic, civics, literature, psychology, etc.

(3) To help them develop a healthy body for a healthy mind. To achieve this end there will be lectures and discussions on care of health and weekly gymnasium work.

Lastly, what a great many of our members consider to be the most important are the classes on Labor and Unionism. These are given because in the mind of many people the most important thing for the worker is to understand his own position in society as a worker and to know just

as well as possible how the workers in the past have organized and what methods they used to improve their conditions.

There will be two courses on Labor and Unionism in the United Centers next season. The first will be given by Miss Theresa Wolfson on the History of the Labor Movement in the United States. It will be a comparative study of the development of industries in this country with the rise of the Labor Movement. The presentation of a definite background of social, economic and geographic forces which are responsible in measure for the kind of labor movement that we have today. A detailed tracing of the history of trade unionism from 1812 to the present day.

Another course on Trade Unionism in the United States will be given by Miss Daniels and will consist of a survey of the beginnings of trade unionism in the United States and the industrial conditions responsible for its growth. There follow the history of the struggles of labor organizations throughout the century, their victories and defeats. Special stress is placed on the examination of their tactics and principles in the different periods of economic development.

Opening of Our Unity Centers

The Unity Centers open Monday, September 12th.

The coming year is being faced by the leaders of labor in our country with different feelings. Some are apprehensive. They feel that industrial conditions will be so serious as to weaken the cause of labor.

Others are undismayed by the economic situation and feel that it will merely spur us on to stronger and more successful effort towards unity, solidarity and victory.

But all must agree on this. Whatever labor will do, if it is to be successful, must be done by men and women who understand clearly the forces which operate in the economic world of today.

Workers will accomplish something permanent and effective only when they know thoroughly and clearly what they want and how to get it.

This means Education.

The International is prepared to help in this task, the most important that the labor movement has before it, that of educating the men and women who are producing the wealth of the world.

The educational department of the International has completed its plans for the following season and announces the opening of the Unity Centers next Monday, September 12th. The classes will be organized as before for the members of the International only.

We want our workers to join these classes in larger numbers than ever before. We want them to take advantage of this opportunity to receive instruction in what will help them in their struggles.

The classes for our members will be organized in the Unity Centers which have been announced in the previous numbers of "Justice".

These classes will contain:

(1) Instruction in the English language, beginners, elementary, intermediate and advanced.

(2) Instructions in other subjects of interest and importance, such as arithmetic, literature, civics, psychology, etc.

(3) Care of health and physical training, to develop a healthy body for a healthy mind.

(4) Perhaps most important of all, instruction in what is of such vital importance to every worker, Labor and Unionism.

The classes on Labor and Unionism will deal with History of the Labor Movement in the United States, the Principles and Methods of Trade Unionism and the Story of the Development of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in America. It is needless to say that these courses are of the utmost importance to every worker.

Our educational work is increasing from year to year. This will be the fifth season, and there is no doubt that more workers than ever before, will attend the classes. There must be no slowing up of our work. No matter what happens elsewhere, the educational work of our Union must become stronger and bigger with every succeeding year.

Members are urged to register at once in the office of their own local unions, or at the offices of the Educational Department, 81 Union Square, Room No. 1009, or best of all, at any of the Unity Centers whose addresses are given below:

East Side Unity Center, P. S. 69, Fourth Street near First Avenue, Manhattan;

Waldman's Unity Center, P. S. 40, 329 East 29th Street, Manhattan;

Harlem Unity Center, P. S. 171, 103rd Street, between Madison and Fifth Avenues, Manhattan;

Bronx Unity Center, P. S. 54, Intervale Avenue and Freeman Street, Bronx;

Second Bronx Unity Center, P. S. 42, Washington Avenue and Clermont Parkway, Bronx;

Lower Bronx Unity Center, P. S. 43, Brown Place and 135th Street, Bronx;

Brownsville Unity Center, P. S. 84, Stone and Glenmore Avenues, Brooklyn;

Williamsburg Unity Center, P. S. 147, Bushwick Avenue and McKim Street.

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 X

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION III. Developments

1. I. L. G. W. U. was organized 1900.
2. In same year the New York Waist Makers were organized in a local union which soon joined the I. L. G. W. U.
3. In 1901 the N. Y. Ladies' Garment Cutters organized into Local 10 of International.
4. (a) At first Cutters' Local was very conservative and often refused to co-operate with other locals or to carry out mandates of International organization.
(b) Recently however Cutters have adopted new policies, have become imbued with general spirit of our organization, are represented on N. Y. Joint Board and are now gaining influence in our International.
4. At convention of International, 1903, the N. Y. Finishers were separated from Cloak Operators and were organized into Local 8.
(a) This gave incentive to finishers, who till then were entirely dependent on operators.
(b) Since then Local 9 grew in numbers and influence.
5. Up to 1905, N. Y. Cloak Makers lacked an experienced leader who could gain confidence of entire membership.
(a) This factor, more than any other, arrested the development of organization.
(b) This obstacle was entirely removed when Brother Benjamin Schlesinger was induced to come to New York and act as general organizer.
6. In June, 1906, the N. Y. Reefer Makers after a successful spontaneous strike were organized into Local 17.
(a) Local 17 added considerable strength and influence to I. L. G. W. U.
7. In 1906, the ideas of the newly formed I. W. W. reached the members of our International.
(a) A few members were converted to views of I. W. W. and caused considerable dissension.
(b) This trouble however lasted for a short time and soon was forgotten.
8. In 1907, Local 17 waged a spirited battle against employers.
(a) This strike lasted for over nine weeks and resulted in a complete victory of the workers.
9. The crisis of 1908 had its effect on our International.
(a) Due to general prolonged unemployment the locals of our International lost control even, over the few organized shops.
(b) Convention of that year was poorly attended and general aspect of organization was very gloomy.
(c) There was even a proposition before convention to dissolve International.
(d) Fortunately, because of implicit faith of more active members this proposition was unanimously rejected.

A Message From England

In a communication received by the Educational Department from Mr. J. M. MacTavish, Secretary of the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee and Workers' Education Association of England, among other things he writes:

"Need I say how welcome your letters are. Perhaps I ought to, for I find they are a great stimulus to me. When our conclusions differ from those that are generally accepted there are times when one feels and thinks 'what right have you to advocate views at variance with others—who are you to say I am right and the others are wrong?' Your letters and the views which you so admirably expressed in your Report on the educational activities of your International to the Conference in April have helped me to keep my faith. Thanks very much for sending me copies of the latter."

"I have received a copy of Gleason's revised pamphlet. It is an interesting and useful publication."

"I am indeed pleased to know that Professor Charles G. Beard is associated with your Educational Department. I had the pleasure of meeting him during his recent visit to England."

"I found it a little difficult to write an educational article for a ladies Trade Union paper. I wanted to say something that would be of special interest to women workers, for taking long views of things, I attach more importance to the education of our women folk than I do to the education of men."

Mr. MacTavish is probably under the impression that our organization consists of women only. He does not

know our membership comprises 50 per cent men. He states further:

"But I could not find what I wanted to say, so in sheer desperation I have written the enclosed. I have tested it by asking a lady to read it. She assures me it is quite readable and interesting. I therefore console myself with the thought that if it interests one lady, there is a possibility of it interesting others."

"It is very much an incomplete article. I have stopped where I would have liked to begin. But there are limits to what can be put in an article and I feel it is wisely long. If I have any students taking psychology I would like their views."

"I have quite definitely come to the conclusion that in working class consciousness we have perhaps the most useful piece of psychic stuff in the world today. But how to educate it amidst educational problems; primarily as to contents and methods. I am indeed pleased to know that the former is now beginning to receive strong attention. The latter I am inclined to think is even more fundamental. Contents, so far as the great majority of working class students are concerned, are little more than dead matter until handled by living teachers who know how to adopt their art to their students."

Mr. MacTavish who has devoted his life to the development of Labor Education and whose views coincide with ours has written an article on "The Education of Class Conscious Workers" which will appear in the next issue of JUSTICE. It is needless to say that it will be of educational value to our members. We hope that none will miss reading it.

Annual Shop Inspection Under Way

Beginning September 6th, nearly 4,000 shops where women's garments are manufactured will be inspected by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt and Dress and Waist Industries. This is a voluntary inspection and the standards established for safety and sanitation are far beyond the requirements of Labor or Fire Departments.

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control represents a unique and interesting experiment in industrial sanitary self-control. Ten years ago the garment-making trade was one of the worst and most unsanitary of all trades, and was called a "sweated industry." Work was carried on in cellars, top lofts, kitchens, in the rear of stores, and in tenement houses. Sanitary and fire protection exhibitions were of the worst.

Although there has been great improvement of working conditions in the whole field of industry in the ten years passed, the women's garment-maker's trade has been particularly revolutionized, and the conditions in these shops today are among the best existing in any industry. This is due to the interest and co-operation on the part of both employers and employees, and to the educational rather than detective methods of the inspectors of this Joint Board, who seek to show the advantage to be gained by improved working conditions.

The inspectors in making this 11th

annual inspection will interview shop owners and shop chairmen, note complaints and all defects in sanitary and fire protection shop conditions and will seek the correction of these defects. Workers and employers are encouraged to seek the maintenance in their shops of the highest health and sanitary standards by a classification of shops into four divisions—A, B, C, D, according to their excellence. D shops are reinspected weekly.

After the big cloakmakers' strike in 1910, employers and employees alike realized the need of improvement of the working conditions in the trade and the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was organized. It is composed of three representatives of the public and representatives from the manufacturers' association and from the unions in the trade.

The three representatives of the public have served throughout the 10 years. Dr. William Jay Schieffelin is chairman, and Dr. Henry Moskowitz, who is secretary, and Miss Lillian D. Wald are the other members. Dr. George M. Price is its director. The industries under the jurisdiction of the Board are the Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Reefer Makers, and the Dress and Waist Makers. The factories employ over 85,000 workers. The work of the Board is supported by funds contributed in equal proportion by the Trade Union and the Manufacturers' Associations within the industries.

NEW YORK LABOR COUNCIL DEMANDS FAIR PLAY FOR CASSIDY AND LEE

At the regular meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York held on August 4th, 1921, Edward F. Cassidy, delegate from "Big Six," was given the floor on special privilege and reviewed the long battle for the seat in the Board of Aldermen to which it has been proven he was elected by the citizens of the Twentieth Aldermanic District of Manhattan. At the same meeting Delegate Rybicki of Typographical Union No. 6, introduced the following resolution which, after discussion, was passed unanimously, with a recommendation that all unions affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Council pass similar resolutions and forward copies to Aldermanic President La Guardia and Mayor Hylan.

WHEREAS, In the election of 1919 Edward F. Cassidy and Algermon Lee were candidates for seats in the Board of Aldermen and both were declared defeated at the conclusion of the count; and

WHEREAS, The attorneys for the above candidates submitted conclusive evidence of gross fraud committed during the said election to the Supreme Court of New York county, and Justice Bijur having granted the petition for an unofficial recount of the ballots and the result of said recount having shown that Edward F. Cassidy was elected by a plurality of 109 votes and Algermon Lee by a majority of 355 votes; and

WHEREAS, When this amazing result was announced Justice Bijur in March, 1920, ordered the ballot boxes in both aldermanic districts turned over to the Board of Aldermen for an official recount; and

evading the starting of the recount for 18 months, the majority element in the Board of Aldermen finally began to count the ballots on the 18th day of last month at the leisurely rate of two ballot boxes a week, which, if continued, will mean the conclusion of the recount in January, 1922, when the present Board of Aldermen will be out of existence. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades and Labor Council, in regular meeting assembled, on August 4, 1921, do hereby protest against this slow and apparently insincere procedure, and demand that the recount be proceeded with fast enough to insure the seating of Edward F. Cassidy and Algermon Lee as members of the present Board of Aldermen, in case the result of the unofficial recount is verified. A due regard for the sanctity of the ballot box and the honest operation of the election machinery of our representative form of government requires that this demand be complied with. Be it further.

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Hon. Fiorello La Guardia, President of the Board of Aldermen, and Hon. John F. Hylan, Mayor of the City of New York.

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Members of Locals 10 22 25 58 60 66 and 89

There are manufacturers in your trade who are using the slack price which we are now going through as an opportunity for not employing cutters. There are also instances 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

The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By SAM R. SHENKER

GENERAL

On Tuesday evening, September 6th, a special meeting of the Executive Board was held, where a number of important questions were taken up. One of the matters dealt with was the meeting to be called where the balance of the amendments to the Constitution are to be taken up for action. Due to the fact that only a few sections are undisputed, it was deemed inadvisable to devote an entire meeting to the adoption of the balance of the amendments. The attention of the members therefore is called to the fact that the regular General Meeting which is scheduled to take place on Monday, September 26th, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, will also be a special one, where this matter will be disposed of.

CLOAKS AND SUITS

Due to the fact that the regular meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division was not held because of Labor Day, there will naturally be a great accumulation of matters requiring the action of the members for disposition. Cloak and Suit cutters are therefore reminded that their regular meeting on Monday, October 3rd, will be a very important one, and are asked to keep the date in mind.

WAIST AND DRESS

A report on the plans for the organization campaign that the Joint Board will undertake, which was made mention of here last week, will be rendered at this Monday's meeting of the Dress and Waist Branch. This meeting, it should be remembered, will also take up for final action the case of Brother Julius Levine, ex-delegate to the Joint Board. The Executive Board has made this a special order of business, where its recommendation will be taken up for action.

MISCELLANEOUS

No doubt, the members of this branch are familiar with the resignation of Brother Joseph Weinstein as manager. The Executive Board had hoped to be able to announce at this time a successor. However, due to, unforeseen circumstances, the Board was compelled to hold this matter over for a while. This question was taken up at the special meeting held

on Tuesday, September 6th, a report of which will be submitted to the members of this branch at their regular meeting which will take place on Monday, September 19th, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place.

The following are excerpts of the Executive Board minutes of the past week:

Julius M. Rosenberg, No. 2395, appeared and requested the Executive Board to reconsider its previous decision in having concluded that he was a member of the firm for whom he worked. Brother Rosenberg was summoned before the Executive Board on July 26th on the charge of being a member of the firm of Robert W. Bauer, 31 West 21st Street, when he was confronted with a letter from Lawyer Rothberg in which the charge of the manager was borne out. He was then given up to July 30th to either quit the shop or be expelled from the union. He now presents a certificate of verification of the County Clerk's office, in which it is certified that no such record was found for the period from January, 1920, to August, 1921. Upon motion the Executive Board left this case in the hands of the office for investigation.

Abe Berg, No. 5274, who resigned in 1917 and is on application for reinstatement now, appeared upon orders of the manager on the charge of failing to carry out instructions. Manager Shenker states that on August 24th Mr. Berg appeared and requested to be reinstated; that upon learning that he wanted to work at Samuel Floersheimer at \$40 per week, he informed him that he would not be given a working card, since the firm already had two assistants to five mechanics. Berg thereupon left the office of the union and the manager was compelled to get in touch with Mr. Floersheimer to have the boy discharged. However, upon the statement of Mr. Floersheimer that he would pay Berg \$44 per week, the office decided to issue a working card, but Berg did not come to receive a card as he should have done and also did not make any additional payment on his reinstatement fee. Upon his appearance on the following Monday, the office informed him that because of his failure to secure a card at the proper time, he would have to stay off the job and seek the permis-

sion of the Executive Board to work in Floersheimer's. Berg defiantly replied that he would not appear unless he was sent a notice. The manager was again compelled to ask Mr. Floersheimer to have him discharged. However, the office, upon the request of Floersheimer, agreed to leave the matter to the Executive Board for final disposition, and Mr. Floersheimer promised to carry out the will of the Executive Board. The Executive Board decided that the reinstatement fee of Berg be raised from \$15 to \$25.

David Malof, No. 7700, appeared on summons, charged by Business Manager Perlmutter with having scabbed at Gins Bros., 109 West 56th Street. Manager Perlmutter states that a strike against this firm was declared four weeks ago; that there were no people working there with the exception of the cutter; that he had summoned him to appear at his office and had instructed him to keep out of the house for the duration of the strike; and that he returned contrary to his orders. The cutter states that he did not know that it was a strike; that the firm had intended to give up the factory and had decided to keep only two operators and himself; and that he was never officially informed by the manager of Local No. 33 that a strike was declared against his employer. Hyman Gulker, 9 East 14th Street, member of Local No. 23, denied the statements of the cutter. He states that the strike was officially called and the cutter was already out about a week and a half and had returned to work. Upon the statement of the cutter that he would stay out for the duration of the strike, the Executive Board decided to hold the case in abeyance.

Charles Gutwilling, No. 7164, appeared on summons, charged with being in business. The secretary read the resignation of Brother Gutwilling, to the effect that he had gone into the cloak and suit manufacturing

business under the firm name of Brown & Gutwilling, 39 West 19th Street. The Executive Board, however, felt satisfied from a number of statements made by the board members that Brother Gutwilling rightfully should have resigned long ago, as he had contemplated going into business some time previous to his resignation and while he was a member of the Board. Upon motion, therefore, it was decided to expel him.

Charles Bloom, No. 9713, appeared, requesting that he be reinstated with the firm of Malamud & Feigenbaum, 27 West 24th Street, from which job he was ordered off by the Executive Board on August 18th, on the charges of having worked both work and having received single time for overtime. Brother Bloom pleads poverty and states that he carried out the orders of the Executive Board and was out of the house as per its instructions. In view of the charges against him, the Executive Board reaffirmed its previous decision and denied his request.

Morris Wallach, No. 1695, appeared. Brother Wallach, who was sent a registered letter to appear before the Executive Board on Thursday, August 11th, and who failed to do so, was fined \$10, for starting in to work at M. Greenstein, 162 West 21st Street, without procuring a working card or the permission of the shop chairman, the above shop having been closed at the time. Brother Wallach stated that he did not receive that registered letter and produces proof to that effect. He further stated that as regards the charges, he did work for that house many months prior to the calling of the strike, and did not know that a strike had been called. He further stated that he began working on a Monday and the following morning he appeared at the office and procured a working card, the strike having been settled. On motion case was reconsidered and the charges against Brother Wallach were dismissed.

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

GENERAL and SPECIAL:

Adoption of Amendments to Constitution

Monday, September 26th

CLOAK AND SUIT: Monday, October 3rd

Meetings begin at 7:30 P.M.

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