

"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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CHICAGO CLOAK AGREEMENT WITH PEACH LOYERS

EXISTING AGREEMENT MODIFIED—VICE PRESIDENT SCHOOLMAN AND LABOR MANAGER VOGEL SPOKESMEN FOR UNION—JOINT BOARD RATIFIES SETTLEMENT

The general office has received a telegram from Vice-President Schoolman of Chicago that at a conference held last week between the Union and the cloak manufacturers' associations of that city an understanding was finally reached to renew the present trade agreement with some modifications favoring the workers.

The conference was attended by representatives of the Chicago Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the Northwest Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union. Vice-President Schoolman and Labor

Manager Vogel acted as the spokesmen for the Union. The modifications embodied in the new agreement are as follows:

1. No employer is permitted to do any work in the shop, such as cutting, pressing, finishing or operating.
2. No shop to be reorganized without the prior consent of the Union as to the number of workers to remain in the shop and their selection.
3. Forbidding manufacturers to sell or buy ready-made garments from and to firms on strike and from non-union shops.
4. Payment for legal holidays even

during weeks when no work is done in the shop, on a pro rata basis of the work done on the prior or the succeeding week.

5. The recognition of the prevailing minimum scale of wages as per the New York Governor's Award of February, 1920.

The Union obligated itself that in case any changes are made in the New York market as a result of the Cloak Wage Investigation Committee's work, that the Chicago cloak market be entitled to same.

The Chicago Joint Board ratified last Friday night the report of the Conference Committee covering the agreement with the above stated changes. Only two points were referred back to a sub-committee of the Joint Board and the Associations upon which another conference will be held in the near future.

Vice President Gorenstein Manager of Local 52

The General Office received information from Local No. 52, the Cloakmakers' Union of Los Angeles, California, that Vice-President Max Gorenstein was elected as manager of the local in place of Brother J. Lanch, who resigned.

Brother Gorenstein is not unknown to the cloakmakers of the Pacific coast. He was sent to California about two and a half years ago as International organizer to conduct an organization campaign among the waist and dressmakers. He became at once popular with the ladies' garment workers of the Pacific coast and when he went last summer to California again, to join his wife who has been sojourning in Los Angeles for several years on account of her health, it was only logical that the cloakmakers would turn to him to assume the leadership of their organization.

The negotiations between the Union and the cloak manufacturers in Los Angeles are seemingly not at an end yet. It appears, however, that an understanding might be reached there on the basis of the settlement effected in New York.

New Department in N. Y. Cloak Joint Board

JOINT BOARD DECIDES TO RAISE \$25,000 FOR "HIAS"—CLOAK MAKERS NOT TO WORK OVERTIME WHILE MACHINES ARE VACANT

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York has established a new department which is to be under the management of Louis Langer, the Secretary of the Joint Board. The new department will exercise control over all work made by jobbing firms which signed agreements with the Union to observe that the work is made only in shops belonging to Union contractors.

The Cloakmakers' Union will supply all the cloak jobbing houses with a list of Union contractors to which they may send out work. The Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association, the organization of the jobbers, informed the Union that they will notify all their members to give work to Union contractors only.

At the meeting of the Joint Board on Friday, September 15th, there appeared a committee from the Trade

Union Conference which obligated itself to raise \$100,000 among the Jewish workers of New York for the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (Hias) as a contribution to the half-million dollar fund being raised by this organization to prosecute its tremendous relief work among the immigrant and wandering masses who are seeking a haven of refuge from the oppressions and terrors of Eastern Europe.

The Committee was cordially received and the Joint Board, after duly considering their request, decided unanimously to raise \$25,000 for the "Hias" fund. It was also decided that \$5,000 be immediately given by the Union from its treasury on account of this pledge. The practical carrying out of this proposition was turned over to the Board of Directors.

Dress Joint Board Organizes "Open Shops"

UNION APPEALS TO MEMBERS FOR \$20 TAX

The organization campaign of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union continues unabated. According to Brother Julius Hochman, Manager of the Joint Board, there is wide-awake and uninterrupted activity in every nook and corner of the trade.

Considerable achievement was recorded last week by the settlement with the Fair Waist & Dress Co., one of the biggest jobbing houses in the trade. This firm stubbornly kept aloof from dealing with the Union until now. The firm employs about eighty contractors, and now that it has signed an independent agreement

with the Union, it obligates itself to live up to the rules of the Union in all these shops.

Another settlement was made with the J. C. Dress Co., a big firm employing about fifty contractors. This settlement was effected by the firm joining the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers' Association, the jobbers' association in the trade.

During the last few days, the Union also settled a strike against the firm of Nat Goldstone & Co. Mr. Goldstone is an independent jobber and the strike against him was for making garments in non-union shops. The firm paid a fine and increased its security for faithful performance of the agreement in the future.

APPEAL FOR \$20 TAX

The Union issued an appeal to the members to begin paying the \$20 tax for the half-million dollar fund decided upon recently by the locals as a preparatory measure for the coming renewal of agreements in January. Now is the height of the season and the Union appeals to all the waist and dressmakers to immediately begin paying up the assessment. Now is the time to lay a foundation for a strong treasury, if ever.

Schlesinger's Speech Impresses British Trade Union Congress

LEAVING FOR HOME ON AQUITANIA, SEPTEMBER 23

COMMENT BY GEORGE LANSBURY

The General Office received a cablegram from President Schlesinger dated, Liege, Belgium, September 20, to the effect that he was leaving on Saturday, September 23, on the "Aquitania" and will arrive in New York probably on Monday, October 2. Schlesinger is passing through Belgium on his way from Berlin where he attended the conference of the International Clothing Workers' Federation in the capacity of member of its Executive Council, on September 13-14.

Lansbury on Speech

That President Schlesinger's fraternal message from American organized labor has created a deep impression upon his hearers, is evidenced from the following comments by George Lansbury, the veteran editor of the London "Daily Herald," in a communication received a few days ago. Says Lansbury:

"Benjamin Schlesinger, fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor, spoke of the campaign being ruthlessly waged for establish-

ing the 'open shop,' reducing wages, destroying labor organization and paralyzing all its activities.

"He spoke of the way in which the law was leagued with capitalist organizations for their defeat, but also of their determination to keep up with the progress made by the European labor movement.

"When Schlesinger spoke of the possibility of the American Federation joining the International Federation of Trade Union he was cordially applauded.

"We believe," he said, "that it is possible that any existing obstacles can be overcome."

"They could not remain isolated, he proceeded. Their common necessities must consolidate them all over the world. 'The workers of no country,' the speaker declared, 'can be free while those of any country are subjected and depressed.'"

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

FACING A NEW WAR

FOLLOWING A Cabinet meeting last Saturday the British Government ordered its entire Atlantic Fleet embracing the most modern dreadnaughts, cruisers, destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers as well as large land forces with heavy artillery to occupy the strategic points in the Dardanelles in order to check the onward march of the Turkish army. Invitations were hurriedly despatched to the British Dominions to send contingents to help the mother country in the new holy war of defense against the Turkish menace, this time. Notes have also been forwarded to France, Italy, Roumania, Jugoslavia and even to beaten Greece to participate in the struggle for the "freedom of this important waterway. Labor organizations, on the other hand, adopted resolutions that "not a man or a ship or ammunition shall leave this country in support of the war." The streets in London are plastered up with posters and advertisements saying: "Stop the new war," "Read about the new war," etc.

France, on the other hand, is in the best of spirits as a result of the happenings in Asia Minor. If there is anything to settle at all it is to be accomplished through pacific, moderate and conciliatory methods. Over against Lloyd George's rattling of the sabre Premier Poincare suggests "moral suasion" as the only way to iron out the differences. The British and French Premiers, as has been universally noticed, have changed roles. When Poincare threatened with military invasion into Germany, Lloyd George posed as the angel of peace and conciliation. Now that British supremacy in Minor Asia is in danger the British government speedily resorted to the same weapon, armed force.

Following its note, the British Government sent Foreign Minister Lord Curzon to France to get her support in the settlement of the Dardanelles question. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Great Britain will succeed in winning over France to her point of view. She has failed to do so in the case of Russia or Germany, and the odds against her doing so now are still greater. France is now in a position of the victor, while Great Britain is decisively defeated, for it is an indisputable fact that Turkey and Greece were the puppets in the imperialistic scramble between France and England respectively.

Without English backing the Greek army would not have ventured into Asia Minor or retained control over Smyrna for the last three years. And Mustafa Kemal could not have successfully driven out the Greeks without the liberal support of the French. It is in short a war between two imperialistic and grasping brigands who are at any moment ready to start another world war in their scramble for power. The English say that they are for internationalizing the Dardanelles, but they were always in the habit of identifying British control with internationalism and freedom. The other nations are of a different opinion. France and to a lesser extent Italy will continue their opposition to British control in the Near East.

Another nation that has made itself heard in the present crisis is Russia. Russia has for many years yearned for the Dardanelles and Constantinople. Her economic prosperity and political power and prestige have been bound up with the attainment of these ends. These were the chief aims which Russia has entered the European War, and it is only after the Revolution in 1917 that Russia has rejected these imperialistic aims. But now that they again come to the fore Soviet Russia has notified the Allies that she demands a voice in the settlement of these problems. The Soviet Government's position is in short as follows: Nationalist Turkey, which now includes all Asia Minor cannot be barred from the Turkish capital at Constantinople. Nationalist sovereignty over the city should be complete and unhampered, but civil rights and freedom to the foreign minorities, irrespective of religion should be guaranteed by the Turks; free passage of the straits of the Bosphorus to merchant vessels of all nations; and the status of Constantinople as a free port.

Neither England nor France will agree to take Russia into consideration. In overthrowing the Czar Russia to their view has lost the right to be heard in this matter. But the more far sighted everywhere recognize that no permanent settlement could be effected by ignoring Russia. But this is far from being the only obstacle in the way of a solution of the Near Eastern question. The chasm between the European nations is growing deeper and wider. The differences and bitter dissensions are spreading from Europe to the East. The thin threads that held the Allies together are now strained to a breaking point. They may snap at any moment.

IMPEACHING ATTORNEY-GENERAL DAUGHERTY

THIS Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor last week adopted a resolution demanding "the impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty and Judge Wilkerson for their flagrant and arrogant violation and disregard of their oaths of office, the use of their respective offices in promoting the so-called open-shop, in deliberately casting aside the Constitutional rights of the wage-earners of our land and for their failure to uphold the Constitution of the United States." Accordingly Congressman Oscar Keller of Minnesota introduced a resolution in Congress asking Daugherty's impeachment. This resolution was referred to a committee where it now rests.

Congressman Keller, however, does not intend to have it buried in the committee. Together with the People's Legislative Service, of which Senator La Follette is chairman and Bill M. Manly, director, Mr. Keller brought forth sufficient evidence against the Attorney General in the Congressional impeachment hearings. Samuel Untermyer has consented to prosecute the impeachment charges against Daugherty. It looked in short that the Attorney General would face at least some pretty puzzling and embarrassing questions which would bring no glory or honor to him or his government. The Judiciary Committee, in whose hands the resolution rests, realized this, and being strongly Republican the chairman called a hurried special meeting of that body, at which the majority voted to postpone the proceedings against Daugherty until December, that is, until after the elections.

This action of the Administration Congressmen did not come as a surprise. No one had seriously expected that such a measure would be adopted. The acceptance of Mr. Untermyer to act as counsel has frightened the Administration and the resolution has been buried.

Had the impeachment proceedings been started it is questionable to what extent labor would be benefited. The rights of the workers would not be reinforced. For Samuel Untermyer declared in his letter of acceptance that "the main ground on which the Attorney General should be promptly removed from his office is his manifest unwillingness or inability to enforce the Anti-Trust laws, in which his action and non-action have reached the proportions of a great public scandal resulting in imminent peril to the country." The injunction against the shopmen at best would only serve as a minor point in the prosecution. What would labor gain from Daugherty's removal from office because of his failure to fight the trust? By punishing Daugherty labor would accomplish nothing, save satisfy a feeling of revenge. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. further resolved "to institute a Nation-wide campaign to bring this unconstitutional conduct of Attorney General Daugherty and Judge Wilkerson into every Congressional election." But merely going after the scalps of these two politicians, tools of special privilege, will bring little positive gains to organized labor.

THE SHOPMEN'S STRIKE TAKES A NEW TURN

OVER a week ago the railroad shop crafts' General Conference Committee of Ninety announced that the striking shopmen would be authorized to return to work individually on such railroads as accepted an agreement framed by the committee. The agreement wakes no special reference to seniority rights but stipulates that the strikers shall return to work at the wages against which they struck July 1 "no later than thirty days after the signing of this agreement."

The shopmen are now willing to return to work on conditions against which they struck two and a half months ago. Yet at this writing there are relatively few roads that signed agreements with the shop crafts' unions. The New York Central Railroad, for instance, withdrew from the negotiations with the strikers and flatly announced that "no further conferences" would be held. Apparently this company wants nothing short of the "open shop."

A day before it reaffirmed its war against the shopmen's unions, the New York Central signed agreements with the Conductors' and Trainmen's Brotherhoods. The differences between the workers and the companies were adjusted swiftly, and it is reported, in a spirit of friendship, amiability and harmony, virtually repudiating the Railroad Labor Board. President A. H. Smith of the New York Central said the settlement with the Brotherhoods was "a happy augury of a better era in the conduct of transportation service. While W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, made the following statement:

"I am glad we are going backward. For a quarter of a century we did business with the railroad executives—I know them all—across the table, and that is the only way peace can be maintained and results achieved. We can settle our affairs without any meddling by politicians. A decade ago when no outside machinery existed that could gum up negotiations and beloud issues, we used to fight across the table, but at night when they were over, we'd go out to dinner together. We are getting back to that now."

The relations between the unions and the companies, according to Lee, is a simple business relation, and after a deal is made the union and company chiefs go out and have dinner together. Lee and Smith, presidents of the Trainmen's Brotherhood and the New York Central respectively were enjoying dinner together after they had finished with the agreement or deal at a time when the same Mr. Smith is conducting a bitter war against the weaker shopmen's unions. No wonder the shopmen lost their strike!

SELF-ANALYZING AMERICA

AMERICAN statesmen, generals, editorial writers and public men are trying once for all to appraise their country. It all began with the disparaging remarks made about America by Rudyard Kipling. The poet denied having even given an interview containing his denunciations. But that is beside the point. It is a convenient starting point for determining whether this country has got a soul in addition to the money, what role it has played in the war and related questions. And they went at this job with characteristic American vim and energy. And for the last week they have succeeded in bringing forth mountains of facts showing conclusively that Kipling's charges are as absurd as they are groundless. Distinguished foreigners, among whom are the British Ambassador and the former French Premier Clemenceau are supporting the American facts. It is therefore to be hoped that Kipling and his like will be definitely silenced and the episode will close.

But what is particularly interesting is that this heated self-defense reveals a guilty conscience. This hyper-sensitiveness of what people in Europe think of us is traceable to a growing dissatisfaction among Americans with the place this country is occupying in European affairs. Americans return from Europe with a humiliated sense that our policy of "splendid isolation" is ridiculous in the extreme. There is an itch for doing things. The realization is dawning that American charity and relief in Europe evokes perhaps more resentment than gratitude from the recipients. At best these methods do not help to ameliorate conditions.

ATTENTION!

RUSSIAN-POLISH CLOAKMAKERS

The regular meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch will take place on Monday, September 25th, at 7:30 p. m. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th Street.

It is the duty of every member of the Branch to be present at this meeting.

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service.)

The decision of the Trades Union Congress to increase the levy on its members for publicity purposes and to enable the Labor Party to take over the "Daily Herald" as its official organ, has more than a party or even a national significance. That the British Labor Party should have at least one daily newspaper devoted to the interests of the workers is essential for British labor; and if this is not possible through an independent paper, such as the "Daily Herald" has been until now, the next best alternative is an official Labor organ. But this is also of international importance, for it is quite clear that Labor in other countries has no opportunity of knowing what is happening in Labor in this country through the capitalistic press, which in most cases doesn't know itself. It is to be hoped that yesterday's decision of the T. U. Congress to build up a fund for press and publicity will result, not only in giving the "Daily Herald" the financial backing which it has lacked since its fighting start as a strike leaflet in 1911, but also in building up a labor press that will remove from Great Britain the reproach that, almost alone among European countries it cannot boast of a working class sufficiently intelligent to run and support newspapers of its own, but prefers the poison provided in the ordinary press. The new editor, H. Hamilton Fyfe, has a sound journalistic reputation behind him, united to a recent conversion to Labor ideals—by no means a bad equipment for his post.

The man who has been mainly instrumental in bringing about the change in the "Herald" fortunes is George Lansbury, perhaps the most beloved leader in the Labor ranks though he would prefer not to think of himself as a leader but rather as a comrade. His resignation of the

editorship will free him for his many activities outside a newspaper office that have rather suffered from his recent absorption in journalism; and for that reason his colleagues view his departure from the editorial chair with an equanimity they would certainly not otherwise feel.

THE T. U. CONGRESS

The 54th Trades Union Congress, meeting this week at Southport, represents with its eight hundred delegates the industrial side of the Labor movement. But it is by no means neglectful of the political side of the movement, having indeed learned in the last few years of "Peace" what connection there is between unemployment and foreign politics. The strong resolution it has already passed on the European situation shows a statesmanship which, if Labor had not been excluded from Versailles in 1919, and again, by a trick, from a majority in Parliament at the General Election of the same year, might have averted much of the present chaos on the Continent. Labor international policy as here outlined demands the abandonment of the occupation of the Rhine and of the policy of force, time and facilities for the payment of Germany of reparations, and the invitation to Germany and Russia to join the League of Nations on an equality with other nations. With regard to France, the resolution urges the French people to adopt a policy of trust towards the German Republic, to reconsider the plans for reconstruction of the French devastated areas made by Germany and accepted by French Labor but rejected by French capitalism, and to join in support of all those who believe in a reconstituted and all-inclusive League of Nations, pursuing a policy of progressive and universal disarmament. The speeches

made in support of this resolution by J. H. Thomas and Margaret Bondfield, both recently returned from Germany, showed a knowledge of facts and a grasp of remedies that, if shared by our rulers and those of other European countries, would go far towards unraveling a tangle that now seems almost hopeless.

League of Nations Assembly

"Deliberately we say that, God helping us, there shall be no next time!" said the Archbishop of Canterbury in his sermon on war to the delegates of the League of Nations, assembled at Geneva this week. Well, one can only hope that when "next time" is again foreshadowed in the Chancelleries the Church will come out as boldly in defense of Christian principles. There is perhaps a greater safeguard against war in the appeal to mothers of Mrs. Coombe Tennant, the British women delegate to the Assembly, exhorting them to remember what internationalism did to them in the war and to take an interest henceforth in international affairs. Even a State-endowed Church could not enable a Government to plunge the country into war if the mothers combined to refuse their consent to war.

The European situation has been very slightly relieved by the compromise arrived at by the Reparations Commission, which at least delays a settlement which would force France's hand. It is, in fact, only a moratorium under another name, and it saves France from having to climb down without appearing to have abated a jot of her claims. M. Poincaré lashes viciously at the United States, and incidentally at us, in his reply to the Balfour Note. At the same time, in a published statement, he admits that the French Government might agree to a reduction of Germany's debt through a general settlement providing for the liquidation of all inter-Allied debts. This may mean everything or nothing; but it has cleared the air a little for the moment, and the German mark has

stopped flying up and down. Also the attempt of the Monarchists in Germany to win over the great Catholic Zentrum Party has been cut short by the wise intervention of the Pope, and so another subtle attack upon the Republic is averted.

What will come of Turkey's defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor has yet to be seen. The reported intervention of the Allies, with the object of bringing the two hostile peoples to terms, may result in a settlement; but this is doubtful if, as is also reported, the question of Thrace is not to be touched upon. It is curious to see the standards of human nature how these politicians manage to practice their transparent wiles upon one another. In no other province of human affairs would a mediator in any quarrel begin by ruling out the main cause of contention!

In Ireland

In Ireland guerrilla warfare continues, but ever so happenings in that unsettled country hangs the shadow of past wrongs, and blackest of all the shadow of Mike Collins' death. The decision of the acting chairman of the Provisional Government, Mr. William Cosgrave, to summon Parliament on September 9, and his assurance to the Irish Labor Party that the latest postponement was caused only by the death of the late President of Dail Eireann and of the chairman of the Provisional Government (Arthur Griffith and Collins) has reassured the National Executive of the Labor Party for the time being, and the resignation of Labor Members is held over. The question now arises whether the anti-Treaty members will attend Parliament. This depends, in the case of those at liberty, on whether they mean to recognize the Parliament or not, and in that of the members under arrest, on whether the Government will release them for the purpose. In a country where all things are happily possible, this question will doubtless be settled all right, though probably in no way suggested by precedent.

Shielding a Nameless Child

By J. CHARLES LAUE

Few of us realize the great advances toward a kinder and more just world for little children that are being fostered by the Children's Bureau, under the able guidance of Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Bureau which is administered under the United States Department of Labor at Washington. Quietly and without much publicity, this branch of the federal government has been arousing the callous, work-a-day world to the plight of the little ones, not only those born in poverty but those nameless children, branded as illegitimate that are found outside of the family.

Its work for securing a greater measure of kindness and justice for these innocent little ones has just secured the support of a legal organization of the highest authority, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, as the result of a campaign among women of this country initiated by the Bureau.

A law was drawn up by a committee of which Professor Ernest Freund, of the University of Chicago Law School, was chairman, suggesting a modern illegitimacy act, for adoption by the states which will make one uniform law to protect all such unfortunate. It applies only to those infants whose parentage is denied and for whom no support is provided.

The proposed law places upon both parents the obligation of furnishing the child maintenance, education and

for the mother's pregnancy and confinement. The obligation of the father is enforceable against his estate. The law coust action to enforce this obligation is brought in the state or community where the father is permanently or temporarily resident or where the mother or child resides or is found. The judgment for support holds until the child is 16 years of age and no compromise or settlement is to be binding unless judicially approved.

Yet these laws, particularly in the backward Southern states, are still a long way from being adopted and a great campaign of education and agitation has been outlined by the Children's Bureau to humanize the state statutes with regard to these children.

In this country the death rate among these lonely infants is still two or three times that of those born in wedlock. This unnecessary high mortality has brought about research by the federal departments and private agencies, which are agreed that so long as these babies are left in institutions during the first year, it will continue to be high, for young life needs personal care and interest which is always lacking in asylums for foundlings.

There are no adequate laws in this country to protect the deserted mother and her infant and only slowly is the public spirit being awakened support. The father is made liable

to care for them sanely and humanely.

Every year in this bountiful land there are born between 50,000 and 50,000 illegitimate, or better called "nameless" children of whom at least 20,000 die of neglect in the first year. Of those who survive, the cold harsh life of a children's institution is offered, and only a minority, about 3,000 are taken into homes where childless women give these little ones the foster mother's care that often enough is better than the care a real mother knows how or can afford to give.

It was in 1914 that private welfare agencies first revealed the shocking conditions under which children born out of wedlock were reared. The neglect and wilful misery imposed upon these innocent waifs brought about the annual slaughter. This waste of human flowers was attributed both to the ignorance of those to whose tender mercies society left the little ones and to the cruel prejudice of bourgeois society against such children.

Unmarried mothers, cowed by the public scorn to which they are subjected, anxious to hide their shame, sought any expedient to escape the burden of this unwarranted motherhood. In many instances, it was the lack of funds that forced a girl to leave her child so that she might continue to work in the factory or shop. Most frequent of all cases are those of domestic servants who have little or no protection or independence while in service. Often their babies are abandoned in ash cans, on highways, in doorways, where some chance passer-by might pick them up. Then they are taken to commercial lying-in homes and baby farms, to die or to be reared under the baneful influence of institutional regime.

To correct this the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor is doing valuable work. The agencies in the larger cities have been stimulated to renewed activity to prevent this appalling cruelty to the infants and to allow these offspring of youth and passion to be put into good

(Continued on Page 3.)

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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President Schlesinger's Address at the British Trade Union Congress

DELIVERED AT PORTSMOUTH, ENGLAND, SEPTEMBER 6, 1922.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Trade Unionists:

It is with a sense of inmost pleasure that I bring to you the greetings of the millions of organized workers of America who have accorded me the honor of representing their great organization, the American Federation of Labor, as fraternal delegate at your Congress. The American trade unionists wish you speedy and unlimited success in the solving of the great economic, industrial and political problems which are confronting you.

As I understand it, the object of exchanging fraternal delegates between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor is to keep alive the spirit of friendship and good will between the workers of the two countries, to cultivate a more intimate understanding of their respective problems and to establish stronger bonds of solidarity and helpfulness in their joint struggles for a better order of things.

It is in the hope of making a modest contribution towards this great aim that I take the liberty of addressing my remarks to you. I am proud of the splendid body of organized workers on the other side of the Atlantic whom I have the honor to represent, of their admirable spirit of solidarity and loyalty, and their great contribution towards the material and spiritual elevation of their class, and towards the general political and social progress of the world. I may say without exaggeration that the American Federation of Labor is today not only the most outstanding hope of the American workers, but the foremost defender of the rights and liberties of the whole American people.

But when I contemplate the powerful organizations of British labor, your six million trade unionists in a population less than half of ours, backed by an all-pervading co-operative movement and a solid bloc of 75 members in the House of Commons chosen by and accountable to the workers alone, I realize very keenly that much is yet to be accomplished by the American labor movement. Our organized workers still outnumber those who hold membership in labor unions, our co-operatives are still in the incipient stage of development, and we have not yet learned to take full advantage of the inherent political power of the workers.

I should like, in a few words, to bring home to you the extraordinary difficulties which have heretofore stood in the way of greater progress of American labor, and the conditions which inspire us with hope for ultimate triumph.

The United States is still a new country. Only one generation ago it was practically a farming community. The system of large industries has sprung up so suddenly, has grown so fast and attained such fabulous heights, that our workers have had no time to adjust themselves to the new conditions. In the whirl of the rapid industrial revolution, thousands of former workers have gained wealth and power, and millions of their fellow workers are deluded into the hope of similar success. America is still considered a land of opportunity. Our social classes are not as rigidly fixed as they are in Europe.

These economic and psychological obstacles to the unification of American labor are complicated and intensified by another peculiar element. The population of the United States, particularly the working population, is not as uniform in race, habits and language as the population of England or of any continental country in Europe. The Americans are a composite nation made up of practically all races of the Old World, and fully one third of it consists of immigrants of the first or second generation. To reach them with its appeal, organized labor must address them in a score of different tongues and break down many racial prejudices and antagonisms. The presence of ten million negroes, mostly workers, with special social conditions, is also an important phase in the peculiar ethnic problem which confronts American labor.

All these drawbacks upon the economic struggles have militated with equal force against effective labor co-operation on the political field. But the efforts to unite our workers in political action encounter additional serious difficulties.

The large number of our elective officers, executives, legislative and judicial, local, state and national; the emoluments, patronage and power which these offices carry, and the frequency of our elections have made American politics a regular business, conducted by professionals for private gain, on a large scale and with a lavish outlay of money. This leads to rival efforts on the part of the professional politicians in control of both old parties to "swing the labor vote" by making extravagant promises to the workers in every political campaign.

Then also the workers of America are inclined to attribute less importance to political remedies than their comrades in Europe, on account of the difficulties of securing such remedies. In England any labor movement susceptible of legislative redress can be cured by a single act of Parliament. Under the federal system of our government, each of the forty-eight states of the Union is autonomous in matters of labor legislation and no labor law can acquire general validity throughout the country unless it is passed in all states. Nor is legislative act, when finally passed, always a law. Under our system of written constitutions the courts have arrogated to themselves the power to set aside laws if they consider them repugnant to their interpretation of any constitutional provision, with the result that numerous fundamental laws for the protection of labor, often enacted after years of extensive propaganda, have been coolly set aside by one stroke of the judicial pen. These are some, but not all, of the special difficulties which confront our movement, and in the face of such formidable obstacles it must be considered a high testimonial to the determination, idealism and fundamental soundness of the organized workers of America that they have achieved as much as they have. For, I repeat, organized labor in the United States has to its credit many accomplishments of vital importance to the entire working class, unorganized as well as organized.

Within the generation of life of the American Federation of Labor, it has fought many hard battles and won many notable victories. Day by day, and year by year, it has attacked the economic evils under which the American workers suffered, and it has substantially raised the whole standard of life of the workers and their social status. And the achievements of the past are only a slight earnest of their accomplishments in the future.

The inexorable trend of events is rapidly overcoming the special difficulties of our struggle and paving the way for union and victory. With the extension of large-scale production, the individual opportunities for advancement decrease; wage labor becomes a permanent status; the uniform conditions under which the workers of all original nationalities are forced to work and to live tends to obliterate their racial divergencies, and the equal oppression by which their employers stir them to common resentment, collective resistance and united struggle.

Ever since the Armistice, the workers of America have been assailed by the forces of the organized employers with unusual and brutal severity. Taking advantage of the unsettled industrial conditions and the general political apathy, which have followed upon the conclusion of the World War, the organized employers of the country have embarked upon a concerted campaign with the object of "defeating" wages, curtailing the legal rights of labor, paralyzing its struggles and destroying its organization.

While this so-called "open-shop" drive was prosecuted with the whole force at the command of the employing classes, the Supreme Court of the United States, by a series of fateful decisions rapidly following upon the heels of each other, nullified a congressional enactment (The Clayton Act), somewhat similar to the British Trade Disputes Act, and the federal law for the protection of child labor; virtually abolished the rights of workers to picket, and subjected trade-union funds to seizure by employers to satisfy alleged damages arising from strikes.

The assaults of the employers have had the effect of arousing American labor to determined resistance.

The American Federation of Labor in its convention held last June, issued a ringing address to the people generally, and to the workers particularly, to curb the usurped powers of our courts and to restore democratic government; it recommended the adoption of sweeping amendments to the Constitution of the United States towards that end and decided to initiate a far-reaching popular movement for the realization of its program.

Our trade unions have given notice to the employing interests of the country that the days of labor's passive submission to wage cuts and capitalist dictatorship are over. Within the last year particularly, the organized workers in numerous industries have successfully resisted threatened deteriorations of working standards by the method of strikes. The most notable as well as the most recent among these have been the general strike of the miners, 600,000 in number, whose courage and solidarity and endurance against overwhelming odds, have justly aroused the admiration of the whole body of organized labor; and the strike of the 300,000 railway shop men, whose fight, though shorter, has been hardly less heroic.

Other encouraging symptoms that are just beginning to develop within the American labor movement are the manifest tendency towards more active participation in political action. While our workers have by far not yet reached the political unity, cohesion and power of your Labor Party, some beginnings have been made towards working-class policies, and these initial efforts are heartily encouraged by the Socialist Party, which, freed from the elements of Communist obstruction, has taken a position in favor of unreserved co-operation with organized labor on all battle fronts.

American labor is determined to catch up with the conquering procession of the European movement, and I assure you that once set in motion its progress will be fast, its conquests uninterrupted, and its victory decisive.

The American Federation of Labor has not yet resumed affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The principal objection which stands in the way of affiliation is that the system of centralized authority of the Trade Union International might commit the organized workers of America to positions incompatible with their special situation and policies.

Besides, the system of dues adopted by the International would place upon the American Federation of Labor a heavy and unbearable expense.

These objections have not been removed yet. However, the last three conventions of the American Federation of Labor have shown unmistakably that it is eager to have these points of difference composed in order that affiliation might become possible. The last convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, voted unanimously to instruct the Executive Council of the Federation to continue its efforts to bring about affiliation with the International Federation of Trades Unions.

The American labor movement will not remain isolated in its struggles. In our days, when the system of production and exchange is so all-embracing, so interwoven and interdependent that it practically unites the modern world into one great industrial community, the workers of the whole world are one body, united not only by ties of brotherly sympathy and sympathy, but by the most intimate bonds of direct interest. The workers of no country can be free while those of any country are subjected and oppressed.

There is, moreover, another compelling cause for international working class solidarity. Organized labor the world over is at this time not merely fighting the narrow struggles of its own class—it is battling for the cause of humanity. The ruling classes have, particularly within the last decade, demonstrated their total incapacity to rule. Their reign has been one of strife, plunder and chaos, of class antagonism and national hatreds. They have precipitated the most monstrous bloodshed in the history of mankind and have left the world in ruin and agony. They represent a blind and dangerous power of destruction. They cannot heal the wounds which they have cruelly inflicted, they cannot rebuild the precious edifice which they have wantonly demolished.

The reconstruction of the world calls for a new force, the constructive force of labor, which alone makes for human life, social justice and international peace. The workers of the world must take over the management of the world to save the world. To accomplish this mission of human salvation, the workers of all countries must act in concert and harmony, and the workers of America will be proud to do their share.

It is in this spirit of international brotherhood that I bring you the greetings and cheer of your American comrades, and wish you good luck in your movement and your struggles.

Some Phases of American Labor History

By ALGERNON LEE

IV.

For about forty years after the Declaration of Independence, the young republic continued to import from Europe, and chiefly from England, almost its whole supply of such commodities as could not be produced on its own farms or in the small shops of its self-employed artisans. In return it exported grain, cotton, fish, hides, furs, timber, pig iron, and some other foodstuffs and raw materials.

The steam engine, spinning machines, the power loom, the steam hammer, and many other forms of power-driven machinery had been invented in England since 1760, and in that country the factory system was in full swing by the end of the eighteenth century. In America, however, there were as yet hardly any factories. There were three sufficient causes for this condition—first, the fact that the population was not yet large enough nor rich enough to provide such a market as would encourage investment in large industrial enterprises; second, the fact that there was not yet any considerable amount of American capital seeking investment; third, and perhaps most important of all, the fact that there was no large number of landless men seeking employment and that consequently wage-labor could not be obtained except at rates much higher than those which prevailed in the old country.

In the South, from Maryland to Georgia (Florida was not acquired till 1819), social influence and political power were mostly in the hands of landholders, who exploited slave labor for the production of cotton, tobacco, rice, and a little sugar and indigo for export. In the North, the principal wealthy class was that of the ship-owning merchants; industrial capital had hardly begun to develop. It goes without saying that there was absolutely no trace of labor movement in the South, and that in the North there were only a few local, unconnected, and often short-lived trade unions, mostly in the shipbuilding industry, which was practically the only one that employed wage-workers in any considerable numbers.

In 1812 to '14 the United States had its second war with England, which was in reality only an incident to the closing phase of the Napoleonic war that had for years convulsed the Old World. In more than one way this gave a stimulus to American manufacturers. In the first place, American trade with Europe was for a time largely cut off, causing a shortage of manufactured goods and a glut of raw materials in this country. In the second place, Congress imposed increased duties upon imports, partly as a means of raising money to pay the cost of the war, partly with the deliberate purpose of promoting the development of American industry; and these import taxes were not abolished nor cut down when the war came to end.

Under these circumstances, the rising of prices of industrial products and the relative cheapness of raw materials encouraged such Americans as had any free capital to invest in it industrially rather than in commercial enterprises. For the first time in American history, it was obviously worth while to establish factories here and produce goods for the American market.

But industrial capital cannot operate without the employment of wage-workers. Where were these to come from? Well, history had been solving that problem.

A glance at the map of the United

States will show the reader that the strip of fertile plain along the Atlantic coast is separated from the still more fertile river valleys of our Middle West by a mountain system which stretched from Maine to North-east Georgia and Alabama—the White Mountains, Green Mountains, Adirondacks, Berkshires, Catskills, Ramapo, Blue Ridge, Alleghenies, and so forth. These ranges are not very high, and they are broken by several low passes, especially that of the Mohawk Valley. Yet they were sufficient in those days to constitute a rather serious obstacle to the steady westward spread of the population. The mountain soil and climate were not favorable to agriculture. Few settlers took up their abode there. Those who were bold enough to go farther and settle in the Ohio Valley found themselves to a great extent cut off from their old homes on the coast; and though a stream of migration did trickle across the intervening wilderness, it was not large enough to balance the growth of population in the coastal plain. Consequently, by the time of which I have just been speaking, this older region—or at least its northern portion, which is both narrower and less fertile than the southern—had become somewhat thickly peopled. There was now but little good land to be had there, without paying a substantial rent or purchase price to those who had arrived earlier and got possession. But children kept on being born, and every year brought at least a few thousand immigrants from Europe.

The filling-up of the easily accessible country thus provided the supply of potential wage-labor which, at this moment, industrial capital could profitably employ.

After the War of 1812-'14, therefore, the factory system began to flourish, especially in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, eastern New York, northern New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and even in Delaware and Maryland. Farther south, the prevalence of chattel slavery discouraged the immigration of free workmen and also deduced the spirit of enterprise among the rich, so that capitalist industry did not develop there. In the Old North, however, the old wealthy class of commercial capitalists rapidly lost ground; the new class of industrial capitalists grew in numbers, wealth, and influence—and did not fail to use this influence, among other things, to strengthen the protective tariff system, so as to exclude foreign competition, monopolize the home market, and still farther stimulate its own development.

The existence of industrial capital and wage-labor always involves an antagonism of material interests which tends to find expression in conscious and organized class-struggle. By the 1820s there began to be a labor movement worthy of the name, active on both the economic and the political field, in all the industrial centers from Boston to Baltimore.

The growth of this movement was no doubt helped by the fact that for about thirty years, beginning in the period of the Great Revolution and running till a decade after the battle of Waterloo, a black reaction prevailed in Great Britain. Political radicalism, even of the mildest type, was savagely persecuted; and from 1799 till 1824 it was a criminal offense under British law for two or more workmen to combine for the purpose of procuring an increase of wages or a reduction of hours. The labor movement in the old country,

still young and not yet very strong, was largely destroyed and its remnants driven underground. The Combination Acts were repealed in 1824-'25, but six or seven years later there was again a short period of violent persecution; and even when the government relaxed its assaults upon the unions, the employers were often able to blacklist labor agitators and bound them to ruin. In consequence of these attacks, many British workmen who had learned the principles of trade unionism and of political radicalism in that bitter school had to emigrate to America; and they aided in the upbuilding of the early working-class movement in this country.

This movement grew and flourished for some fifteen or twenty years. Partly by its own efforts, partly through the support of the poorer farmers (who had their own quarrel with the wealthy classes) it accomplished a great work on three lines.

First, it fairly well established the

legal principle that it is not unlawful for workmen to organize for the purpose of getting better wages, hours, and conditions of labor.

Second, it pretty thoroughly did away with property qualification for voting and won manhood suffrage for the Northern States and for those which were being formed in the West.

Third, it was the chief factor in establishing free public education for children throughout the North and West.

With this glorious record, it rather suddenly went down. The movement was at its highest between 1825 and 1835. By 1840 it had grown very weak, and thenceforward there was hardly a labor movement worth speaking of till about the end of the Civil War in the '60s.

The explanation of this curious fact we must leave for another article, in which we shall begin to discuss also the influence of the various streams of immigration upon the history of the American labor movement.

Unique Opportunity for Teachers

A unique symposium course on "Educational Problems" has been announced by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, beginning on Saturday morning, September 23rd, at 11 o'clock. It has been organized by Dr. Henry Linville, President of the Teachers' Union of New York City, who has secured a remarkable array of educators.

Each lecture will be given by a specialist in his or her own field, well-known throughout the country for a valuable contribution to intelligent discussion in education. New York teachers or those aspiring to teach may well consider themselves fortunate in being able to hear twelve leaders in educational and social thought for the nominal sum of \$4.00 for the course.

A special feature of the lectures will be a half hour discussion to follow the hour lecture, where opportunity will be given for closer contact between teacher and students than the lecture platform usually offers. The first lecture will be given by Professor William H. Kilpatrick, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, on "The Project Method in Teaching." Mr. Robert Morris Lovett, who has been for many years, and

still is professor of English at the University of Chicago, but who is better known to New York as one of the editors of the "New Republic," will give the second in the series on "The Educational Approach to Liberty."

Among the others listed for this unusual course are Mr. Alexis Fern of the Model School at Stetson, who is well qualified to speak on "The Contribution of the Experimental School"; Dr. Alexander Fichandler, New York school principal, who will discuss "The Contribution of the Workers' Education Movement"; Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg of the Public Health Service in Washington, on "The Scientific Method of Teaching"; Mr. Joseph K. Hart, of the staff of the "Survey," on "Our Public Education and Its Social Background"; Dr. Henry Neumann of the Ethical Culture Society, on "The Teaching of Social Ideas Through Literature"; Mrs. Marietta Johnson, founder of the School of Organic Education at Fairhope, Alabama, on "The Development of the Child in Education."

Registration may be made any day at the office of the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, or a Bulletin of all courses may be had on application.



Drawn by ART YOUNG.

I went into a department store. I asked a thin girl if she had any more of the same brand of article that I had bought once before at the same counter.

"No, WE are out of those," said the thin girl.

"Nothing unusual or funny about this conversation, of course. But did you ever stop to think about that word 'we'? If 'we' means the department store owners, the principal stockholders and the thin clerk—well, we pass it along. It's a good joke, say we.—ART YOUNG.

WE

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

JUSTICE MARSH—A SAVIOR OF CIVILIZATION

The Coronet Costume Co., a New York dress firm, obtained an injunction against the Joint Board of the Dress and Waist-makers' Union restraining it from picketing the factory of this firm, from "molesting its workers and contractors," and from "interfering with the business of the firm" in general.

Quite an ordinary occurrence, isn't it? When an employer complains to a Union for "interfering with its business," it is a hundred to one that the court will grant the request of the employer and issue an injunction against the Union. An event of this sort really requires no special comment. In this particular case, however, Supreme Court Justice Marsh had deemed it appropriate to deliver an elaborate sermon, the gist of which is that the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union is an organization that would bring back "barbarism" into our enlightened era.

Well, we happen to be acquainted with this Joint Board and its officers; we know its president, Brother Berlin; its Secretary, Brother Mackoff; its Manager, Brother Hochman, and most of its members, and we know them not as "barbarians" but as ardent devotees of human progress. The strangest part of this opinion, however, is not so much the castigation of the officers of the Joint Board as the eulogy of the complainant dress firm.

The Coronet Costume Company, some time ago, entered into an agreement with the Union, like many other dress firms in New York City, with regard to work-hours, wages, and other conditions of employment. The agreement, which was to run until February next, was broken by the firm. To be exact, the firm "ceased" to manufacture dresses and went into the jobbing business—which to all who know means that it is still manufacturing dresses but under a different shield.

It required no unusual amount of sagacity to discern that the firm had committed a fraud not only against the Union but had violated the law. And when the Coronet Costume Company came to court to complain against the Union, it came there with unclean hands—after having broken its agreement with Union in a cowardly and stealthy manner.

This squirming, scheming act of the firm deserved only one kind of treatment: the hands of truly impartial justice. For having trampled upon its own, voluntarily assumed agreement with the Union, its application for an injunction should have been thrown out of court with severe censure and unqualified condemnation. Justice Marsh, however, had turned the tables and trained the guns of his judicial eloquence not against the firm but upon the Joint Board. He said that the Coronet Costume Company had a right to stop making dresses whenever it wanted to. It certainly did have that right and the Union never for a moment contested it. What the Union stated was that the firm only appeared to have given up its dress manufacturing; that in reality it continued to manufacture dresses but under non-union conditions, having converted its solemn understanding with the Union into a "scrap of paper."

His mind made up, that the firm is in the right and that the Union is totally in the wrong, Justice Marsh, following out logically his conclusions, proceeds to deliver this sermon to the Joint Board.

"In this stage of civilization, when the progressive and enlightened thought of the world throughout all history has insisted on the abandonment of private vengeance, and tribunals have been established under every Government, however primitive, for the peaceful and public administration of justice, it is indeed astonishing to encounter the suggestion put forward by the defendants to the effect that the plaintiffs, by their past conduct, have put themselves outside the protection of the law, and that the defendants are consequently at liberty to redress their own grievances provided they refrain from violence.

"That would be a most reactionary doctrine, reminiscent of barbarous epochs and would mean an abdication of the Court's essential function. The intentional and unjustified destruction of the plaintiff's business even by peaceful methods, is a punishment as far beyond the lawful right of the defendants to inflict as any physical trespass against persons and property."

What is it that the Joint Board of the Dress and Waist-makers' Union had committed that Justice Marsh terms "private vengeance"? Only this: The employer in this case broke his agreement with the Union under false pretenses, under the pretense that he had ceased to manufacture dresses. The officers for the Union had, thereupon, taken the case to the workers and called upon them not to make dresses for this contract-breaking concern. Where does the term "private ven-

geance" fit in this case? What other mode of action was there left for the Union? To sue the firm for a breach of contract? But the firm could, of course, easily dodge responsibility by proving that it had become a jobber. And the Union would find it almost impossible to adduce concrete testimony that the firm still remains in actuality a dress manufacturer. The Union, therefore, adopted a method sanctioned by the practices of the labor movement and called a strike of the workers employed by the firm. If this is "private vengeance," it goes without saying that every strike could be construed as an act of private vengeance and "barbarism."

The right to strike is one of the greatest achievements of our times. The right to strike is the badge of human freedom for the workers. So we thought all the time,—and now comes Supreme Court Justice Marsh and declares that workers must not strike because strikes are acts of "private vengeance." This is truly a startling interpretation of the right of workers to give up work whenever they see fit, and if this interpretation is to become generally accepted by the American judiciary, the workers' right to lay down their tools whenever they choose will very soon become a relic of the past.

We don't know whether Justice Marsh had meant to go that far, whether he had thought deeply into the consequences of his new-fangled theory. But the fact remains that the tendency to rob the workers of their right to strike is becoming more and more manifest in this country. Justice Marsh's opinion is only a straw which indicates the great tempest the American organized workers may have to face in the not distant future.

Let the workers be warned and let them prepare themselves to weather the storm and to defend their priceless rights and human prerogatives.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE UNIONS

The New York "Times" of last Sunday contained a notable article by Samuel Gompers, dealing with the widely outbranded plot to destroy the labor unions in America. The article is replete with convincing details and irrefutable facts, in spite of the fact that the "Times" could not spare space for the article as originally written and had to condense it materially.

But even as it is, the story is highly convincing, and only a person who is blinded by prejudice against either Gompers or the labor movement which he represents, will fail to admit that Gompers had acquitted himself of his task brilliantly in this article.

To our workers, the array of facts marshalled by President Gompers, will present no surprise. Our workers have never lulled themselves, even for a moment, into a sense of security, or the belief that our employers, our captains of industry, have become their friends. Those who have to fight daily for the existence of their union, who have to be constantly on guard lest their organization is stabbed in the back, can never be made to believe that employers can actually "make peace" with the unions. To our workers the proof of the existing conspiracy against the life of the labor movement is not a discovery.

The labor movement, even in its most conservative section, is essentially a revolutionary one. This is true even in spite of the fact that not all the workers who belong to it, and not even all its leaders, understand its true aspect. But the employers know this best of all. For a time they have been endeavoring to "make peace" with the more conservative, the more moderate trade unions and have attempted, from time to time, to emasculate them. Their "triumph," however, did not last long. The inherent quality and nature of the labor movement could not be changed or essentially compromised with and the organized employers of the country have now proclaimed a "holy war" against the labor movement. It isn't any more a secret conspiracy. The fight against the labor unions is being led in the open by the captains of industry, in the factory, in our courts, and even in our legislatures.

It wasn't difficult, therefore, for Gompers to prove the conspiracy. We only disagree with him to the extent of his assertion that the fight against the unions is waged in secret. Quite to the contrary. The crusade against the labor unions is to-day an open fight. So much the better for the labor movement. As long as this antagonism was kept sub rosa there still existed room for belief that somehow or other, the labor movement could live side by side and compromise with our system of unbridled profiteering and industrial chaos. The fight in the open marks the end of the epoch of illusion and delusion.

It is obvious to all who but would remain blind that the labor movement and capitalism cannot go hand in hand, that capital and labor are deadly enemies. The days of the "conspirative" fight of capital against labor are gone. The struggle is being fought out under open skies. So much the better for that.

New School for Social Research and the I. L. G. W. U.

The New School for Social Research, 465 West 23rd Street, has announced its plans for the coming season. As usual, it offers a number of courses which will undoubtedly interest some of our members.

The Educational Department has made arrangements with the New School for Social Research by which members of the I. L. G. W. U. will

be admitted to their courses at a considerable reduction. Each course will consist of 25 lectures. While the fee is \$30, members of the I. L. G. W. U. will have to pay only \$10. Those who wish to take advantage of this opportunity, should obtain announcements and the necessary cards of admission at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

The "Conspiracy" of the Labor Unions

(Special Washington Correspondence to "Justice")

By B. MAIMAN

The coal strike is already at an end and the railway shopmen's strike is nearing its finish, but the injunction case is still far from having reached its conclusions. And important as it was for organized labor in America to win these two great strikes, it is even more important for the workers to dispose definitely of the injunction as a fighting weapon against strikers. This explains the great interest in the trial which is taking place now in Judge Wilkerson's court in Chicago.

The American government has spent a tremendous amount of effort in the preparation of this injunction case—so much so that one can hardly doubt that the Administration is determined to justify the use of the injunction not only in federal courts but also in the eyes of the public in general. Through the means of this pending injunction trial, the government is seeking to create a feeling of bitterness among the public against organized workers; to prove that the unions have made "conspiracies" against the nation; that they were a consistent terror; that they robbed, murdered and pillaged and that if not for the force of these injunctions was granted temporarily to Daugherty by Judge Wilkerson, the entire country would lie prostrate in ruins as a victim of "the conspiracy" of the "Unions."

When a few days ago I came to the Department of Justice and asked to see a certain high-placed official, I received the answer, "he is too busy, and is working on the injunction case." I requested an interview with another important official and was told by his secretary, very politely, that it would be impossible for me to see him as "he is very busy in preparing the documents for the injunction trial." My attempt to see a third and a fourth official met with the same reply. It would seem as if the entire Department of Justice is occupied with one case—the shopmen's injunction.

If one wants to get a glimpse of how much work and labor the government has invested in the preparation of this case, one should read the reports of the Chicago trial. Here are a few facts: For six days in succession the Administration's legal spokesmen were laying before Judge Wilkerson documents and proofs of the "conspiracy" formed by the railway unions against the country and the "crimes and murders" committed in the course of the strike. Each day, of the six days, this testimony was taken down about 3000 typewritten pages daily, which run up easily to the size of ten best sellers. Eighteen stenographers are working on the case already and they are, as is reported, far behind with their work. If the promoters of the injunction suit desire that their stenographers keep up with the progress of the trial, they would have to discharge, it is said, 116 more stenographers.

The Department of Justice brought to the trial, literally, mountains of affidavits. This is not exaggerated in any sense, for it seems to me that if these affidavits were placed, one on top of the other, this elevation could successfully compete with an average Adirondack summit. The Department of Justice brought in 670 exhibits and one of these exhibits alone carried 215 affidavits. It stands to reason that the government is interested to such an extent in the case, because it realizes that it is of tremendous importance to its leaders, and this fact alone should arouse the

workers to take an interest in this injunction case as it must be kept constantly in mind that in this case the Attorney General has placed all the labor unions of the country on the defendants' bench.

What stories have they been telling during these six days, through this avalanche of affidavits, in Judge Wilkerson's court?

It was told that the workers have destroyed property, broken railroad tracks, set fire to houses and murdered human beings. It was told that more than thirty persons have been killed, that bridges were dynamited, that signals were changed to bring about train collisions—a black and bloody story in which the unions were painted in the most horrible colors that the devilish fancy of labor's enemies could have conjured up.

The story was told to Judge Wilkerson—to whom the Department of Justice really does not have to prove that the unions are in the wrong. The story was told to the American public, to the entire nation, and the papers took care that the story was carried to the farthest nooks and corners of the land. Simultaneously the press does not forget to put stress on the Heaton story and brings into the bargain the old Moyer, Haywood & Pettibone case. The McNamara Brothers case has also been dragged out from the grave and its skeleton is being rattled before the public in order to make propaganda against the unions.

Never in the history of America has such a grave charge of "national conspiracy" been lodged against any group of men and never has the government taken so much care in preparing the case and shown such anxiety to condemn the accused ones. The attitude of the workers and the extent of their endeavor to counterbalance the influence of this propaganda becomes therefore of tremendous importance. What will the representatives of the unions reply to these horrible charges?

I noticed that a few plate-owned newspapers are already trying to guess in advance, perhaps with the sinister intent of weakening it beforehand, the course of the labor unions. One paper, for instance, says: "It is still being reported that the defense, which is facing the condemnation of an aroused public opinion, will base its case, in order to weaken the testimony of the government, upon the allegation that the government is in a conspiracy with the railway owners to break the unions of the country and to introduce the 'open shop.' It is hardly believable that the workers will adopt such an absurd point of view."

To charge the government of the United States of being in a conspiracy with the railway owners to break the unions, of course, is terribly absurd. What other defense have the workers? How can they explain the ferocious activities of the government to prosecute the unions? This, I suppose, we shall leave to the lawyers of the defense when their hour comes in court.

How we would dislike to hear the lawyers of the unions come into court in this case with the ordinary petty legal twists, and customary technical hair-splitting! This is not an ordinary trial. The government looks upon this as an extraordinary case and is conducting it as an unusual event. Its effect will be quite different from the effect of an ordinary trial and the methods to be employed

The Brussels Conference on Workers' Education

A REVIEW

By FANNIA M. COHN

In the historical Chaussee de Waterloo in Uccle, a suburb of Brussels, Belgium, proudly stands a three-story house of early 19th century architecture, surrounded by artistic walks and gardens containing beautiful statuary. This is the Belgium Labor College with some twenty acres of land recently acquired by the Central Committee on Workers' Education in Belgium.

In these splendid surroundings the First International Conference on Workers' Education, called by the Belgium Labor College, was held August 16-17. Floating over the entrance to the main building was the red Socialist flag, a symbol not only of the auspices under which the college came into being, but also of the spirit of human brotherhood that strives so earnestly to make the enlightened workers of Europe forgive and forget the tragedy of 1914-1918, and re-build and create a true international understanding among all nations.

One must be there and see the plight of Europe resulting from the international calamity of 1914-1918 to realize how difficult it is to heal the wound that was inflicted. Unlike their governments, the representatives of the working class education movement at the Conference did not blame each other for the calamity. Most of the thirty-six delegates who came from eleven countries and represented twenty-three different educational enterprises under working class control, had spent four years in the trenches fighting each other. But here they assembled with a passionate desire to forget the terrible years. It is only after seeing this that one can realize what an international get-together means to them. It means a step toward the re-establishment of international relations of workers.

A certain incident that I observed on my way from Belgium to Köln will illustrate how fresh is the wound inflicted by the world war. In the car with me were the members of the German delegation and two Belgian delegates. We were discussing many things and every one seemed to be in a happy, cheerful frame of mind. As we were nearing the German frontier, the face of one of the German delegates, a good-natured, humorous man, suddenly became gloomy and each moment became sadder and sadder. The Belgians left the compartment for a little while and the German turned to me and, pointing toward the window, said, "This is German territory inhabited by Germans. After the war it was turned over to the Belgians without even taking a vote of the population. The people were treated like the tribes in the Congo."

by the labor lawyers should be altogether different in this case.

How we should have liked that the representatives of the labor unions come out with open talk and state to the world that it isn't the winning of this trial that is uppermost in the case but the definite fixing of the principle: Shall we be governed by injunctions or by the Constitution?

How we should have liked that in this grave and great case, which is being made out against the American labor unions, this "conspiracy against the American people," the advocates should not attempt to win or score on the strength of mere technicalities.

But when the Belgians returned, his gloom disappeared. Smiling again, he tried to be cheerful so as not to mar the feeling of good fellowship that prevailed.

It does not matter whether it be an Educational Conference, a Socialist Conference or a Trade Union Conference. The enlightened forces of the working class try to utilize it, always with the aim of establishing a firm foundation for the international understanding of the workers of the world.

The Conference was limited by the wording of the call which was sent out by the Belgium Central Educational Committee, and included only organizations controlled by working class bodies in different countries. At the convention were assembled men and women foremost in the movement for Workers' Education under their own auspices.

It is worthy of note that although in most of the European countries, there exists a joint committee of trade union, Socialist and co-operative groups, the trade union organization demonstrated such an interest in the First International Conference on Workers' Education, that they felt it imperative to send representatives of the unions as such. This was done by the British Trade Union Congress General Council which sent Bowen, and by the General Commission of the old German Trade Union Federation which was represented by Herr Frick Maschke. The Amsterdam Trade Union International was represented by Frisklein Kaemmerer. The participation of the A. T. U. I. in the conference was particularly significant, as it is the first time that this body has directed its attention to the subject of workers' education. It marks, perhaps, the beginning of a wider interest and support by this organization and its affiliated bodies.

Great interest was shown when a letter was read from Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in which he greeted the International Conference on Workers' Education and expressed his opinion that the progress which the labor movement makes rests upon an educational basis, and that with the increasing complexity of industrial organization, no more helpful assurance can be given by labor than is found in its constantly widening program for providing educational opportunities.

From the reports of the delegates one could learn the underlying principles, aims, and aspirations of the workers of each country. These reports reflected the life of the organized workers, their victories and defeats. These crept in constantly. One could also learn about the political

(Continued on page 11)

How we should have liked that they come out with an open declaration of principles and that the question be fought out once and for all. Must unions submit to injunctions or not? Will strikes be forbidden in the future by law, which in reality is the meaning of this injunction—or will organized workers have the right to use the strike as a means of improving their conditions?

Stripped of its fine phraseology, the essence of the case amounts to the following: Shall strikes be forbidden or not? The American unions will have to answer this question in a definite and unequivocal way.

A Ukrainian Recital

On Sunday evening, October 15, there will be staged at Town Hall, on West 43rd Street, an extraordinary musical event rarely given in these parts. It will be a Ukrainian folk-song and operatic recital by Miss Sonia Radina, a well-known dramatic soprano and Ukrainian operatic singer now in this city. Victor Franki will assist Miss Radina at the piano.

Saul Baroff, a promising young violinist, will also appear in this concert in addition to playing several pieces in obligato with Miss Radina.

The program will consist exclusively of Little-Russian songs and selections from famous operas in the Ukrainian language.

Tickets are already obtainable at the box office of the Town Hall.

A Winter Without a Cold

Do you want to go through the winter without a cold? The first cold days of autumn are here and with them comes the tendency on the part of the workers particularly to "catch colds." This is a serious condition; you don't have to catch a cold if you don't want to, and there are a few things for workers to remember if they don't want colds.

Keep the fresh air circulating through the shop where you work. See to it that every window is open and bear in mind that colds arise when windows are closed and the air is stale.

When you are out-doors learn to breathe deeply, filling your lungs with good air. There is nothing so satisfying as a good deep breath of clean air.

When you go to sleep at night, have your windows wide open, breathe through your nose—and keep your mouth closed.

Above all, if there is anything the matter with your nose, if it is obstructed in any way—see the nose specialist at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street.

Prepare to have one winter without a cold—it can be done.

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

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

VOTE FOR WALKOUT

The strike vote taken by members of the Sailors' Union of the Great Lakes has resulted in an overwhelming majority in favor of a walkout, according to an announcement by K. B. Nolan, secretary of the organization.

FOR ABOLITION OF LABOR BOARD

Another bill for abolition of the United States Railroad Labor Board was introduced yesterday by Congressman Cooper of Ohio. The measure would repeal the section of the Transportation Act under which the Board was created.

PEACE SIGNALS

President Duncan of the International Granite Cutters' Union announced that peace overtures with a view of ending the strike of granite cutters in New England have been received. The employers have offered to recognize the union and abandon their demand for a wage reduction by restoring the former wage scale of a dollar an hour.

TO PREVENT PROFITTEERING

A tentative agreement on the bill intended to prevent profiteering in coal by giving additional powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission was reached between the Senate and the House conference and it is now assured that the measure will be accepted by both houses and sent to the President for approval.

IN THE SEARCHLIGHT

Senator King of Utah offered a resolution in the Senate which sought to ascertain whether the Shipping Board was engaged in propaganda to help the passage of the ship subsidy bill and was spending public money for this purpose.

"PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY"

Director General Jones of the United States Employment Service yesterday declared that contrary to the belief of "some pessimists that the country had been consigned to the dogs," the nation today is making sure progress toward prosperity. "Unemployment has been conquered," he added, "and industry is well on the road to normalcy."

A. F. OF L. TO MAKE CHANGES

Included in the legislative program of the American Federation of Labor for next year will be major legislation aimed to make the constitution and laws more flexible and better able to meet the needs of the people. Amendments to the constitution will be offered fixing sixteen years old as the minimum age for child laborers. An amendment giving Congress power to repeal and thus legalize laws which may be enacted and then declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court will also be offered.

TO RETURN ON CONDITION

In the Pawtucket Valley textile district the strikers declared yesterday that they would return to work only on the terms of no discrimination against any operative who participated in the strike. "The general strike committee was directed to obtain full information relative to the amount of the increase and the conditions of re-employment."

COMPLAINT AGAINST CARTER

Delegate Cahoon of Washington, D. C., offered resolutions at the convention of the International Typographical Union now holding in Atlantic City protesting the appointment by President Harding of George H. Carter as the head of the Government Printing Bureau. The resolutions allege that Carter is not a practical printer, or expert bookbinder as required by law.

ROADS BLAMED FOR STRIKE

"It has been pointed out that if the railroad strike is a conspiracy, the conspiracy is being continued because the railroad executives, over a month ago, refused to grant what President Harding requested, that the strikers be reinstated," says the department of social action, national Catholic welfare council, in its latest bulletin. "If the opposition to the railroad labor board's decision resulting in an interference with transportation is an illegal act, the interference with transportation, it is declared, is now due to the refusal of the executives to reinstate the strikers. It is stated, too, that the strike was called in the first instance, and transportation interfered with largely because nearly all the railroads had already refused, in one or more cases, to observe the decisions of the railroad labor board."

OUT-OF-WORK NORMALCY

Normalcy in this country consists of 1,500,000 persons seeking jobs and another 1,500,000 idle through part-time employment, according to Secretary of Labor Davis, who addressed the annual meeting of the international association of public employment services.

Mr. Davis assured the visitors that during the past year between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 workers have been returned to their employment. He said investigation made during the past year has demonstrated that the 3,000,000 idle and part-time employment "is the normal condition in America."

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

WOMEN AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Mrs. Coombe-Tennant, J. P., who has been appointed by the British Cabinet to act as delegate to the League of Nations at Geneva, says in a published statement—"If you want to get a solution of the basic problem of international affairs, you must get the mothers of the world to care about international affairs. I would like to ask all the women who are not ashamed to say that international affairs do not interest them, to remember that it was international affairs that came into their homes and took their sons and brothers and husbands from them during the war."

THE RUSSIAN FAMINE

At a meeting in connection with the Trade Union Congress at Southampton an appeal was made for starving Russia by James O'Grady, M. P., recently returned from the Volga Provinces. "Do not distribute blame; start helping," he said, asking the workers to help the International Federation of Trade Unions in feeding the metal workers of the Ural, the miners of the Donets coal basin, and the railways. This year's harvest, he told them, might provide the people in the famine area with food, but there would be little over for winter sowing and the purchase of cattle, while the plight of the population this winter must be terrible.

UNDERPAID CIVIL SERVANTS

For the first time the British civil servants have revolted—at least to the extent of holding an open-air demonstration in Trafalgar Square, just like any other body of discontented workers, and stating their grievances to the public. A resolution was passed, demanding an impartial inquiry into the low salaries of these temporary clerks who have, after passing an examination, been made permanent clerks, but are still receiving only the pay of temporary clerks. It is, as one speaker said, as though an editor, after making his office boys pass examinations qualifying them to fill skilled journalists' posts, appointed them to those posts at the wages of office boys.

INDIA

J. MILLER RELEASED

Extraordinary enthusiasm prevailed here when J. Miller, the founder and chief organizer of the Indian Railwaymen's Union, was released from gaol. Miller, whose keen trade unionist activities had provoked the attention of the Government, was arrested during the Prince of Wales' visit, on a trumped-up charge of having incited the railway workers to throw stones at trains, and was condemned to four months' rigorous imprisonment. Even the judge who convicted him declared later his belief in Miller's innocence, but the Punjab Government refused to remit his sentence. . . . He is now busy organizing the third annual congress of the All-India Trades Union Congress.

ITALY

ENGLISH AND IRISH ITALIAN FASCISTI

The refusal of the waterside men at Cardiff to handle the Fascisti ship Accame has now been rescinded, it having been declared in a written statement by all on board the suspected ship, that they were members of Italian trade unions and totally out of sympathy with the Fascisti activities in Italy.

LABOR SPLIT EXPECTED

The manifesto issued by the Reformist right wing of the Italian Socialist Party affords the clearest indication to Labor opinion here that a new and bigger split is forthcoming. . . . They urge the workers not to stay any longer at the cross-roads but to choose between legal and illegal action. . . . There is a strong movement among the workers to form a Labor Party within the ranks of the General Federation of Labor, which would thus become an independent body.

GERMANY

FOR RELIEF OF THE MASSES

The action of the trade unions in proposing measures for the relief of the population resulted in the announcement in the Reichstag that the Government proposes a series of measures, including prohibition of the brewing of strong beer, of the use of potatoes for spirit distilling and of the use of foreign imported sugar for making liquors. The Independent Socialists complained that this was entirely insufficient to relieve the masses.

FRANCE

HOPE OF A DEBT-CONFERENCE

Now that any immediate danger of the threatened move to collect reparations by the French army moving into the Ruhr is believed to have been removed, the French Press is filled with glad prophecies of an Inter-Allied debt conference to be held soon. Their debts to the Allies have been an increasing irritation to the French, and a way now seems clear to approach reality in that matter. . . . A date late in October is mentioned, and a gathering is looked forward to that shall include the Americans, who, of course, hold the master key to the debt situation."

Educational Comment and Notes

Labor Government and Labor Education

A few weeks ago, the "New Republic" conducted an interview with Northcliffe, who, it may be remembered, was a tremendous force in English life, because of the influence exerted by his many publications.

Among other things, Northcliffe stated that he expected England to have a Labor Prime Minister and a Labor Government within a few years, and advised the interviewer to study the Labor Movement and its leaders.

Northcliffe was not the first to utter such an opinion. Many prominent men have said this before. In fact, leaders of the British Labor Movement are at present seriously considering the advisability of accepting the responsibility for ruling England, if it comes to them soon. Some are disposed to reject it. They want the Capitalist parties to draw England out of the mess into which they plunged it. Later, they will be ready with a program of reconstruction.

But whether a Labor Government will rule England in one year or ten, does not matter. It is almost a certainty that it will do so sooner or later. When the time comes, the workers of England must be ready for it.

Economics and Labor History in the Unity Centers

Our Unity Centers are open for the members of the I. L. G. W. U. During the past two weeks many of them registered for the classes and began their studies for the coming year.

It is needless to repeat how important it is for the workers of America to acquire a good command of English, the language of their country. But our members should also know that equally important and valuable is the instruction which they will receive in Applied Economic History of the Labor Movement and Labor Problems.

Every intelligent worker knows that workers cannot improve existing economic, social and political conditions, unless they understand them thoroughly. Their plans and actions must be intelligent, if they are to be successful. They must know how present day society is organized, how our economic institutions are conducted, how labor organizations came

Will the working class of England produce competent leaders? Of course it will. And besides, can labor leaders do worse than the Lloyd Georges, Clemenceaus, Poincarés and others of the same kind? These were efficient enough to plunge Europe into a horrible abyss, from which they cannot save her. They have succeeded in slaughtering millions of their fellow Christians, not to mention those of other creeds and races. Surely labor leaders cannot do worse than that!

But competent labor leaders are not sufficient. The rank and file behind these leaders must also be competent. They must know what they want, and how it can be obtained. They must be able to select such men to represent them as will be a credit to the working class. In short, the men and women of the working class must be educated for their coming new job—that of ruling their country.

That means such a development of labor education that it will be possible for every English worker to understand the economic, social and political problems which confront their country, and also the methods proposed to solve these problems.

to be what they are and what methods they used to solve the problems of the workers.

All this information is of first importance, and our members can obtain it in the Unity Centers.

Here they will find skilled teachers, who have had many years' experience with our classes. The teachers will study with them three important subjects in simple and clear language. The students will have an opportunity to ask questions and to discuss them. In short, those who attend the classes will receive an education which will enable them to participate intelligently in the great Labor Movement of America.

Those who cannot attend all the English classes, are urged to register nevertheless, so as to be able to attend the classes in Labor subjects.

Don't miss the splendid opportunity!

Join the Unity Centers!

Re-Opening Celebration of Workers' University and Unity Centers, on Friday, November 17th

It has become our custom to celebrate the annual re-opening of our Workers' University, Unity Centers and Extension Division.

For this purpose, we arranged a Get-together for the members of our International in the beautiful auditorium of the Washington Irving High School on Friday, November 17.

A concert with excellent artists has been planned for this occasion, and a few persons active in the Workers' Education Movement will address the

audience. Brother Schlesinger, who is expected to return soon from his trip to Europe, where he is attending the Conference of the British Trade Union Congress, will deliver an important message.

Admission will be by tickets only. Members will be able to obtain tickets free at the office of their local unions or at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

The full program will be announced later.

Extracts from a Report Submitted to the Conference of Sixteen of the National Trade Unions of Great Britain

(End)

APPENDIX VI.

THE SCOTTISH LABOUR COLLEGE.

The Scottish Labour College is the result of the co-ordination of various educational committees which had carried on classes in Scotland for several years. Till the beginning of the present session its activities were practically confined to evening and Sunday classes. Last year Glasgow had thirty such classes, with a total roll of 854 students. The provincial classes numbered fifty-one, with an attendance of approximately 2,000.

The conference in May last (the first since the educational committees assumed the status of a college) was attended by 535 delegates, representing 3335 working-class organizations—trade unions, co-operative societies, socialist parties, etc.

The work this year has extended over a much wider field. District committees have been established in Fife, Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Stirlingshire, and other parts of Scotland. Those mentioned employ full-time tutors, as well as numerous auxiliary workers. These committees have, in many cases, opened up classes in districts in which no attempt had previously been made to carry on the kind of educational work undertaken by the college.

This session there are day classes, attended by bursars from the Lanarkshire Miners' County Union, the Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan Miners' Association, and the Toolmakers' and the Amalgamated Engineering Union Machineists' Union (now merged

in the Amalgamated Engineering Union). There are other students who are defraying their own maintenance expenses and paying their own fees. The subjects taught at the day classes include economics, industrial history, mathematics, English, public speaking, economic geography, shorthand, bookkeeping, and Esperanto. This branch of the work is capable of very great extension, and arrangements have already been made to increase its scope and effectiveness. The day classes are conducted by trained teachers, who are graduates of Glasgow University.

In order to reach those districts in which, on account of their remoteness from populous centers, it has not yet been found possible to organize classes, correspondence courses are being arranged. These courses will deal with almost all the subjects already mentioned.

The organized working-class movement is realizing more and more clearly, that the principle of independence it insists upon in the spheres of industry and politics is necessary also in that of education. Those who are responsible for the conduct of the college believe that it should not be only independent, but that it should also be of the very best kind. They therefore endeavor to secure that the education supplied by the Scottish Labour College shall compare with that provided at those educational institutions, access to whose curricula is confined exclusively to the sons of the wealthier classes.

The Reception to Fannia M. Cohn

The beautiful Council Room in the building of our International was filled last Saturday with a happy and joyous crowd of our members.

They met to welcome Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Executive Secretary of our Educational Department, on her return from Europe. Beautiful floral gifts from several locals, the Unity House, the student body and friends, filled the speakers' table.

Miss Vera Kaiserman, of the Students' Council, presided and after welcoming Miss Cohn, introduced Sister Anna Mintz, of the Unity House, and Sister Belta Winnick, of Local 66, who greeted Miss Cohn on behalf of their organizations.

Dr. Alexander Fichandler, our Educational Director, then made a brief address showing the importance of the First International Conference on Labor Education, which Miss Cohn attended as the American delegate. He also pointed out that it was main-

ly through Miss Cohn's efforts and work, that the I. L. G. W. U. became known as the leader of Labor Education in America and a model followed by other Labor organizations.

The main address of the evening was made by Miss Cohn. She described the activities of the Conference in Brussels, and her impressions of the present European conditions. The audience listened with great interest, and showed enthusiastic appreciation at the end of the talk.

Miss Cohn's experiences in Europe will form the subject of articles written by her and to be published in Justice. Our members await them eagerly, and will undoubtedly find them highly interesting.

The audience enjoyed the refreshments prepared by the Recreation Committee, which consisted of Sisters Kaiserman, Rackow and Bertram, and Brother Abraham Green.

Our Unity Centers Are Open

No doubt our members know that our Unity Centers in eight public school buildings have been re-opened. Some of our classes have been formed while others are in the process of organization.

The recent hot weather and the Jewish holidays, so near at hand, interfere with the registration for our classes. Those of our members who wish to take advantage of the educational work in our Unity Centers offered by our International, are advised to register at once even if they

cannot start their studies until a week or so later. This will enable the Educational Department to make the proper arrangements and secure experienced teachers.

Members may register by mail or in person at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, at the Unity Centers or at the office of their local unions.

Again we wish to impress upon our members the importance of registering at once.

Why They Won't Beg for Clemency

(FROM AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM 11 MEMBERS OF THE I. W. W. NOW IN LEAVENWORTH PENITENTIARY.)

President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

When the General Defense Committee's petition on behalf of the political prisoners was placed before you on July 19, it was brought out that 52 of us had refused to file applications for individual clemency. You were surprised at this, expressing wonder that any man should refuse to make such an application, that he should be unwilling in this way to justify his innocence if he were innocent.

This open letter is an attempt to outline the circumstances which have made it impossible for the majority of the 71 I. W. W. prisoners in Leavenworth to apply for clemency. The method we use in presenting our case may be blunt, or "half-serving" as they say in law, but we ask leave to tell our story in our own way.

We are not criminals and are not in prison because we committed crimes or conspired to commit them. From the beginning justice has been denied us, and the truth of our case withheld from the consideration of the public. We have been surrounded continuously by a network of false accusations, and even now, crimes never mentioned during our trials are charged against us. We were "framed up" by the newspapers and business interests.

Our conviction was obtained upon a narrow margin of legal interpretation at a time when sane judgment was impossible. But previously we had been convicted by the capitalist press, wielding its mighty power as always only to serve the rich and powerful and relying upon the weirdly sensational rather than the simple truth to sell its products. In the capitalist newspaper the I. W. W. is like the Mexican in the movie show; he is always the villain.

Our Beliefs Remain Unchanged

We know that we are now in prison solely for exercising the constitutional right of free speech at a time when discretion might have been the better part of altruism. If it is a crime to exercise the right for which our fathers laid down their lives, then we have no apology to offer. Free speech has always been the one thing we have prized above all others. In this regard we are unchanged. And we cannot bring ourselves to make application for clemency because we wish to avoid being forced into an action that would make hypocrites of us all.

Liberty is sweet to any man in prison, but not sweet enough to us to be purchased at the price of principle. We feel we owe it to the loyal men and women outside of these walls who still believe in freedom of speech, assembly and the press, to remain steadfast and uphold their ideals even at the cost of continued incarceration. We cannot do otherwise than refuse to recant. We must continue to refuse to beg for a pardon which in common justice ought to have been accorded to us long ago.

There are other reasons, too, why we must decline to make individual applications for clemency. We were not convicted as individuals, but as a group. We were convicted of a "conspiracy" of which we are all equally innocent or all equally guilty. We believe that it would be a bare act for us to sign individual applications and leave the Attorney General's office to select which of our numbers

should remain in prison and which should go free.

Because of Mr. Daugherty's action in giving out false information about our cases (see for instance the report of the Federal Council of Churches concerning his letter to the Chicago Church Federation) we have little confidence in his motives or in those of the Department which he heads. Frankly, we are fearful that applications for clemency would give the Attorney General an opportunity to make a gesture of fairness, by releasing some of us and holding the rest to serve out the savage sentences imposed by the courts.

Rather than face this probability, we prefer to stand together as a group, just as we were convicted. We do not believe that the Attorney General's office is acting in good faith in complaining that we have not made proper application. Recently to put the matter to a test, we prevailed upon one of our number to make application in the customary manner. We selected a young man who is slowly dying of tuberculosis in the prison isolation ward. This man complied with all the regulations. His application was coldly and cynically rejected.

Our indictment and conviction followed a campaign of intense vilification and suppression directed against us as members of an unpopular labor organization. Previous to this, and subsequently, we endured onslaughts of class cruelty to be compared only with the burning of witches and the persecution of the abolitionists. Exile and torture and deliberate murder in Bisbee, Tulsa, Red Lodge and Butte and in a host of other towns have been our lot.

Technically we are not behind the bars for hindering the government's prosecution of the war. No overt act of this kind was charged against us nor proved. We are charged with conspiring to hinder the war by means of spoken and printed words. This is the charge, but the truth is that we are in prison for recognizing the irrefutable fact of the class struggle and for advocating the solidarity of labor.

Our prosecution, in the light of recent events, is seen to have been the first step of the organized employing interests to crush and demoralize the forces of organized labor. Our imprisonment was the starting point of the open shop drive, of the movement toward establishing the Industrial Court, the Landis award, and the recent wage-cutting union-wrecking campaign of the militant employing class.

Old-Line Unions Now Under Fire

We claimed at the beginning that if the old line unions unresistingly permitted the I. W. W. to be persecuted for their loyalty to labor, those very unions shortly would be called upon to face the same ordeal themselves. Our prediction was all too true. With us, at the psychological moment, the war was used as convenient camouflage to obtain a conviction which could not otherwise have been obtained. But with the "conservative" unions the employers have now let down the mask, and they are out to defeat all organized workers in order to keep labor divided and unresisting in the face of unrestricted exploitation.

It is pretty generally known to intelligent wage workers and to students of social science that the In-

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dustrial Workers of the World is a labor union, and not a mere labor nor anti-militaristic organization. Its avowed object is to create among the disinherited workers a spirit of solidarity similar to that enjoyed by the employing class, that at present owns and controls practically all of the earth and the machinery of production.

(To Be Continued.)

Members of our International who wish to join the Workers' University, the Unity Centers or the courses of the Extension Division, should register at once in person, or send in their names to the office of their local unions or the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

The Brussels Conference

(Continued from page 7)

cal, industrial and economic advance made by the workers of the various countries.

There was interwoven in these reports both hope and despair, failure and achievement. Above all else there prevailed at the conference a feeling of good fellowship among the delegates. Each one was eager to make the conference a bridge for crossing the chasm wrought by the devastating world war; to re-establish the once sacred ideal of human brotherhood that was buried contemptuously for a time by the grave-diggers of all lands together with the millions of corpses of the slain. Every one present felt it his duty to rebuild the workers' education movement as a moral and spiritual foundation of the future international life of Europe.

The thought was constantly expressed that the only hope for the future of Europe lies in the trade union and Socialist movements, and that sooner or later workers will be called upon to assume the responsibility of government. The delegates felt control of the government, even with competent leaders, was not enough—all of them insisted on the necessity of developing an intelligent citizenship to back up and co-ordinate their efforts.

How is this to be accomplished? The answer was invariably, give the people an education that will develop in them a new social and international consciousness.

One who knows continental Europe realizes what internationalism means to them. In our country one may travel for weeks and still be within our own boundaries. But there, within a few hours one may cross several countries. This means that each country is dependent on others. They must have international markets, hence jealousness, selfishness, bitterness, and distrust. The people live constantly in fear of being called upon by their governments to fight their neighbors. In the reports one could observe that the aim of the

entire workers' education movement, irrespective of differences of language, race or group, is the development of workers' solidarity through a better understanding of national and international conditions,—in short, of the world in which we live.

For these reasons, great interest was displayed when the following points were discussed by the Conference: It was suggested that whenever workers have the opportunity, (for example, during the vacation period) they should visit neighboring countries and see the workers' schools there. In this way it was hoped that the workers might absorb something of the atmosphere of other countries, of their life, their customs, their ideals. Similarly it was felt that student exchange should be encouraged, and it was decided that labor colleges in different countries should exchange students and teachers, as is done by Ruskin and the Belgium Labor College. Such an exchange would serve a double purpose—it would give the student an opportunity to familiarize himself with the life and aims of the workers' education and labor movements of another country, and to bring this information back to his own country and share it with his fellow workers. The note was constantly sounded that if such an international relationship must be established, to make another calamity like that of 1914-1918 impossible.

The international spirit of the conference was best expressed in the reception given to the German delegation by the assembled conference. The Chairman, Mr. Henry de Man, the leading spirit in the Belgian Workers' Education Movement heartily and with deep emotion and in impressive words welcomed the German delegates to Belgium soil in the name of the organized workers of his country, and voiced the sentiments of his co-workers in wishing that the bond of brotherhood between these two nations might be re-established on a firm foundation.

(To be continued)

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The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

The Constitution Committee, which was appointed some time ago to revise the Constitution, held its first session on Tuesday, September 12th. Brother Julius Samuels, Vice-President of the organization, was elected chairman of the committee, and General Secretary Fish was elected to act as secretary of the committee. The Constitution Committee, realizing the amount of work ahead of it, intends to meet once every week, until the entire constitution will be gone over.

At its last session, the committee started from the very beginning, i. e., the preamble, which was approved as it stands. Articles I and II were adopted. Article III was also adopted, which includes Section 7. This section, which was amended last year, reads as follows:

"Applicants for membership shall be required to furnish a certificate from a qualified physician, designed by the union, showing that they are free from any contagious disease."

Section 8 of the same article was amended to read:

"This organization shall have the right to confer honorary membership upon such of the members who have performed valuable services for this organization and are retiring from the trade. Honorary membership shall carry with it the privilege of attending meetings of the organization and having a voice in its deliberations but without a vote."

Should a member, upon whom honorary membership has been conferred, ever find it necessary to return to work in the trade, he shall be admitted into full membership and be granted working privileges upon the payment of dues commencing from the date such member starts to work, provided he has had no dealings with the manufacturers in the ladies' garment industry during the period of such honorary membership.

"Any member of Local 10 who has had any dealings with manufacturers of our trade shall not be eligible to honorary membership."

"This section has been amended by the addition of the clause beginning 'provided' and until the end of that sentence."

Article IV, Section 1, was taken up by the Committee. This was amended last year to read as follows:

"The officers of this Union shall consist of a President; Vice-President; General Manager; General Secretary-Treasurer; Sergeant-at-Arms; Delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity; Delegates to the Joint Board; as many Business Agents as the Executive Board may from time to time decide upon, with the concurrence of the members at a regular meeting of their respective branches; an Executive Board of eleven members, three to be elected from the Cloak and Suit and Waist and Dress branches, respectively, and two from the Miscellaneous Branch, and one for each branch to be appointed by the President with the approval of the membership at the regular meeting."

The first part of this section was amended to read as follows:

"The officers of this Union shall consist of a President; Vice-President; Manager of Cloaks, Suits, and Raincoats; and Managers of the Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Divisions, etc."

The other half pertaining to the Executive Board was not taken up due to the lateness of the hour but will be taken up at the next meeting of the Constitution Committee.

It was almost the unanimous opin-

ion of the Constitution Committee that instead of having one General Manager and one General Business Agent, as exist at present, that the change, as recommended by the Committee, to have two managers, one for the Cloak, Suit and Raincoat Workers, and another for the Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Divisions, will be beneficial to the organization.

One of the reasons advanced in favor of this change was that although our local has a smaller membership than a number of other locals which are affiliated with various Joint Boards, such as Local 22 with the Waist and Dress Joint Board, and Locals 1, 9 and 35, with the Cloak and Suit Joint Board, nevertheless, our local is composed of workers engaged in more than one craft, whereas this is not so in the case of the other locals mentioned. For example, the members of our Union are affiliated with the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, the Joint Board of the Waist and Dress Industry, and the Joint Board of Children's Dress, House and Bath Robe Workers' Unions, and it is the duty of the Manager to attend not only meetings of the three Joint Boards, but also the meetings of the three Boards of Directors, as well as our own Executive Board and branch meetings.

From the above outline it is easy to realize that it is a physical impossibility for one man to attend to so many meetings, let alone the regular office routine. Some may advance the argument that there is a General Business Agent to assist the General Manager in his work. However, the responsibility that lies with the General Manager cannot be divided in two, since the General Business Agent will not and cannot on certain occasions assume the responsibilities of the General Manager.

Another argument advanced by the members of the committee was that although we will have two managers, the organization will not incur any additional expense on this account, since we already have two paid officials in the managerial office at the present time.

All in all, this amendment seems very practical and cannot help but benefit the membership at large.

At the last meeting of the Executive Board, the members present took into consideration the time required for the various readings of the changes in the Constitution. It was decided that since these readings can only take place at the regular general meetings of the body, and also since three readings are necessary for the adoption of these changes, that the next General Meeting which will be held on September 25, shall be a Special Meeting at which the first reading of the revised portion of the Constitution will take place.

Incidentally, we wish to call the attention of our members to the fact that this is the last meeting of the third quarter and that all those who have not yet attended a meeting during July, August and September, have but this last chance in which to be present at a meeting so as to avoid a fine of \$1.00 for non-attendance.

CLOAK AND SUIT

No doubt the readers of these columns will recall the report with regard to the creation by the Cloakmakers' Union of a Jobbers' Department. This department was organized with a view to checking up as to whether or not the work is being sent to union contractors.

While on the one hand the creation of such a department is highly important and will go far towards helping to maintain and enforce union

conditions, still the creation of it is significant from another point of view.

The cloakmaking industry is beginning to be faced with a situation similar to that which is already facing the dress industry, and with which problem the union has been confronted with for some time. This is the contracting system. The tendency in the Cloak Industry, too, is the passing of the large manufacturing shops into jobbing establishments.

The Cloakmakers' Joint Board, as a result of this gradual change, found it necessary that another means by which it can effectively control the contractors be instituted, and that is through the Jobbers' Department.

It seems as a result of the jobbing industry that the Ladies' Garment Workers' Trades will in the future be controlled by jobbers and that the Unions are acting with foresight when they begin organizing jobbers' departments.

The membership is aware of the fact that the Joint Board has put on a number of additional men to act as business agents, and as has been previously reported, should one of these men be from Local 10, Brother Philip Ance! would most probably be the one.

Brother Feinberg, the General Manager of the Joint Board, who is making the appointments in all of these cases, has selected Brother Philip Ance! to act as business agent under the jurisdiction of Brother Slatky, Manager of the Independent Department, beginning Monday, September 18. This means that Brother Ance! is a full-fledged business agent of the Joint Board, and as such we believe that Brother Ance!, who is at present Chairman of the Executive Board, will have to resign from the latter office. It will then be up to Brother Stoller, President of Local 10 to make the proper appointment.

The Nameless Child

(Continued from Page Three)

homes where they can be provided for.

Committees have been formed in New York, Boston, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Louis to devise remedies for the evil, the first of which will be to devise new laws that will require the registration of both parents to be given on a birth certificate, together with a statement of whether the parents are married.

Next the responsibility for the care of the child must devolve equally upon both parents, the mother must remain with the child at least six months after its birth and both must be supported by the father during this period.

Registration of the parents of nameless children is already required in six states—Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, Indiana, Minnesota, and Oregon. In all these states except South Carolina the father must support the mother and child just as if he were married.

In twenty states all lying-in homes, hospitals and baby farms must give notice of all births and must submit to investigation. In New York, Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee municipal bureaus working under the advice of the Federal Children's bureau are performing high service for the fatherless little ones.

Results are already noticeable for the mortality rate has dropped appreciably from a ratio of two out of three to about one out of four. Norway, which has the most advanced law for the care of such children, has reduced the death rate to one out of ten.

New York with its Mother's Pension law and the Workmen's Compensation act to help widows is contributing millions of dollars to the support of fatherless families, al-

though this work is little stressed in the hurly-burly of politics.

There are still 17 states where registration of births is not yet compulsory. In five states it is against the law to mention whether the parents are married. In two states the father of a child born out of wedlock must not be mentioned. In 22 states the mother's pension is forbidden the unmarried mother. In only eight states does the nameless child inherit with its sisters and brothers born in wedlock.



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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

SPECIAL GENERAL Monday, September 25th
Purpose: First reading of the revised portion of the Constitution.
Cloak and Suit Monday, October 9th
Waist and Dress Monday, October 16th
Miscellaneous Monday, October 16th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place