

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."
—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 41.

New York, Friday, October 5, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

THE NEW YORK LEADER NEW EVENING JOURNAL

Union-Owned, Managed and Controlled

The new labor daily, coming out in several issues every afternoon, has finally made its appearance on the streets of New York. It is our own newspaper — "Not a millionaire's property but owned by 300,000 workers" — the New York Leader.

The readers of this journal know by this time that several months ago, in conjunction with several other large trade unions in Greater New York, principally those belonging to the needle trades, our International Union decided to take part in the ownership and management of the only existing English labor daily in the East — the New York Call — to be later converted into an evening paper with a greatly enlarged staff, and a number of departments added, to represent and speak for the interests of the organized labor movement in the East. It was an ambitious and rather costly project considering the fact that such an evening paper had to compete with the old-established and wealthy capitalist papers of the metropolis.

Among the owners of the Leader today are, in addition to our International, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Capmakers' Union, the Furriers' International, the Fancy Leather Goods' Workers, and several others, including the group that formerly controlled the New York Call, and the American Public Service Fund, commonly known as the Garland Fund. The Labor Press Association, Inc., which owns the Leader, now has elected Norman Thomas, well-known journalist and editor as editor-in-chief of the paper, Heber Blankenhorn, a well-trained and un-

usually able newspaper man, has been selected as managing editor.

The New York Leader, though only several days old, has made excellent impression and bears the earmarks of the trained hands which are engaged in its make-up. A big twelve-page paper, newsy, bright, with an excellent editorial page, it is the kind of a real newspaper which a worker can buy without the excuse of having to buy any other additional paper to satisfy his wants for news from any angle. The paper, may we

also a corking sports page, unite a factor in any English daily.

As to add that JUSTICE as well as every other member of our Union will and ought to give the New York Leader, our own great daily, a warm reception, and make it their sacred duty to read it daily and advertise it wherever and with whomsoever they come in contact. Let us build our own press with the same vigor and success as we have built up our great union.

New York
Public Library
42 St. & 6th Ave
New York City

LOCAL 25 REPORTS LIVE ACTIVITY

Local 25, the waist and dressmakers of New York, is passing through a period of revival such as the local has not experienced in many years.

With the appointment of Miss Pauline Morgenstern as business agent of Local 25 and of Ada Rosenfeld as secretary, things are beginning to hum in the waist local. Miss Morgenstern, who is visiting all the shops, reports that a number of them are starting to work and she finds that there are more waists being produced this season than for a number of seasons past, and that the tendency to make waists in dress shops and dresses in waist shops is also becoming more and more pronounced.

The labor bureau which has been formed for the local is functioning very well and quite a number of workers have been placed on jobs through the bureau. At the last meeting of the local, this point of making it obligatory on firms to call upon the labor bureau for help whenever they want it, was particularly stressed.

The meeting also decided to arrange for a get-together of all the members of Local 25 for October 27th in the building of the Women's Trade Union League. An attractive program with a concert and dancing has been arranged for a nominal price of admission.

The organization committee of Local 25 is calling upon all the members of the local who are working in open shops and who know of any open shops to report to the secretary at the office, 16 West 21st Street.

Secretary Baroff in Philadelphia to Confer on Ladies' Tailors

There is a ladies' tailor problem in Philadelphia that's been brewing for the last few weeks and which needs solving. In brief it is as follows:

The Philadelphia ladies' tailors are organized, as many of them as have seen the light and have joined the ranks of the union as a branch of the regular cloakmakers' organization with representation on the Joint Board. The conditions in the Philadelphia ladies' tailor shops, however, have never been any too good, as this trade in the City of Brotherly Love is obsessed with the same drawbacks and ills that used to make headway and progress so tardy among ladies' tailors in New York City and elsewhere.

Recently, however, the agitation and the discontent among the Philadelphia ladies' tailors began growing by leaps and bounds; the Italian element in the trade has started to move

and a number of them joined the union. In consequence, they began clamor for a general strike that would in a sweep do away with the inequities and injustices that have prevailed in the trade for many years past.

Last Wednesday, General Secretary Baroff, at the request of the Philadelphia Joint Board and upon instruction of the General Executive Board, left for Philadelphia, in company with Vice-president Halperin, to confer with the ladies' tailors and the local Joint Board on this situation. Secretary Baroff will take stock of the entire situation, the strength of the ladies' tailors' unit and their probable prospects of success in the contemplated strike, if it is authorized. Together with him at this conference will be Vice-president Reisberg of Philadelphia; Max Amdur, the manager of the Joint Board; and the leading local officials.

Local 9, Cloak Tailors, Purchase New Building

After the Cloak and Dress Joint Board—Local 1; and now comes Local 9.

We are speaking of the steady progress of the movement of home buying which has begun in our International Union in New York City with the purchase of a building and the reconstructing it into a modern office to house the General Office of the International two years ago. Quickly after it followed the purchase of the imposing eight-story building at Twenty-first Street and Lexington Avenue by the Cloak Joint Board and its refitting into a splendid and imposing headquarters for itself and a number of locals; the purchase of two small houses on the same block by the Cloak Operators' Union, Local 1, for the purpose of remodeling them into first-class union offices; and now the acquiring of three red-brick old fashioned houses by Local 9, the Cloak Tailors, one block further north on the same avenue, to be rebuilt into a modern home for their organization.

Thus one after the other our local unions in New York City are making excellent progress in acquiring their administration and meeting-houses and in becoming independent of the

landlords and hall-keepers who have been reaping a harvest in the past from the fees paid by our locals. It is a mark of substantial advance and registers the stability and financial soundness of these organizations. It is only hoped that both Locals 1 and 9 will follow up this advance by getting rid of the pestiferous scoundrels and disrupters which have infested these locals and have succeeded in breaking up the regular meetings of these locals, and will teach these fellows a lesson that they will long remember.

Stamford Firm Settles After Week's Strike

Astoria and Corona, L. I., Shops Organize

There is quite a large cloak shop in Stamford, Conn., owned by David Gruber & Co., employing over a hundred workers. This shop was organized by the New York Cloak Joint Board some years ago and has since then been operating under union conditions.

In recent months, however, the Gruber firm began to show signs that it was impatient with union standards and was courting a fight with its workers. The firm failed to pay, in accordance with its agreement with the Union, for Labor Day, discharged some workers without cause, and last-

ly ordered a reduction of wages. The result was that Vice-president Halperin, the manager of the out-of-town office of the International, was forced to order a strike in the shop. After the workers had stayed out a few days, under the leadership of Organizer Bernard Schub, the firm capitulated and the strikers returned to work with every grievance righted and a new contract signed.

After the successful organizing campaign carried on in Jamaica, Long Island, Vice-president Halperin has now ordered Organizer Philip Oretsky, who was in charge in Jamaica, to proceed to Corona and Astoria, other Long Island towns where a number of cloak and dress shops have recently opened and are operating under non-union conditions.

There is every reason to believe that the drive in these towns will prove just as gratifying as the work of Halperin's organizers in Jamaica. Thus gradually the runaway cloak and dress employers who would dodge union conditions by retiring to the peaceful havens of refuge around New York are being made to feel that the only way they can make cloaks and dresses, whether in or outside of New York, is by giving their workers a chance to earn a decent living.

Workers' University and Unity Centers Open November 10th

The Educational Department is busily engaged in making arrangements for the celebration of the re-opening of our Workers' University, Unity Centers and other activities of the Department. This celebration has been arranged for Saturday evening, November 10, in the beautiful auditorium of Washington Irving High School.

As in the past, tickets will be distributed proportionally amongst our local unions. We expect to have every local represented in the audience, the leadership as well as the membership at large.

The exercises of the re-opening of the activities of our Educational Department are always considered an

(Continued on Page 2)

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

AS THE time draws near for the convening of the regular session of Congress, the interest in child labor legislation is growing apace.

Recent authentic data that over one million children of school age and lower are engaged in "gainful occupations" in these United States, together with the staggering blow administered by the District of Columbia Supreme Court decision which has all but wiped off every child labor protective law on the statute books of the nation since Congress adjourned last March—is quickening determination on the part of every anti-child-slavery crusader in the country. A call signed by seventeen of the leading labor, progressive, and women's political organizations went out last week for a nationwide campaign on behalf of the child-workers and for the submitting of a constitutional amendment by the next session of Congress to a national referendum designed once for all to leave free the hands of any State to enact child labor protective legislation.

Still the prospects for Congress voting to submit such an amendment to the people are not too bright—unless the country is stirred from end to end in favor of it. In spite of the addition of a substantial number of progressives in the coming Congress, the majority in the Senate and the House is still hidebound conservative, and the interests that are behind the child-labor abomination in this land are still very powerful, nor do they lie a-slumbering. Subterfuge and legalism may yet manage to defeat the efforts of the children's friends during the next Congress session, for it must be remembered that the huge New England investments in Southern cotton mills thrive and yield alluring dividends only on account of the child-tollers' sweat and degradation. And there is no need telling that both the Back Bay coupon-cutting aristocracy and the bourgeois of the South are entrenched in Congress mightily solid.

AFTER THE RUHR SURRENDER

AFTER the ominous conference held early last week between Baldwin and Poincaré, resulting in statements that the "entente is fully intact" and that a pleasant-to-all-concerned course of action has been agreed upon,—there was nothing left for the German government but to throw up the Ruhr sponge.

And then events began to happen with lightning rapidity—a dictator in the least, that so far it is "all words and no action," etc. And so, shut off archist units here and there, and bloody clashes in the Rhineland between French-nurtured separatists and adherents of German unity, the exact nature of which it is difficult to ascertain owing to news censorship from Germany on the one hand and news coloring from Paris on the other.

On top of it comes the regular weekly blood-and-iron sermon by Poincaré to the effect that the German surrender does not appease his hunger in the least, that so far it is "all words and no action," etc., and so, shut off from light and hope in every direction, under the rattling of machine-guns in a state bordering on civil war, the German government is writhing in agony, ready to crack any minute.

THE FEDERATION IN SESSION

THE convention of the American Federation of Labor is in session and its high spots are receiving usual wide publicity in the press.

And as usual, the items which receive the greatest amount of publicity are those which, from the point of view of Labor's general interest, are the least important though admittedly the most sensational. If one were to read the convention reports in the "big press" and take them at their face value, one might think that the whole convention is devoted to the discovery of "Red plots," attacks on radicalism and similar Sherlock Holmes exploits.

In reality, however, the report of the Executive Council which was read as the keynote speech at the convention, touches but in a few terse paragraphs on the activities of the Moscow-inspired Communist propaganda through the trade unions, and is devoted practically in its entirety to the major questions confronting Labor in America, such as child labor, the Supreme Court, unemployment, banking and credits, labor and politics, women in industry, injunctions, the Klan, and a legion of other things. It also contains a graphic story of Labor's fights during the past twelve months.

It is too early to forecast what will be the principal achievement at the Portland convention. Beyond and above all other things, it should be a call for greater organizing activity. The roll of membership of the American Federation of Labor shows a menacing slump since 1920, and a clarion call should be issued from Portland that the active spirits within the American labor movement go forth and organize into the fold every man and woman eligible for membership in the industries of America.

FOR AN EXTRA SESSION OF COMMONS

THE dispatch from London that the executive committee of the Labor party and of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress have held a joint meeting and decided to call upon the government to convene Parliament in extra session is very significant news.

Labour is calling upon Commons to intervene in the Ruhr debacle in favor of Germany and to take comprehensive relief measures for England's army of unemployed. Organized Labor in England is convinced that the German crisis is to a great extent responsible for the ever-increasing number of English idle workers.

A strong campaign from coast to coast has been launched by the Labor party for the purpose of forcing the Baldwin Cabinet to get Parliament together and decide upon these burning matters. English Labor might well be concerned with the grave outlook confronting it. A winter of misery is forecast for about one-sixth of the population of all England, composed of idle men and women and hosts of government employees whose weekly stipend, barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, is about to be curtailed. And the slump in British trade and commerce bids well to swell the number of the unemployed to a million and a half by Christmas.

DESIGNERS OF

LADIES' GARMENTS ARE IN GREAT DEMAND

A GOOD PROFESSION FOR MEN AND WOMEN!
EASY TO LEARN, PAYS BIG MONEY

Take a Practical Course of Instruction in the Mitchell Schools



In designing Women's, Misses and Children's Wearing Apparel. A course of Instruction in the Mitchell School Means an Immediate Position and Bigger Pay. The Mitchell Schools of Designing, Pattern-making, Grading, Draping and Fitting have been established for over 50 years and have achieved

**NEW IDEAS
NEW SYSTEMS
BEST M^{rs} HODS
BEST RESULTS**

Individual instruction. Day and evening classes. Reasonable terms. Write, phone or call for free booklet and full information.

Demonstration Free at Our School

EVENING CLASSES: MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, FRIDAY

MITCHELL DESIGNING SCHOOL

15 WEST 37TH STREET

NEW YORK

Telephone Fitzroy 1674

GREETINGS FOR THE NEW YEAR TO THE MEMBERS OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

Start the New Year Right—Have Your Teeth Examined
at the Dental Department of the Union Health
Center, 131 East 17th Street.

During the months of September and October, between the hours of 10 a. m. and 5 p. m., examination of teeth, thorough cleaning, and tooth brush and tooth paste for \$1.00.

Office Hours

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

Educational Work Starts Nov. 10

(Continued from page 1)

event-of significance, and our members by their presence demonstrate the interest they take in workers' education.

This year, more than ever, no effort will be spared to make this gathering a memorable one. For this reason a beautiful concert has been arranged and persons who are interest-

ed in the workers' education movement will make short addresses. The evening will end with a dance in the gymnasium.

We advise our readers to set aside that evening and watch for a detailed announcement in a later issue of JUSTICE.



THE SPORT OF VUDGES
"SHOT AT SUNRISE"

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS.

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

WAIST AND DRESS

The strike in the shop of Bortman, Fine & Smith which was reported in these columns last week, was settled Monday, September 24. The firm agreed that in the future it will treat the workers as union people should be treated. The union will be on the watch to see that the firm lives up to its promise.

At the first meeting of the newly-elected executive board on Thursday September 27, Vice-president Monoson appeared and took up the question of amalgamation. As our readers are aware, the question of the establishment of one joint board for all the International locals in Boston was for the last few months and still is uppermost in the minds of all active union men here. All that was needed was for some one to start "the ball a-rolling," and this was done by Brother Monoson. This talk on the subject of amalgamation was very well received by the members of the Executive Board. Although different opinions were expressed on the manner of form of this amalgamation, all were unanimous on the principle of it. A committee of five members from the Executive Board was then and there elected to confer with a like committee from the Joint Board of Cloakmakers. A conference between these two committees will take place Tuesday evening, October 28, right after work at the office of Local No. 7, 21 Essex street. The psychological moment has now arrived for doing that which should have been done long ago. Let us hope that both the committee for Local No. 49 as well as that for the Joint Board of Cloakmakers will not waste any time on thrashing out the old prejudices and old claims that have no room in the union now, and will at once go over to the real work before them. The best interests of the members of all the locals demand it. At this same meeting it was decided to hold nominations for manager, business agent and secretary, on Monday evening, October 15, at a special joint meeting of all branches called for the purpose at Exner Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton St. These nominations were postponed from the last special meeting held at the same place Monday, September 17, because of the contentions of some that the notices for the meeting were not received in some of the shops on time. We expect that this meeting will be well attended, as many more important questions of interest to the trade will be discussed.

CLOAKS AND SUITS

The Boston cloak and suit trade on a miniature scale is following in the footsteps of the New York market. New York has a contractor-jobber problem; so has Boston. In New York the Contractors' Association ordered some time ago a stoppage of work by its members against the jobbers. The same action has now been taken by the Boston Cloak Contractors' Association. An order has been issued by the above Association to its members calling for a stoppage of work beginning next Monday, October 1. The few independent contractors, being in sympathy with the move on the part of the Association, have promised to collaborate with it, and so unless something unforeseen happens from now until next Monday morning, the stoppage will go into effect on that day.

Among the demands made by the

Contractors' Association on the jobbers the following are the two most important ones:

(1) Recognition of the Contractors' Association.

(2) Registration and limitation of the number of contractors who are to work for a given jobber.

The problems are practically the same here as they are in New York and the solution for these problems will in all probability be similar.

While to all appearances it would seem as if the controversy is one between the two sets of employers only, still the members of our union are vitally interested in it. The Contractors' Association was well informed by Brother Monoson and Brother Frank, acting manager of the Joint Board, that the union intends to have both organizations live up to their agreement with the organizations and that it will not stand for a stoppage of work where our members will be the sufferers.

At the time of writing, "Observer" is informed that a conference between the Contractors' and Jobbers' Association is scheduled to take place Saturday afternoon, September 29, 1923 at the Avery Hotel. Our readers will be informed of the results of this conference in the next issue of JUSTICE.

The cloak trade is a little busier than it was a few weeks ago. We only hope that this improvement will last.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 7

During the course of last week, three strikes were called in shops belonging to members of the Waterproof Garment Association. The cause for the calling of these strikes was in all three instances the same. Upon the conclusion of the general strike a few weeks ago, it was agreed that a committee from the association in conjunction with a committee from the union were to adjust the wages of the workers in the different shops. This has become necessary, because as a result of the strike the trade has been put on a week-work basis. In the above-mentioned shops, the employers refused to comply with the decisions of the joint committee, and since the association was powerless to force their members to live up to these decisions, the union was compelled to declare these shops on strike. After one half day of striking, the controversies were adjusted satisfactorily.

The echo of the establishment of the Needle Trades Alliance has reached Boston. We all here hope and wish for its success. The locals of the International here will now have an opportunity to prove that they are for such a practical alliance. The furriers, who some time ago were strongly organized in Boston and who since their unfortunate general strike in 1919 were thoroughly disorganized, are now making an effort to again organize the trade.

A mass meeting of Furriers was called Friday, September 28, at Pilgrim Hall, 694 Washington street. This mass meeting was, in addition to the general officers of the International Furriers' Union, addressed by our own Vice-president Monoson who in the name of the International organizations in Boston pledged full cooperation and support.

Local 82, The Examiners

By M. J. ASHBES

The fall season this year is a disappointment to everybody in the trade—except perhaps the jobbers. We are disappointed because no one expected such a bad season. Last year, owing to the coal strike, which involved a half million miners, together with their families and all others depending on them, we knew that our trade would suffer. This year, however, the spring season was quite up to expectations and, as a revival of business activity was noticeable all over the country, we had every reason to be optimistic with regard to the coming fall season.

Then came the goddess of Fashion and ordained, "No Suits!", which all but killed the fall season. It is a fact that all the suit houses that used to be busy between the 15th of July and the 1st and 15th of September have been idle. Only coats were left and you may rest assured that the jobbers did not fail to take advantage of this situation and have cut prices right and left, so that the bigger union shops did not come within sight of coat-making.

Small wonder that this bad season has put the jobber problem way up on the order of the day with our union. And the attention of every worker is rigidly fixed upon it.

During a crisis, not only the workers suffered, but their organizations as well. What is worse, the bad season created distrust, envy and jealousy between worker and worker, and many of our members seemed to forget these days that it is not the union yet that is managing the industry and that it is not entirely its fault that work is not distributed equally among the shops.

Fortunately, in Local 82 we have none of this mischievous feeling toward each other, though the crisis has hit us harder than anyone else. In such a bad season, the employer as a rule tries to save first of all on

his examiners. Once an examiner loses his job during a bad season, it is next to impossible for him to find another one. In such a time it is equally hard to force an employer to engage an examiner for the shop. Yet, as I said, the spirit of our members has not been affected and their devotion to their local is as strong as ever.

In proportion the expenses of a small local are larger than those of a large organization. In our local the dues never suffice to cover our expenses, so some of it would be defrayed from the initiation fees. Now, however, with a good deal of unemployment in the trade, we find ourselves hard-hit financially. In addition, the strike in the Meisel shop has cost us \$1,400 paid out in strike benefits to the eleven members of the local.

To meet this situation, our members decided on July 30th to levy a tax of \$5 on each member, to be paid out in five instalments until July 1, 1924. But in order that we might not again in the future have to resort to taxing our members, we decided to raise the dues five cents weekly, so that from October 1st a dues stamp will cost \$4.00. Most of our members appreciate that even this is not enough, that the weekly dues should amount to not less than \$5.00. In fact, we adopted such a decision about two weeks ago, but, as long as the dues in all the locals are only \$3.50, we cannot raise them fifteen cents at once. At any rate, the five-cent increase will net us about \$1,500 a year and that will contribute materially towards the maintenance of the local.

On October 8th, we are to have a general member meeting and the executive board decided that our members be allowed to pay up all dues and taxes that day at the old rate.

Argentine Cooperation Breaking Records

While the American cooperators have had their eyes glued to their big job in this country, quietly and unostentatiously there has been built up in the Republic of Argentina one of the most vigorous cooperative movements in the world. Almost overnight Argentine cooperation has grown from a pious hope to the nation's most profitable business.

The very beginning of cooperation in Argentina was in 1884 when the first consumers' store was founded. In 1887, when the first cooperative credit society was organized for service. But it has been only in the last ten years that the movement has developed to any great extent either in the towns or the country. Since 1913 the co-operative society membership has been more than doubled, growing from 47,192 to 105,007 in 1922. During the

same interval the capital of the consumers' cooperative societies increased four times; in 1913 it amounted to \$140,038, while it jumped to \$227,986 by 1922. Cooperative banks have maintained approximately the same capital, about \$5,184,300.

One of the big reasons for the success of the Argentine movement is the wholehearted support it has got from the government. Both the Ministry of Agriculture and the Argentine Social Institute (similar to our Labor Department) have fostered the movement by official propaganda and in aiding in the actual organization work. The Social Institute is now helping the cooperatives to draft a model cooperative law which will make possible the further spread of the movement.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFKY, Editor.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor.

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

Vol. V, No. 41. Friday, October 5, 1923.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 18, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1108.

Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 29, 1919.

The Annual American Federation of Labor Report

By J. CHARLES LAUE

Membership in the American Federation of Labor is 2,926,468 as shown in the report of the Executive Council to the forty-third annual convention held in Portland, Oregon, based on the records of per capita tax dues paid in 1920. This is a slight decline over the 1922 and continues the downward trend. The Federation's strength numerically is about what it was in the middle of 1919. From the rate of the decline since the Cincinnati convention last year, it is apparent that the low point has been reached and that the membership is again on the upgrade.

Frank Morrison, secretary of the Federation in his reports to the convention shows that there are 108 national and international organizations in the Federation, in which there are 36,534 local unions.

During the year one international, the Brotherhood of Railroad Patrolmen, was suspended. Three Internationals—the International Union of Cutting Die and Cutter Makers, membership, 252; International Union of Fruit and Vegetable Workers of North America, membership, 2,297; and the International Union of Timber workers, membership, 244, were disbanded.

Two international unions were re-instated, the International Jewelry Workers' Union, membership, 2,241; and the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, membership, 34,226.

The Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, membership, 11,000 withdrew from the Federation. Two amalgamations were made in the year. The Machine Printers and Color Mixers fused with the National Print Cutters' Association to form a new international union—the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

The Executive Council report draws attention to the spurious

nature of the "amalgamation" campaign being carried on among American trade unions by the Trade Union Educational League of which William Z. Foster is the leader.

"Propaganda in the United States is carried on in accord with the tenets of the Red International, an organization which is completely under the domination and dictation of the Communist oligarchy," says the report.

"The catchword of the campaign in the United States has been 'amalgamation.' In accordance with the program of the Russian Communist leaders, an elaborate program of alleged 'amalgamation' of various international unions has been developed and secret and semi-secret organizations have been formed within the international unions for the carrying on of that propaganda.

"That these efforts will finally prove fruitless, we are sure. . . . The natural amalgamation of organizations in accordance with the proven requirements and in accordance with the desires of the organizations involved, is and has been urged and aided by the American Federation of Labor. Amalgamation or unification as a natural result of evolution is strictly in accord with the policies and philosophy of the American trade union movement."

UNIONS THAT HAVE UNITED

References to outstanding examples of American trade unions that fused without getting instructions from Moscow are given in the report. The past years have seen the allied metal mechanics join the machinists, com-makers amalgamate with molders, wood workers merge with carpenters, steamfitters join the plumbers, lathers were taken in by the shoe workers, glass workers fused with painters, railway clerks and post office clerks joined hands, cement workers went in with plasterers, tin plate workers

were absorbed by the iron and steel workers, tin printers amalgamated with bookbinders.

Instances are given where the theoretical advantages claimed for amalgamated unions did not work out in practice although the reasons for continuing separate unions for distinct groups of skilled workers are not worked out at length. The tendency in the American labor movement has constantly been for more concentration of power in the hands of certain large groups like the miners, the carpenters, machinists, electrical workers and a few more units that virtually dominate the federation by reason of their mass strength. But where amalgamation has failed in at least one instance is in the printing industry, perhaps the most highly skilled and one of the best organized.

GAINED BY DIVIDING UP

In its early history, the International Typographical Union had jurisdiction over all branches of the printing industry. By mutual consent the various natural divisions were split off into separate international unions of compositors, pressmen, photo engravers, bookbinders, stereotypers and electrotypers. Only recently the International Typographical Union cast off jurisdiction over the newspaper writers, for it was found that there was no real interest among printers to organize the writers and the latter demanded freedom to fight out their own salvation.

With the return of a progressive leadership in the International Typographical Union began a movement for amalgamation, which got its impetus from the long strike of 1921 for the 44-hour week, which cost the printers more than \$14,000,000 to win because of the weakness of the other internationalists. This resolution was defeated in each of the other conventions of the printing trades, the present organization insisting that they individually and in cooperation with each other protect and promote the rights and interests of all workers in their particular branch to the fullest possible extent.

A MOVEMENT OF SELF SEEKERS

The movement flying the banner of "amalgamation," the report of the Executive Council states, has "developed a propaganda of destructive criticism of the trade union movement, the purpose of which is to bring the movement under the control of self-seekers who have their own personal or revolutionary ends to serve. The propaganda has for its ultimate purpose not only the destruction of the trade union movement but the eventual overthrow of the democratic government of the United States."

THE "OPEN SHOE" IS HALTED

The great publicity given by the newspapers to the "open shoe" movement in the years of 1920, 1921 and 1922 has deceived the public as to the extent of this movement, says the report. It recounts the history of the propaganda which was launched from Indianapolis immediately after the war. The real object behind the campaign was to reduce wages after the unions had been broken up and disorganized. Then came the attack on the printing trades, the miners, the railroad shovemen, the textile workers and granite cutters and many of the building trades, notably in Chicago and San Francisco. Strikes followed and were successful in stopping the downward course in wages. The report continues:

"The Executive Council is of the firm opinion that the successful strikes of nearly 2,000,000 wage-earners in the United States are responsible for the prosperity the country is now enjoying."

And in conclusion, the report states:

"Standing firmly on the principle of representative democracy, the trade union movement seeks complete freedom for the workers through democratic representative institutions. It affirms that the workers have the power to obtain complete freedom through their economic power. Therefore, for the coming year we urge unceasing efforts in the work of education, organization, federation and unification."

Woman Piloting English Labor

By FANNIA M. COHN

For the first time in our history, a woman will hold the most important and largest workers' body in the world. The latest news from England is that Margaret Bondfield was elected chairman of the General Committee of the Trade Union Congress.

This means that she is now the president of the Trade Union Congress of England.

The entire labor movement is built on the conception that every person, regardless of sex, or social and political standing, should be judged on his merits. Especially should this principle be applied to women who, although but newcomers in the Social and Labor Movement, have begun to wield an important influence on our social and economic life. Now-a-days women penetrate every industry and profession. No barrier, social or economic, can prevent this. They take one fortress after another. Many of our male co-workers realize that the growing self-realization of women is advantageous to the Labor Movement, and essential to its growth. Women's participation in our economic and social life is so recent and their experience so brief that our fellow workers, the men, must help to instill in them self-confidence and self-reliance. If women will not be encouraged to demand the same treatment as men, there will be danger of competition between wives and husbands, sisters

and brothers:

"What can encourage a woman to self-assertion more than the recognition granted to one of her sisters by a body of men? What more gratifying than the reward given to Margaret Bondfield after her life-long efforts and devotion to the Labor Movement,—the leadership of one of the greatest working-class organizations in the world?"

Such an act more than anything else will encourage many working women to become active in the Labor Movement and to devote to it their entire life and energy. This is of importance not only because woman is a producer, but also, because, as the mother of future workers, she will inspire them in the struggle for the ultimate aim of the working class.

It is the good fortune of the British Trade Union Movement to set an example by entrusting such a position to a woman. It is very encouraging to think that this occurred in a country where but a few years ago women were imprisoned for demanding equal political rights.

Margaret Bondfield's election is a tribute not only to the intelligence of British Labor and to its freedom from prejudice, but also to her own personal merits. She has served with distinction the British Labor Movement in many capacities. She began as a private in the militant army of Labor, and because of her ability,

endurance and loyalty, her fellow-workers rewarded her by placing her in the highest position which the British Trade Union Movement can offer. For it would be dangerous to the Labor Movement if the millions of women who are constantly swelling its ranks had the feeling that, no matter how much time and energy they devoted to the Labor Movement, they can never receive recognition. It would be fatal if they thought that no matter how far they go in ability and experience, they would have no opportunity to place these at the disposal of the Labor Movement.

Our heartiest congratulations are not only to Margaret Bondfield, but even more so to the members of the General Committee of the Trade Union Congress whose action does them honor!

BLANSHARD SPEAKS ON ITALY

On Saturday afternoon, October 6th, at 3:15 p. m., Paul Blanshard, new field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy who has just returned from Italy, will speak on the "Italian Situation" at the Rand

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

THE MESSENGER

The Only Trade Union Publication for Negro workers in America

2305 Seventh Avenue
New York City

School of Social Science. T-East 15th street.



Eyes Examined

with the

Best Modern Instruments

In Dr. Becker's Optical Offices. Don't take any chances! Safety lies only in Dr. Becker's Eye-Glasses—They are a true help to the eye. They improve the vision and eliminate the eye-strain. All work under the personal supervision of Dr. Becker. Great care is exercised in examinations and treatments.

213 EAST MANHATTAN
131 SEVENTH AVE.
Southwest corner 9th St.
111 EAST 210 ST.
Near Fourth Ave.
2213 SEVENTH AVE.
Between 125th and 134th Sts.
100 LENOX AVE.
BRONX
895 PROSPECT AVE.
242 EAST FORDHAM ROAD.
BROOKLYN
1789 PITKIN AVE.

D. BARNETT L. BECKER
OPTOMETRIST OPTICIAN

The Kurse of the Ku Klux

The Goblins Will Get You, Labor Man, If You Don't Watch Out

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Two of us were hurrying through eastern Ohio a few days ago, on a hitch-hiking jaunt through the West.

Hurrying we were, for we had a bad day on the road, and were striving to reach the flourishing city of Youngstown for a night's rest. Toward evening we had been lost on a side-road beyond New Galilee, and seven weary miles of walking had brought us to Petersburg by night-fall. By rare-good luck we found a motorist there who did not fear that we would sand-bag him en route and who volunteered to take us to Youngstown.

We were speeding along the highway at 40 miles an hour, with the lights of the steel mills reddening the distant sky. Suddenly a smaller red light appeared in the road immediately before us. We thought it had something to do with the steel mills, too. But our "chauffeur" informed us that "it's the Klan."

We reached the red light, blazing at the roadside, at an entrance to a large field. Automobiles were parked for about a mile up and down the highway. Between a dozen and two dozen white-robed figures were lined in military fashion across the entire width of the field. Two or three of them had their masks up, revealing the faces of young men. In the background the top of a fiery cross could be seen above the trees.

Thus were we introduced to the

territory, whose Klan and anti-Klan riots have attracted the attention of the country. The next day, on the road to Ravenna, we saw hundreds of Klan signs, tacked to posts along the highway. In big red and blue letters they read "K. K. K., Ravenna, Ohio, Aug. 31, 1923." A blue arrow pointed the way to their meeting place.

This is in the heart of the Ohio steel region. The Klan Konklave which we had seen was not in the shadow of the steel mills for naught. "How the steel trust must chuckle," we reflected, "at the coming of the Klan! How can men be gathered in labor unions with foreigners, Jews, Catholics and Negroes, when they meet at night for the purpose of stamping out these 'seditious groups'?" That is the serious question which the nightgown fraternity presents to the Labor Movement.

When we got to Indiana, we could see the meaning of this issue even more clearly. In Logansport the "Merry Cross," "Dawn" and the "Junior Crossmen" were being sold at factory gates everywhere throughout the city. The first of these publications is a weekly newspaper published in Indianapolis with a national circulation. The second is a monthly issued from Chicago, and the third is a Hoosier product, for the purpose of winning young folks to the Klan.

In our Indiana cities this same practice of selling Klan literature

among the factory workers is carried on in a systematic way. In the capital city all of these publications are cried out in the streets by newshypos. They seem to be more popular with the news sellers than the daily papers. On Saturday night they are disposed of like hot cakes.

The Indianapolis central labor body has been pretty badly split up by this agitation. It has gone on record, by a rather small vote, in opposition to the Klan. But the fight between Klansmen and the anti-Klan forces is still going on bitterly within the labor ranks. Indianapolis—the seat of many International Unions—has never been locally an enthusiastic union city. One large reason for this has been the religious prejudices, which seem to be stronger in the Hoosier State than in any other Northern commonwealth. The coming of the Klan has intensified this situation, already bad for labor organizations.

"In our steel mill in the Southern part of the city," one union man told me, "the Klan has so many members among the workers that it completely closed down the plant on Klan Day at the State Fair. The Klan in these parts is presenting an even greater problem than the Communists, so far as disruption is concerned. They make it impossible to extend organization in certain industries."

The principal of the groups attacked—the Jews, Catholics and Negroes—have united in a so-called Union League, for the purpose of combating the Klan. This League holds public meetings throughout the State, and particularly in the city of Indianapolis. It has succeeded in fusing the three groups much better than would be supposed. They are work-

ing together like clockwork. "And yet," a prominent member of the League told me, "it is altogether likely that the 'Protestant-Gentile-White American' underground organization will capture the next Indiana legislature."

Another serious result of the Klan, so far as union labor is concerned, is the unity which it is producing among employer and employe Klansmen. One of the "principles" emblazoned on the K. K. K. publications is that of "cooperation" between employer and employe. This means, as it is working out in the Middle West, that workmen belonging to the Invisible Empire are favored by Klan employers over other workmen. This discrimination is now becoming widespread. The chances for a labor union to make headway under these conditions, among the "Kluxers" at least, are pretty small. This fact was acknowledged by several international labor officials with whom I spoke.

It was the Hoosier poet—who by a strange irony—who sang "The goblins will get you, if you don't watch out." The Klan goblins will "get" the Middle West labor movement, if it don't look out—not so much through a campaign of lashings and tarring-and-feathering, such as has disgraced Oklahoma, but more so because of the disunity likely to creep into labor's ranks. The Australian Labor Party learned a bitter lesson in that respect, when religious disputes split it wide open. Middle West unionists could well take a tip from the Anti-Fascisti Alliance of the Italian workers in the East. Unless they stamp out the Klan in their ranks, it will stamp them out.

THE COLLECTIVE VOICE OF THE WORKERS

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union enters wholeheartedly into labor's endorsement of The New York Leader (formerly The New York Call) because it gives voice to the every-day struggle of the worker to maintain and improve his condition of life.

It is just as important for the worker to have a Newspaper as it is to have a Union to guard his interests and promote his needs. The working class Newspaper, like the Union, is a collective voice which serves the workers during economic conflicts, and spreads those truths about working-class aims and conditions which are generally suppressed by the news agencies of the employing class.

To pit merely our economic strength against that of the employers is insufficient. The workers must avail themselves of all other means that have become part of the class struggle. For this reason we support labor colleges, working-class educational institutions, co-operative leagues and all other instrumentalities which we can use to further our political, social and economic aims.

We have therefore assumed our share of the responsibility for building The New York Leader into a powerful and effective labor daily. In common with all other progressive groups of workers, we call upon the rank and file of our Union to co-operate fully with us in our plans—to buy and read THEIR OWN Newspaper daily—to prevail upon their fellow workers and shopmates to do likewise. *Only in this way can we have*

A COLLECTIVE VOICE OF THE WORKERS—

A VOICE WHICH WILL BE HEARD AND UNDERSTOOD AND RESPECTED.

MORRIS SIGMAN.

Read the New York Leader Every Day

It is Labor's Only English Daily Newspaper

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly
Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel. Chelsea 2148
MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFFSKY, Editor.
A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager
MAX D. DANISIE, Managing Editor
Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year

Vol. V, No. 41. Friday, October 5, 1923.

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

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1102, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 23, 1919.

EDITORIALS

WHAT TRADE UNIONISM MEANS

It is yet too early to say anything definite with regard to the American Federation of Labor convention which opened last Monday at Portland, Oregon. It would be still less wise to hazard a prophetic conjecture as to new departures in American labor policy this convention may decide upon. Nevertheless, it is permissible to draw some conclusions from facts already at our disposal and contained in the report of the Executive Council to the 43d Convention of the Federation. There is something in this report which entitles us to the belief that the Portland convention, if not epoch-making, will prove somewhat different from all former conventions.

The significant thing about this report is that the Executive Council of the Federation had deemed it necessary to come forth this time with a declaration of principles, a distinctly new feature in an American Federation of Labor report. Ordinarily such a report is given over to an account of events that transpired during the year and a number of proposals and suggestions, leaving it to the delegates to formulate their own decisions with regard to the policies and program of the American Federation of Labor. This time, however, the Executive Council leaves the beaten path and undertakes to state to the workers of America the further and higher aims of the labor movement. The council affirms that the movement of the workers transcends in its aims the mere struggle for a larger loaf of bread—and this is certainly worthwhile noting.

The Council's declaration of principles begins with the following weighty paragraph: "We feel that the hour has struck for a pronouncement of the aims of Labor shall more nearly express the full implication of trade unionism." And it goes on further to say: "The close of the war marked for us a point in human relations and threw forth in bold relief the inadequacy of existing forms and institutions. Henceforth trade unionism has a larger message and a larger function in society. Henceforth the movement for the organization of the workers into trade unions has a deeper meaning than the mere organization of groups for the advancement of group interests, however vital that function may yet remain."

Verily, there is a new sound in these few words which has heretofore been lacking in the American labor movement. The leaders of the American labor movement have come to the conclusion that the existing forms and institutions are inadequate and unfit to meet the growing new demands of our day. Only a few years ago such a statement would have been regarded as heresy in American Federation of Labor circles, and surely a reference to the "inadequacy of existing forms and institutions" could have never found place in a report by the Executive Council of the Federation.

But it is the idea that the trade union movement has a greater message and a more important social function than the fight for the daily bread that appears to us truly revolutionary in this statement of principles. Whatever others might think, we cannot fail to observe in this declaration an unmistakable sign of progress. To us it is proof that the American Federation of Labor is not only not reactionary, as its enemies assert, but that it is not even conservative. The Council's report speaks of forms and institutions that have outlived their time and which must make room for new forms adopted to meet the need of newer times. There can be no doubt that with this declaration the American Federation of Labor has placed itself in the ranks of the revolutionary forces of the country—hateful as the term "revolution" may sound to it.

Some perhaps will say: Oh, yes, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are adepts in phraseology; when it comes to acting, however, they forget all their great and noble declarations. This, nevertheless, is both poor and wrong judgment. Action by anybody, no matter how militant, is oftener than not guided and affected by circumstances. What is genuinely important is the purpose, the aim, and the principles which guide our line of conduct. And no one can deny that the principle as outlined by the Executive Council in its report to the convention is truly revolutionary in its essence, and the recognition that trade unionism has a greater message for mankind than heretofore conceived is of paramount importance.

What is this enlarged function of the labor movement, according to this declaration? Henceforth the organization of the workers into trade unions must mean the conscious organization of one of the most vital elements for enlightened participation in a democracy of industry whose purpose must

be the extension of freedom, the enfranchisement of the producer as such, the rescue of industry from chaos, profligating and purely individual whim, including incapacity, and the rescue of industry also from the domination of incompetent political bodies."

One may disagree with some details of this program, but one can hardly deny that it proclaims trade unionism as a new social force not alone for the workers, but for society as a whole. Trade unionism is to place industry upon an entirely new basis, the basis of democracy where individual whim is to be abolished; where the workers would also be entitled to a voice; and where the present chaos and exploitation—the basis of modern industry—would be done away with. What program, ask we, however radical it might style itself, could set forth a nobler, loftier aim?

We could have quoted many more excerpts from this report which run in the same vein and spirit, but we feel that those we cited above are sufficient to throw a light upon this new tendency in the American labor movement. Nevertheless, we are frankly skeptical about how far this unmistakable assertion of the higher aims of labor will find concrete expression in the decisions on the floor of the convention. We are not quite sure that the Executive Council in its declaration has not gone far in advance of the rank and file of the movement, and in such a case, with best of intentions and firmest of beliefs, it could not force its will and opinions against the will of the delegates.

The final decision of all problems at the convention is in the hands of the delegates and not in the hands of this or that leader. The American Federation of Labor conventions are genuinely democratic, and their decisions are the expression of the feelings and thoughts of the large masses. That's why it is difficult to prognosticate whether the Portland convention will in any degree reflect in its actions the ideas and thoughts which have inspired the declaration of principles by the Executive Council.

The Executive Council in its declaration is fully justified in stating that "Labor now participates more fully in the decisions that shape human life than ever before and more fully in America than in any other nation on earth; but our participation must be gradually brought to completion. The purpose of this is not only the commanding of better wages and better conditions of work, vital as those are and have been. The purpose that now unfolds is broader and nobler and filled with deeper meaning. We have fought our way through the preliminaries, fitting the workers for their greater role by means of the opportunities that have come with the establishment of standards of life and wages befitting American workmen. For the future, industry must become something of which we have a national consciousness." The action of the convention will prove how correctly the Executive Council has gauged the spiritual tendencies within the American labor movement.

MEETING-WRECKING MUST CEASE!

A few weeks ago we told in these columns of a meeting of Local 1 that was disrupted. Now we hear of a similar occurrence at a meeting of Local 9. There exists no doubt as to who had wrecked the Local 1 meeting, and the rowdies that were responsible for the outrage are quite well known to the members of the union.

There is, however, a division of opinion concerning the disruption of the Local 9 meeting. Some say that "left" disturbers broke up the meeting when a member had made an attempt to explain why the decision of the General Executive Board with regard to "leagues" must be scrupulously carried out. Others assert that the "right" wing in the local was responsible for the breaking up of the meeting. We are inclined to the opinion that the meeting of Local 9 too was disrupted by the professional union-wreckers. To accomplish this all they needed was to raise sufficient tumult to compel the hall keeper to close the hall and disperse those assembled lest there be a riot. Whoever the breaker up of regular local meetings has become a daily occurrence in our union is a very deplorable and sad event which sooner or later must have its detrimental effect upon the union as a whole.

The difference of opinion between members in a union may be wide and far-reaching, but with the practice of some tolerance and the display of some respect to the rights of others, there is no reason why meetings should be wrecked and others in turmoil. Unfortunately it is this measure of tolerance and regard for the other fellow's opinion which is sadly lacking in our midst. This absence of mutual respect is more pronounced on the side of our so-called "lefts," fanatics who would burn their opponents upon the stake if they only could. But it is noticeable too among the "rights" who could well afford to practice a little more tolerance at times. The result is that the meetings are broken up one after the other and demoralization stalks brazenly in our ranks.

The "lefts," of course, could wish for nothing better than that, for that is their goal and purpose. But the "rights," the true friends and active workers in the locals, must strain every effort not to permit such a state of affairs to prevail; they must not play into the hands of our union-smashers, and by the display of a greater measure of self-control save these meetings from destruction.

For it must be recognized that the disruption of these meetings means the weakening and the gradual destruction of the union itself. Practically it means playing into the hands of the employers and all the other enemies of the union. Let these

A Personal Statement

By S. YANOVSKY

(Anent Foster's "Challenge")

In Justice No. 37, issue of September 7th, 1923, I put a query, "Who shot at Foster?" and, after a thorough appraisal of all known facts, I came to the logical presumption that it must have been Foster himself who had staged this would-be shooting. Though every suspicion pointed in his direction, I stated at that time that I was merely presuming, giving him the benefit of the doubt. I said that, low as Foster had fallen in my eyes, it is hard for me to believe that he could have sunk so deep as to perpetrate, for the sake of publicity, such an abomination. In that same issue, I stated that I arrived at this presumption because I had little faith in Foster's simple honesty. Yet, as I do not consider myself infallible, I put to him a few questions in the belief that from his answers I might glean whether he is at all trustworthy and if anything still remains of the old Foster that we knew before he had sold himself to Moscow.

Foster replied to my questions, but he did so at a meeting in Rutgers Square before a nondescript crowd of passers-by who neither knew nor were interested in what it was all about. In the subsequent issue of Justice I therefore wrote as follows:

From the so-called replies which Foster is reported to have made to our questions at his meeting last Saturday in Rutgers Square it is becoming increasingly clear to us that in addition to all his other attainments Foster is a liar and a coward.

We have not put these questions to him at a better-shelter meeting composed of park-benchers the majority of whom did not know what it was all about. We have put these questions to him black on white in this journal. Had he answered them in any of the publications that print his vapors we should have known at that time he had attempted to dodge and squirm an honest reply. But he chose his own cowardly and contemptible way of "replying" in a characteristically Fosterian way, which we do not at all begrudge him.

So we are through with him. Except that we want to draw attention to another thing: According to a report which appeared in the New York Call of the Rutgers Square meeting Foster is alleged to have said that "he is ready to name the man who shot at him three times." Now, if Foster knows his assailant very well he does not name him! Foster is again reported to have said that "the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Chicago is employing gunmen to carry out its purpose." Is the name of every honest person Foster will remain stamped a malevolent liar and detractor until he proves his mouthings and bloody hands.

I still adhere firmly to my decision. I have no faith whatever in the word of this professional union-breaker, who now pleads for an investigation. A character assassin who states that the International employs gangsters can also falsify accounts and permit any abomination which, in line with the Bolshevik gospel, is fully permissible in the fight against "reactionary" unions.

These lines, of course, are not writ-

scandals cease, by all means. The union must undertake severe and drastic measures against the wilful wreckers of these meetings, those who maliciously and with intent come to destroy and break them up. This kind of treason against the organization must be stopped, and its perpetrators must be brought to trial and given their deserts.

Such a firm and relentless policy, coupled with the display of more patience and tact on the part of some of the union's true friends and well-wishers, will soon prove to the disrupters that the local meetings are not a safe place for them to practice their abominations and they will have to turn their lust for destruction into different channels.

WE CONGRATULATE LOCAL 10

We read the report of the last meeting of Local 10 in our news columns with true delight. A meeting of over twelve hundred members is in itself an occasion in these days when members are so tardy to come to meetings.

ter in which this mistake was originally made. A few months later, we wrote in JUSTICE about it expecting that Foster would respond to it and explain it. He, however, did not do it and Secretary Baroff did not call my attention to the fact that I was wrongly informed. I was therefore certain that the mistake was made by Foster and had put to him this question for a second time in order to obtain a clear answer to it. But even in this point Foster exhibited himself as a contemptible traducer. He writes that he had kept the letter from Baroff because he had already at that time suspected Baroff's motives,—which is a rank lie. The relations between the International office and Foster at that time were of the friendliest and there was not the slightest ground for suspicion on his part against Baroff. But Foster obviously believes in the slanderer's motto: "Keep on slinging mud; in the end some of it will stick."

It is clear that neither President Sigman nor Secretary Baroff nor any other in the general office had known in advance about my article of September 7 and the questions that I put to Foster. It was done entirely upon my own responsibility and, had Foster answered them honestly, I would have kept my word and publicly declared that I have no ground for suspecting Foster's honesty. This he did not do, and when he now replies, through his paper, to these questions, he does it in a similarly insincere manner. Let us point out only a few instances. He gives the place and the time when he was elected for the second time as secretary-treasurer of "the League," but he very nearly fails to state the time and place when he was elected the first time. The fact is that no such election has ever taken place. In Bolshevik fashion, he proclaimed himself secretary-treasurer before the "League" ever came into existence. He knows it himself and he tells it when he declares that he was elected by anybody.

To the question whether he is ready to open his books, he replies by asking whether the International is asking whether the International is ready to open its books. This answer, fully sizes up the moral stature of the man. The International has a membership to which it is responsible and to which it must give an account. If Foster wants to know the income and expense of the International for the last two years, up to the Cleveland Convention in 1922, he can find them in the financial report of the convention. The same can be said about our locals and our joint boards who publish their reports, almost weekly in their journal. Such accounts are also rendered openly at meetings. For this purpose the International employs a staff of auditors and there can be no hint of suspicion that the International is concealing anything from its members. The situation is quite different in the case of Foster's league which is no more and no less than a nondescript group responsible to no one and for which no one is responsible. So when Foster states that he would open his books on condition that the International open its

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

A conference of all international leagues declares for a special convention to consider how best to raise means for the continued support of the Cleveland cloak strike.

The cloakmakers' dramatic club arranges a series of performances for the Cleveland strikers.

The St. Louis locals adopted a new policy: I stand of a general strike—they are calling individual shops on strike, the first of which—against the firm of Friedman and Son—is already won.

Local 17, which succeeded in abolishing the "lock-and-action" system is now undertaking energetically to do away with the contracting in the reeder trade.

Food and fruit peddlers, whom many cloak employers would not permit to come into their shops, appeal to the union for aid. The Joint Board pleads their case and wins permission for them to enter the shops.

The International Office, in discussing the conditions in the waist and dress trades, decides that a general strike in the industry must be called. A committee consisting of President Abraham Rosenberg, Secretary John Dyche, and Vice-president Felaide Greengren and Kleinman is instructed to get in touch with the officers of Local 25 and Local 10, to jointly prepare preliminary steps for such a general strike.

own books, it is obvious that he is only trying to stir up out of a nasty situation.

But even if he had not placed that condition, we would have now declined to look into his books for the simple reason that we do not believe him, and we are certain that this besmircher of the labor movement—at the rate of \$40 per week—will not be hindered by such a minor thing as falsifying his accounts.

One more thing and I am through. Foster admits that about two per cent of the contributions to his "educational league" come from "well-to-do" persons. In other words, persons who are not workers and who belong to the opponent class contribute a certain portion to Foster's work. Foster apologizes that this contribution from the wealthy is less than two per cent. Which reminds us of that gay damsel who, when she was child on the obvious fruit of her rather careless conduct, remarked that after all the infant weighed but four pounds at his birth. All we can say is that these wealthy contributors are showing a distinct lack of gratitude to him. They could have donated a great deal more towards his destructive work. They would have at least taken care that the fellow in charge of this contemptible job is paid a little more for his toil.

Such an assembly speaks eloquently for the intelligence of the New York cutters. They came to that meeting in such large numbers because they realized that the decision of the General Executive Board must be carried out. No less cheering was the result of the voting at that meeting inasmuch as out of an assembly of more than twelve hundred there were only twenty-six votes registered against the order of the General Executive Board.

It proves beyond cavil that Local 10 is a healthy and sound organization and that the demagoguery of the handful of adventurers has not had any influence upon it. Moreover, we are confident that such would be the result at the meetings of all the other of our locals, were it only possible to arouse the rank and file of the members to come to these meetings. It would demonstrate the impotence of the disrupters who for the time being are taking advantage of the indifference of the masses of the members and are creating havoc and tumult at the meetings.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Truly American

By SYLVIA KOPALD

(Longer Plays By Modern Authors. Helen Louise Cohen, Editor. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922.)

On such a collection of plays as this, one may hope in time to pick up the trail of an offering which "100 per centation." The professional patrioteers have packed so many obnoxious associations into the phrase "one hundred percent American" that it is difficult to see any honorable aspects in it. Yet if one can transmute our peculiar group experience and history into works of art, we shall contribute to the world an offering which is truly and gloriously American. For although it will have its roots irrevocably in American soil, it will be built for and belong to all men. And the highest nationalism (or sectionalism) lies in being uniquely part of a whole.

For many years America alone among the big powers had not made such a contribution. There was a Russian art, an English, French, Italian, German, Austrian art, and so on. But there was no American. True, there had been the awakening of the forties, there had been Poe and Whitman and Fitch and Twain. But these, on the whole, were lonely figures rising from among the American people like some stark trees from a stony precipice. Where the folk of other countries usually have been the sap by which their artists were nourished and developed, most of the scattered American artists have had to stand off, misunderstood and bitter with neglect.

It is a portent of the tremendous change that has come to our country that the stirrings of an American art can be felt—and seen—everywhere. In the novel, poetry, the

stage, the drama, new voices with an unmistakable American accent are making themselves heard. The birth of this new American art goes back to well before the war; but that tremendous upheaval undoubtedly stimulated its development.

Miss Cohen has gathered together in this volume four plays by four American authors in an attempt to point the trend of American drama. Perhaps the adjective "Modern" in her title has significance but I should have liked to see "American" included. For the book presents a truly American product. I doubt also whether her choice of plays illustrates the argument of her introduction as happily as some other possible choices might have done. Yet the volume (apparently a companion offering to her earlier *One Act Plays By Modern Authors*) is an interesting and illuminating commentary on the rising American art. Her introduction is informative and suggestive; the plays are all more or less well written; and the foreword preceding each one furnishes succinctly all the desired data on author and play.

American drama made its appearance probably toward the end of the eighteenth century (1767) with Royall Tyler, who drew the inspiration for his *The Contrast* from Sheridan's *School for Scandal*. It continued on its stately though stilted way, usually drawing inspiration from similar sources—always in manner and usually in matter a weak dependent of Europe. Indeed, until the advent of Bronson Howard, more than a cen-

tury later, producers refused even to admit the American derivation and sources of their plays. Only his determined insistence finally persuaded them to declare their artistic independence.

Most critics mark the beginning of modern American drama with Clyde Fitch. Many names have followed his on the American stage—names that have made their mark in direction, stage setting, acting and playwriting: Frohman, Belasco, Hopkins, Cohan, Urban, Robert Edmond Jones, Craven, Glaspell, O'Neill, the Theatre Guild—there is a list to which any nation might point with justifiable pride, and yet how partial a list it is! Truly New York is without a doubt one of the dramatic centers of the world.

Miss Cohen maintains that there has been no sequence in the development. To her mind dramatists of the earliest America were concerned with much the same themes as the dramatists of present-day America. Only the manner and method of treatment have changed. In support of her contention, she enumerates what may be called typical American themes. They are Indian and frontier life, outstanding events and figures of American history; New York life; social satire and criticism; and romance of various types. Any moderately well-equipped library contains dramas upon these subjects by eighteenth century writers and by, modern ones. The *Bad Man* appeared upon Broadway only a few seasons ago; *Davy Crockett* was seen decades ago. The greatest play of the frontier type in Miss Cohen's opinion is *The Great Divide* by Thomas Vaughn Moody. The historic plays have changed their heroes with the unfolding of time, passing from the Revolutionary War to the Civil War and most recently to the Great War. Washington, the Copperhead and Gilbert Emery's *The Hero* are plays created out of America's reactions to landmarks of her history. There are hundreds of others woven of the same stuff. New York life and social criticism have been the themes usually of our realists and satirists. Their vogue has been strong and continuous. So alert a student of the

drama as Kenneth MacGowan, however, looks for a strong revival of the romantic, poetic play in the near future.

Miss Cohen, however, is more concerned with achievement than prophecy. She presents, therefore, four plays to the reading public, each one of which has been seen and favorably passed upon by the theatre audiences. Her selections comprise *Beau Brummel* by Clyde Fitch, *The Copperhead* by Augustus Thomas; *Daley* by G. S. Kaufmann and Marc Connelly; and *The Intimate Strangers* by Booth Tarkington.

It is difficult to transcribe her introduction. These plays do not illustrate the development of American drama. They all belong to the modern period and all but the first to the post-war period. They do not point any new trends in the American drama. Perhaps it has been her intention to illustrate the constancy of American themes.

For *Beau Brummel* is a delightfully told story of the famous wit and fop of the seventeenth century which makes the Beau a real character. The *Copperhead* tells of a most agonizing and difficult sacrifice for his country made by a soldier whom Lincoln asked to do secret Copperhead service. *Daley* is a delicious and pointed satire of the American business man and that well-known lady of the sweet platitudes who brooded her way through F. B. A.'s Coming Tower. The *Intimate Strangers* is a tale of the modern dapper and mere man's unwilling reactions to her.

Each of these plays occupies an interesting place in the stream of American drama. But in terms of Miss Cohen's own introduction, they do not possess, as a whole, as much significance as they might. For there are signs of a new turn in American drama, in spite of Miss Cohen's arguments against sequence in its development. We are doing more today than singing differently the same themes that our forefathers sang. And it is this new turn which is of most interest to us now. For in it lies the seeds of a truly and nobly American offering to the world.

Court Fines Unions for Quitting Work

The right to strike is challenged by the Supreme Court of Washington in its decision awarding \$20,000 damages to the Pacific Typesetting Company against the Seattle local of the International Typographical union and the International itself.

The suit was the result of the 44-hour-week movement in the printing trade. Members of the Seattle local employed at the Pacific plant refused to do work for non-union concerns. The Pacific company sued the local union and the international for \$20,000 damages. The King county superior court decided against the company.

The company carried the case to the Washington supreme court, which reversed the ruling of the lower court and held that, when persons or firms suffered damages by reasons of strikes, they may sue the trade unions and officers taking part in the strike.

The supreme court's decision affirms the slave owners' and feudal

lords' conception of property rights in human labor power.

This property right conception is the favorite dogma of anti-union employers, their prostitute press and their kept judiciary.

The right to quit work is one of the inalienable rights without which our free institutions and American liberty under the constitution become but academic mouthings.

Under the wage system of production, the workers produce commodities and services for the private profit of employers.

When the courts fine the workers for the financial losses sustained by employers through the act of the workers in conscientiously refusing to produce commodities and services under conditions which the workers deem too onerous, they impose involuntary servitude in its most pernicious form.

That pernicious form is the compulsory production of wealth for the private profit of employers.

The decision of the supreme court of Washington sustains this compulsory production of wealth by levying heavy fines against those who refuse to perform it.

The Washington State Federation of Labor is giving its 100 per cent support to the International Typographical union and the Seattle local in contesting the reactionary decision of the state court.

Magazine to Cater to "Civilized Minority"

A new monthly review, *The American Mercury*, will make its first appearance about January 1, according to an announcement made by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., publishers, at 220 West Forty-second Street. The editors will be George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken, both now editors of *Smart Set*. In the announcement, Mr. Knopf says:

"The aim of the *American Mercury* will be to offer a comprehensive, critically presented, of the entire American scene. It will not confine itself to the fine arts; in addition, there will be constant consideration of American politics, American Governmental problems, American industrial and social relations and American science. The point of view that it will seek to maintain will be that of the civilized minority. It will strive at all times to avoid succumbing to the current platitudes, and one of its fundamental purposes will be to discover and develop writers in all fields competent to attack those platitudes in a realistic and effective manner.

"It will cover a larger ground than any of them, and it will diligently avoid the formal thinking that characterizes most of them. No cult or tendency will dominate its pages. It will be open to conflicts of opinion at all times, so long as those conflicts avoid sham.

"The names of the editors offer

assurance that, whatever its deficiencies otherwise, it will never be obvious or dull. First and last, its central effort will be to combat all pedantry and pretense, to encourage sound and original work in all intellectual department, and to offer a quick welcome and hearing to men and women capable of it."

The publishers, said Mr. Knopf, will pay particular attention to typography. He explained that no revolutionary processes would be used, but that every effort would be made to turn out perfectly printed copies of each issue in large, clear type.



D'ALESSIO'S ACADEMY

44 W. 42nd St., N. Y. City
Illustrations, Engravings,
Photomontages, Gouaches,
Paintings, Drawings, and
Decorative Illustrations
for Book, Magazine and
Commercial Purposes.
Established 1902.

THE ROGIN
Vegetarian
Restaurant
29 St. Mark's Place
PURE AND WHOLESOME FOOD
NO CANNED FOODS SERVED
Open Day and Evening

BUY
WHITE LILY TEA
COLUMBIA TEA
ZWETOCHNI CHAI
Exclusively



FOREIGN ITEMS

BRAZIL

CREATION OF A NATIONAL LABOR COUNCIL IN BRAZIL.

One of our sister republics in South America has joined the movement which has spread throughout Europe, looking towards the solution of labor troubles. According to information filed with the International Labor Office in Geneva, Switzerland, a National Labor Council has recently been created in Brazil by a decree dated April 20, 1923. This council is defined as "the consultative organ of the public authorities for all questions concerning the organization of labor and social welfare." It is to be composed of twelve members to be chosen by the President of the Republic; two from the workers, two from the employers, two from the high officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, Labor and Commerce, and six from among persons of recognized competence in the matters which the Council will have to consider. The remaining articles of the decree deal with the organization of the work of the council and with the details of the tasks to be undertaken, including the publication of a review.

JAPAN.

A NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEACHERS IN JAPAN.

According to information received from the International Labor Office a movement has been set on foot to organize a national federation of school teachers which shall unite the eight hundred unions or associations of school teachers at present existing throughout Japan in an organization capable of protecting the interests of the profession. The members of the special committee of the League for the Protection of Teachers met recently and discussed the question of establishing a national federation of teachers, and it was decided that this question should be brought before the general meeting of the League. A number of lecturing groups have been organized for propaganda work throughout the country.

SWITZERLAND.

SWITZERLAND REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF.

The International Labor Office is informed that the Federal Council of Switzerland has recently taken steps with a view to the partial withdrawal of unemployment relief allowed under the Order of the Federal Council of October 29, 1919. It is proposed to limit the period during which unemployed persons are entitled to relief; to withdraw relief permanently or provisionally in certain occupations or in the case of certain categories of unemployed persons; to simplify the procedure of applying for relief; to authorize the cantons, subject to the approval of the Federal Department of Public Economy, to reduce the rates of benefit fixed by Federal regulations and to suspend relief permanently or provisionally in cases where suspension of relief has not been decided by the Confederation itself.

GREAT BRITAIN.

MINER'S WELFARE FUND IN BRITAIN.

In Great Britain the Miners' Welfare Fund, which is maintained by a charge of one penny per ton levied upon the coal output, has secured the fullest support of both employers and workers in the mining industry. In normal years the levy provides an annual income exceeding one million pounds. The Central Committee of the Fund, which is entitled to spend one-fifth of the annual income on work benefitting the industry as a whole, has undertaken valuable research work concerning working conditions in deep mines with high temperatures, the combating of danger from coal dust and other causes of explosions, and generally has worked to secure greater safety for miners. The local committees formed in each area, which control the expenditure of four-fifths of the fund, have provided nursing and hospital centres, technical training institutes, and public recreation grounds and playing fields, according to information published by the International Labor Office.

WORLD DAIRY CONGRESS.

Mr. George Dallas, of the agricultural section of the Workers' Union, is sailing for the United States next week to attend the World Dairy Congress called by the American Government at Washington to meet early in October.

This gathering will be attended by representatives of every country in the world, and governments and public authorities will have a share in the discussions, which will deal with milk—from the meadow to the pantry.

After the congress Mr. Dallas proposes to spend a few weeks lecturing in the United States and Canada, with the object of studying in as wide a field as possible the new Farmer-Labor movement.

NEW ZEALAND.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN WELLINGTON.

Unemployment is very acute here and is accentuated by the mad housing accommodation. Many of the workless had left England filled with hopes for the future, but now found that they had been shamefully misled. The government and municipalities can only offer what is called relief work at rates of pay below arbitration court awards.

FRANCE

ORGANIZED SERVANTS OPPOSE CHEAP MAIDS.

The French Servants' Union is protesting against the introduction into France of black maids from Martinique.

The union bases its opposition principally upon the low wages which French housewives persuade the colored maids to accept for work which is very arduous and which extends to long hours. The wages are less than half the usual rate for white experienced servants.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS TO OPEN BOSTON BANK.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is planning to open a labor bank in Boston. About \$600,000 capital has been subscribed and \$2,100,000 deposits pledged.

GOMPER'S MAKES APPEAL FOR JAPANESE RELIEF.

President Gompers announced he "would call on every member of organized labor in the United States to extend their fullest sympathy and contribute a part of their earnings for relief in the Japanese disaster."

TO EUROPE IN ONE DAY?

To Europe and back by airship in two days with two tons of mail is predicted by Rear Admiral Moffett, chief of the bureau of naval aeronautics.

The success of the navy's latest dirigible proves that these tremendous air ships can stay aloft for long periods of time.

ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP AFFLICTS PORTO RICO.

Porto Rico is afflicted with every evil connected with absentee ownership, declared Santiago Iglesias, American Federation of Labor organizer and senator of Porto Rico, who has arrived in this country. He is president of the Porto Rico branch of the American Federation of Labor, and will attend the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor, where he will present the grievances of Porto Rican workers.

"Our workers are oppressed beyond measure," declared the visiting trade unionist, who said that sugar barons and other industrial autocrats are stripping the island of its wealth while education and internal improvements are neglected.

Under the law, the amount of land that these corporations can hold is limited, but many of the more powerful combinations make no attempt to observe this act, and have seized much of the island's choice lands.

NO LABOR SHORTAGE IN STEEL.

The Wall Street Journal prints this telegram from Youngstown, Ohio: "Despite abolishment of 12-hour day by steel industry there continues an ample supply of workmen. Some departments report more men available than are needed."

MEN'S WAGES HIGHEST.

The average weekly earnings of men in New York state factories are about twice as high as those of women workers, according to the State Department of Labor. For the first time the earnings of factory workers published monthly by the department have been tabulated separately for men and women employed by representative firms. They show weekly earnings of about \$31.50 for men and \$16.50 for women.

The department states that it is not possible to say that women are paid half as much as men for the same work. No comparison of occupations within the different industries was possible. It is quite certain, for example, that the occupations of women in the metal trades are quite different from those of the men, says the report.

"The question arises, however, whether the wages of women are low because the skill required is only half as great, or because the bargaining power of women is not so great as that of men, due to restricted choice of occupations, over supply in a few industries, lack of organization and other similar reasons."

NEW COMPANY "UNION" HANDED MILL WORKERS.

A company "union" bearing the usual alluring title, "employee's representation plan," has been worked out by the Amoskeag textile mill management and 12 hand-picked workers.

The plan is the usual scheme of permitting workers to discuss grievances up to a certain point and then have the company settle the question. It is this feature of the company "union" that causes such enthusiasm among anti-unions.

A local newspaper made this mention of the employees' objection to the plan when it was handed them for indorsement:

"It is claimed that in event of the non-agreement of the three bodies to which all grievances are submitted, the agent of the company will have to the final word. This phase of the plan, it is reported, will meet with strong opposition and an attempt will be made to have the settlement of grievances made on a different basis."

PRINTERS ARE WINNING FORTY-FOUR-HOUR WEEK.

There are now but 2,365 persons carried on the strike rolls of the International Typographical union in the strike for the 44-hour week in the book and job industry, according to the report by President Howard in the Typographical Journal, the union's official organ.

Since the strike was declared, in May, 1921, the union has collected \$15,810,503 in strike assessments and paid out \$14,673,665 in strike financing, mainly in strike benefits. The strike assessment has been reduced from 5 per cent to 2 per cent and brings in approximately \$217,000 per month.

The black spots are Pennsylvania and the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. There are 419 members on the strike rolls in Pennsylvania, 446 in Ontario, and 247 in Quebec.

SHOE STRIKERS SOLID.

St. Paul union shoe workers are standing firm in their wage increase strike against the arbitrary and reactionary labor policy of the Foot-Schulze Shoe Company. The concern refused to consider wage readjustments and declined to arbitrate. The shoe workers struck on June 1.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the
UNITY CENTERS
of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Season 1922-1923

LESSON 6—Continued.

2. The war came in spite of men's efforts to prevent it, because its causes lay deep in the present organization of society. Machine industry has rendered mankind extremely productive. We create "surplus capital" today by producing more than we consume. Moreover, machine industry has shrunk the earth so that the whole world has become an interdependent economic unit. Before the war the foreign trade of the world came to \$35,000,000,000 every year. But with economic internationalism, we had feudal political nationalism. The private owners of surplus capital and machine production sought to use the political state to protect the extension of their holdings beyond their own state boundaries. The result we know as economic imperialism. (F. C. Howe, "The Only Possible Peace," Chapters 1 and 2; Walter Lippmann, "States of Diplomacy," Chapters 5, 6 and 7; H. N. Brailsford, "The War of Steel and Gold," Part I.)
3. In the struggle to win exclusive outlets for surplus capital and exclusive control of sources of raw materials and of economic markets, the powers clashed most frequently in the Near East. Germany, "who came into the world too late," sought to overcome England's "head-start" by building the Berlin to Bagdad Railway (which was to have been completed in 1917). Several times the rivalries of the powers almost brought the world to war before 1914 with the occupation of Egypt in 1882; the Morocco Incident in 1911; the Partition of Persia in 1912. The powder was there; it merely happened that the match that finally caused the explosion was struck at Sarajevo in 1914.

Schedule for Our Workers' University.

The Educational Department has prepared a schedule for the Workers' University and Unity Centers for 1923-1924.

This schedule appears in a four-page folder in which are enumerated the courses which will be given at our Workers' University on Saturday afternoons from 1:30 to 12:30. It also contains the courses that will be given in our eight Unity Centers, with

the day, hour and teacher's name.

This folder will be ready for distribution within a few days. We advise our members to get copies for themselves and for distribution in their shops.

We suggest that our members register for the courses at once, as this will facilitate matters and make it possible for us to organize the classes more efficiently.

'Out-of-Town Educational Activities

CHICAGO

We are happy to state that the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union with the assistance of Vice-president Perlestein, is making arrangements for the launching of educational activities for our members in Chicago.

We have been looking forward to an opportunity to start educational activities for our members in Chicago for some time and it seems that the time has now arrived.

Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of the Educational Department, will arrive in Chicago about October 18, and she will put her experience at the disposal of the local educational committees in helping them to carry out their plans.

BALTIMORE

Three Educational Meetings on Friday, October 5th, and Saturday, October 6th.

Three meetings will be held by our members in Baltimore to launch educational activities in that city. One of the meetings has been arranged by the women members of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union for Friday evening, October 5th, at 291 Alquist Street, and a general meeting will be

held on Saturday afternoon in the same place. A joint meeting of the local educational committee has also been called for Saturday. At these meetings plans will be discussed for the organization of educational activities in that city.

Fannia M. Cohn, secretary of our Educational Department, will be present at these meetings.

PHILADELPHIA

A joint meeting of the local Educational Committee was held in Philadelphia on Thursday evening, October 4, at the office of the Waist Makers' Union, Local 15, 1018 Cherry street. At this meeting plans were discussed for next season's educational activities. Arrangements were made to make our educational work there as effective as possible. Fannia M. Cohn attended this meeting.



BIG MONEY

In Developing Personal
Study the Ideal System,
Quickly Learned, Now Letter,
Send for pamphlet.

Ideal School of Design
100 Boylston St.
Boston, Mass.

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY
Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.
(Will Open November 10.)
UNITY CENTERS

The following Unity Centers were opened Monday, September 17th:

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63—Fourth Street, near First Avenue, Manhattan.

Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40—329 East 20th Street, Manhattan.

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

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61—Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Bronx.

Second Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 42—Washington Avenue and Claremont Parkway, Bronx.

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

Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 150—Christopher and Sackman Street, Brooklyn.

Williamsburg Unity Center—P. S. 147—Bushwick Avenue and McKibben Street, Brooklyn.

Instruction will be given in English at the above enumerated Unity Centers on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

High School class in English under Mr. Davidoff meets at Washington Irving High School, Room 724, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings.

What Organized Labor Wants

On the educational page of last week's issue of JUSTICE, our readers will find an interesting letter from Stuart Chase of the Labor Bureau, who is a member of the faculty of the Workers' University. This letter is self-explanatory.

Many persons are prejudiced against organized labor. However, their opinion is not based on personal experience with trade unions, but is, influenced by hearsay. Many agencies take great pains to prejudice credulous minds against organized labor. It seems worth their while to swing impartial observers to their side, and no money is spared for this purpose. These persons are told that organized labor lacks vision, takes no interest in our social and economic problems and is not concerned with management of industry; that its ideals are very low and the only thing in which it is interested is to "get a dollar more for its labor."

We can imagine how surprised the business and professional men, mentioned by Mr. Chase, were after they read the thirty-two page pamphlet in which the educational activities of our union are announced. Needless to say, they must have been stunned when they read the descriptions of the many courses offered by the Educational Department to our members for the season 1923-24.

They were surely surprised to learn that the labor movement wants to acquaint its members with the Foundations of Modern Civilization, the Economic and Social Developments in Europe, the Economic Basis of Government, the Economic Basis of Modern Civilization, etc. Little did they expect that workers would be interested in courses dealing with Unemployment, the Labor Situation, Risk Insurance, Applied Psychology, etc., every one of which is given by a specialist in his field.

There are many good people who get their information from the "other side" and therefore do not know that labor is reaching out towards a new social order, that it is striving for a form of society where all the evils that spring from our present social order will be eliminated.

To accomplish this, organized labor realizes that it must be prepared mentally as well as spiritually. It appreciates the value of knowledge and is eager to make the worker think; because this, more than anything else, will help him to solve his vexing problems.

Labor started out on the road to Workers' Education in the hope that it will strengthen its economic organization, through which it hopes to achieve its ultimate aim.

OUR MEMBERS CAN STILL REGISTER FOR THE UNITY CENTERS.

Those of our members who wish to join the classes in our Unity Centers can still do so. There will be classes in beginners', intermediate and advanced English. In each Unity Center, courses will be given later in the season on economic, social and industrial problems. Each course will consist of six lessons which have been specially prepared to meet the needs of our members. Classes in physical training will be organized in each Unity Center under competent teachers.

All these activities are free to members of the I. L. G. W. U. They can register either at the office of their local union, at our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, or at the Unity Center nearest their home.

THE RE-OPENING CELEBRATION OF WORKERS' UNIVERSITY AND UNITY CENTERS SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10

The Educational Department is busily engaged in making arrangements to celebrate the re-opening of our Workers' University, Unity Centers and other activities of the Department. This celebration is arranged for Saturday evening, November 10th, in the spacious auditorium of Washington Irving High School. Our members are advised to set that day aside.

Watch for a detailed announcement in a later number of JUSTICE.

No effort will be spared to make this occasion a memorable one.

Intellectual Workers and the Labor Market in Europe

By VINCENZO CASTRILLI
(From "The International Labor Review")

The problem of the unemployment of intellectual workers is not of recent birth. It is the outcome of numerous forces which were at work before the war, but is only recently that its importance and gravity have drawn the attention of sociologists and governments. In the past certain classes of intellectual workers may have had special difficulty in certain localities in finding work. Now the difficulty is so universal as to suggest that the supply of intellectual workers is far in excess of the demand.

The extension from manual to intellectual workers of the use of the terms supply and demand does not imply any disregard of the special nature of intellectual work. It is only intended to make clear the impossibility of speaking of an absolute excess or shortage of intellectual workers either actual or prospective. The supply of candidates for a given occupation may be in excess of the requirements of official and private employers, but this excess may be caused not only by an increase in the supply but also by a falling off in the demand or by both combined.

Before 1914 the growth in public and private wealth had encouraged the belief that hand in hand with the advance in general prosperity would go an indefinite expansion of the demand for intellectual workers. This optimism finds an easy explanation in contemporary events. Intellectual and economic activities were growing more intense and complex; more attention was being given to hygiene; public works and services were being widely developed; and the activities of private and official enterprise were at a high pitch. All this led to an increasing demand from new as well as from old sources for work of an intellectual type. If advance in civilization consists in multiplying the higher needs of the individual and of the community, it follows that progress during this period must have been particularly rapid. In addition, state and local authorities, influenced by current political and economic ideas, were continually widening their functions and increasing their staffs beyond the limits of strict necessity. Public finances were generally prosperous, public opinion was favorable, and there was no obvious disadvantage, at least for the moment, in this course. So it came about that in spite of their growing numbers all the young people who came forward to fill the wastage by death and other causes in the ranks of the liberal professions, public service, and those half-way occupations which do not call for high intellectual qualifications but are certainly not manual, could ordinarily be quite sure of finding employment.

All this was changed by the war, which destroyed vast quantities of wealth, threw public finances into confusion, and upset the money market. The effect of these changes weighs heavily on the classes whose incomes have remained stationary in face of rising prices. Intellectual workers are suffering severely, as the demand for their work has been reduced while the supply continues to expand. World economy is at a low ebb; state finances are in a state of collapse; private enterprise has grown more cautious, and governments are trying to achieve economies at any price. Hence the attempt to reduce expenses by cutting down staff. This is quite

apart from conditions in certain countries which were among the losers in the war, and have had to make large-scale reductions in their staff—Austria, for instance, which at the end of December, 1922, had discharged 25,000 state employees and proposed to discharge a further 25,000 this year.

The present situation is therefore far from favorable for intellectual workers. In some countries it is a common occurrence to find artists and members of the liberal professions turning to manual work in order to avoid actual starvation. It is even commoner to find persons with high intellectual qualifications taking up work for which a very much lower standard would suffice. Even in the prosperous United States the economic position of the intellectual worker is not so markedly superior to that of the manual worker. Statistics compiled by American universities give the average income of their graduates as about \$5,000 a year, but the extremes of income included in this average are very widely separated.

Again, the cost of training today involves sacrifices on an entirely new scale. In general, only a small proportion of university students live at home; the remainder come from a distance, and most of them cannot afford the heavy cost of board and lodging. In France, Italy, and other countries, help from public authorities has been asked, and in many cases obtained, in aid of plans for helping the students. In Germany the student has to divide his time between his studies and other work; today 60,000 of them out of approximately 100,000 work in factories and on the land during the vacation and in their free time. This work is arranged by an organization for the purpose which was founded by the students themselves, and which is responsible for a large number of other activities on cooperative lines.

Up to the present, however, these difficulties do not seem to have discouraged the younger generation from taking up studies which may open the way to an intellectual career. A comparison of the number of students of Italian universities in law, science, arts, and medicine in the sessions 1913-1914 and 1921-1922 shows an increase from slightly over 24,000 to nearly 40,000. In about the same period the number of students in Germany increased by more than 70 per cent, in spite of territorial losses, while numbers in Great Britain were doubled. In the United States, the increase is very striking. Twenty years ago there were rather more than 160,000 students; in 1910 there were nearly 260,000; in 1918 300,000; and now the number is close on 400,000.

The complex causes of this flood of candidates for degrees need not be considered. It should, however, be noted that it is harder to reach equilibrium between supply and demand in intellectual than in other occupations. To take a single factor only—though all experience goes to prove the multiplicity of the causes which affect social phenomena—the length of training, which begins at school, is in itself sufficient to prevent the supply of intellectual workers from feeling the effect of a reduction in the demand until after the lapse of some years.

Further, modern needs call for the development of new special lines of study and for the recognition of their value and importance. Special institutions are coming into being for this purpose alongside the older universities. In Germany, for instance, in addition to several new universities, a school of social studies has been founded at Münster; an institute for the study of Eastern Europe at Breslau; a labour academy at Frankfurt-on-Main, to provide technical education and general culture for the workers, and schools of administration, physical culture, and political science in Berlin. In Italy, in addition to the Catholic University of Milan and the schools of commerce of Naples, Catania, and Palermo, special advanced courses and schools of industrial chemistry have been started at the universities of Bologna and Pavia and at the Turin Polytechnic. A school of architecture has been opened in Rome and another is in course of formation at Venice. A university of decorative art has been founded at Monza and a labor university will shortly be opened at Genoa.

The inevitable result of all this is an increase in the number of holders of degrees and certificates, openings for whom, as has been shown, have decreased rather than increased. Some authorities are trying to ease the situation by encouraging emigration. Hamburg University, for instance, has decided to issue special certificates to those of its graduates who intend to work in America, certifying that the holder speaks the language and has some general knowledge of his country of destination. Italy, too, is trying to find an outlet abroad for her numerous intellectual proletariat. The General Emigration Office has asked chambers of commerce, consular agents, and Italian institutions abroad to cooperate in finding the necessary posts, and the Minister of Public Instruction has drawn the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the desirability of concluding agreements with foreign governments for the mutual recognition of academic professional qualifications.

In spite of these efforts, the emigration of intellectual workers offers difficulties which it will not be easy to overcome. The tendency to seek non-manual and intellectual work rather than manual work, even if this is highly skilled, appears to be universal. Even in new countries, with their examples of large fortunes made without higher education, young people flock to the universities. In the circumstances, a belief that emigration will instantly provide work worthy of the course of studies followed is likely to lead to bitter disappointment. Today the emigrant who wishes to succeed must be prepared to forget his intellectual attainments and to sacrifice his pride in a hard and tedious apprenticeship.

In face of the numerous difficulties in the way of finding employment for intellectual workers either at home or abroad, it seems indispensable that private effort should be supplemented by government and other official action. Training for the intellectual professions costs considerably more both in time and in money than does that for any other occupation. In addition, the expenditure on training can rarely be balanced by earnings, as the practice of the profession cannot begin until the training is completed. The waste of wealth and productive energy caused by the unemployment or unsuitable employment of these expensively trained workers is serious; the community as well as the individual is concerned in seeing that the outlay is not without an effective social return.

The form which outside help should

take has been indicated more than once by experts. The state ought to take the foremost place, as the representative and guardian of the interests of society, as well as on account of its duty of promoting higher education for professional careers. But an essential preliminary to the success of action of this kind is the possession of accurate knowledge of national and international needs as regards intellectual workers. Knowledge based on newspapers, consular reports, and similar sources, which are usually incomplete and often founded merely on personal impressions, is insufficient. The only adequate method of studying a collective phenomenon of this kind is a systematic inquiry on statistical lines.

The idea of an inquiry of this kind is not without precedent. There is, for instance, the statistical inquiry on intellectual workers carried out for the Prussian government by Wilhelm Lexis. The problem proposed was to determine the number of graduates which would be provided in a normal year by the German universities in order to meet the needs of the various professions. The first step was to investigate the number of administrative and ecclesiastical posts for which university qualifications were necessary and to collect statistics of the various liberal professions—lawyers, doctors, engineers, professors, pharmacists, dentists—and of competitive posts of various kinds, state examinations, retirements on pension, deaths, etc. In this way an approximate estimate was obtained of the average numbers needed by each profession to fill the vacancies caused by death, superannuation, or resignation, as well as for new posts and those rendered necessary by the growth of the population. The necessary number of students was then found by multiplying the quota for each profession by the number of years spent on training and adding to the sum of these products a margin to cover students who drop out before completing their course. Some years later a similar method was followed in Italy by Luigi Bodio to find the relation between the number of degrees and certificates conferred by the universities and the number of openings in certain careers.

The final task of the inquiry would be to give as accurately as possible a numerical estimate of the resultant total excess or defect of intellectual workers so as to provide governments and others interested with a solid foundation on which to base their policy. It might, for instance, appear desirable to restrict entry to certain branches of study in order to eliminate the unsuitable at an early stage instead of later on, with the double result of lessening the disappointment in store for the youth whose capacities are not on a level with his ambitions and of raising the standard of work of the remainder.

It might also be possible for governments to agree on some plan of exchange of certain categories of intellectual workers to meet the special needs of their respective countries. The increasing tendency of specialization in science would enhance the value of the form of intellectual collaboration, not only from the point of view of the individual in search of work but also in the interests of scientific progress.

It has been well said that it is easier to find work abroad for a thousand laborers than for one lawyer. But there is no doubt that state action would gain in efficacy if it were buttressed by accurate knowledge of the facts as regards intellectual work, and if clauses on the employment of intellectual workers drafted in the light of these facts could be inserted in international conventions.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

CLOAK AND SUIT

The last cloak and suit meeting, which was held on Monday, October 1, although quite well attended, nevertheless lacked the attendance that we have had at our meetings for the past number of months. This is largely due to the fact that about seventy-five per cent of the cutters in this trade have been working overtime for the last few weeks, and is certainly partly due to the fact that Monday night was the eve of the Jewish holiday, "Succoth," for which reason many of our members did not come down to Arlington Hall.

Nothing special was taken up at the meeting with the exception of the regular routine business of the organization, such as the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, the obligation of members, the manager's report, and the minutes of the Executive Board.

Due to the fact that there was no meeting of the Cloak and Suit Branch last month, as the first Monday of the month happened to be Labor Day, there were quite a number of members obligated at this meeting.

The number totaled a little over fifty, of which twenty-six were re-instated members, four or five on transfer from locals in other cities, and the remainder new members. This shows that for the period of the past two months only about eighteen to twenty new members were admitted into the organization, proving that the office is very strict in taking in new members at the present time. From all indications we are sure that as we go along the number of new members that will be taken into the organization will decrease.

The members are quite aware of the fact that we have an Examination Committee, which examines the new applicants as to their ability at the trade. It seems that the organization is caring well for the mechanics working in the industry, as the majority of these are already members of the organization. It is only the young boys who have been working as shipping clerks and stock clerks in some cloak houses who contend that they are mechanics, and when an examination is given them it is found that they have not worked at the table, but imagine that by watching the cutters they will be able to pass an examination. This results in their coming to the organization, clamoring to be taken in, and when they are finally given an opportunity to pay their initiation fee and pass an examination, their money must be refunded to them, as the Examination Committee, in most of these cases, rejects them as not knowing the business sufficiently well to become members of the union.

The manager reported on the situation in the trade, which is rather known to the cutters. I. e., that our members at present time are employed one hundred per cent; that calls come into the organization for cutters; and that we cannot supply them at the present time. This is not only true in the cloak and suit industry, but also of the waist and dress as well as the miscellaneous trades; so much so, that when one enters the office one seldom finds a man waiting for a job, and if one does come in he is immediately placed at work.

Below we are quoting the manager's quarterly report, covering the period from July 1st to September 30th, 1923:

COMPLAINTS FILED FROM JULY 1ST TO SEPTEMBER 30TH

(1) Boss is doing the cutting—No cutter employed.

Unfounded—cutters were found working	87
Cutters were placed to work	33
Firm paid fine and cutters were placed to work	6
Firm paid fine	16
No cutters to be gotten	11
No work in shop	42
Non-union shop	5
Shops on strike	3
Shop burnt down	2
Receive cut work	6
Out of business	7
Pending	14
TOTAL	232

(2) Boss is helping cutter at table.	
Unfounded	4
Will employ additional cutters ..	2
Pending	2
TOTAL	8

(3)—Non-union cutter employed.	
In favor of union	10
Unfounded	28
No work in shop	5
Non-union shop	2
Pending	3
TOTAL	48

(4) Cutters were not properly paid for overtime.	
In favor of union—Total	4

(5) Firm refuses to pay wages due cutter.	
In favor of union—Total	11

(6) Firm refuses to pay cutter the minimum scale of wages.	
Unfounded—Total	1

(7) Cutters were discharged.	
In favor of union	11
Unfounded	1
Withdrawn	1
TOTAL	13

(8) Firm offers to pay less than agreed upon.	
In favor of union—Total	2

(9) Firm refuses to pay at holiday rate.	
In favor of union	3
Pending	1
TOTAL	4

(10) Equal division of work.	
In favor of union	3
Withdrawn—cutter requested same ..	1
TOTAL	4

(11) Cutter is member of firm.	
Unfounded	4
Called to Executive Board—1 expelled, 1 taken off job	2
Non-union jobber	1
Pending	4
TOTAL	11

(12) Firm sends its work to a non-union shop.	
In favor of union	1
Unfounded	2
TOTAL	3

(13) Cutters violating union rules.	
In favor of union	20
Unfounded	5
Non-union shops	4
Out of business	1
Pending	2
TOTAL	32

(14) Cutters to be stopped off from work for failing to take out their union books.	
In favor of union	16
Cutter is out of shop	7
Pending	10
TOTAL	33

Total complaints filed from July 1 to September 30, 1923, 406.	
Total complaints adjusted from July 1 to September 30, 1923, 370.	
Complaints still pending, July, August, September, 1923, 36.	

Filed in July	1
Filed in September	35
TOTAL	36

Complaints filed from January, 1923, to March 31, 310.

Complaints filed from April 1 to June 30, 201.

Complaints filed from July 1 to September 30, 406.

Total complaints filed to September 30, 1923, 919.

Complaints adjusted from January 1, 1923 to March 31, 1923, 310.

Complaints adjusted from April 1 to June 30, 1923, 196.

April, May, June, complaints adjusted July 1, to September 30, 1923, 7.

Complaints adjusted from July 1 to September 30, 1923, 370.

Total complaints adjusted to September 30, 1923, 883.

Complaints filed to September 30, 1923, 919.

Complaints adjusted to September 30, 1923, 883.

Total complaints pending to September 30, 1923, 36.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

WAIST AND DRESS	Monday, October 8th
MISCELLANEOUS	Monday, October 15th
GENERAL	Monday, October 29th
CLOAK AND SUIT	Monday, November 5th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

Fight Against Unemployment

For the first time since the end of the war the International Association for the fight against unemployment, which was founded 13 years ago, held an ordinary International Congress, which took place at Luxembourg from September 9 to 11. In addition to the international organizations, such as the International Federation of Trade Unions, some 20 states of Europe and America were officially represented. The points dealt with and the resolutions adopted may be summed up as follows:

1. **The Immigration Question.** As relations between the different sections were completely severed during the war and conditions have also changed very considerably, no concrete resolution could be immediately adopted by the Congress. It was resolved, however, that the Bureau and the various sections should be invited to collect the necessary information for the compilation of a common programme.

2. **Unemployment of Intellectuals.** In this case also, the resolution emphasized the necessity for procuring documentary material. The question is again to be placed on the agenda for 1924, attention being given to the labor market for intellectuals, national and international employment offices, vocational guidance and the question of emigration.

3. **Vocational Guidance.** The lack of general and systematic vocational guidance is one of the causes of unemployment. The foundation of institutes for the provision of the necessary information concerning the labor market, possibilities of employment and the requisite qualifications is to be promoted to the utmost possible extent. With regard to apprenticeship, the Congress pronounced in favor of a period of apprenticeship corresponding to the necessities of the occupation and also advocated the payment of suitable wages. It further emphasized the dangers of excessive specialization.

4. **Unemployment Relief.** The Congress confirmed the resolution adopted in 1913 in connection with unemployment insurance. The out-

standing feature in this resolution was its insistence upon the provision of work for the unemployed.

A resolution concerning the general economic disorganization recommended the policy of the free circulation of goods, based upon an international outlook. International finance should be placed upon a basis which would preclude the recurrence of further currency catastrophes. Statistics of production should be compiled on a uniform system in every country. Further recommendations were: the provision of greater facilities, for useful immigration, the establishment of permanent systematic employment exchanges in all countries, and the universal adoption of unemployment insurance.

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



THE RAIN OF DEATH

In another war it may fall on rich and poor alike.