

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

JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL CLOAKMAKERS' UNION

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NEW YORK LADIES' TAILORS RENEW TRADE AGREEMENT

PACT WITH MERCHANT LADIES' TAILORS' ASSOCIATION SIGNED FOR TWO YEARS—ALL STANDARDS REMAIN INTACT—FEINBERG AND LEFKOVITS SPOKESMEN FOR UNION

The trade agreement between the Ladies' Tailors' Union, Local No. 3, and the employers in the ladies' tailoring industry of New York expires in a few days. The Union therefore took steps to enter without delay into negotiations with the employers' organization in the trade for the renewal of the existing agreement. As known, the ladies' tailors of New York, the cloak sample makers, and the alteration workers are all united in one local—Local No. 3,

which is affiliated with the Cloak Joint Board. At the last meeting of the Joint Board, Vice-President Lefkowitz of Local No. 3, reported that the Union was getting ready for a general strike in case the employers should refuse to renew the agreement peacefully. Vice-President Feinberg immediately forwarded a letter to the ladies' tailor employers asking them to meet the Union to negotiate a new agreement. The Association responded quickly and the conference

resulted in a renewed agreement.

The employers came to the conference with demands for longer hours and lower wages but withdrew their demands after having met with firm refusal on the part of the Union. The only change in the agreement consists in the substitution of the First of May and Thanksgiving Day as legal holidays in place of Columbus Day and Lincoln's Birthday. The agreement is to remain in force for two years, until September 15, 1924.

Vice President Schoolman to Act as International Organizer in Chicago District

Vice-President Schoolman, for years the Secretary of the Cloak Joint Board in Chicago has been replaced at this post by Brother Alex Gordon, a member of Local 100 of that city, in a recent election. Vice-President Schoolman will now occupy the post of international organizer for the Chicago district and adjoining territory. There are a large number of unorganized workers in Chicago proper and in the outlying districts adjoining it. Among these are workers employed in skirt, waist, dress, children's dress, raincoat and similar trades, which belong to the jurisdiction of our International, and towards the organization of which Vice-President Schoolman will, from now on, devote his best energies in full harmony and cooperation with the Chicago Joint Board.

Pres. Schlesinger to Arrive this Saturday

The General Office received a telegram from President Schlesinger that he was to head the S. S. "Acquitanis" of the Cunard Line on Saturday, September 25. The boat is expected to dock in New York on Saturday morning, September 30.

A large crowd of friends and of leading members of our Union is expected to meet Brother Schlesinger at the Cunard docks, foot of West 14th Street, and extend to him a cordial greeting upon his return home.

Comment in the London daily press, which has just now reached our office, on the great meeting held under the auspices of the Jewish trade unions in London in honor of President Schlesinger, confirmed former impressions that the meeting was one of the

most memorable ever held in London by Jewish workers. The Rivoli Theater in Whitechapel was packed to its capacity and among those who addressed the gathering, in addition to President Schlesinger, were Jack Mills, M. P. and Mr. Carmichael. President Schlesinger, in the course of his address, referred to the position of labor in the different countries. He said that in no other country was labor so solidly united or had attained so high a political position as had the Labor Party in England. The labor parties in America were very much behind that of Great Britain. After dealing with the strong position Jewish labor occupied in the United States, he expressed his regret at the comparative weakness of the Jewish trade unions in England.

New York Cloak Locals Aid Unemployed Members

There is a considerable number of unemployed in the cloak trade owing to the poor season, and the New York cloak locals are now making an earnest endeavor to help those unfortunate members of the organization who have been out of work for a long time and whose condition has become precarious.

The New York Cloakmakers' locals have no special unemployment funds that could be utilized at the present hour to aid their idle members. Nevertheless, in view of the distress prevailing among a large section of the workers, the locals decided to distribute a substantial amount of relief

to those who are badly in need of it. Locals Nos. 1, 9 and 35 have already contributed substantial amounts to this end. Local No. 1 decided, at its last meeting, to give \$15,000 in relief to its unemployed members; Local No. 9 voted to give \$20,000, and Local No. 35, which has comparatively less unemployment than the other locals, also appropriated \$5,000.

The widespread want among those cloakmakers who have been affected by the current dull period should, perhaps more than anything else in the past, prompt our locals to begin considering the establishing of permanent unemployment funds.

Hillquit, Holmes and Cassidy to Ratify Ninfo's Candidacy

First Vice-President Ninfo, one of the eldest members of the General Executive Board, a veteran worker in our International and the astute leader of the Italian cloakmakers in New York City, has been nominated by the American Labor Party, consisting of the Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party, as candidate for Congress in the 23rd Congressional District. This district lies in the Bronx and is bound on the south by 149th Street, running up North to the Westchester County line and to the West to Westchester Avenue and Boston Road. It is a huge working-class dis-

trict and has a large Jewish and Italian population.

Brother Ninfo is putting up a splendid campaign for election and all the working class and progressive forces in this big district are rallying to his support. Vice-President Ninfo is particularly strong among the union men and women in the district, who may have a deciding vote in the election of a Congressman.

The first big mass meeting in the campaign of the 23rd Congressional District will take place on October 19 in the big Hunt's Point Palace, 163rd Street and Southern Boulevard. Among the chief speakers at the evening will be Edward F. Cassidy, candidate for Governor on the American Labor Party ticket; Dr. John Hayes Holmes, well known liberal clergyman; Morris Hillquit, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Samuel Olin, candidate for Senate, and Senator Edmund Selvid of the Bronx. Mrs. Marie MacDonald will preside.

A great outpouring of workers-citizens is expected at the big ratification meeting. The campaign committee of the 23rd A. D. plans to conduct, in the course of the campaign, an extensive house-to-house literature canvass to insure the election of Brother Ninfo to Congress.

Local 15 Ratifies Action of its Executive Board

VICE-PRESIDENT REISBERG REMAINS MANAGER OF UNION—MEMBERS REJECT HIS RESIGNATION

Readers of Justice are probably not unaware of the fact that not all was quiet and serene in Local 15 of Philadelphia in the last few months. A persistently disturbing element has managed to create among the workers of the local a good deal of chaos which naturally reacted to the disadvantage of the union.

As a result, Vice-President Elias Reisberg, the manager of the local, tendered his resignation about two weeks ago. The Executive Board of the local, however, refused to accept this resignation stating that the disturbers were in a small minority and that the membership of the Union is in accord with the Executive Board and supports Brother Reisberg.

Thereupon the Executive Board of Local 15, in order to let the sentiment of the members, referred the resignation of Brother Reisberg to a referendum. It also sent out a clear and comprehensive statement to the members with regard to this resigna-

tion and the present situation of the local and its future plans. As a result of this referendum, the resignation of Vice-President Reisberg was rejected by an overwhelming majority, less than 20 per cent voting against the decision of the Executive Board.

CLOAKMAKERS, ATTENTION!

Owing to the abnormal situation in our trade, you are called upon to follow out these instructions:

1. Ask from your employer pay for your work each week.
2. If, at the end of the week, your employer informs you that he has no pay because "he got no money from his jobber or retailer," report the case at once to your district manager and he will take necessary action in this matter.

Cloakmakers! Follow out the above given instructions and you will avoid a great deal of trouble for yourselves,

JOINT BOARD OF THE CLOAKMAKERS' UNION OF NEW YORK
L. LANGER, Secretary

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

THE TURKISH TRIUMPH AND THE ALLIES

INFIDEL Turkey is coming back to Europe despite the Allied decree to remain in the prescribed area of Asia Minor and never to dream of setting foot in Christian, civilized Europe. The Allies have in fact addressed a note to the Turkish Government, announcing their willingness to tear up the former treaties, inviting her to take possession of Constantinople, Anatolia and part of Thrace, and are willing to admit Turkey as a member of the League of Nations.

There are prophecies and confident assurances emanating from "high diplomatic sources" that Mustafa Kemal, head of the Turkish Government, will accept these terms. A high Allied commissioner has been hurriedly despatched on the fastest French cruiser to talk peace to Kemal. The movements of the Turkish troops are followed with the closest interest, the gestures and pronouncements of Turkish statesmen are scrutinized and interpreted as if they came from the oracle, and most of the speculations and prophecies are now centered about the further developments in the Near East.

What is now witnessed is the extraordinary spectacle of the Allies, beaten by the Turks, who fought on the side of Germany in the late war. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it is apparent that Great Britain and Greece are the defeated. The rest of the Allies, particularly France, are joyously sharing in the victory of the Turks. The Turkish victory, it is generally admitted, would be impossible had the Allies been united. Furthermore, without French support in the way of ammunition and generalship, Mustafa Kemal would have shown greater restraint and caution in his onward march.

The Greeks who were used by Great Britain as a tool in her struggle for supremacy in Asia Minor have been entirely left out of consideration in the pending settlement with Turkey. As soon as this instrument proved ineffective it was unscrupulously cast away. And now Greece is stunned at the betrayal of the perfidious English diplomats. Greek appeals for help are of no avail after the Greek army failed to gratify the ambitions of British imperialism. The stories of Turkish atrocities appear to move no one after being hardened by the last eight years of war and "peace."

It is evident, however, that it is not purely a victory of Turkey over Great Britain. It is rather a French victory. The interests of France and England are conflicting all along the line. German reparations, Russia, and now Asia Minor indisputably show the hypocrisy of the Entente. The gulf between England and France is widening. Hatreds, jealousies and the ground run in currents and cross-currents across Europe. A diplomatic settlement might be effected now; the war clouds may dissipate, but only the over-sanguine believe it is to be for long.

When the British Government a few weeks ago issued a call to the colonies and the Allies for a war against Turkey, British workers promptly voiced their protests against any new war. Lloyd George then invited a group of labor bodies to a conference where he revealed to them the motives of the British stand, the dangers that are threatening the empire, and consequently the urgency of fighting for the "freedom" of the Straits. The British Premier must have been convincing, for immediately following the conference, the tone of the labor leaders was not so fervidly pacific. Their statements sounded as if they came from the Foreign office. They showed that in the event of another war labor might be whipped into a war spirit again. The large masses of course have had as yet no occasion to express themselves, but the readiness with which some labor men accepted the Government reasons and justifications for another war is a sad and disappointing fact.

THE SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

THE Sixty-seventh Congress adjourned last Friday in a spirit of apathy and anxiety. The wind-up of a session marked by ebbing mendacity could not be anything but lifeless and one-third of the Senate facing election contests in November, no one is surprised at the anxiety prevailing among the legislators.

Two contrasting estimates were made of this session. They were the speeches delivered in its closing moments. One was an apology by Senator Smoot of Utah, a Republican. The other was a denunciation by Senator Harrison of Mississippi, a Democrat. "No Congress in time of peace ever made such a splendid record of constructive legislation," said Senator Smoot. "This Congress closes in a shroud of disappointment," said Harrison. "It adjourns in a blaze of broken promises with a silent and disconsolate procession of mourners returning to their respective constituencies with their morale broken, their lives divided and their hopes dissipated."

Whether the voters believe one estimate or the other to be true will be shown at the polls. The returns of the primaries in the different states tend to show that Senator Harrison's feelings is shared by a growing number of voters. There is a recognition on the part of the Republicans that they are at a disadvantage and that they placed vital issues in the hands of the Democrats. The Democrats know it and are confident of reaping great victories in the coming election.

Among the campaign issues, the Tariff law which was enacted a few weeks ago in order to swell the profits of the manufacturers at the expense of the American people, the Ship Subsidy Bill which is coming up the next session of Congress, the defeated Bonus Bill will be thrashed out afresh. The Democrats do not feel that they need any constructive program of their own to win the election. They believe the voters have forgotten the shameful record of their own Administration, and that they are impatient to rid themselves of their present representatives.

The workers have one predominant record which they will bring forward in the approaching election campaign. It is Attorney General Daugherty's injunction against the railroad shopmen. An elaborate plan has been worked out by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its conference in Atlantic City a week ago to check agents of the "open shop

movement" to use the courts for their union smothering activities. The urgency for such a campaign is evident. But what are the methods to be employed in accomplishing these ends? Will the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. continue to pursue its old-time policy of making Democratic and Republican politicians promise things which they repudiate after election is over? Does it still persist in its opposition to independent political action on the part of the workers? Does it still believe that the labor movement can look for protection from either of the two ruling political parties?

DAUGHERTY'S INJUNCTION UPHELD

JUDGE WILKERSON last Saturday granted Attorney General Daugherty's petition for a nation-wide temporary injunction affecting about 370 officers and 400,000 members of the six railroad shopmen's unions. The most drastic provisions in the injunction are left unmodified. Popular condemnation was wholly ignored by the Attorney General. The Department of Justice not only started to organize labor but it is after those who dare to question its rights to smash unions. An editor of a labor paper had been found guilty of violating the anti-strike injunctions to the extent of saying what he thought about them and about the railroad strikebreakers and not minding words about it. A judge sentenced him to six months in jail and fined him \$1,000. Another newspaper editor wrote an article pointing out that this sentence virtually deprives a citizen from expressing his opinions, and therefore is a violation of the constitutional rights of free press. This editor must answer now a contempt of court charge.

In reviewing the case Judge Wilkerson has merely paraphrased the Attorney General's petition. He stated that this case is not a private struggle between employers and workers. It is an "unlawful conspiracy," a "plot" against the "public interest." "It is the conspiracy which is inflicting the public injury for which redress is sought." By "conspiracy," the Judge and the Attorney General imply a labor union, or, as they term it, a "combination." To make a perfect case unlawful acts were attributed to this "combination." It was made responsible for a whole string of atrocious acts. Here are a few examples which the Judge borrowed from Daugherty's agents: "Railroad bridges were dynamited, spikes removed from rails, obstructions were placed upon railway tracks, bombs were exploded on tracks and in railroad yards and hurled at moving trains," etc. Hence this injunction and the blockade against the strikers and their families. Hence the open war on organized labor.

The Shopmen's strike is almost over. Some of the biggest railroad companies have already settled with the unions. Others are coming into line. The injunction will have no effect on the present struggle. But it is a dangerous precedent which will doubtless be resorted to by employers. It is a powerful weapon in the hands of the anti-union interests. One of the biggest tasks now confronting the labor movement is to remove this deadly weapon.

GRAND JURY ON THE HERRIN OUTBREAK

ABOUT three months ago, Herrin, Ill., a small mining town, attracted nation-wide attention. The coal strike was about two and a half months old, and the operators imported a band of strikebreakers and armed guards to work their mines and destroy the union. The guards were apparently of the West Virginia school, and they harassed and persecuted the strikers. Two of the strikers were shot by the guards. This precipitated a pitched battle with the result that most of the dead and wounded were found among the strikebreakers and guards. The strikers were victorious, the strikebreakers were driven out of Herrin, and the mines were idle again.

The capitalist press howled "murder." Gruesome tales of the "massacre of the innocent victims" were repeatedly told in hundreds of variations. Speeches voicing protests against this "massacre" were made in Congress. The Federal Government interfered. The demand was country-wide that those responsible for the blood-shed should be brought to justice.

After a brief but thorough investigation which lasted a few days the Grand Jury brought in the verdict that the Southern Illinois Coal Company was solely responsible for the conflict. The action of its president, L. J. Lester, in bringing seals and guards and arming them to the teeth in a community where the miners are 100 per cent unionized was the direct cause for the clash. The press and the government did not like this verdict. It was declared to be partial and unfair. Last Saturday the Grand Jury made its final report, after three months of investigation, and its verdict is identically the same. Numerous indictments were returned against individuals who were implicated in the clash, among whom are also miners, members and officers of the United Mine Workers. But the responsibility for the murder is squarely laid on the shoulders of the Southern Illinois Coal Company.

Union Health Center Calendar

Our members have become accustomed to receive at this time of the year their Health Calendar or Archives of the Year Calendar which was first published last year and a larger edition of which has just been published by the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street.

The calendar contains the usual Yiddish and English matter and has besides very instructive and interesting articles on Life Extension, on Consumption, and other health topics.

Announcements are also given as to the work of the Union Medical Clinic and the Union Dental Department, which two departments are so well known to the members and are so well patronized by them.

The calendar of this year draws special attention to the extension of the medical work by the establishing of an Orthopedic Department and by giving medical advice and treatment to the wives, children and families of members.

It also tells of the extensive enlargement of the Dental Department, which will have ten chairs and which will be ready to do more useful work and in the same time reduce the fees considerably.

The calendar is distributed by the inspectors of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control during their inspection of the shops, and may likewise be obtained by calling at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street.

A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service.)

One need not be a pessimist to take a grave view of the situation in the Near East arising out of the recent successes of the Turkish Army.

As Lord Illingston puts it, the position produced by the Turkish occupation of Smyrna "is the most serious by far since August, 1914." That it was to a great extent foretold by the Labor Press of this country, two years ago when the Treaty of Sevres was signed, does not lessen the present danger to the British Empire, though this circumstance may still indicate a line of future policy that shall possibly undo some of the harm caused by the Coalition Government's anti-Turkish policy. If we allow Constantinople to be restored to Turkey, on condition that the freedom of the Straits be placed under an International Commission of Control—a course to which, Fethi Bey assured the Daily Herald correspondent in Rome, Turkey would not object—a great step would be taken towards averting a world-wide Moslem revolt against the suzerainty of the British Empire.

STAMPEDING US INTO WAR

But this is not enough. Our whole policy in the East must also undergo modification if the Moslem peoples within the Empire are to be placated. In India, in Egypt, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, the Coalition tactics of coercion, suppression of free speech and free press, imprisonment of Nationalist leaders for "sedition"—all the other manifestations of British Imperialist ambition and injustice, will have to be abandoned. Otherwise, the conflict in which we shall be involved will destroy the British Empire, while it will almost certainly not destroy the Moslem peoples. For it is clear that Mr. Lloyd George's attempt to defy these subjects of the Empire, to back Greece against Turkey, and to found a Middle Eastern Empire, has failed egregiously.

But these are counsels of perfec-

tion, which the Labor Party, alone among political parties here, with support from a few members of other parties, have urged for two years upon the Government. At the moment, almost the whole of the Press, by reviving already discredited stories of Turkish atrocities (such as those spread some months ago by two members of the American Near East Relief Committee, who were disowned by that body on account of their anti-Turk propaganda) is doing its best to stampede this country into an attempt at coercion of the Moslem peoples into submission to the British Empire. No one can deny the commission of atrocities by the Turks on their non-Moslem subjects; but these are at least to be matched by others committed by the Greeks upon Moslems. A competition in assassination leads nowhere, as Black-and-Tannery, to say nothing of more recent Irish warfare, has proved in Ireland. Unfortunately, those who urge wiser counsels at this crisis have against them not only rabid Imperialism, but also the anti-Turk tradition of the English people for which Gladstone was largely responsible. It does not do to be alarmed at a moment when a conflagration may be averted by very little; but no one will deny that the peace of the world in the immediate future depends very much upon the impending peace negotiations to be conducted by the Allies, and upon the line taken by Great Britain at that conference.

LABOR ABROAD

M. Hyman, the Belgian delegate, emphasized the embryonic nature of the League of Nations, unshapely obvious at this moment of crisis, when he pointed out at Geneva this week that the League "is not a super-State." That is seen in its apparent inability even to force nations to adopt universally the 8-hour law, as is proved by France's refusal to continue to apply this to mercantile seamen because other countries are not

yet doing so. The British delegate paid a tribute to the work of the International Labor Bureau over which M. Albert Thomas presides.

In Central Europe strikes are now frequent. No newspapers have appeared in Vienna for a week, and in Hungary the recent strike wave has provoked an insult to Labor from Regent Horthy, who referred to Socialists in a speech as "organized dirt." In Italy the Fascists continue to dominate civil life, with or without the connivance of the Government. In Germany, although the fluctuations of the mark have temporarily ceased, the food prices continue so high as to cause grave unrest among the workers; and the failure of negotiations between the Belgian and German Governments on reparations throws its light on the future of European economies.

One bright spot is the complete success of the trade agreement between the Russian Government and the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Company, which secures complete freedom to the Company to work its mines as it pleases, and protects Russian Labor at the same time. The negotiations were conducted by M. Kraasin and Mr. Leslie Urquhart in a spirit that nations would do well to imitate, and as a result these two men have succeeded where London and Genoa and the Hague have all alike failed. Perhaps it is a good augury for the future of the world's relations with the Soviet Government.

In Ireland, a postal servants' strike has now been added to the general confusion in that country, and news as a consequence is slow in coming. The new Government seems to have regretted its first determination to treat the strike as illegal and has now released the strikers who were arrested for picketing; so Irish Labor has won the first round in this, its first strike under the new regime. The right of Civil Servants to strike, involved in the dispute, seems now to be overshadowing its original object, which was to protest against a wage cut that the postal servants on their part are quite willing to submit to arbitration.

The news from Washington to-day

reports the commutation by President Harding of the sentences of six of the remaining war prisoners in the States, thus leaving 77 still in gaol.

The British Trades Union Congress passed a resolution on this subject, last week, invoking the inevitable interruption in the form of a demand for a similar resolution on the subject of the Social Revolutionaries still in Russian prisons. But, as a matter of fact, Great Britain is in a very weak position with regard to all such imprisonments so long as Egyptian and Indian goals are filled with political prisoners, whose offense is discounted with the ruling Government that has been imposed upon them by force, a discount usually shown, not by violence, but in speeches or newspapers denounced as seditious.

TWO GOOD FIGHTERS

In the course of the past week two good fighters in the universal cause of freedom and justice have died. They fought in widely different ways, for T. J. Golden-Sanderson belonged to the William Morris group of the eighties, was a keen Socialist and saw his way to realizing his ideals through art and craftsmanship, while Wilfred Swenon Blair always called himself a Tory, to which Party by birth and tradition he did belong though on vital matters of foreign politics, notably on British policy in Egypt, he and Toryism were as poles apart.

The last time I saw Mr. Cobden Sanderson, he was at his printing-press in William Morris's old house on the river at Hammersteath, still full of enthusiasm for the beautiful handicraft he had brought to perfection in his editions of Morris's books. And of Sir Wilfred Blair my keenest memory is a meeting I had with him at a social gathering in London, just about the time when the Donahoe incident in Egypt, which called forth one of his strongest efforts in writing against the conduct of the British in occupation of that country. He was in the prime of life then, but he left me with the impression of a prophet as well as a fearless critic and rebel; and it is as a prophet that one thinks of him to-day when one looks at the state of Egypt.

The Real Price of Coal

By EUGENE V. DEBS

There has been much discussion during the prolonged strike of the miners against starvation wages about the price of coal.

As a matter of fact, the miner alone knows the price of coal. No one else.

The real price of coal is not counted in terms of money. The paltry pittance paid the miner to keep him alive so he can enter the mines and dig the coal has little to do with its price.

The real price of coal is human life and that is what the miner has to pay for the benefit of those who consume it.

Every time the miner enters the pit, every moment he spends there, his life is at the forfeit of fate, which thousands without number have paid in being buried alive or blown to atoms.

How many think of this when they talk glibly about the wages of miners and the price of coal?

How many operators make allowance for the fact that they are perfectly secure against harm, that they take no risk beyond getting rich in skimming their huge profits from the coal for which the miner pays with his life?

I am led to these reflections by the appalling catastrophe in the Argonaut mine at Jackson, California, where forty-seven miners, trapped like rats and surrounded by roaring flames, have just met the most shocking and heart-rending fate imaginable.

It is true this happens to be a gold

mine but gold or coal, makes no difference to the miner, for the price of both is to him the same.

He gets no gold and barely enough coal for his barren carbstone, yet he dies every ounce of gold and every ton of coal, and pays for both with his life.

Forty-seven miners enfolded alive in a mine nearly a mile deep, horror-stricken, the remorseless flames roaring and crackling above their defenseless heads, the eternal rock beneath their quaking feet, every possible avenue of escape cut off, with the strength of giants yet helpless as weakling babes, death staring in their terror-stricken eyes, each second an eternity, who can imagine the thrice-terrible torture these slaves of the pit endure and the infinite horror of their calamity?

The heart stands still and the blood freezes in the veins at the thought of these grimed, desperate, hopeless victims huddled together in their frightful sepulchre in the infernal regions, awaiting in dumb submission the mercy of death, while their heart-broken wives and babes wildly shriek out their grief and despair at the mocking mouth of the pit.

And that, dear reader, is the price the miner pays for the gold that glitters in the plumage of the parasite and for the coal that keeps the frost from the firesides, arms and equips the black cavalry of commerce, and drives the industries of the world.

And now what is the price of coal and what shall the miners' wages be?

Not for all the gold ever mined, not for the whole world and all its boundless wealth and glittering prizes would a mine owner among them all share the frightful fate those forty-seven miners in California had to invite to earn the pittance that provided the crusts and rags for their wives and babes.

I invite you operators who have been bagging for months over the wages of your slaves to take one look into that seething mining hell out yonder and another at the shaft above ground where the pitiful lamentations of the widowed wives and orphaned children cry to heaven, and tell me then what you think of the wages of miners and the price of coal.

I say to you that only the man who faces the dangers of the pit and for conscious or unconscious of its hidden treacheries and its horrors in ambush, and who finally pays for them all with his life, only he knows the price of coal and only he has the right to a voice in fixing the miner's wages.

Some years ago while on a speaking tour in Colorado I was on a train that was wrecked in a tunnel and for a brief time it seemed we were to perish in the fumes from the engines that choked the narrow passage. Not long before the crew of a freight train met death in that awful way in the same tunnel. The horror of those few moments, the unceasing shrieks that pierced my ears, the thousand swift-flying thoughts that rushed through my brain have haunted me ever since, and I can at least faintly imagine the unspeakable agony and torture of men buried alive, and what their frenzied thoughts are of their horrid fate and of the loved ones at home as the seconds are slowly tolling in the death-knells in their lying tombs.

The miner meets the cost of living by paying the price of death.

And such a living and such a death!

The price of coal is paid in the crimson blood of the miner that digs and dyes it, and in the wailing and lamentation of his stricken wife and babes.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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The Conquering Jobber

By BERNARD ACKERMAN.

IV.

Examination of the books of S— & Company, well-known dress jobbers, revealed the fact that the firm was employing a number of non-union contractors. Mr. S— himself went through the books with me, explaining, apologizing, denying and promising by turns. He had done his level best to work with Union shops only, he insisted, but in spite of all he could do open shops did creep in somehow, this in spite of all instructions to his employees; and then again, contractors deceived him, claiming to be Union when they were not; furthermore, he had not been notified that certain other shops were non-Union. And it was hard, almost impossible, he said, to keep track of so much business without mistakes happening. These and other plausible excuses, Mr. S— presented, while I checked through the books of the firm.

My work done, I was about to leave, but Mr. S— would not permit. "I want you to feel," he said, in a manner to be convincing, "that we stand willing to co-operate with your organization to the fullest extent. From now on, I pledge you my word, we will make every effort to work with the union shops one hundred per cent. We really intend to turn a new leaf; we are through, and through for good, with non-union shops. This very morning I gave explicit instructions to my dress buyer not to charge a pair of goods to a non-union shop." "Feigenbaum," I said, "I intend to play square with the Union; no more open shops; if I catch you fooling around with such shops, you are through for good with S— & Company."

"Feigenbaum? Who is Feigenbaum?" I queried.

"Feigenbaum is my new dress buyer," answered Mr. S—, and a cracker-jack, a first class man, you ought to meet him."

"Any relation to the Feigenbaum of the old Siphiline Costume Company?" I queried.

"The very same man," answered the jobber, and surely enough, even as we spoke, the familiar figure of Feigenbaum emerged from the stock room and approached.

"How are you, Feigenbaum?" I said, extending my hand.

Feigenbaum shook my hand warmly, explaining to Mr. S— that we are old acquaintances, when he, Feigenbaum, was in business for himself and told of the troubles of the old Siphiline Costume Company with the Union.

"You remember, I hope, the discussion we carried on but somehow never finished," I reminded him, "the question of the jobber, the conquering jobber, as you put it. We had an appointment at Gitlow's Cafe to argue it out, but you never showed up."

Feigenbaum smiled apologetically. "Anyhow Mr. A—, in my capacity with this firm, I am compelled to continue our discussion. Mr. S— was called away and Feigenbaum led me into his office and seated me comfortably.

"Let's leave this complaint open and develop some light on the jobbers' question," I suggested eagerly. It was always your contention, Mr. Feigenbaum, that the jobber had grasped control of the industry and that labor must make demands upon him as the true employer, and not upon the contractors, whom you classed merely as managers or foremen of the jobbers' new-type shops.

"Correct," said Feigenbaum. "We went over that ground carefully

enough. If I recall aright, you were convinced that control of the industry by your Union was possible only through a real control of the jobber."

"I have already conceded the sovereignty of the jobber," I admitted, "the jobber is the new-type manufacturer, the boss,—what of it?"

"You must then face the consequences of such an admission. You must admit then that you have allowed the real employer to escape all responsibility, that the force of the workers' organization's attack upon the contractors should have been directed upon the jobber. You must admit that the real new-type shop, the jobber's shop, is an open shop, the unionization of which you have not attempted."

"Granting that," I retorted, "what is to be done about it?"

"You must," answered Feigenbaum with emphasis, "attack the new type shops run by the individual jobber and unionize them."

"How?" I queried.

"By considering all the scattered producing units, the shops of the individual jobber as one shop, and striking them collectively. Such an attack, launched at the opportune time and pursued vigorously will destroy the strongest jobbing organization. The reason is simple. The jobber's method of production, though ideal commercially, was not developed to battle with the Union. This method of production has enabled the manufacturing jobber to do a tremendous volume of business on a shoe string investment. The assets of the firm I am with, a typical jobber, may be estimated as no more than \$100,000; on this slim capital we do a business approximating \$4,000,000 a year. We have at this moment about forty thousand dresses representing a value of \$250,000 in the hands of contractors. Study the relative insignificance of our investment compared to the volume of business involved and you will realize the hazardous, the speculative nature of our business. A fall in the price of piece goods, injudicious buying, an error of policy, over-buying or over-production may at any time destroy our entire margin of capital. It may be said that we are forever making the same thing on this ice. The jobbing machine is as delicate as the movement of a watch. Order and precision are essential. In what shape, then, is this jobbing house to face the rude shock of a strike putting a sudden termination to production in forty or fifty shops that are working for us, tying up about \$300,000 worth of merchandise, three times the size of our capital, causing enormous expense and threatening a loss of \$150,000 to \$200,000?"

"How?" I exclaimed, "Where do you get those figures?"

"You should understand," said Feigenbaum, "that a strike continued against our firm, or any firm of this type, for a period of only three weeks would in all certainty hold up the deliveries of a considerable period of time. Such loss of time would mean that the garments would reach the market too late to be desirable and would have to be sacrificed to the retailer as 'jobs' at a loss ranging from \$4.00 to \$6.00 per dress. This means extinction. You should appreciate that if you strike the shops of an individual jobber en masse you are actually throwing a monkey wrench as well as a bushel of horsehoes into the machinery. Once the shops of this jobber are tied up we are left with thousands of garments scattered in shops in various stages of production and the consequent inaction of

hundreds of thousands of dollars. Chase, loss and bankruptcy meet naturally follow. And what is true of this house, is true of jobbing houses generally. Don't you see that the jobber will surrender if you demand his surrender?"

"But this would entail an entire change in method; the industry would have to be organized on the theory that the class struggle is against the jobber—"

"Of course, of course," assented Feigenbaum not permitting me to finish, "but don't get away from the fish. Keep in mind that the policy of controlling the industry through the jobber, if persisted in, result in the complete unionization and control of all the contractors' shops."

"I am not so sure," I responded thoughtfully, "I know we caught several jobbers running non-union contractors and made them pay a fine of several hundred dollars but they slipped back to their old ways."

Feigenbaum smiled in frank amusement. "Several hundred dollars fine is not punishment but almost encouragement; any large jobber would gladly pay such fine and more occasionally for the privilege of employing open shops at will. There is no tie up in such a fine. A single low standard open shop producing seventy-five hundred garments in a season at a rate of a saving of twenty-five to forty cents the dress over the average shop cost will profit the jobber two or three thousand dollars; and the jobber may have many such shops on his books. The few hundred dollars amount to small change in his money, when you keep in mind the volume of business. It is up to the control the jobber to do your bidding; you must threaten to destroy his organization by strike, or if you must fine him, the fine must be convincing enough to remove the possible profit from the employment of open shops;

ten, twenty or thirty thousand dollars is a logical fine, and in keeping with the measure of damage done your organization; such fine would have a reformative effect."

"Ridiculous," I broke in, "Whoever heard of such a thing! A fine of thirty thousand dollars! The jobber would be mad to pay such a fine."

"I suppose it would make him mad, but in the end he would pay," smiled Feigenbaum.

"But suppose he didn't, suppose he refused outright?"

"Then you must strike and strike hard. You will no doubt have to strike and eliminate some of the large jobbing organizations to prove that you mean business. But the market is very sensitive, quick to understand; jobbers being in an condition to fight, would in the end learn to submit. You will note that the advantage of this form of organization is that the results are permanent. Your individual contractor when unionized, may or may not remain a union shop, thus supplying your Organization Department perpetually with work. If you control the jobber, the several hundred thousands of dresses produced by him annually are definitely confined to Union shops and his contractors, whoever they may be, must remain permanently Union. The control of the jobbers' field would eliminate strikes against contractors altogether, for the penalty for the contractor's refusal to abide by his Union agreement would be the signal to cut off his supply of work by his Union-controlled jobber. The Union would have unrestricted control of the contractors and the entire cost of the ceaseless organization of small shops would be abolished, its place taken by the occasional jobber strike which in its nature would be brief and relatively costless."

(To be Continued.)

The Social Value of Recreation

By J. CHARLES LAUE

Now that the educational activities of the International for the fall and winter season are under way to aid in the further development of the intellect of union members who care to avail themselves of the opportunity open to them to use the public schools under the most congenial conditions to their advantage, it is proper to review the summer recreation work which has ended with the closing for the season of the wonderful Unity House maintained at Forest Park, Pa., by the waist and dress makers.

Again the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union leads in a field which is to become more and more popular as the labor unions grow in vision and add social activities to their strictly economic functions. It is a shortcoming of many labor organizations that they take a narrow and petty view of their own functions and therefore fail to inspire their membership with any ideals above those of personal gain and comfort.

They allow their members to think of the union as nothing nobler than business enterprise, which gives a return in dollars and cents for what it costs them. But such a union has no hold on the hearts of its members, they cannot take pride in it, do not bother their heads much about solving its problems and shaping its destiny. They leave this to the officials.

Few can appreciate the glowing stories that are told about the two acre land that the International's waist and dress maker pioneers have opened for the benefit of union members on top of the Blue Mountains of

Pennsylvania until they have actually been there. There are hundreds of spots in the Catskills, the Adirondacks, in Interstate Park where workers who have been able to save enough for a few weeks recreation during the summer can go to forget the city's grime and toil.

But unless one has means and can travel far into Maine or into the highest mountains thousands of miles west, there are few spots so close to the city and still so isolated from all that industrialism connotes, as this particular resort maintained at the Forest Park Unity House.

It is situated about three miles up a crooked mountain road from Bushkill, in the north-eastern part of Pennsylvania, about 90 miles from New York in the heart of a region which was prized by sportsmen long before the big vacation settlement was started at Unity House. Deer still abound there and scores of union members on a hike through the forest have been startled by the sudden dashing past of an antlered herd. The waters abound in game fish, the woods and glades are filled with mountain flora of especial interest to the naturalist and the air has the briskness that comes only in the high altitude, speeded with the tang of the pine-woods that surround the union's property.

A raging forest fire early in the spring devastated a portion of the 600 acres owned by the waist and dress makers, but fortunately the two was kept away from the spacious hotel and surrounding buildings by a favorable wind. This to some extent mars the approach to Unity House

(Continued on Page 7)

Some Phases of American Labor History

By ALGERNON LEE

V.

The American labor movement of the 1820s and 30s, briefly described in the foregoing section, was on the whole a normal and healthy one. It did not last long enough for us to judge how far it might have been hampered in its development by the excessive individualism characteristic of a new country. While it lived, it effectively combined the economic and the political methods of action, it showed real revolutionary enthusiasm, and yet was able to deal—in a practical manner with definite issues of the day; and its history gives little or no hint of those faults and weaknesses which are to be observed in our more recent labor movement and of which I have written in the earlier portion of this series. If it suffered a premature decline and virtual death, this was not so much due to any inherent defect as to certain external causes.

First and foremost among these causes was the improvement of the means of travel, communication, and transport between the seaboard and the great inland plains and river valleys.

The problem of opening up the back-country had been more or less in the public mind ever since the beginning of the republic. Somewhat had been done by the construction of roads and canals, but by no means enough to give an adequate outlet for the growing population. Those who had already settled beyond the mountains, those who definitely contemplated going there, and above all the speculators who had got title to large tracts of wild western land, were ardently favorable to all such projects. But the shrewdholding planters of the Old South, and the landlords and merchants of the Old North naturally took quite another view. Even the manufacturing capitalists did not at first see their interest in furnishing the means, whether through investment or through taxation, for carrying out extensive and expensive works which they could not control, and which promised them no direct profit.

The first efforts toward opening up the West reached their climax with the construction of the Erie Canal, finished in 1825, which made it possible for boats and barges to go from New York harbor to the Great Lakes. Within six years after this came the building of the first steam railway in the United States, and from that moment roads and canals ceased to command much interest, except as local conveniences. Within another ten years railway communication with the country beyond the mountains was established fact, which had only to be developed by building additional lines and by pushing them on to the Mississippi and the Far West.

By the later 30s and the 40s, therefore, it had again become comparatively easy for enterprising men to leave the more thickly settled regions, go out where land was still cheap, and become property-owners instead of continuing as tenants at wage-earners. Those who joined in the new exodus included, of course, the most energetic elements in the still young proletariat. Those who might have functioned as labor leaders in the industrial East became pioneers in the agricultural West. The labor movement was continuously deprived of its most promising individuals; and the revival of active frontier life, with its individualistic ideals and sentiments, affected the minds even of those who remained behind.

The number of wage-workers in the East was not, indeed, actually diminished. Just at this time immigration

from Europe began to increase to such an extent as to offset and even more than balance the westward flow of population within the country. But the result was that, whereas the wage-working class had hitherto been fairly stable and homogeneous, it now came to a mild, or even shifting mass, yearly receiving many new recruits from the Old World and yearly losing many native or naturalized veterans to the New West.

All this fatally weakened the labor movement which had begun so well. After the middle 30s independent labor politics came to an end, and trade unionism lost ground for a long time. The last question it now came to pose was the place of the labor problem as popular political issues—the one from the point of view of the would-be settler as against the land speculator and monopolist, the other from the point of view of both prospective and actual settlers, as against the bankers from whom they had to borrow in order to purchase or to improve their farms. The question of the idealism of the waning labor movement went off into other channels—that of Utopian Socialism of the Owenite, the Cabetian, or the Fourierist type; that of agitation for "woman's rights"; that of interest in Transcendentalism, Spiritualism, and other philosophical or religious novelties; and finally that of opposition to Negro slavery. Of all these, the plan of the present series will permit us to discuss only the last named. The relation of the slavery question to the labor movement will occupy a special section.

I have mentioned the increase of immigration which at this time began to replenish the American labor market and saved the employing classes from the loss which they would otherwise have suffered in consequence of the opening of the West. Not only did immigration become larger, but it changed in character.

Hitherto the population of the United States (except for a comparatively small number of Dutch in New York, of Germans in Eastern Pennsylvania, and of Swedes and French Huguenots elsewhere) had been almost wholly of British origin—mostly from England, but partly also from Scotland and the North of Ireland. Nearly all used the English language, nearly all were Protestants, and their culture was fairly homogeneous. But now other elements began to come in.

Between 1815 and 1848, the alternations of triumphant reaction with various revolutionary efforts, some more or less successful, but most of them abortive, on the Continent of Europe, sent over a small but gradually swelling stream of refugees—Frenchmen, Germans, Swiss, Poles, Hungarians, Italians—to mingle with the continued immigration of English, Scotch and North Irish. But the first large wave of non-English and non-Protestant working-class immigration was due to a purely economic cause.

Except for the northern province of Ulster, which had been colonized in the preceding centuries by English and Scotch Protestants, the great mass of the population of Ireland was composed of peasants of old Irish nationality. They were exploited to the very limit by their landlords, many of whom lived in England and spent there the rents wrong from their half-starved tenants. Large quantities of grain and of cattle were exported, while the peasants subsisted chiefly on potatoes. There was almost no industry. The peasants were in the main simple and uneducated. They clung to the old Catholic religion all the more devoutly because it was bit-

terly persecuted by the same English government which upheld the landlords and savagely throttled every expression of Irish national feeling.

In the early 40s came two or three successive failures of the potato crop. Chronic underfeeding suddenly grew into acute and widespread famine. Many thousands died of literal starvation. The landlords insisted on getting their rents. Constabulary and soldiers were called in to enforce dispossession warrants against multitudes of peasant families, who could neither pay their rent nor find employment when turned out of their little homes. There were riots and assassinations, hangings and bloody reprisals.

Under such circumstances great numbers of Irishmen, who could swing together just enough to pay their passage, began to come over to America. Here, even though they might work for a good while at wages much below the American rate, they got a far better living than they had ever had in the old country. They saved up their pennies to help their kinsfolk to follow them. To the miserable victims of landlordism and foreign misrule in Ireland, the United States became known as a land of promise. So great was the emigration that, notwithstanding a high birth-rate, the population of Ireland steadily went down; and so far the greater number of the emigrants came to this country.

The influx of Irish Catholics into the United States, which was thus started about 1844, continued to flow, with one or two short breaks, in ever increasing volume, until very recent years. It has had the most momentous effects upon the development of the American labor movement. The more important of these results will be dis-

cussed later on, for the present it is possible only to note how this immigration joined with other causes already mentioned to finish the ruin of our early labor movement.

The Irish immigrants had a standard of living lower than that of the English and Scotch, and distinctly lower than that of the native Americans. Employers of course used them to beat down prevailing wage-rates. Here was a sufficient cause for discord within the working class. But the fact that these particular immigrants cherished a religion which was traditionally detested by the older American population, together with the fact that their whole culture was of a different and more primitive type, caused them to be regarded with a passionate hatred and contempt—feelings which, of course, retaliated upon the "Saxon heretics."

There consequently grew up, in the 1850's, a powerful nativistic movement—anti-foreign and especially anti-Catholic—which appealed to national conceit and religious bigotry as well as to the immediate economic interest of the American-born working people. It was dominated by a secret organization, and from the fact that its members commonly denied all knowledge of its existence it got its popular name of "Know-Nothingism." It went into politics under the title of the American party, and for a short time had brilliant success, preventing the abnormal but not altogether unparallelled spectacle of an essentially proletarian movement which was at the same time essentially reactionary. Its career was cut short by the ripening of the economic and political antagonisms connected with chattel slavery, but it had lived long enough to do incalculable harm.

The Dear Public

By JAMES H. MAURER

In almost every strike situation, newspaper editors keep constantly reminding their readers that "in the controversy between Capital and Labor, the innocent public is always made to suffer; that it is time that both sides must be given to understand that, in future differences, the welfare of the public must receive first consideration, etc." In every street car strike, the press walls about the inconvenience to which the innocent public is put.

President Harding who, in the interest of the "dear public" has been threatening to "take over the railroads and coal mines," at least two dozen times during the past two months, never tires of telling us that "the public must be protected," but I suspect that what he really means is corporate interests. Other public officials, from Governors up and down, sing the same song, yet none of them seem to know just what to do to give the public the protection to which they keep everlastingly telling us it is entitled. If they think they do know, they evidently do not have the courage to put their schemes into operation.

In the railroad situation, the vision of the professional defenders of the "dear public" seems to extend only far enough to see the inconveniences caused by the struggles of the workers against inhuman and starvation wages. It never seems to dawn upon them that the tollers might have a real human grievance, neither can they see the criminal mismanagement of the roads, the railroad profit-absorbing subsidiary companies, the army of over-paid, useless officials, the millions squandered upon their private armies of gum-shoe men, detectives, coal and iron police, gunmen, labor spies, professional thugs

and suckers and the more than nine billions of watered stock upon which the "dear public" must, through excessive rates, pay dividends, nor the collecting of excessive rentals on leased roads by favorites on the inside. No, their vision never seems to penetrate any of these real evils. If it does, then they lack the courage to refer to them.

After all, it is a question in my mind as to whether or not this much plied public is really deserving of any sympathy because the public, unless urged by Organized Labor, which is seldom possible, never concerns itself about how or under what conditions the essentials and comforts of life are produced. It allows little or no concern as to how the workers in the needle trades, who make their clothing, live. The fact that many may live in ill-ventilated, disease-breeding tenements, or that they are underfed or overworked when employed and, for long periods, denied the right to work, gives the public no concern so long as it gets clothing. The public shows no concern about how the coal miners work and live. The facts that hundreds of thousands of mine workers live in company-owned towns and shacks and can earn, even during so-called prosperous times, scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, to say nothing of the hazard of the trade, which, in a single state (Pennsylvania) causes an annual average of twelve hundred deaths and fifty thousand injured men in the mining of coal. No, the public may not know and, what is more, it doesn't want to know so long as it gets coal. It is another case of not being able to see the mountains on account of the mole hills.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

NO WORK

The eagerly expected and fervently prayed for busy season in the cloak trade did not arrive. A large number of cloakmakers are unemployed and idle, and such of them who are fortunate to have jobs, work only a few days in the week, earning a pittance.

This failure of the workers' hope for a good season is a very bitter disappointment to thousands of cloakmakers. Small wonder that they feel horribly dejected, and the prospects of earning enough to pay old debts and of saving something for the approaching lean months are fast becoming an idle dream. Small wonder that in such moments of dejection they should vent their grief and seek to attach the guilt for their unenviable condition upon someone. And as the closest factor in their lives seems to be their Union, they are prone to look for the culprit, silly as it may seem, within their own ranks, their own organization.

At a time like this, demagogic incitement, stupid and ineffective though it might be in ordinary times, works like a spark in a powder magazine. This is harvest time for the union-smashers, the heyday of activity for the enemies of the union, its personal and would-be "principled" foes, who number is not small.

In such days it requires no more than a veiled insinuation by a demagogue that the union is responsible for the slackness in the trade; that the officers of the organization have prevented an active season—silly as that may sound—to make many an unfortunate and embittered worker lend a ready ear to these unscrupulous fellows. Men are always so eager to look for a scapegoat and rightly or wrongly let loose their anger upon him!

Indeed, this is harvest time for the demagogues and scoundrels who have been seeking for years to smash the great workers' fortress in the cloak trade. In days like these it becomes, therefore, more than ever the duty of the intelligent thinking men in the Union to stand by their organization with the utmost loyalty and steadfastness and leave nothing to chance and hazard.

The ordinary motives that make these intelligent and loyal union men abstain from meetings and from taking part in any of the many other activities of the organization are pretty well known to us. They are contented with the leadership of the Union, and, under the circumstances, they have nothing to offer in the way of improving its policy and management. Attending meetings means to these men merely a waste of a few hours weekly.

Such an attitude towards the Union is never justifiable, but in times like these it is dangerous and threatens the welfare of the organization. By staying away from the meetings, they practically hand over the organization to those embittered and agitated men who, filled with imaginary grievances against the Union, are easily incited by its open and concealed enemies to irresponsible action. This is a supremely important hour for the responsible members of the Union to assume their proper posts within the organization,—to take an active part in the election of officers—who are, more than anyone else, the butt and target of the attack against the Union.

In days like these it is of special importance that the excited and embittered cloakmakers be given a sympathetic hearing. But at the same time they must be given an opportunity to hear from their own fellow workers how unjustified and undesired is their rage against the Union and how their ill-calculated action cannot improve their lot in the least but is bound to make it a great deal worse.

Our readers, probably, know what has happened last week in the office of the New York Cloakmakers' Joint Board. A number of cloakmakers, employed as pickets during the last general stoppage, who have, as a matter of course, lost their employment after the stoppage had come to an end, invaded the office of the Joint Board and staged there a miniature riot. Well, we have sympathy for these people as we know that only sheer exasperation could have brought them to such a scandalous act. We don't doubt that had these people had any work at all, that they wouldn't have besieged the office of the Joint Board demanding that they be retained as pickets, even though they knew that there was nothing to be picketed. Far be it from us to cast a stone at these unfortunate men, many of whom are heads and the sole supporters of families. We believe, nevertheless, that were these people to have come in oftener and closer contact with that great legion of men in the cloak trade who, through years of experience, have learned that such acts of desperation bring good to nobody, such an event as took

place last week in the office of the Joint Board—when police had to be called in to protect the office of the Union—would have been unthinkable.

But, it might be asked, why does not the Union do something for these hundreds and, perhaps, thousands of unfortunate unemployed in these critical moments? To this we say: The Union is doing all in its power to ameliorate their situation. Unfortunately its financial means are not great enough to materially reduce the entire volume of misery. Local 35, the Pressers' Union, for instance, had distributed last week \$5,000 to hundreds of its members who are in need of immediate relief; Local 9, the Tailors' Union, has done the same, and Local 1, the Operators' Union, voted \$15,000 for this purpose. The Union is doing all it can, but the needs of the unemployed appear to be so great that this aid only taps the surface. And besides, none of our locals have special funds for such relief.

It does not require a too fertile imagination to realize that the union has only such funds as its disposal as are paid to it by the members in the form of dues and assessments. This is its only source of income. The strikes in the last few months have cost the union a large sum of money and under these circumstances, where is the union to get the means to help all those who appeal to it for aid in the present hour? This is, of course, logical and clear enough, but those who are hungry and are suffering cannot be expected to think and reason logically. Add to it the fact that we have had among us adventurers and demagogues of every hue and color who have been lying in wait for such an opportunity for a long time,—and the ease with which these desperate unemployed can be driven to all kinds of irresponsible acts, can quickly be visualized.

Such is the situation which we do not desire and cannot gloss over. We say it openly: This is a critical time for our Union. The fact that the work-season has turned out to be so bad when early indications pointed to a good season, only makes the situation doubly critical. And we say to the great mass of cloakmakers: Beware! Now is the time to rally to the defense of your Union, menaced as it is from within and without. You must not remain indifferent and lull yourself into the peaceful belief that "a few desperate and irresponsible hotheads can do nothing." It is a mistake. The riot in the office of the Joint Board, though in itself petty and insignificant, is nevertheless a symptom of a menacing disease which must not be left untreated. The rank and file of the organization must make it unmistakably clear to the whole world that the desperate handful of fellows who seek an outlet in smashing and destroying things, are not representative of the great mass of thinking cloakmakers, who know very well that even though the Union cannot create work for them when work there is none, is a highly useful institution for them when there is work in the shops and when it can protect their earnings and work-conditions.

Now is the psychological moment for giving a fitting reply to the various demagogues that will demonstrate beyond cavil that our Union is ruled by its rank and file only. Now is the moment for each Union man to prove his attachment and loyalty to the Union—not by mere words but by acts and increased interest in all and everything that involves the Union. Only such efforts will make it possible for the Union to tide over the present hard days.

And now a few words to the dispirited, hard hit unemployed in the cloak trade. We know how desperately painful their situation is and we know equally well the hard words of solace will not dissipate their anguish in the least. But we feel it a duty to tell them that empty and silly threats and ill-calculated acts have never yet aided in a situation like the one which is confronting them. We wish to tell them, in the hope that they will understand us, that just at a time like this, coolness and consideration and the highest degree of faith in our Union are their most important assets. The Union is, after all, the only positive factor that can help them; a fight against their own union means cutting off their only avenue of relief and aid. Those who have been affected by the present unemployment should be, more than anyone else, concerned in the maintaining of the union at its fullest strength.

We appeal to them not to commit any act that might weaken their organization and discredit it in the eyes of the world. Do not lay greater obstacles in the way of your Union than what it has already; do not weaken it by your acts of despondency. Remember that each and every one who incites you against your Union, is your deadly enemy. Shun them like a pest; keep in mind that all their insincere flattery, all their slanders of your leaders are poisonous pills. Keep in mind that these fellows have only one object in view—to rear their own self-aggrandizement upon your ruins and the ruins of your Union.

THE STORY OF HERRIN

In Herrin, Illinois, where the United Mine Workers were on strike like in all other mine districts in the United States, there had occurred on June 21 last a bloody battle between the striking miners and the scabs employed by the mine owners which resulted in the death of three Union miners and nineteen strikebreakers.

Right after this bloody outbreak, a coroner's jury brought out a verdict of guilty against the mine owners and their hired guards who provoked the miners into this act of violence and exonerated the miners from every shred of guilt.

Small wonder that this verdict has aroused the wrath of the entire capitalist press all over the country. Nineteen strikebreakers murdered and no one punished for the act! The fact that among those who had been killed there were also Union

The Political Impotence of Labor

(Special Washington Correspondence to "Justice")

By B. MAIMAN

In the last expiring hours of Congress, when attention is so useful for the sinful soul, Congressman Meyer London has sought to administer to our national legislature a dose of "friendliness" for the labor unions. And, strange to say—London almost succeeded in achieving this feat. It is a very interesting incident and one of special worth to workers who take more than a passing interest in our country's politics or the policies of their labor unions.

You surely know about the bill adopted by Congress empowering the President (and also giving him the funds) to appoint a fact-finding commission in the coal industry. The House bill for this measure differed somewhat in terms from a similar Senate bill and it was, therefore, referred to a conference. The conference reached an understanding on the bill and brought in a report on September 30th, two days before Congress adjourned.

When the conference report came up on the floor of the House, London rose to amend that the House refer back the report to the conference with instructions that a clause be inserted in the bill to the effect that members of this commission be appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the United Mine Workers of America. When a vote was taken on the London amendment, 19 votes were needed for it to pass against. As this was not a recorded vote, however, London forthwith demanded a roll call, and—lo and behold! instead of a total of 87 votes, London's amendment received 106 affirmative votes and 156 negative. In other words, while on first vote, London's amendment had more than three and a half opponents to one favoring it, the roll call brought out barely one and a half opponents to each vote that favored it.

This small incident contains a

pretty interesting lesson. To me it shows clearly that congressmen have a goodly amount of fear in their hearts for organized labor. Their natural impulses are, of course, to vote against the workers at all times; but when it is likely to be recorded that congressmen so and so had voted against labor—they think the matter over more earnestly and vote differently. That there are not enough such congressmen who would—out of fear of the workers if not for anything else—vote differently on labor matters, is the fault of trade unions themselves. The unions simply do not pay enough attention to politics and never call upon their members, in the various districts, to let their congressmen know that they keep their eyes open and watch their movements. Had this been done, many congressmen would have talked and acted differently in the House and a totally different spirit would have prevailed there.

Our Unions, however, are very passive in this respect. The old "pure and simple" trade unionism has left its traces deeply in the spiritual and physical texture of the organization. So deeply, in fact, that even when leaders of the American unions, the arch apostles of the pure and simple cult, seek to "punish an enemy or reward a friend," they invariably fail. The rank and file does not respond to the call of the leaders in the political field, and the leaders are reaping the fruit of the whilwind which they had sown.

It appears to me that this little incident, the London amendment, is proof-positive that the unions, the many million members of organized American labor, could exert far greater influence upon the political situation than what they do at present. As it is today, even the A. F. of L. "reward friends and punish enemies" motto is the laughing stock of the politicians. In order that this slogan

miners did not seem to bother anybody in particular, but the death of the strikebreakers has stirred their ire to the utmost. President Harding, in his message to Congress, deemed it his duty to mention it as the "shame of America." And then the search for the guilty began, and 214 persons had been found against whom charges were lodged for murder, conspiracy and other heinous crimes.

That all this is meant in earnest—there's not the slightest doubt. Behind this investigation there is the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, for years an inveterate enemy of the labor unions. It will doubtless see to it that none of the guilty escape the hand of justice. It is evident that American capital is getting ready to stage a bloodier orgy than ever was staged on the industrial arena of this country. The judicial murder of the five anarchists in Chicago in 1886 will be a mere child's play in comparison to this trial.

The capitalist press, which has been foaming during the last few months about Herrin, is thirsty for the blood of the workers. Long before the indicted were brought before the Grand Jury and long before indictments were returned against them, the New York "Times" had demanded their heads in open and unequivocal terms.

In a bitter attack upon the accused men, the "Times" warns the judges that should they, under any circumstances, find the indicted men guiltless, they would invoke the bitter criticism and condemnation of all the "thinking" elements in the land and that the country is very eager to "erase this horrible stain upon America," and that can only be achieved, of course, after a score of people had been hanged.

That the vicious incident of the "Times" will not fail to have an influence there can be no doubt. The truth is that the "Times" is reiterating, in a more brutal form, what Harding had said in his message to Congress. The workers must, therefore, redouble their interest in the forthcoming great trial at Herrin. Moreover, just as in the eyes of all the enemies of labor all these indicted men are guilty beyond any degree of doubt, the workers of America must regard these men as innocent beyond question. They must remain not mere spectators of this bloody spectacle, but must work with might and main against the carrying out of this contemplated carnage of dozens of workers' lives in Herrin, Illinois.

might have any meaning, the workers must first know who their friends are and who are their enemies.

Meyer London's amendment which sought to give the coal miners union representation on the President's fact-finding coal commission, fell through. Mr. Cooper of Ohio, a "union-card" gentleman, who parades as a representative of labor in Congress, of course, voted against it. This commission will be without a labor member on it, and it must be kept in mind that this commission will not only seek to find facts but also "to report with the object of enacting new laws for the coal industry." In other words, it will seek to enact new laws "for the prevention of strikes"—openly admitted by everyone as a step in the direction of making laws for the prohibition of strikes. That a Mr. Cooper, a so-called trade union man in Congress, dares to vote against a representative of labor on such a commission, or even against a minority report for members of such a commission, is but another index of the fact that the conscience of the workers in this country, with regard to political action, is in an impenetrable haze. In

any other country such a labor member would be regarded as a traitor to the organized workers and would be shunned by every honest union man.

Mr. Cooper of Ohio is, perhaps, more blunt and outspoken in his actions and can be "spotted" with considerable ease. He is, however, not a wisit worse than the other so-called union men, elected on the Republican and Democratic tickets. They are not the friends of the unions in Congress and, today, more than ever, the unions should keep their eyes open and watch those who are with them and as against them in the national legislature.

A CORRECTION

In an article entitled "Union Men in Congress," by H. Maiman, our Washington correspondent, in the issue of JUSTICE of September 8th, Congressman Cooper was referred to as representing a Wisconsin district. The correct version is that the Congressman in question is John G. Cooper from the 19th District of Ohio and not Representative Henry Allen Cooper of Wisconsin.

The Social Value of Recreation

(Continued from Page 4)

but once up on the mountain the verdure of the evergreens, the oaks, maples, and the abundant mountain laurel, azalea and rhododendron that grow as shrubs on the forest floor capture the eye.

Surely nothing could be more stimulating for workers who have been confined within the four walls of a factory in season and out than to be transported even for a brief period to this rural wonderland to meet in social and intellectual contact fellow union members and their officials.

It cannot help but make for better men and women and boys and girls, for these vacation spots are particularly interesting to the younger workers who have not the cares and responsibilities of a family. And although the initial expense has been great as all penalties exacted from all pioneer workers had to be, the results surely have demonstrated the social value of such an enterprise.

Nearly the Unity property at Forest Park are the even more spacious grounds of Camp Tamiment, owned by the People's Educational Camp Society, sponsored by the Rand School. Between these two establishments practically the entire mountain has been bought and restricted to the use of workers and sympathizers who are given the advantages at reasonable rates that only persons of considerable wealth who can afford to maintain clubs and vacation reserves, can have. Fully 2,000 acres is thus available, for exploitation, one of the most interesting problems being the scientific treatment of the forest which is possible only with the long-time ownership of an institution or corporation.

During the season fully 8,000 persons enjoyed the recreation facilities

offered by these vacation communities. There were the three mountain lakes for bathing, boating and fishing; bowling alleys, tennis courts, above all good food and healthful surroundings; the tramps, the dances and festivals at night in the community halls, there were even horses to ride for the more venturesome and many other enjoyments.

These are the ventures of labor that foreshadow the new day. Surely nothing like it on such a large scale has been attempted anywhere else in this country. In isolated instances, workers in factory towns have been known to form small clubs, boating clubs principally; and others, like the shoe workers of Cincinnati, have formed small groups to build and maintain cottages along the Miami and the Ohio rivers. In Chicago, such groups mainly of young men have small houses along the lake where they can sojourn in the summer at small expense, but nowhere to the knowledge of the writer have labor organizations so successfully and daringly entered a huge recreation enterprise of this kind.

If the story were told in Europe where so much startling news comes of the development of the labor movement, it is possible that it would not be believed. To think that the struggling workers, one of the sweat shops, have opened such vistas of recreation to others. By combining their small individual resources they have been able to finance big enterprises and buy this vacation paradise. Let us hope that such activities will go on and on, incorporating the ideals of labor and democracy in the thousands that during the summer can exchange at reasonable cost their city habits for the great outdoors and simple living.

THE STRIKEBREAKER

A prominent clergyman once gave the following statement as his version of scabs or strikebreakers after having been compelled to associate with them for a short time.

"After God had finished the rattle snake, the toad, the vampire, He had some awful substance left, with which He made a scab. A scab is a two-legged animal with a cork-screw soul—a water-logged brain, a combination backbone made of jelly and glue. Where others have their hearts He carries a tumor of rotten principle. When the scab comes down the street

men turn their backs, and the angels weep tears in heaven, and the devil shuts the gates of hell to keep him out. No man has a right to scab as long as there is a pool of water deep enough to drown his body in, or a rope long enough to hang his carcass with.

"Benedict Arnold sold his country for the promise of a commission in the English army. The modern strikebreaker sells his birthright, his country, his wife, his children and his fellow man for an unfilled promise from a trust or a corporation. A strikebreaker is a traitor to his God, his country, his family and his class. A real man is never a strikebreaker."



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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

WILL HAVE LEGAL BUREAU.

A legal information bureau is to be included in the A. F. of L. executive council's fight for just treatment of workers by the courts.

"It is not intended that this bureau shall furnish legal counsellors," the council's statement said. "It is the purpose of the bureau to collect and collate all judicial decisions of the courts involving the rights and operations of labor, and to offer such advice to labor as will result in overcoming the mass of precedents courts have been establishing from time to time by judicial interpretations and constructions and by legal fictions."

200 PER CENT DIVIDEND.

The Gulf oil corporation announces that it will distribute a 200 per cent stock dividend as part of a plan for "readjusting its capitalization."

This means that instead of giving stockholders 200 per cent profit, new stock will be issued which will increase the capitalization from \$35,000,000 to \$120,000,000. Then, if objection is made to the high price of oil in the future the company can claim that its profits only provide a "fair return" for its capitalization.

CHURCH MEN DECRY INJUNCTION WRIT.

The administration can not sustain the shop men's injunction unless it is held that the strike is a conspiracy, and if the administration takes this view of the strike, "labor will naturally conclude that an act of congress (section

The above summarizes the position of the commission on the church and social service of the federal council of the churches of Christ in America in a statement on the administration's injunction.

The church men declare that the injunction has accentuated "suspense, uneasiness and discontent." It is shown that the court order does not even allow picketing recently declared justifiable by the supreme court (Granite City decision), and that "the officers of the organizations are enjoined from the performance of their duties even in the most orderly way, and from the regular use of the organization funds."

WANT MAYOR IMPEACHED.

In its attempt to smash the Street Car Men's union the local street company wants Mayor Schwab of Buffalo, N. Y., impeached. The company secured an injunction which prohibits jitneys operating. Citizens patronize the jitneys, however, even though the drivers collect no fare. Most of the passengers tip the drivers. The company wants the mayor to enforce the injunction. Spotters are employed to check up jitney passengers, and these reports are forwarded to the mayor.

The strike has been on for several weeks. Members of a company "union" operated by the Philadelphia street car company are acting as strike-breakers.

CAUSE OF GERMAN STRIKES.

In Commerce Reports, issued for business men by the United States department of commerce, this reason for German strikes is recorded:

"The tremendous increases in living costs, coupled with the constant apprehension of even worse increases, has caused a large number of wage controversies and strikes."

It is significant how different this German situation is treated as compared with strikes in our own country, all of which can be traced to failure to meet living costs.

ECONOMIC GRINDINGS

Secretary of Labor Davis, speaking before the American Insurance Union of Columbus, Ohio, yesterday declared that "approximately a million and a half American children of school age are today thrown beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of industry, pressed to labor before their time, doomed to the dreary drudgery of mine and mill and factory by economic necessity. Before them stretches the treadmill of unremunerative labor with its few years of heartbreaking, soul-searing toil, and at the end—a grave."

ESTABLISHMENT OF LABOR COLLEGES

Establishment of labor colleges is being considered by the New Hampshire State Federation of Labor at its annual convention, now holding at Lebanon, New Hampshire. The project was explained yesterday by Professor Davis of Dartmouth College, who advocated their establishment to better educate the masses of workers in labor problems.

OPERATORS AND UNION HEADS TO MEET

An invitation to all bituminous operators of the United States to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, October 2, with representatives of the United Mine Workers of America to devise a new machinery for wage bargaining was sent from Cleveland. The call was signed by John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America and Thomas K. Maher, coal operator, under authority given at the joint conference held in Cleveland last month.

CHURCH UPHELDS WORKERS

Unanimous approval was voted yesterday by the House of Bishops of the Episcopal convention now holding in Portland, Oregon, on declarations framed by its Social Service Committee that "the worker who invests his life and that of his family in industry must have along with the capitalist who invests his money, some voice in the control of the industry which determines the conditions of his working and living."

50 CENTS INCREASE

Miners, smelter men and craftsmen of the mining companies operating in Butte, Montana, yesterday received a wage increase of 50 cents a day. The increase affects 12,000 workers and the wages will give miners \$4.75 a day.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

THE F. B. I. AND POLITICS

Sir Eric Geddes has been invited to accept chairmanship of the Federation of British Industries. It will be remembered that Mr. Tennyson, of the Federation of British Industries, waxed indignant over references to the influence of his organization in political affairs. The following comment of the Newcastle Daily Chronicle, especially as emanating from non-Labor source, is not without point:—

As head of the Federation, and equipped with his considerable and intimate knowledge of public administration, Sir Eric Geddes can hardly fail to become a powerful figure in the industrial world, especially in its affairs that are closely in touch with Government politics and the doings of Parliament.

Further comment would spoil this.

ABOLISH CONSCRIPTION!

At the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, held in Geneva, Mr. Fred Maddison, secretary of the British group of delegates, moved a resolution in favor of the universal abolition of conscription.

The Conference on the whole appeared to be in favor of the resolution, but some opposition came from the Japanese delegates, who thought that the question should be left to the individual decision of each country.

THE INTELLECTUAL ENTENTE

Several prominent Labor people are among the English lecturers who are taking part in the International University courses to be delivered in Vienna from September 7 to 20.

Mr. R. M. Tawney and Mr. H. J. Laak are included among those who will deal with England's political and economic problems, while Dr. Gilbert Slater and Mr. H. W. Nevins are to deliver special lectures.

Dr. Slater is the former principal of Ruskin College, who went to teach economics in the University of Allahabad.

NEW EDITOR OF THE LONDON DAILY HERALD

Mr. H. Hamilton Fyfe, who has been appointed editor of the Daily Herald, is a journalist of very wide experience.

He joined the staff of the *Times* in 1889, and was in turn reporter, sub-editor, editorial secretary, reviewer and dramatic critic. Afterwards he was successively editor of the *Morning Advertiser* and the *Daily Mirror*.

Author of several novels and plays, he found time also to write for *Labor Journal*, and at one time he was a frequent contributor to the *New Age*.

LABOR EDUCATION

The 19th annual report of the Workers' Educational Association shows that in spite of a certain set-back in most idealistic causes, owing to unemployment and other hindrances, the work of the W. E. A. is steadily growing instead of declining. In 1922 there were 355 branches as against 277 in 1920, while individual members have increased from 20,763 in 1920 to 26,000 in 1922. In addition to study in connection with classes, Sir William Beveridge, Director of the School of Economics, has arranged for facilities to be given to selected students to attend the ordinary University lectures.

FRANCE

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

M. Jean Longuet, the French Socialist leader, will visit the United States in November, at the invitation of the American Socialist Party.

Mr. Longuet will lecture in the States mainly on international topics. He is, although a Frenchman, thoroughly qualified to address an audience in the English tongue.

A grandson of Karl Marx, he had an English education, for Marx's daughter spent many years in this country. For some years M. Longuet edited *Le Populaire*, which he started as a rival organ to *L'Humanite*, then controlled by the "Majoritaires" of the French Socialist Party and edited by M. Renaudel.

LABOR'S ADVANCED FOREIGN POLITICS

Criticizing the financial policy of France, the "Financial News" remarks that it is now at last realized that hopes of gigantic payments from Germany are built on sand, though these hopes have deluded the French public ever since the war. It goes on to say—"It now takes only about two years for the organs of the governing classes in this country (i. e., England) to express the same views on this question as the *Labor Press*."

PARIS SEAMEN'S STRIKE

The congress of the French Seamen's Union have decided on a strike of 22 hours (thus escaping the penalties that would be forthcoming for a strike of 24 hours or more) as a protest against the impending abrogation of the 8-hour day and the extension to 12 hours. The measure legalizing this extension is on the point of becoming law, M. Millerand justifying it on the ground that other nations have not adopted the 8-hour day for mercantile workers.

IRELAND

IRISH POSTAL STRIKE

The Irish postal strike is against a proposed reduction of wages and the workers are prepared to submit the dispute to arbitration. They have, moreover offered to maintain telephonic services for hospitals, doctors and fire brigades in large centers. The Government, however, declares the strike "illegal," and has arrested postal workers acting as pickets. It is estimated that some 12,000 postal workers are out on strike, and the officials assert that the Irish Government's extreme action will not prevent picketing being continued.

Educational Comment and Notes

Classes for Non-English Speaking Members

As many of our members know, at the last Convention of the International, held in Cleveland last June, it was decided to extend the educational work of our Union.

The Convention recommended in particular that the Educational Department make greater efforts to reach the many of our members whose knowledge of English is not sufficient to enable them to attend classes on Labor History, Applied Economics and other subjects given in our Unity Centers.

This is nothing new. For several years we have conducted systematic classes in Yiddish and Russian in sections where our members reside. These classes were successful. It was wonderful to see men and women, old and young, recent immigrants and long time residents of America, gathered around a table, listening with deep interest to the teacher and then discussing earnestly with him the various aspects of labor problems which formed the subject of the evening.

This was always one of the most inspiring features of the educational work of the International. During the coming season, it will be possible to extend it and improve it, because of the increase in the educational appropriation made by the Cleveland Convention.

James H. Maurer on Labor Education

Last week's "Nation" contained a splendid article on the need of Labor Schools by James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and President of the Workers' Educational Bureau of America.

We hope that many of our members will read it. It is a splendid expression by a worker of what the worker needs in the way of education, and of what no one else except other workers can give him.

Brother Maurer's experience and service to the Labor Movement make this article very important and it will undoubtedly reach many thousands of the readers of the "Nation," who will thus become acquainted with what is one of the most important moments

The Educational Department is planning to organize as many such centers as necessary. There should be an enthusiastic class of such a character in every section of Greater New York and in all cities where the International has a local representation.

Such classes should meet weekly. The Educational Department is ready to furnish competent, inspired, experienced and sympathetic teachers, who will be prepared to conduct classes in the language which is spoken by the group. We hope that such groups would be formed as soon as possible, and that those who are prepared to commence their activities will inform us at once so that work can begin soon.

The hope of the Labor Movement lies in an intelligent rank and file. It is true, the Labor Movement cannot succeed without competent leaders. But leaders, no matter how good they are, must have the backing and support of an intelligent army of workers who understand their problems and can be depended upon to show solidarity when necessary.

We urge those of our members who wish to organize such groups not to wait until the Educational Department acts in this matter, but to communicate with us immediately in order to organize their activities without delay.

in modern labor history—the movement for Labor Education controlled by workers themselves.

It is very gratifying to note Brother Maurer's statement that until a short time ago many labor leaders were skeptical about the possibility of organizing labor schools successfully, but that the educational activities of the International showed this can be done with splendid results.

We are pleased with this reference to our work. It will be remembered for many years to come that the International was the pioneer in the movement for Labor Education and that its efforts have helped not only the International itself but also the entire Labor Movement of America.

Our Members and the Unity Centers

Our Unity Centers promise to be more successful than ever before. They have opened their doors in the various schools in New York, and many of our members are already pursuing their studies there.

But, it is not enough to have these classes open. They must be continued until the very end of the season.

However, this cannot be done without the co-operation and hearty assistance of all of our members, even those who do not attend Unity Centers.

We know that a great many of our members who would like to attend our classes cannot do so for various reasons. But there is something they can do. They can urge their friends who have the time and leisure to join immediately.

Our classes cannot be successful unless the number of students remains large. And our educational work cannot be successful, unless our

classes not only remain large but also increase in number. The truth is that in order to increase the strength and intelligence of our rank and file, we must increase our educational activities and our classed two-fold, three-fold, ten-fold.

This must be done by you, members of the International.

Each one of you must become a committee of one, whose business it is to urge each one he meets to take advantage of the educational activities offered by our International.

Our Unity Centers contain classes in English. But, perhaps, more important than that, they contain classes in Labor History, Labor Problems and Applied Economics.

These are subjects about which every intelligent worker should know something. The courses will be taught by excellent teachers in simple and clear language and will be quite short. It is planned to give them in series of six lessons each.

The Brussels Conference on Workers' Education

A REVIEW

By FANNIA M. COHN

II.

Prior to the opening of the conference in Brussels, an exhibition on workers' education was given in a high school building in Antwerp. In the room where it was held, although it was in a public school, two red flags were hung. Periodicals, textbooks, syllabi, reports, educational forms, graphs, statistics, photographs and other material illustrative of labor education in the various parts of the Western World were displayed. The material shown by the Co-operative Movement of England was particularly interesting. America was very well represented. In addition to the printed material that the Workers' Educational Bureau and the different educational enterprises in this country furnished, special attention was called to the artistic posters, symbolizing the workers' educational movement, sent by the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U.

The delegates came over from Brussels in a body to visit the exhibition. That day was International Youth Day and tens of thousands of Belgians with their families paraded the streets of Antwerp. Many of them attended the exhibition. It was an unusual opportunity, for before their eyes was the history of the Workers' Education Movement, its achievements and its aspirations.

The auspices under which workers' education is conducted varies in different countries. For instance, in seven countries, namely, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Holland, and Austria, educational activities are carried on by a joint committee of trade unionists, Socialists and co-operatives. The schools organized by them consequently reflect these various interests of the workers. In Australia and the United States workers' education is carried on chiefly under the auspices of the trade unions. Still in other countries, as in Germany and New Zealand, both the trade union and the Socialist groups are active, although they work separately. Finally, there is Great Britain which has a kind of co-operating joint committee with advisory capacity, but which does not control the activities of the constituents.

Henry de Man, Chairman of the Conference and Principal of the Brussels Labor College, reported for the Central Educational Committee of Belgium. He pointed out the favorable conditions which led to the effective and powerful movement in that country. It has a small, homogeneous population that is united industrially in the trade union movement, politically in the labor party, and economically in the co-operative movement. Political, economic and industrial unity is a fact there, not a theory. The aim of the workers' education movement there is to provide for the workers an education that will equip them with knowledge and skill for the conduct of their own movement. To accomplish this aim no separate organization has been necessary, but the districts are developed according to the various needs

of the co-operative, political and trade union movements.

The Workers' Education Center (Central Committee) established in 1911 by the Labor Party, the Trade Union Commission and the Co-operative Federation has as its object "To organize and coordinate the activity of all the workers' educational bodies affiliated with the Labor Party or with the Trade Union Commission, to supply the workers with the knowledge and qualifications which will put them in a better position to carry on the class struggle in every respect." The new and old of the Belgium Labor party affiliated organizations are instructed to establish local and provisional committees for the education of workers in conjunction with the Education Center.

The Belgian Labor College opened last fall at Uccle and forms an important link in their enterprise. It accommodates between 50 and 60 students. Although private contribution was accepted in acquiring buildings for the college, yet of the 350,000 francs paid 80 per cent was raised by the Central Educational Committee. It is a resident college. In addition, there is an extensive lecture service which proceeds from Brussels into districts where there are no organized classes. From this central point the library and book needs are also supplied and other information furnished. Some two hundred Socialist libraries have been established and provided from the Central Bureau. The C. E. C. publishes its own journal.

A new activity has lately been introduced in Belgium—the shop chairman schools where classes are organized according to industries. This post-war activity is due to the recognition of workers' committees in the various industries. So far the classes have been organized for two industries, the miners and machine-makers. This plan was initiated in 1921 and up to the present twenty-two classes have been organized. The schools are under the joint control of the Central Educational Committee of Belgium and the industry concerned.

The reports of Herr Weiman, secretary of the Central Educational Committee of the German Social Democratic Party, and Herr Fuchs of the General Federation of Trade Unions were sufficient to convince the listener that within Germany all social history is divided into two parts: before the war, and after the revolution—in their eagerness to forget the horrors of the war, they say "revolution" rather than war. At a time when a nation is reudating its social and political life it is to be expected that among the working class groups there will be less unity in action. This does not, however, affect their fundamental unity of purpose. Such a state of mind was reflected in the reports of the delegates.

"Germany is the classical country of the Labor Movement" to use the phrase of Weiman. The Central Committee of the S. D. P. and the systematic program of Workers' Education dates back to the Congress of Mannheim in 1906. District and local

(Continued on page 11)

This means that every member of the International can receive a clear idea of certain aspects of Labor Problems by attending a course in a Unity Center for only six evenings, one evening a week.

We want others besides the regu-

lar students of Unity Centers, to come to these courses, and to acquire information which will help them to solve their social and economic problems more intelligently and successfully.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

MEETING WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1922

Bro. Harry Berlin, Chairman,

OUTSIDE COMMITTEES

Upon opening the meeting Brothers Potofsky and Goldstein appeared before the Board in the name of the "Hias" Trade Union Conference. In brief, they informed the Board that there is an organization known as the "Hias," an organization whose object it is to aid immigrants on the other side of the Atlantic. This organization was formerly known as the "Hebrew Immigrant Sheltering Aid Society," which was maintained mostly by wealthy German Jews. In the course of time the membership changed, which brought with it more Democratic ideas as to how to conduct an organization of this kind. Brothers Goldstein and Potofsky therefore appeared for a helping hand for the "Hias."

Upon motion it was decided to wait till Brothers Berlin and Riesli, who were appointed on the "Hias" committee, will submit their report.

"Elizabeth Freeman, of 'The National Alliance for Trade Relations with, and Recognition of, Russia,'" appeared before the Board stating that this Alliance is trying to do all it possibly can to arouse the interest of the American people and point out to them the advantages which would be gained by both the United States and Russia if Russia were to be recognized, and that it is in need of funds. She appealed particularly to all those who are pessimistic about the object of the Alliance she represents. She reminded the Board that not very long ago the United States had an army in Russia. At that very time the United States was a great factor in blockading Russia. Nevertheless, through the efforts of people who are sincerely interested in the welfare of Russia the army was withdrawn and the blockade lifted.

Upon motion the request of Miss

Freeman was referred to the Finance Committee.

READING OF Minutes

The minutes of the Joint Board meeting of September 6th were read and approved and upon motion it was decided to send Brother Jacobson a letter of thanks in appreciation for his services as temporary Secretary in the absence of Brother Mackoff.

COMMUNICATIONS

A communication was received from Brother Max Schechter, member of Local No. 60 on the Board of Directors, in which he tendered his resignation as a member of the Board of Directors. Brother Schechter stated that this resignation is due to various private matters. Upon motion the resignation of Brother Schechter was accepted with regret.

MANAGER'S REPORT

Brother Hochman, manager of the Joint Board, in a brief verbal statement reported that the strike which was declared against Weisen, Cohen & Smith was settled. The firm paid \$11,000 as liquidated damages and deposited \$5,000 as security with a third party.

Brother Hochman reported that though the Ullman & Jessel firm is a member of the Jobbers' Association, it was established that it had violated the agreement with the Union. The firm was therefore obliged to pay to the Union \$3,000 as liquidated damages and an additional \$5,000 as security with an impartial Chairman.

Brother Hochman reported that the Labor Temple which was engaged for the embroidery general strike, which is over now, was given up. However, we have a number of other strikes on hand and arrangements are on the way to secure meeting rooms for the strikers within the near

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reach of the main office. At present practically all the embroidery workers are back at work, and Brother Hochman promised to submit a detailed report at the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

Brother Hochman further reported that he served notice on that association that we are not going to recognize them as an association unless they live up to the understanding reached between them and Brother Siegan during the strike of 1921.

As previously reported the Fair Waist Co. was declared on strike and in view of the fact that this was not a Union firm we were not in a position to know where this firm had its work done. Since the strike was declared it was found that the above said firm has a number of shops out of town. Since the International has to do the organization work out of town Brother Hochman, with that in view, had a conference with the officers of the International for the purpose of having the shops connected with the Fair Waist Company organized.

Brother Hochman reported that the various departments of the Joint Board are quite busy and in order to have the work attended to properly it is absolutely urgent to have additional people to attend to the work. He already secured the services of Sister Kronhardt and Brother Farber who are assisting in the organization department and making visits to newly signed-up shops.

However, additional people are needed in the various departments. He therefore advised the Board that as soon as he can secure the proper people he will engage them, it being

understood that all those who will be engaged will be considered temporary.

It was the contention of some that the visits made by officers attending to special work without attending to the complaints of the shop could not be satisfactory and that such results could be better obtained by business agents who were more familiar with the conditions of the shops visited. On the other hand, others pointed out that though this method was not all that could be desired, yet it was the most efficient that could be adopted under the circumstances and that in the past such methods resulted successfully.

The subject was broadly discussed from all angles and it developed that due to the lately increased activities of our organization and the peculiar situation in the Association Department that it would take several weeks until the newly signed-up shops would be visited.

The need of following up newly signed-up shops so that supplementary agreements entered into by the firm and the Union should be lived up to was pointed out and discussed and it was the opinion of the Joint Board, therefore, that arrangements already made that special officers should visit the shops, should be continued.

Upon request of Local No. 22, Sister Samerodin was appointed on the Grievance Committee, Sister Kaplan on the Appeal Committee and Sister Kronhardt on the Finance Committee. Sister Wolkowitz was appointed on the Board of Directors and Brother Rieff, from Local No. 60, was also appointed on the Board of Directors to replace Brother Schechter.

The Brussels Conference

(Continued from Page 10)

committees were set up by the S. D. P. which worked hand in hand with the Trade Union Movement. Some 450 educational committees were set up before the war with a Central College at Berlin. The unity which was so continuous before the war was rent apart by the war. The various branches into which the Socialist Movement split set up their own committees, thus interfering with co-operation with the Trade Unions.

The aim of their work is to educate class-conscious workers through the medium of non-resident, day time, local labor colleges providing a six months training. The courses offered in the towns aim to train active workers for positions in the Works Councils set up by the new government in furtherance of the ideal of a democratization of industry, and includes training for Town Councilors. In addition there is special work for women. The students came to these colleges from labor organizations and return for service in one way or another.

At the spacious Castle of Tinx a resident labor college is run jointly by the independent S. D. P. and the Trade Unions. Here a five months course is given. Fifty students, both men and women, are in attendance. Both here and at the Academy of Labor at Frankfort-on-Main financial difficulties arise from the fluctuations of the German mark. At Frankfort

there are forty-two students in residence. There are two other residence labor colleges in Germany, one in Berlin and the other at Kassel. With the establishment of Works Councils the purpose and program of these colleges have become more concrete—they are preparing workers for participation in and management of the government. The cost of the colleges is borne jointly by the Trade Unions and the state.

In 159 towns courses have been developed for the training of Works Councilors. In Berlin in 1921, 1,936 Works Councilors were trained. A paper with a circulation of over 125,000 is edited especially for them. Nine Trade Unions make special provision through journals for their Works Councilors.

The toll of the war in Germany, as in other European countries, was especially heavy among the young workers. The movement is now composed of the elders and the very young. In order to stimulate their interest, and to develop leadership a special magazine is published for the 500,000 young workers between the ages of 14 and 18.

In addition to this there is a general provision for education in art; in the development of programs for festivals and for theatre groups; in providing cinema pictures, equipping libraries and in formulating lists of books for young workers.

Borah to Speak for Amnesty

Senator William E. Borah will stop over at Chicago on his way home to Idaho to address a big mass meeting there Thursday evening, September 28th, on behalf of amnesty for the 75 political prisoners who are still serving aggregate sentences of 800 years in Federal prisons under the action of the Espionage Law restricting freedom of speech. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and other church, labor and civic organizations interested in the plight of these men. Senator Borah has long been interested in these cases, and he voices the old-fashioned American idea that it is high time the United

States returned to the constitutional observance of freedom of speech and opinion. In all the allied countries prisoners of this character were released by amnesty three years ago.

Of the 75 political prisoners none had any German sympathies. None is accused of dodging draft registration. In every case reviewed by a superior court any charges of violence against them have been thrown out. They are mostly workmen engaged in basic industries in the west, and they are serving for written or spoken opposition to war. The Espionage Act, under which they are serving, was suspended March 3rd, 1921.

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GENERAL

By JOSEPH FISCH

The last regular meeting for the third quarter, which was also a special meeting, was held on Monday, September 25. As was expected, there was a large attendance, due, firstly, to the fact that the first reading of the revised constitution was to take place, and secondly, because this was the last chance for members to attend a meeting in that quarter and have their books stamped.

The first order of business was the first reading of the constitutional amendments, for which this meeting was called, and, since according to the constitution, no discussion shall take place at the first reading, this did not consume much time, and the membership present proceeded with the regular business of the organization, —the reading of the Executive Board minutes.

One of the recommendations of the Executive Board which took up considerable time and discussion was to the effect that the officers of our organization be granted one week's vacation with pay. An amendment was offered by Brother Harris Hacken that this recommendation of the Board be approved, or, but not in case Brother Dubinsky, as he but recently received two weeks' vacation. It was the opinion of Brother Hacken, as well as a few others, that he is not opposed to vacations being granted to our officers, but that in this case Brother Dubinsky is not entitled to any. However, Max Stoller, chairman, ruled this amendment out of order, on the ground that it was contrary to the motion, and therefore could not be accepted.

Brother Hacken thereupon appealed from the decision of the chairman, but after a few words, the chair was sustained. Other speakers that followed argued in favor of the recommendation of the Executive Board. After a vote was taken, the decision of the Executive Board was unanimously carried.

Another decision of the Executive Board which came before the body was the request of a committee, consisting of Brothers Jacob Lukin, Sam Lifer and Morris Steinberg, which followed after the Executive Board in August, that the Executive Board engage a staff of ten men in the slack season to control the shops. The reason for this request, as given by the committee, was that during the slack season the manufacturers take advantage of the dullness in the industry and as they have very little outside work to do, fail to engage cutters and do whatever cutting there is to be done. The committee also recommended to the Executive Board that these men should not be paid more than \$20 per week.

The Executive Board's recommendation was that they approve of the request of the committee in principle, but that the number of men and their pay be determined at a later date.

This decision was carried unanimously, as the membership present realized fully the validity of such a step.

The Constitution Committee held its second meeting on September 19 and its third on September 25, to proceed in its work of revising the constitution. Following are the changes recommended by the committee:

The second part of Article IV, Section 1, was amended to read that the Executive Board should consist of 15 members, 5 to be elected from the Cloak and Suit and Waist and Dress Branches, respectively, 2 from the Miscellaneous Branch, and 1 from each branch to be appointed by the

President with the approval of the membership at the regular meeting.

This section, as it reads at present, is that the Executive Board should consist of 11 members, 3 to be appointed from the Cloak and Suit and Waist and Dress Branches, respectively, 2 from the Miscellaneous Branch, and 1 from each branch to be appointed by the President with the approval of the membership at the regular meeting.

The Constitution Committee also recommends that the Executive Board shall be sub-divided into the following three committees: Organization, Membership and Grievance.

Section 4 of Article V was amended to read as follows: "Every member in good standing who has been a member of this union for six months or over from the date of his obligation shall be entitled to a ballot and to vote upon presenting his dues book to the Election Board who shall stamp same for identification."

In this instance the Constitution Committee merely added the clause, "from date of his obligation." The reason for this is that some new members who joined this organization take considerable time in paying up their initiation fee. Since the Finance Department charges these members: from the date of making their first payment, it is a frequent occurrence that a new member, although having been but recently obligated, has already paid in more than six months' dues. Consequently, the result is that the Election Board is very often confused as to whether the six months are to be reckoned from the date of obligation or from the date the member starts to pay his dues.

Section 5 of Article V, as revised, reads: "No member shall be permitted to be a candidate for more than one office at the same time."

This clause, formerly read: "No member shall be permitted to be a candidate for two salaried offices at the same time."

The committee has also added an entirely new section to the same article, which is as follows:

"No officer shall be eligible for one and the same office for more than two consecutive terms."

Section 6, which now becomes Section 7, of the same article, was amended to the effect that an Election Board, consisting of five members, two from the Cloak and Suit and Waist and Dress Branches, respectively, and one from the Miscellaneous Branch, shall be elected at the respective section meetings at which the nominations take place. Those receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. In case of sickness or inability of a member of the Board to attend to his duties, the nominee receiving the next highest number of votes in his respective section shall act in his place, etc., etc.

This clause formerly provided that the Election Board should consist of six men, two to be elected from each division.

Section 10, which now becomes Section 11 of Article V, was changed to read as follows:

"Every member who signifies his willingness to be a candidate for or be appointed to any office shall sign a blank registration, same to be filled out by the organization at its discretion, a majority of two-thirds vote of the membership at a special meeting concurring. The organization shall furnish every candidate and every appointed official with uniform resignation blanks."

The old Section reads as follows: "Every member that signifies his willingness to be a candidate for or be appointed to any office shall sign a blank resignation, same to be filled

out by the organization, a majority of two-thirds vote of the membership at a regular meeting concurring at its discretion. The organization shall furnish every candidate and every appointed official with uniform resignation blanks."

Section 2 of Article VI was changed to read:

"Upon the death, resignation, or removal of an elected or appointed official, the President shall appoint a member to fill such vacancy, subject to the ratification of a majority of the

members present at a special meeting until a new election is held.

This Section was amended by inserting the word, "appointed," this having formerly applied to elected officials only, and by striking out the word "regular" before "a special meeting," which means that all the appointments that will be made by the President in the future will have to be ratified at a special meeting called for that purpose, instead of at a regular or special meeting, as extended heretofore.

ITALIAN LABOR CO-OP. ERATIVES BLAZE TRAIL OF PROGRESS

The Italian Federation of Co-operative Societies of Production and Labor and the National Federation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies have just concluded a joint convention in Rome, bringing together delegates representing 42 regional federations and 801 local co-operatives with a membership of 99,084.

The Italian Co-operative Congress shows the world what the combined workers of a country can do when once they co-operate for their mutual welfare. It adopted plans for the organization of credit institutions to finance labor, and farmer co-operative societies. These credit institutions are to develop local co-operative banks, under the guidance of the National League of Co-operatives and the General Confederation of Labor.

The Congress also ratified an agreement with the Russian government by which 100,000 hectares of land in southern Russia are to be placed at the disposal of the Italian farmers' and workers' co-operatives. The farmers' co-operatives are to send 50,000 farm hands into this district, while the labor co-operatives will furnish the necessary agricultural machinery. The Congress also demanded the enactment of a bill now before the Italian Parliament which will protect the word "co-operative" against fraudulent use, compel municipalities and states to give preference to labor co-operative societies in the erection of public buildings and the furnishing of supplies, and exempt the resources of the co-operatives from public taxation.

Simultaneously with the Congress, the National League of Italian Co-operatives and the Catholic Co-operative Federation made plans for united action and collaboration, while maintaining their separate forms of organization. This progressive step toward a united co-operative front will greatly increase the industrial, commercial and political power of the Italian co-operative



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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

ATTENTION!

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Cloak and Suit.....Monday, October 9th
Waist and Dress.....Monday, October 16th
Miscellaneous.....Monday, October 16th
General.....Monday, October 30th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place