

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 40.

New York, Friday, September 28, 1933

Price 2 Cents

CUTTERS' UNION BANS "LEFTS" AT HISTORIC MEET

Meeting of 1,200 Members Gives Almost Unanimous Approval of Vice-President Dubinsky Receives Ovation After Internationally Adopted This Decision.

Monday evening, September 24, will remain a memorable date for Cutters' Union, Local 10. Rarely, if ever, did the organization of the women's wear cutters in New York City have such a meeting in all its existence during "peace" times. The big meeting room in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, was packed to capacity and hundreds of members were compelled to stand in the corridors for lack of space.

The meeting was called to consider for the second time the communication forwarded by the General Executive Board of the International to all the locals forbidding members of

the Union to join any "educational leagues" or similar covert opposition unions on pain of expulsion from the organization. At a previous meeting of Local 10 attended by only a limited number of members, a handful of present "lefts" succeeded in disrupting the meeting and preventing it from considering the order of the day in an orderly fashion. At this meeting, however, which over a thousand members attended, these disturbers received a crushing defeat, and, regardless of their usual tactics—insinuations and slander—the members compelled them to keep within the bounds of decency. When it came

to a vote, practically all voted to approve the decision and the order of the General Executive Board.

In the course of the meeting, Vice-president David Dubinsky, the manager of the Cutters' Union, delivered a short talk in which he placed before the members of Local 10 the motives and reasons that prompted the General Executive Board to adopt this course with regard to these "educational" leagues. Dubinsky was warmly applauded at the conclusion of his speech.

The readers will find a more detailed account of this meeting on page twelve of this issue, the cutters' page.

Cloak and Dress Joint Board Forms Organization Department

More than three months ago, Vice-president Israel Feinberg, the manager of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board of New York, recommended the formation of a permanent organization department within this Joint Board to take care of the steady in-

flux and growth of new shops into the trade and to compel the observance of the union labor conditions in these shops. The addition of the dress locals to the Joint Board has made such a department even more urgent. Such a department has now become

a reality. Brother Bernard Shane, formerly secretary-manager of Local 1 has been appointed first director of this department and he has already started his work.

This new department will exercise vigilant watch over every shop in the trade—particularly the smaller units that are suspected of working below union standards and also over such shops as are discovered to be sowing disunion. The whole membership of the Joint Board is expected to cooperate with the new department and Brother Shane in unearthing such crab-nests as are undermining and demoralizing labor standards in the New York cloak industry.

Chicago Joint Board Begins Educational Work

Courses and Lectures to Be Given in Public Schools—Chicago Board of Education and University of Illinois Promise Aid.

Our Chicago locals have for a long time past hoped that some day they might establish for their members systematic educational courses such as exist in New York. Just now their hopes seem to be well on the way towards realization.

The plan for regular educational work has been prepared by Vice-president Meyer Perlestein, the manager of the Western office of the International. The Joint Board of Chicago approved this plan and decided to organize an educational department to carry on this work. Classes will be formed for the study of English, American and World History, the History of the Labor Movement, and

courses will be given in Political Economy, on literature, public speaking, etc. The plan also provides for bi-monthly and monthly lectures for such members as cannot regularly attend courses.

The Chicago Board of Education and the officers of the University of Illinois have promised to cooperate in this work. The educational activities will be ushered in by a big meeting and concert in one of the largest halls in Chicago. Vice-president Fannia M. Cohn, the secretary of the Educational Committee of the International, will shortly leave for Chicago to take a hand in coordinating these activities and helping to make them a success.

Out-of-Town Department Busy in Jamaica, Long Island

Jamaica, Long Island, a busy and thriving suburban city in Queens County, has recently become a favorite stamping-ground for a number of cloak and dress manufacturers who open shops there in the hope of escaping the union and union labor conditions. The Out-of-Town Department of the International has for some time past begun to consider the necessity of an organizing drive in that section of Queens County, and, as soon as the first opportunity presented itself, sent its organizers there. In the course of four weeks, seven firms operating six cloak shops and one dress shop were organized, and, after a short strike, signed agreements with the union.

Two cloak shops are still on strike in Jamaica and these are expected to settle very soon. Two other shops were too stubborn to yield and closed down, among them one belonging to a contractor for a very large New York dress house employing forty-five workers. The workers in these shops were subsequently placed by the union in the city shops. As a result of the invasion of Jamaica by the union, a few New York firms who had rented lofts there with the intention of operating non-union shops gave up their leases and cleared out as soon as they found out that the union meant to carry on serious business in Jamaica.

International Gives \$1000 to German Clothing Workers' Union

The collapse of money values in Germany and the distress which it has brought to the German working masses have not failed to affect the garment workers of Germany as well. In Germany the makers of men's and women's clothing are organized into the German Clothing Workers' Union, and it is regarded as one of the strongest trade unions of the country. During its many years of existence, it has exercised a marked influence on labor conditions in the garment trades of Germany.

In recent months, however, the catastrophe which has overtaken all of Germany has hit very hard the clothing workers organization of the Fatherland. Finding itself in a desperate financial condition, the German Clothing Workers' Union has now appealed to its sister unions in other countries

for help. About ten days ago, our International Union received such an appeal for help from the German union, accompanied by a detailed statement of general conditions in the garment trades and asking for a loan to help them tide over the present terrible situation.

In response to this appeal, the General Executive Board forwarded at once a draft for \$1,000 to the German garment workers which, according to present currency values in Germany, is quite a substantial sum. It is to be hoped that the financial relief that will be given to the organized German workers at this crucial hour by their more prosperous and better situated fellow-workers in other lands will help them to maintain their organization, which is of such incalculable importance to them in their trials.

Nine Los Angeles Shops Already Settled

As we go to press, the General Office has received the following telegram from Vice-president Lefkowitz, in charge of the cloakmakers' strike in Los Angeles:

"Strike progressing very favorably. Seven firms belonging to the Cloak Manufacturers' Association already settled with Union, granting full union terms. Two inde-

pendent firms also settled and workers are returning to shops in fine spirit. We are all awaiting anxiously the arrival of President Sigman and convention delegates."

Read Page 10 of JUSTICE and you will know all about the activities of our Educational Department.

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

THE STRIKE OF THE WEB PRESSMEN

FOR the first time in thirty years the "big" metropolitan press of Greater New York, with the exception of the labor dailies, has been practically suspended. The 2,200 men operating the huge presses which daily turn out the colossal volume of news sheets have struck and the news-mills came to a stand-still.

The strike was precipitated by the refusal of the publishers to listen to the request of the pressmen for a revision of the terms of their agreement which expired on September 1st. This agreement, as embodied in the arbitration award of Judge Manton in 1922, was a decisive setback for the web pressmen and had robbed them of a number of work-room advantages and prerogatives which they have enjoyed for years. From the day it was handed down to the hour they struck, the pressmen were chafing under its leash eager and hopeful that this mischievous award might be discarded and relegated into oblivion.

From the point of view of effectiveness and as a brilliant example of the might of labor's solidarity, it can be safely stated that this strike of the newspaper pressmen has never been excelled in the history of the country's labor struggles. The Greater City fairly gasped when it realized that the unanimous walkout of the several thousand pressmen has all but cut it off from effective communication with the rest of the world—save for the meagre efforts of the combined publishers to issue some pale and puny substitutes for their regular papers every morning and evening.

Unfortunately this remarkable strike has been, from its very inception, marred by a tragic clash between the international officers of the pressmen's union and the local leaders of the strike. President Berry of the pressmen, branding the strike as illegal and in violation of the international contract with the employers' organization, has established headquarters in New York City, and is leading an extermination fight against the striking local.

The labor movement of New York stands against and with bleeding heart in sight of this fratricidal war. The issues of the conflict between the local pressmen and their international organization are so intricate and involved that the organized workers naturally shrink from taking sides offhand between the contentants and, together with all other lovers of fair play, they only hope that out of this fight between brothers there will eventually emerge a settlement that will place the relations between the local pressmen and their national organization upon a sound, fraternal footing and will simultaneously do away with the grave and just grievances which have called out from their pits the army of the New York pressmen.

THE JERSEY TROLLEYMEN BACK AT WORK

AFTER a cessation of work lasting over seven weeks, which has wrought havoc with the transportation facilities of all northern New Jersey, the striking trolleydrivers of 147 Jersey cities returned to work last week. These carmen have put up a valiant fight and as a result have won most of their demands, including a raise in wages and the unequivocal recognition of their union.

This strike will go down in the history of labor struggles as one during which the huge public service corporation which owns and operates the trolley system of New Jersey has not even attempted to man its cars with scabs, and from the first day of the walkout practically admitted that it neither could nor would run the trolleys with strikebreakers. This admission, however, was not prompted by the genial spirit and the pacific disposition of the company, but was forced by the very concrete circumstances that the workers in that section of New Jersey exercise a goodly amount of influence in local affairs and through ordinances and local rulings have made it impossible for the company to "blackleg" the trolleys.

To all intents and purposes, this strike was won several weeks ago and, if it had the interest of the hundreds of thousands of New Jersey travelers and commuters at heart, the company should have announced its surrender early in August. But as it wanted to save its face, the street railway corporation kept up the agony of horribly confused traffic for long and tedious weeks until it was finally compelled to admit defeat by the Public Service Commission of New Jersey which threatened to revoke its franchise if good.

BULGARIAN PEASANTS REBEL

THERE is something mighty heartening and cheerful in the news that emanates from censor-clamped Bulgaria these days.

Since the military clique engineered the "revolution" which threw the agrarian party out of power several weeks ago and instituted a reign of bloody repression against its leaders, it looked as though Bulgaria has permanently joined the black procession of Reaction in southern and eastern Europe. Bulgaria, however, is predominantly an agricultural country and its sons are sturdy and freedom-loving tillers of the soil—fighters all and as ready and able with the gun as with the scythe.

So when the first onset of the praetorian guard in Sofia overwhelmed them, they took to the hills, feigning acquiescence and now after a few weeks' respite have resumed their march upon the capital of Bulgaria a hundred thousand strong.

According to latest news, Sofia is almost cut off from the rest of the country by the rebels. The capital is already short of food and the king, who is to a great measure responsible for the military coup, reported to have offered to abdicate. But whether this march of the peasant soldiers of Bulgaria against their oppressors is successful or not, it is reasonably certain that the clique that has overthrown the constitutional government in Bulgaria by force of arms a month ago will soon have to give way to a government of peasants and by peasants in that country.

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

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

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

Office Hours

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

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

THE BANKERS MEET

FOR the 49th time, the American Bankers' Association meets this week in annual convention at Atlantic City, and, for all that one may gather from their discussions, the money magnates of America, during all these 49 years learned just as little as they have forgotten.

It's the same old story, the same old unending wail. A vice-president of the National City Bank of New York rises to bemoan the spread of the agitation for Government ownership of the railroads and other industries, and calls for an exposé of the "economic fallacies responsible for the new ideas of equality in possessions, incomes and management of industrial affairs."

The president of the New York Stock Exchange vents his wrath against those "radicals" who would regulate the business of the Stock Exchange and would, for instance, make impossible such dastardly occurrences as the recent scandalous failures of a number of brokerage houses which have brought poverty and misery to thousands of small investors. Other no less eminent bankers rejoice in the fact that under Mussolini Italy has been making good progress, and predict a dire future for some other European countries who would not follow the example of the black-shirted savior of Italy.

Facing one half of the world tottering and in rags, and confronted in our own hemisphere with a sturdy, virile and increasingly loud call for human justice and a square deal to the men and women who build and make this world, the torpid body of the money-bags has neither the courage nor the intelligence to appraise these world phenomena at their true value, and confines itself only to toothless scolding and growling. Not a sign of an honest effort to understand the causes of discontent and the irrepressible spread of new "ideas," but the same old shriek for the constable to silence the agitators and put them in the calabos.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

A special joint meeting of all branches of Local 49 was held Monday evening, at Paine Memorial Hall. The attendance at this meeting was greater than ever before, due to the importance of the business that was to be discussed and decided upon by the members.

Of primary importance was the election of a new executive board. The contest was rather very spirited and lively, as many more than the required quota of nine were running for this office. The following received the highest number of votes and were declared elected by Miss Helen Daum, the chairlady of the evening: Jennie Borowaky, Ida Katz, Esther Perimuter, Ethel Benjamin, Mary Teitelbaum, Tillie Glazer, Rose Simkins, and Brothers Jack Galvine and Lidoire Tetrow. The last named was also elected chairman of the dress branch of Local 49.

Nominations for manager, business agent and secretary of the local were postponed until some future date, as some of the members present claimed that the circulars announcing this meeting were received in the shops too late, and because of it, were not prepared to go on with these nominations.

The recommendation of the executive board that half of the \$4.00 tax levied by the last convention of the International be paid this season and the balance to be paid during next season was unanimously approved and the office was instructed to proceed at once with the collection of this tax. Two other recommendations of the executive board, namely the organization committee for the purpose of organizing the few non-union shops in Boston and the establishment of a Unity House for our members, were approved.

In the case of the latter, it was the opinion of the members, that an attempt should be made to establish such Unity House if a sufficient number of members will volunteer to help in its realization.

Vice-president Monasson addressed the meeting and was heartily applauded, when in the course of his speech he remarked that he at all times will be ready to help Local 49 should occasion demand it. The members of Local 49 greatly appreciated

Brother Monasson's efforts on their behalf during and since the last general strike.

On Tuesday, September 18th, a strike was called in the shop of Brozman, Fine & Smith, 170 Harrison Avenue. The above firm, from the day the agreement was signed last February, has repeatedly violated it. The climax was reached last week when the firm refused to give settled and cut work to the operators until such time as they agree to settle a number of styles at his own price. At the same time it was also discovered that for weeks and weeks, settled work was sent to outside contractors, while the inside workers were idle. Conditions became so intolerable that the union was compelled to declare the shop on strike.

The workers are determined not to return to work until such time as the firm will make up its mind to live up to the agreement with the union.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS, LOCAL 7

As one of the results of our last general strike, the piece-work system in our industry was abolished and week-work substituted. This necessitated a readjustment in a majority of the shops. A committee from our local in conjunction with a committee from the manufacturers' association met for this purpose for a few days at the Brewer Hotel. The placing of piece-workers on a week-work basis was a very complicated affair, as the earning capacity of every individual worker in every shop had to be gone over.

At times very heated discussions took place between the committees, but both sides felt the seriousness of the work before them, with the result that every shop, excepting two that will be readjusted during the coming week, was settled. The settlements are very satisfactory to our members. While the minimum scale for operators is \$44.00 per week, the committee succeeded in getting as high as \$70.00 per week for some of the workers. Only in a very few exceptional cases do our members work for only the minimum. The committee on readjustment consisted of Brothers Hyman Weiner, Abe Corzan and Fred Monasson.

A Resolution from Chicago

The Chicago locals affiliated with the Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U., take the opportunity to express at this meeting on August 31, 1923, their appreciation of Brother B. Shaffer, ex-chairman of the Joint Board, for the wonderful work and untiring energy with which he served the union during his administration. He is one of the oldest members in point of service that Chicago has today. During his twenty years or more as a member of the union, he has watched and helped this union grow from infancy to its present strength, has gone through numerous hardships, has experienced many hardships, has gone through numerous strikes before this organization attained the great power that it has today.

During all those years he has given all of his time, energy and strength for the benefit of the union. We feel proud of the fact that we have in him today the same active member that

he was twenty years ago. In retiring from activity at the present time, we feel that he is deserving of a well-earned rest, although we need his help today more than ever to solve the problems that our union is confronted with at the present time. We trust that Brother Shaffer will not keep in retirement very long, but will hear the call of his union in the very near future and come back to the fold, where he will always be welcome.

THEREFORE, be it resolved that we deem it a pleasure at this time, to show our heartfelt gratitude towards Brother Shaffer in presenting him with a little token of our esteem.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to the Justice, both Jewish and English publications, and also the labor press in general for publication.

Respectfully submitted,

AARON SHER, Vice-chairman.
M. NOVAK, Chairman.
M. RAPAPORT, Secretary

Local 15, of Philadelphia

With the summer activities over, the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 15, is beginning to reorganize its forces for a big organization drive which will commence in a week or two.

Our joint board, after discussing this matter, thought that our plans could not be considered quite complete without extending an invitation to President Sigman to listen and advise us in our work. We were most fortunate in getting him to visit us just before he left for the American Federation of Labor Convention. His presence at our meeting seems to have instilled our Joint Board members with renewed vigor for a greater and better union.

Much need not be said with regard to those manufacturers of the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia, who are running their factories on an open-shop basis. No amount of work and effort will be wasted in teaching them that signs marked "American Plan" conspicuously placed in their shops will not in the least satisfy our brothers and sisters who must work for a living. We will have to get more than mere "American Plan" signs. We shall demand emphatically better wages, better conditions of work, with a certain amount of voice in the shop to adjust disputes which

may arise from time to time.

If Americanism means anything to these employers at present, it certainly means to deny to their workers all that the word implies. But if we wish to keep to the best of American tradition, and to preserve our integrity as human beings and as workers, we must insist as never before on the Americanization of the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia.

This can only be accomplished through constant organized action, through our union, and our members will know how to do it well.

At the closing of our Unity House on Labor Day, Brother Reisinger, the manager of our union, announced that the Unity House is sold and next summer we are to meet perhaps in a greater and more beautiful place than the one at Orville.

There seems to prevail a strong sentiment in our union that the Unity House money shall be utilized more advantageously in building comfortable headquarters in Philadelphia to house the offices of the various activities of our union.

The Joint Board will give this matter proper consideration and report at the member's meeting in due course of time on the action taken.

A. BLOOMFIELD,
Recording Secretary.

CLOAKMAKERS AND ALL OTHER LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS

Come to Hear the Newly-Elected Farmer-Labor United States Senator of Minnesota

MAGNUS JOHNSON

The New York public will at this meeting have its first opportunity to hear Senator Magnus Johnson who defeated last July both the Republican and Democratic candidates in Minnesota.

GEORGE BREWER

the brilliant speaker and radical worker, who managed Senator Johnson's successful campaign, will also speak.

NORMAN HAPGOOD

one of the best-known figures in American journalism and editor of Hearst's International Magazine, will preside.

SATURDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 29

At CARNegie HALL, Seventh Avenue and 57th Street.

Secure tickets at once—at the office of the "Daily Forward," New York Call; Rand School, 7 East 15th St.; Brewsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St.; Harlem Educational Center, 62 East 106th St.; Stern's Jewelry Store, 1327 Wilkins Ave.; Brunst; Tilsman's Drug Store, 461 Clermont Parkway, Bronx, and Carnegie Hall box office.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

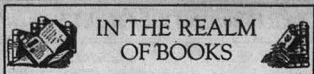
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IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Thorstein Veblen—The Modernizer of Karl Marx

The Engineers and the Price System. By Thorstein Veblen. New York. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 1921.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

"The French have an Anatole France and the English a Bernard Shaw, we are not less fortunate in our outstanding critic of society—Thorstein Veblen." Thus reads a recent advertisement of Thorstein Veblen's works. And for once advertisement can be taken absolutely at its face value. Thorstein Veblen is without doubt the most stimulating, most creative and most fascinating critic of modern society now writing in America.

Economics has counted several great names among its disciples. John Stuart Mill gave his great message through economic; Karl Marx gave his through the same medium; and now Thorstein Veblen follows in their footsteps. In the glamour of such names it is hard to realize that economics for so many students has long stood forth unchallenged as the original "dry-as-dust, deader-than-fallen-atom-leaves" science. And there is ample basis for this unsavory reputation in the long string of uninspired savants who have undertaken to prove profits, interest, rent and wages are distributed as they are. But besides the scholarly parrot apologists there are great names; and when the balance has been written there is sufficient dazzle and illumination in the great few to completely blot out the dull shadows cast by the mediocre many.

Of course it must be admitted at once that the great economists have almost always been for more than economists. They have been sociologists, philosophers, historians—and revolutionists. To me it is pretty certain that their most lasting claim to fame lies in the revolutionary character of their doctrines. Mill was one of the earliest and most ardent champions of women's emancipation and a frequent critic of the unquestioned rights and prerogatives granted to property by the economists of the time. Karl Marx unearthed the dynamite lying at the base of modern business society and gave all of his great mind and great soul to setting the torch of labor to the fuse of that dynamite. It may not seem fitting to

place cloistered, unobtrusive Thorstein Veblen after that epic hero of the working class and yet there can be no question but that Veblen is continuing the work begun by Marx.

Many critics of Marx—even the sympathetic ones—have taken pains to point out that Marx developed the theory upon the facts of capitalism in its first phase; that he did not provide for the tremendous credit developments, for the resultant financial domination of industry, for the automatic machine, for the drastic integration of industry, for the rise of what Veblen calls vested interests in the work of capitalist evolution. Devotees of Marx may reply—and do—that Marx did allow for all these things in his forecast of capitalist development, his projection of existing tendencies into future facts. This is undoubtedly true, but it is as undoubtedly true that Marx could not have given full and adequate weight to these later developments. For Marx published his *Capital* in 1867; he died in 1883; the second phase of capitalism emerged into visible maturity only with the passage of the nineteenth century into the twentieth. So Veblen has been able to take up the story where Marx left off. And he has conscientiously written the sequel.

Time and again Veblen has paid tribute to Marx. His appreciation of Marx's contribution presents a striking contrast to all the buckshot fired at Marx by the littler fry of the economic fraternity. I remember hearing a professor recall the time when every other candidate for a Ph.D. in economics wrote his thesis to disprove Marx—with thoroughness and finality. That tide has turned. Today most of the bigger men acknowledge the importance and value of Marx's contribution to economic thought. Veblen was one of the first to give this new direction to critical thought.

His work belongs preeminently to the Marxian School. He, too, is an institutional economist who views the present system not as a completed s-

nal stage of men's history but as one link in a chain of human development that has both a past and a future. He has tacitly accepted Marx's major thesis and has brought the entire line of thought completely up to date.

There are eight volumes over his name at present and the ninth is announced for the early autumn. The titles of those volumes give some notion of his type of thought: *The Theory of Business Enterprise*; *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; *The Higher Learning in America*; *The Vested Interests and the Common Man*; *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*; *The Instinct of Workmanship*; *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization*; *The Nature of Peace*; *The Engineers and the Price System*. The coming volume has the stimulating title: *Absentee Ownership*. Obviously Dr. Veblen is little concerned with the subtleties of why profits are so, or the refinements of mutual interests.

The thought packed into these pages forms a highly illuminating interpretation of our modern world as a development from the world that Marx analyzed. It is difficult to suggest the profundity and sting of his thinking by a paragraph summary. And yet Veblen is an economist that every worker should know—and know thoroughly. Perhaps the *Workers' Bookshelf* will find it worthwhile some day to present a digest of Veblen's brilliant contribution for use in workers' classes. In the meanwhile let this summary whet our appetites.

Modern society, says Mr. Veblen, is a development of forces that have been operating since the beginning of human history. At the core of this society lies an industrial system. This system is quite different from the handicraft and commercial systems that immediately preceded it. It comprises a highly mechanized, standardized set of processes by which standardized commodities are turned out in great quantities. This machine production is a thing entirely distinct from the business enterprise by which it is currently managed. Machine production rests upon an accumulation of knowledge and technology that is the property of no one man but belongs to society as a whole. Business enterprise proceeds from a set of legal and conventional rights and principles that are hold-overs of former types of thought like Levitical cleanliness and infant damnation.

Business men work for pecuniary gain. Machine production should be worked for social service. But because—the business men control it, there are all types of dislocations and wastes injected into its functioning in the name of market conditions and

normal rates of profits. With time the machine processes have become infinitely improved and complicated. With the passage of the same time business organization has been centralized and integrated. Through credit developments the old-fashioned business entrepreneur who has a personal contact with his business has become either an absentee owner or a routine financier while the business structure has passed into the hands of the investment bankers, entirely removed from the actuality of machine processes and production. Business men thinking thus in terms of rights and laws and market conditions are gradually coming to speak an entirely different language from the engineers and workers who come in continuous contact, with the matter of fact processes of "cause and effect" machines. About the core of modern society—machine production managed by business enterprise—therefore is growing a division of thought (the cultural incidence of machine production) out of which in time a revolution and a new society will be built—without business men.

The Engineers and the Price System is the last completed link in the chain of different language from the engineers and workers who come in continuous contact, with the matter of fact processes of "cause and effect" machines. About the core of modern society—machine production managed by business enterprise—therefore is growing a division of thought (the cultural incidence of machine production) out of which in time a revolution and a new society will be built—without business men.

Such bold summaries of necessity give nothing of any of the most valuable aspects of Veblen's work. Veblen is never so explicit. He writes with an exquisite irony, a detached urban matter-of-factness that gives an inimitable flavor to his work. I have made a list of Veblenisms as I read his work out of which delightful Collyms could be brewed for weeks on end.

Read Veblen. Begin with the *Engineers and the Price System*, probably the simplest of his works. You will discover a workers' economist.

If you want the Negro workers in your shop to join the Union, they become just yet . . . etc.) a great army of organized labor, ask them to read—

THE MESSENGER
The Only Trade Union Publication for Negro workers in America
2305 Seventh Avenue
New York City

A "Living" Wage

Samuel D. Warriner, head of the anthracite operators' committee, is quoted as saying: "We believe the wage paid anthracite miners today is a fair and just living wage."

When an employer of labor uses that word "living" in a controversy about wages, we know precisely what his mental attitude is toward the whole so-called labor problem. And we also know that it is a mental attitude that is very largely responsible for most of the difficulties between capital and labor.

It is the attitude of the feudal overlord who looks upon his employes as retainers to be paid just enough to keep them in health to produce profits for said overlord.

A "just and fair wage" is one thing. "Just and fair LIVING wage" is quite something else.

Every man or woman who works

is entitled to a just and fair wage, based upon an equitable distribution between wages and profits of the wealth produced.

There is no more reason for limiting wages to the mere "living" point than there is for limiting profits in the same way.

The profits of the anthracite mine owners always have been and now are extraordinarily large. They are entirely out of line with profits in industry as a whole in this country.

All the anthracite miners have ever got out of it is enough to live at a certain standard decided upon by the operators.

The operators fix their own profit, fix the price the consumer must pay and refuse to raise wages on the ground that their employes are living—or words to that effect.—The Cleveland Press.

Senator Johnson Addresses Eastern Audience for the First Time

All the Progressive Labor organizations will be represented at the big meeting to be held at Carnegie Hall, Saturday, September 29, under the auspices of the Progressive Labor League, at which Magnus Johnson, the new Farmer-Labor Senator from Minnesota will make his first speech before an Eastern audience. In addition to the labor organizations many civic and liberal groups will participate in the meeting.

Norman Hapgood will preside and George D. Brewer, who has been prominent in the progressive non-party movement in the West, will be a speaker.

Senator Johnson's recent political victory, when he overwhelmed the candidates of both the old parties in Minnesota, despite the opposition of almost all the newspapers of the

State, caused a sensation throughout the country. He is a plain, commonsense "dirt farmer" and he believes the interests of the farmer and those of the industrial workers of the big Eastern manufacturing centers are bound closely together. Now that the farmers are sending their own representatives to Washington, they want the Eastern workers to follow their example and elect to Washington to fight beside them against the old line politicians of both parties and the invidious government they represent.

The Johnson meeting is expected to be the beginning of a powerful get-together movement between the Western farmers and powerful labor and liberal groups in the East. Tickets at Call and Forward offices and Rand School.

Reaction—and After

By A. ZELDIN

The overturn in Spain is but an additional bit of proof that the old outlived monarchist institution is not entirely as harmless as some would like to believe.

It goes without saying that the present reactionary ways in Europe are the aftermath of the war. Such a reaction swept Europe after the Napoleonic wars and such a backward movement follows invariably every huge social catastrophe. In this light the Spanish coup is in line with the similar happenings in Hungary, Italy, Bavaria and Bulgaria. What we want mainly to point out is that reaction has proved to be particularly strong in countries which are ruled by monarchs or where monarchist tendencies are still very strong. "The role of monarchs in the reactionary outbreaks it appears is by far not so innocent and harmless as it seems on the surface.

Take Italy, for instance. The press in general, and the liberal press in particular, has picked Mussolini as the goat, and the entire blame for the Italian overturn is being placed squarely at his door. He is being held responsible for the abolition of the constitutional guarantees, for the recent attack on Greece, and for the menace of a new world war. The Italian king, Victor Emmanuel, on the other hand, is always being idealized, and referred to as a "liberal king," almost a democrat. Not infrequently one reads an article in the press to the effect that Victor Emmanuel would gladly abdicate the throne and would contest himself with the office of president of the Italian republic.

This, however, is far from the truth. Of course, we do not intend to defend Mussolini nor do we need to emphasize here that we are not at all swayed with his methods. It must, however, be kept in mind that Mussolini is surely not the grand hero he is being trotted out in the reactionary press or spoken of in Fascist circles. Those who know him, or who have had the opportunity of meeting him have carried away the impression of a weakling and coward who is not sure of himself and of those who surround him, and who is afraid of his own shadow. Mussolini is probably a victim of those forces that are utilizing him for their purposes and are hiding behind his shoulders. Some one in Italy had to do the dirty work and the lot fell to Mussolini though any one else could have done it just as badly or as well.

The same is probably true of this other hero or reaction, Captain-General Primo who is now the dictator in Spain. Primo is now the center of world-wide interest and upon his head today being showered all the blessings of those who would want to see the world turned back to the Middle Ages, and the curses of those who would like to see a better, finer and more modern world. The Spanish king, on the other hand, is being presented as a victim of circumstances, as one who is being manipulated at will and who is compelled by the dictator, to sign the dotted line. Altho, it is being stated, keeps entirely aloof from the whole ambiguo as if he took no interest in politics at all.

This impression, however, is entirely false. Even if it were true that these kings as individuals are totally indifferent and passive in these events, it certainly does not hold true with regard to the institutions of monarchy in general. In the present-day reaction which is engulfing a considerable part of Europe, the prevailing tend-

ency appears to be—as it was a hundred years ago—to revive and regenerate the old institution of unlimited and irresponsible autocracy. As soon as a coup is engineered in any of the affected countries, constitutional guarantees are immediately done away with, the press is muzzled, the radicals and leaders of progressive thought are jailed, and the entire population is terrorized into blind submission. Of course, various subterfuges and excuses are offered in explanation of these measures. Economy, thrift, abolition of corruption and other high-sounding verbiage is being freely bantered about, but the principal purpose of these oppressive measures is the restoration of autocracy.

Royalty still has a great symbolic meaning to large numbers of people the world over, and the autocracy of a king need not say much to the masses of the population in every human and social relation. Autocracy at the king's court means also autocracy in the factory, in the shop and in the home. That is why our modern industrialists are inclined to political autocracy,—if not for the love of the thing at least because they realize that political autocracy also means economic autocracy. The abolition of a parliament paves the way for the strengthening of trade unions, and the silencing of the press leaves open the road for the suppression of strikes by iron and blood.

This was primarily the purpose of the Italian overturn and this is the purpose of the Spanish coup. In Italy the "revolution" was made by a so-called private organization while in Spain it was carried out by the army. In both these lands the "revolutionists," nevertheless, display abundant loyalty and submission to the king. In Spain, as a matter of fact, the coup was carried out by the king's nearest persons.

In general, it would be quite an error to minimize the importance of a king even within constitutional limitations. Of the English king it has been said that he does not rule, he reigns. The truth, however, is that even the English crown, which is more limited than any other, has still a strong influence upon the life of the British Empire. This influence may not be exerted by the king himself, but it emanates from the circle of the English aristocracy which surrounds the king, and to whom the crown is the symbol of power. If they have not full control of minor affairs, they surely have the major say in foreign relations, which means that they control the problems of war and peace in the country.

The English aristocracy is, perhaps, the only group of nobility in Europe which plays its role tactfully and England therefore shows no signs of reaction in comparison with other countries. But the aristocracies of other lands do not possess the same skill and ability. Today they see before themselves the opportunity of capturing power and they are grasping at it with both hands. This, however, is only a passing wind. After the storm of reaction comes the sobering-up process and then heads shall fall,—crowned heads included.

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The Women's Labor Movement

Recently there was held in Hamburg the third congress of the International Federation of Working Women. Delegates from practically every industrially developed country in the world, including the United States, participated in that congress. Among other important decisions already published in the press, this meeting of working women delegates came to the following conclusions:

SOCIAL WAGES

(1) The family allowances for women workers engaged in industry are to be regarded as a make-shift in order to overcome the difficulties inherent in the capitalist order of society. (2) The working class must endeavor to obtain special state subsidies for motherhood, for assistance in case of unemployment, illness, or the death of the bread-winner of the family, such subsidies to be granted to all without exception. (3) It is the duty of the community to take all necessary measures for the health, education, and general welfare of mothers and children. (4) The community must also see to it that every child is provided with the necessary quantity of milk and other food, as well as with the necessary school education. (5) A commission of inquiry shall investigate the practicability of a scheme in accordance with which the community shall have the obligation to care for the maintenance of children so long as these are normally a charge upon their parents.

WAGES OF HOME-WORKERS

The commission was unanimous in recognizing the impossibility of taking definite decisions concerning home-work in existing circumstances owing to the inadequate information available.

(1) If decided to request the International Labor Office to collect all existing documents on the subject and to conduct an inquiry as to the conditions in which home-workers of both sexes are working in all nations. (2) Where legal regulations affecting home-workers are already in existence, the commission declares that it should be the duty of a public authority to enforce the rates. (3) In view of French legislation concerning the right of trade unions to act on behalf of home-workers, the commission desires to remit the question of the judicial powers of trade unions to the I. F. T. U. and the Workers' Trade Union League of America for consideration. (4) The commission also considers that this whole question should be placed on the agenda of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in order that they may arrive at definite decisions and a full knowledge of the facts.

PEACE TREATY AND REPARATIONS

The congress is of the opinion that the payment of reparations should be restricted to a restoration of the material loss and damage inflicted by Germany upon France, Belgium and Italy, and in such a way as to enable Germany to be free in the shortest possible time from all further financial obligations. We demand, furthermore, the revision of the peace treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, and Trianon which have produced much more hatred than peace; also the cancellation of all war debts.

OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR

The congress condemns the military occupation of the Ruhr as being a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The occupation of the Ruhr is a menace to peace and has, moreover, helped to intensify the industrial crisis and lower the standard of life of hundreds of thousands of workers. It

is now quite clear that the occupation is not an effective means of exacting reparations from Germany. Germany can only pay when it is in a position to work and produce under peaceful conditions. We therefore welcome all efforts towards a restoration of peaceful conditions, and we demand that the Ruhr be evacuated.

THE DISARMAMENT QUESTION

The congress adopts the view that all international questions should be settled along the lines of open negotiation. The social and economic community interests of the various nations necessitates the establishment of a universal permanent peace. For the attainment of this end the congress declares itself in favor of convening an international conference. The congress calls upon the governments to take the initiative for such a conference and by means of inquiries and negotiations to determine the most effective way of bringing about universal disarmament by means of a mutual understanding between all the nations.

In order to attain this end, war must be regarded as a crime against humanity. We demand the settlement of all disputes by means of international regulations; also the setting up of an international court which shall have the power to compel all nations which violate the international regulations to recognize its decisions.

We recommend furthermore that the League of Nations be vested with full juridical powers in order that it shall be in a position to fulfill its functions in case an agreement is reached in regard to universal disarmament.

For hundreds of years war has been regarded not only as a means of "settling" disputes but also as a noble and patriotic occupation. This conception of war has had disastrous consequences for mankind. We therefore welcome the establishment of the triple alliance of the women, the teachers and the young people, and we hope that just as other mistakes have disappeared with the advances of civilization so also, by means of education the war spirit will disappear.



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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

VOLUNTARY ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE UNION

To the various departments into which the activities of the New York Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions are divided, there has recently been added an organization department under the management of Brother Bernard Shane, formerly secretary-manager of Local 1.

The new department has been formed to meet the need of more intensified organizing work on the part of the New York Joint Board. The squad of business agents employed by the Joint Board has the duty of visiting the shops, often as possible to exercise rigid control so that union conditions prevail in them in fact as well as in name. But the cloak trade in New York City is daily acquiring new shops, and their owners are very eager to dodge the argus eyes of the cloakmakers' organization if they only can. The business agents, who have their hands full in controlling the old shops, find it impossible to look for and organize the new shops. This state of affairs has now assumed such an unwholesome aspect for the entire trade that the Joint Board determined to establish a special organization agency to deal with it.

There is something about this new department that is worthwhile pointing out to our readers. It is principally, if not entirely, based on the voluntary cooperation of the members of the union. Once upon a time, when our unions were still young, practically all of our union activity was voluntary, and it was this ardent and self-sacrificing work of the pioneers that has made possible the existence of our powerful unions today. With the growth of our unions, voluntary work gradually receded into the background. Its place has been taken by work that is paid for—not because most of our union workers have ceased to become idealists—but largely because of the feeling that the union was no longer in need of sacrifices by its officers and that it could pay for their work; and secondly, because the union work has evolved from a temporary, sporadic and irregular activity into permanent, all-day and regular work which made it impossible to coordinate it except on a pay basis.

And while this change was both inevitable and in line with efficiency, it, on the other hand, materially weakened the interest of the masses of the members in the organization. Individual enthusiasm gave way to a business-like period and to a week-day spirit. A sentiment began to grow and prevail that, while the active union workers and officers are doing their hardest and contributing their best, they are nevertheless, salaried workers who are supposed to do their share for the compensation they receive. Later, thanks to the demagogues whom we shall always have with us, an undercurrent of mistrust towards these workers set in and these officers were frequently branded as "job-holders," while voluntary work on the part of the members, which was the very soul of our trade unionism during its first period, almost disappeared.

Another result, even more deplorable than the first mentioned, was that the majority of the members became mere payers of dues. Why come to meetings, why bother about the union affairs, if all and everything is being cared for by the paid officers? So, with the exception of "war times," times of strike and fighting, the entire activity of the union became concentrated in a few officers, through whom the necessary and important work of the union was being done.

This naturally is not a wholesome state of affairs for any union—no matter how loyal and devoted the officers of such a union may be. Indifference on the part of the members is bound to prevent the union from growing in breadth and depth. Men and women belonging to a labor union may as well be in constant and incessant touch with its life and affairs, if they are to remain virile and militant defenders of their organization. There are large numbers of workers entering our trades annually and these men must be educated within the tenets and traditions of a fighting labor movement. Officers paid for the performance of regular daily work obviously cannot undertake such activity. Such work must be done voluntarily by the effort of the rank and file of the organization. And it was such voluntary effort that we palpably were lacking in the last few years.

This general apathy also led to results which from time to time became a real menace to the union. Within such a great body of men and women as the cloakmakers' union, there always were and are to be found persons abounding with energy and with a desire to accomplish things. This energy, not finding an outlet for itself in constructive union activity, from time to time became destructive and would apply itself to work entirely alien to the aims and purposes of the organization.

Obviously this was the principal motive which swayed the Joint Board when it decided that the new organization department be formed on the basis of free cooperation of as large a number of members as would be found ready to take part in the work. The organization committee, as we understand it, will consist of 150 persons and their work will be voluntary, without compensation, and without compulsion. The entire committee will be under the control of one officer, whose duty it will be to look for and find such volunteer workers whenever there is need of them.

This is an interesting departure which will bear keen watching. The experiment may not work; the general indifference which has eaten so deeply into the ranks of the cloakmakers may prevent the carrying out of this plan on a volunteer basis. In such an event, the Joint Board will have to decide upon another method of conducting this department. We, nevertheless, welcome this attempt and we hope that in the big cloakmakers' union of New York there are more than a few hundred persons who are ready to do valuable union work prompted by the importance of the task and their unadulterated love and devotion to their organization.

We believe that the attempt to carry out this plan has been entered into good hands, to a person who is a strong believer in volunteer union work. We hope that Brother Shane is a fit person to arouse the will and desire among our members for such volunteer union activity. Should he succeed in his work, this achievement will be the forerunner of a new life and spirit in our organization.

Of course, all depends upon the will of the members. The present attempt to enlist their cooperation on a large scale in times of peace will serve as a test of faith and sincerity to those of them who assert that the union does not offer room and opportunity for a display of energy and activity. The scope of work before the new organization department is practically unlimited. Can it satisfy the ambition of the most militant and energetic. And, in wishing our volunteer workers the best of success in their new task, we shall stand ready at all times to help them with everything at our disposal.

THE CLOAK STRIKE IN LOS ANGELES

Last Tuesday, the cloakmakers went out on strike in Los Angeles and already, Vice-president Lefkowitz, the leader of the strike, has notified the general office that almost half of the strikers have returned to work in settled union shops.

This is good news, and it speaks for itself. It is proof that the strike was called out at the proper time and it also indicates that our cloakmakers' organization in Los Angeles has "come back." It appears that the friction and misunderstandings which have all but cost it its life have now disappeared. It shows also that the union has presented to the cloak employers of Los Angeles reasonable and moderate demands, such as they could have considered without a strike, if only they could understand any language other than the language of force.

This, however, should not be misunderstood to mean that the strike is already at an end. There are still a number of strong and obstinate cloak firms in Los Angeles who believe that they can outfight and outwin the union. As yet, they would not settle with their workers, but it is only too clear that the Los Angeles cloakmakers are fighting a winning battle.

Let us hope that by the time our delegation to the A. F. of L. convention arrives in Los Angeles on the way to Portland, the strike will have been settled. The presence of President Sigman and of the other members of the delegation in Los Angeles will in any event add a good deal of courage and inspiration to the local strikers.

TO THE OPENING OF THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

Next Monday, October 1st, will open the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor—the forty-third annual gathering of organized labor in America.

The importance of this convention is so palpable to every thinking person that it is hardly necessary to enlarge upon it. It is not an assembly of an isolated or segregated group, but the convention of all labor in America. We say "all labor," designedly, for we believe that the American Federation of Labor, with the good and the bad that it contains, represents not only those who are directly affiliated with it but also those workers who are outside its fold. And the voice of the American Federation of Labor is important and powerful enough not to be ignored or passed over in silence.

The Federation convention this year is of special importance to all labor and its friends. In the last four years the American Federation of Labor lost over a million members. True it still has more members than it had in 1914, but about a million less than in 1920, and this loss has been steady and gradual—4,100,000 in 1920; 3,900,000 in 1921; 3,200,000 in 1922; and 2,900,000 in 1923. The American Federation of Labor does not deny this, and in the report of the Executive Council for 1923 the average membership for this year is given as 2,926,468.

We, however, find no explanation for this decline in the report, and it seems to us, this is something which would bear a very thorough investigation. The American Federation of Labor must grow and its affiliated unions must gain in power and influence from year to year. It cannot afford to lose, and the cause for this loss must be carefully and properly fixed. If these causes exist within the American Federation of Labor, they must be exposed and checked and if the guilt lies on the outside the destructive factors must be brought out with no less clarity into the light of day.

The Menace of Fascism in America

By ARTURO GIOVANNITI

(Mr. Giovanni is secretary of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, is leading the campaign against this anti-Soviet invasion, he has an intimate knowledge of the problem of Italian workers in this country through his work as General Secretary of the Italian Chamber of Labor in New York and as General Organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.)

The undeniable fact is that today America is admittedly the best informed nation in the world as to what is going on in the rest of it, and that direct information is available here with a larger degree of accuracy than in the very countries where the facts at judgment are taking place. Our public men, representing every cross section of public opinion, have investigated everything worth investigating in Europe; our experts, our distinguished philosophers, our business and labor men, indeed even our artists and adventurers, down to our international carpet-baggers and bootleggers, have richly contributed impressions, experiences, and reactions to our undiscriminating discussion of world events, and the latter has been of a wide range and scope that not the feelings of the people but the proverbial vacillation of their leaders and rulers must be held responsible for the lack of a definite attitude and a realistic policy towards the European muddle.

Only one country, and not the least of all in many regards, has been abandoned to the ventures of chance, so far as the interpretations of its national problems and activities to the American people are concerned. This country is Italy, which has been held almost incommunicado from our accredited agencies of information ever since the great working class upheaval of 1920. The only thing we have heard from Italy of late was a wild and boisterous proclamation that Bolshevism had been completely routed out down there, and we have been quite satisfied to accept as gospel truth the ranting of the new leaders of that most ancient of all preaching classes, that everything was perfect in the land of the Caesars. Perhaps for the first time since 1914 we have implicitly accepted at par value the word of a foreign ruler as against our age-long habit of investigating and testing everything before proclaiming anything as the truth.

We who have called Obregon a hypocrite and Lenin a liar when they described to us the conditions of their households, have taken for pure gold Mussolini's report that everything in Italy is at its very apogee of perfection. And if some doubting Thomases still shake their heads incredulously, here are the corroborating testimonies of such illustrious citizens as Judge Gary, the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, prime diplomat, tourists, oil merchants and our own distinguished ambassador to the

Quirinal, Mr. Richard Washburn Child, who was an eminent fiction writer before he took to writing reports to President Harding's administration. But so far a direct and thorough investigation by trained and unbiased journalists is concerned, so far as the actual testimony of the 40 million Italian citizens in the cities, in the villages, in the workshops and the farms goes, Italy might as well be in those superstitious spheres where everything is supposedly good or supposedly bad, according to our desire to believe that it so or so.

The only things we really know now about Italy is that Mussolini is the greatest man who ever lived—until a greater one is discovered who downs Bolshevism in Russia or exterminates trade-unionism everywhere else; that the national conscience (whatever that may be) has been re-awakened from its torpor; that patriotism has reasserted itself over factional interests; that great moral and spiritual values (!) have completely blotted out the gross and sickening idealism of the lower classes; and that these things will endure forevermore, granted America cancels a few debts, grants a few more credits, and admits a larger number of Italian immigrants to her shores. All of which sounds quite entrancing and is up to the best jargon we have learned in the last few years, but if this poetic babble can satisfy the ruling classes of America, it is not, or should not be sufficient for the American workers, who are not so versed in the higher metaphysics of government.

WHAT CASTOR OIL HAS DONE TO ITALY

Therefore, for the information of the latter, it is well to summarize briefly what all these ineffable things mean, translated in working class terms, and to show what Fascism has done to solve the labor question, which is admittedly the gravest problem in the world today.

Fascism has actually outlawed all labor organizations, save those of its own creation; it has wiped out the cooperative movement; it has either confiscated or utterly destroyed the property of the trade-unions, robbed most of the treasuries, closed up their meeting halls, suppressed their press, repudiated their collective agreements with their employers, murdered, jailed or forced into exile their leaders and filled dungeons and graves with their most active and militant members. Seventy-five per cent of the trade-unions (which three years ago had a total membership close to four millions) have either been forced to disband at the point of the gun, or compelled to affiliate with the Fascist organizations and accept whatever conditions the government, acting as the business agent of the employer, was charitable enough to grant them. The recalcitrants—and they were legion up to a few months

ago, before they were sold out by venal or cowardly leaders—were either shot down in the streets by Mussolini's own Praetorians or made to gulp down quarts of castor oil. The latter method of "spiritual reconstruction," the most fiendish invention in the long annals of torture, was presumably adopted to purge the Bolshevists of Italy from such poisonous theories of nationalization of public utilities, the union shop, the 48-hour week, the living wage, participation in industrial management, and similar economic crimes that Italian labor attempted to perpetrate fully twenty years after they had been legalized in the rest of the white world, and five years after they had been sanctified in the covenant of the League of Nations.

This is the Bolshevism—whatever other abstract notions it might have had—that the black-shirted, bomb-throwing, billy-wielding archangels of patriotism have scotched in Italy after riding rough-shod, in Mussolini's own words, "over the prostrate and putrescent bodies of those old hags, Liberty and Democracy."

CONVERTING THE WORLD TO FASCISM

Having done all these splendid things to Italy, Fascism, being as unselfish as any imperialist theory is, naturally wanted to carry these blessings outside of the national borders, knowing that its final test must inevitably be made abroad, and that it must stand or fall by the acceptance or rejection of this method of "social pacification" by the rest of the world. This Mussolini, who in spite of his nationalism, is still as internationally minded as when he was a rabid revolutionary socialist, realized at once by organizing immediately after his accession to power a sub-branch of the Foreign Office known as the Bureau for the organization of Fascism abroad, copied from and improved upon the old German spy system. At the head of this bureau he put a certain Bastianini, a young nincompoop of 24, whose chief claim to glory is that his impudence, his looseness of tongue and his overweening desire to cut the throat of anybody who disagrees with him are as most virulent and astounding as his master's.

Since then Fascist cohorts have been organized in practically every country where there are Italian immigrants, such as France, Switzerland, South America, Algeria and, as we shall presently describe, our own United States.

But Fascism under its own spurious name (for even the original name has been stolen from the spiritual property of the labor movement) has not been too successful abroad, although it has made much noise and raised an immense cloud of dust. So far, as a non-Italian phenomenon, thanks chiefly to the slowness of the human race, it has sporadically

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

More than six thousand striking Italian tailors, John H. Lennon, week and it is expected that the remaining two thousand strikers will be at work under union terms very shortly.

The treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, John H. Lennon, arrives in Cleveland to aid the striking cloakmakers to conduct their prolonged and bitter battle.

Cutlers' Union, Local 16 of the I. L. G. W. U., celebrates its tenth anniversary by way of an excursion on the Hudson River and a banquet at Weitzer Grotto for all the members of the local.

Supreme Court Justice Bijler invalidates injunction issued by Justice Goff against Morris Winchinsky and Abraham Baroff, officers of Local 25, growing out of the strike against the firm of Rosenwasser & Co.

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York indorses the candidates of the Socialist party and the secretary is invited to arrange a ratification meeting for its candidates.

appeared wherever the labor movement had attained the size and status of an adult member of society, but its achievements have been more picturesque than substantial.

The only country, outside of Italy, where it is a recognizable factor is Germany, where it has reared its head with the grey plights of the ruffian and Hitlerite Hitler, who dreams of resurrecting the swastickbearing Vaterland of the "uber alles" days over the grave of the acephalous, belly-blown, palsied-legged republic, and the trampled body of the embattled proletariat. Fascism stands there for Gott and Ludendorff, for Stinnes and Hilferding, for revenge and Weltmacht, exactly as it stands in Italy for the restoration of the good old Roman law of the sword, the rod, the votive taper, servile labor and untaxed profits. Fascism in Germany is decidedly worth watching.

In Mexico, the next place where the plague broke out, it has cut a very sorry figure. Mexican Fascism tried to duplicate the Italian tragedy in the form of a bloody farce, but it was soon throttled in the cradle by the quick counteraction of organized labor, and President Obregon saw to it that it got a prompt state burial in whatever Potter's Field treacherous and reactionary movements are interred in an enlightened and progressive country.

Elsewhere Fascism was imported and transplanted by the direct agents and henchmen of Mussolini, and was logically confined to Italian settlements and colonies. Naturally, like all exotic plants it thrives only in the fertile environment of a specialized hot-house, and then only with great (Continued on page 11)

This convention will, quite likely, take up again the burning question of independent political action by organized Labor. This problem is absorbing more and more the interest of increasingly growing sections in the labor movement. Another problem is the relation of organized Labor in America to the labor movement in Europe, which cannot be left in abeyance for ever. America cannot maintain a Chinese wall for all time between its workers and the workers in European lands, and the distracted condition of the latter is bound in the end to have an effect on labor conditions in our own country.

Definite decisions will have to be adopted with reference to the United States Supreme Court, to injunctions in labor disputes, to the increasing number of the so-called "outlaw" strikes which cannot be solved by the suspension or expulsion of the traitor from the union. The problem of child labor will quite likely be taken up again, and American Labor can certainly not content itself in this grave question with a mere resolution expressing the pious hope that Congress would some day pass a

new law which would be promptly declared "unconstitutional" by the courts.

The question of labor education by workers themselves should also receive the attention of the convention and a plan which would make such educational efforts possible in every city and section of the country should be effected. A firm attitude must also be adopted against the Ku Klux Klan movement, which is fast becoming a real menace to our liberties, as well as against that hideous importation, the Fascist plague.

Let us hope that the convention of the Federation will handle all these grave problems with fitting earnestness and thoroughness and with courage enough to decide upon new departures if in any case it becomes apparent that the old path, though fit in the past, has outlived its usefulness. We hope that this convention will not fail to do everything within its power to lead the workers to higher, loftier and nobler aims in their struggle for a better life. We wish the 43d Convention of the American Federation of Labor great and unqualified success.

Epaulettes

(A Lithuanian Silhouette)

By ABRAHAM RAISIN

Some few years ago, I rented a small room from a Jewish plasterer. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that I had hired that room not from him but from his wife, as the plasterer was not at home when I carried through the deal.

"My husband rises at seven in the morning and comes home at ten at night," she told me in a tone in which I heard both pride and complaint.

At ten o'clock that evening, I was greeted loudly by a jolly "good evening." As I crossed the threshold of my room, I observed in front of me a man of about 35, of medium height, broad-shouldered, with a pair of merry black eyes which stared at me from a grimy face.

"So this is our lodger?" he addressed his wife looking sideways at me.

"Yes, that's me, myself," I replied instead of the wife.

His happy unassuming demeanor made me sort of like him.

"You do look more like a 'Ker-man,'" he beamed on me with a kind smile. "I shall nevertheless hand you a real Jewish 'sholem aleichem,'" and he stretched forth a heavy, horny, though warm, hand.

"Surely," I stammered out. "I

rather believe myself in 'sholem aleichem.'"

"A Jewish greeting is not a bad thing to have around, no matter where a fellow finds himself, eh?" he asked vaguely.

"Do you work the whole day?" I inquired of him, not knowing what else to say.

"What would a man do? What is the use of not working? Is not 'man born to labor?'" he said, and for a moment he looked rather grave. The last few words he uttered in Hebrew and it seemed that he was very proud of his familiarity with the ancient tongue, though the words left his tongue with obvious difficulty.

"Oh, so you are quite a learned man," I said to please him. My complaint must have touched a soft spot. Through the time that sprinkled his face profusely I noticed the crimson of contentment as he replied:

"Not a great scholar, but not an illiterate just the same. Every Saturday I do look into a book."

"Very nice, very nice," I said. "Torah coupled with labor will endure forever."

His wife, who stood nearby, enjoyed our conversation hugely but finally remarked with a glow of severity:

"Well, Chaim, it is time to eat." "But what is your hurry?" he demurred. "Can't you bear to see me whiling away a few minutes with a real fellow?"

There was no mistaking the fact that Chaim the plasterer was very much pleased with his lodger. Finally he said to me:

"It is time to wash our hands and eat. You know if we do not eat, we do not work; and if we cannot work, we might be 'cashiered.'"

I looked at him in amazement, "what do you mean—'cashiered'?"

"Just what I said; for my work I have worn a pair of epaulettes," he said with simulated pride.

"Will, he is starting his old stunts again! The plasterer's wife began to complain, "his epaulettes! You'd better have supper," she was protesting.

"Why, don't you like my epaulettes?" he protested. "I would not swap mine for a general's."

"Now tell me, what epaulettes are they?" I became interested.

"Well, what is the difference?" he said. "I shall show them to you some other time. Perhaps now—," he was meditating. "What do you say, Chasbe, shall I show them to him now or shall I leave them for Friday night after my fast is over?"

"There is no need of showing them at all," she disented, "there is nothing to show."

"So you still do not like my epaulettes?" He smiled good-naturedly at her. Later, after supper, he whispered to me, "I shall show them to you." I went into my room and a while

later, as I sat engrossed in a book, having completely forgotten about the epaulettes, I heard a quiet whisper from across the door:

"Do you want to see them?"

"Oh, yes," I recalled and rose. He stood before me motionless and smiled. "I'll show them to you in a minute. Do not think that I am just a plain plasterer from the ranks. As he talked, he pulled down the upper part of his shirt.

"Do you see my epaulettes now?" he asked with an earnest face.

I looked closely and stepped back. On the plasterer's right and left shoulders there were two huge callous, the size of a human fist, obviously produced by years of carrying loads full of bricks, lime and stone.

"Does it hurt?" I stammered out. Somehow I felt guilty, as though I had committed a wrong.

"Hurt?" he laughed back at me. "Hah, can epaulettes hurt? Well, perhaps the first time, but now they are a part of me."

"Yes, yes," I was about to say something. "These are real epaulettes, you deserve a salute for them, you do."

"Who wants salutes?" he gravely waved his hand. "If only God gives me strength to work! Good-night! Tomorrow is another work-day."

I wished him good-night and was really glad that he had left me. All night long those epaulettes haunted me and would not let me sleep. I never since met a person who came by his chevrons more honestly than Chaim the plasterer.

The Canadian Trades Congress Convention

(Special Correspondence to JUSTICE)
Vancouver, September 25.

Canada's Parliament of Labor, under the presidency of Tom Moore, began its sessions at Vancouver on September 9th and, after deliberations that lasted over a week, passed a formidable array of resolutions and practical decisions to guide the activities of the Congress during the next year.

These included protests to the Premier and the Minister of Immigration at Ottawa against the manner in which 12,000 harvesters had been brought from Britain and a demand that the government accept the responsibility for the care and safe return to their homes of those physically unfit for the work for which they had been engaged. The Trades and Labor Council also reiterated its demand for the total exclusion of Orientals, and urged both the Dominion and Provincial Governments to exercise supervision over the occupation and activities of Orientals now resident in Canada.

Other resolutions dealt with sought improvements in the workmen's compensation laws of Ontario, and legislation along similar lines in Quebec, extension of the mothers' allowance laws of Ontario, better enforcement of the laws covering registration of steam plants in Ontario and inspection of all locomotives in Canada.

During the discussion of the Oriental question several delegates presented for the organization of Orientals, and Jack Kwan, delegate from Vancouver Longshoremen, brought the wrath of the Chair down on his head by claiming that "Oriental crews on ships coming into Vancouver have a better understanding of working solidarity than many of the Labor lakins who continually attend this Congress." The president refused to allow aspersions to be cast on the integrity of the delegates, and forced Kwanagh to withdraw his statement.

Gustav France, of the Montreal

Trades and Labor Council, introduced a resolution, which was carried, urging the government of the Province of Quebec to adopt free, compulsory education, all text-books to be issued by the government and sold at cost price pending free distribution to scholars. The resolution urged that all school books be uniform, and that all persons under-21, working in factories or in other places who are not able to read and write one of the two official languages fluently, be compelled to attend at evening classes, and recommends appointment of a Minister of Education to enforce the programme of education adopted by Provincial, Catholic and Protestant Boards.

WORLD VIEW MUST BE TAKEN

In a brief address, Mr. Moore stated that, while the delegates had met to discuss matters concerning the Canadian Labor movement, they could not, as labor men, ignore the progress, problems and anxiety of labor in other nations. Since the advancement of science had brought people closer together, reduced distances and speeded time, the old saying that no country could stand by itself was pregnant with greater meaning today than ever before. International unionism had brought the Canadian labor movement into closer affiliation with that of the United States, while it must be remembered that as part of the Empire, the problems of other parts of the Empire must have a bearing on the progress in Canada.

In Canada, labor had passed through a trying time. It had been faced by opposition and serious and vexing problems, but it was still progressing and would progress, because it was founded on democratic lines. MINES SITUATION TO BE AÍRED

A warm discussion on the issues of the recent miners' strike in Cape Breton is in prospect, according to some of the delegates. J. C. MacLachlan, who led the strikers, and who was ordered by President J. L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers

of America to give up his post, is in attendance, as is also Sissy Barrett, of Glace Bay, Provisional President of the newly organized district formed to replace the MacLachlan faction.

DROP IN MEMBERSHIP

Attention was repeatedly drawn to the depletion of membership of various unions on both sides of the line during the past few years, and reasons for this were sought. The majority of the speakers blamed labor's own indifference to its best interests. The One Big Union and the "Reds" were credited with reactionary influence. Delegate Simpson, of Toronto, pointed out that the diminution in numbers was largely due to the war. There had been a tremendous industrial inflation, with a great increase in membership, and the cessation of hostilities naturally reduced it. The statement was made during the debate that, since 1921, Canadian trades unionism had lost 100,000 members and 400 locals.

REMEDY MUST BE FOUND

A view expressed by many delegates was crystallized by Delegate J. Macdonald, of the Toronto Workers' party, who said that he had to admit that trades unionism in Canada was at a crisis, their organization was at a lower level than ever before, and unless they found the cause and remedied it, they would go lower still.

"Employing interests are in control of Canada," stated Delegate Pettipiece, Vancouver, "and we can expect nothing but what we get as long as this condition continues." He was for a political movement that would move Canadian workers should pattern after their fellows in Britain.

Just before adjournment resolutions were passed deploring issuing of injunctions during the labor controversies, and promising to make every effort to have the criminal code amended, making peaceful picketing during strikes legal; that the Federal govern-

ment be urged to abolish grants for cadet or other forms of military or naval training, and that the convention go on record as protesting against the use of military force in industrial disputes.

A resolution which attracted most discussion was the one introduced by the Toronto Lodge of the International Association of Machinists calling on the Congress to affirm that it would become "the real center of a virile, active and powerful trade union movement if it were:

- (1) Given the power to increase its per capita and levy assessments.
- (2) If each international trade union affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress establish Canadian departments with well-defined power and autonomy and all economic and financial activity to be co-ordinated through the international officers at the department head.
- (3) If each department of the American Federation of Labor (building, railroads, etc.) set up Canadian sections as has been done by the metal trades and railroads departments.
- (4) If Canadian departments of international unions be conceded the right to strike and participate in any political activity in the interests of the Canadian working class.

The preamble to the resolution sets forth that "there has been, since the inception of trades unionism in Canada, an ever-present danger, fluctuating between mild protest and open revolt, for a larger degree of Canadian autonomy in the growing struggle between capital and labor in Canada." The preamble suggests that "the more backward ideology of the United States Labor movement particularly of the officialdom, is ever more frequently being used as a brake on the Canadian Labor movement, which is doing, in the infinitely more advanced labor movement of Great Britain."



THE REASON LABOR LOSES

Capital is about 90 per cent organized; labor only 30 per cent.



FOREIGN ITEMS

SWEDEN

CHOICE OF SERVICE FOR SWEDISH CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

Conscientious objectors in Sweden, by new provisions of a law, first passed in 1920, have the right to choose a form of civilian service in place of military duties.

JAPAN.

NEW LABOR LEGISLATION.

The following three bills were introduced by the Government of Japan during the last session of Parliament and duly passed without amendment by both Houses, according to information received by the International Labor Office:

1. Act amending the Factory Act.
2. Act concerning the minimum age for employment in industry.
3. Act regarding the minimum age and health certificates of seamen.

The act concerning the minimum age of industrial workers embodies all the provisions of the Draft Convention of the International Labor Conference of Washington in 1919, fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment, and the act regarding the minimum age and certification of health of seamen embodies the provisions of the Geneva Draft Convention fixing the minimum age for admissions of children to employment at sea and the Geneva Draft Convention concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea.

LABOR STATISTICS IN JAPAN.

Japan is instituting labor research in various directions. On October 10th a general inquiry is to be made throughout the whole country as to working conditions in factories employing over 30 workers, and in collieries employing over 50 miners. Information will have to be given as to the kind of work done, the working hours, the intervals for rest, holidays, etc. The workers will be asked to give personal details. An inquiry is also to be set on foot respecting unemployment.

INDIA.

NOVEL SCHEME FOR DEALING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT.

A meeting of the Bengal Unemployment Committee at Calcutta recently approved the Calcutta University scheme for dealing with unemployment. The plan is to start, according to a report published by the International Labor Office, an industrial and agricultural colony, to invite people to join with their own capital, and to request influential persons to give the pioneer group the support of their custom for a few years in order to give the colony a good start. Public-spirited persons will be also asked to take shares which will bear interest to a maximum of 12½ per cent. It is held that the establishment of such colonies would show the way to the solution of the problem of unemployment in Bengal.

ITALY.

ABOLITION OF MINISTRY OF LABOR AND SUPERIOR COUNCIL.

The International Labor Office has been informed that the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare of Italy has been abolished by a Royal Decree. The Decree provides that the Premier, in agreement with the Minister of Industry and Commerce and the Minister of Finance, shall take the necessary steps for their transfer to other Ministries. The various services in question will be placed under the direct control of the Premier until a permanent reorganization scheme is put into operation.

The Superior Council of Labor, which was instituted by an Act of June 29, 1902, and reorganized under a legislative decree of October 27, 1922, has also been abolished. All questions which, under existing legislation, should be referred to the Superior Council of Labor or its permanent committee, will be dealt with by the Premiers pending the reorganization of the council.

AFRICA.

AFRICAN WORKERS AND THE GERMAN MARK.

The fall in the value of the German mark has strongly affected the production of palm-nuts, palm-oil and cocoa in Africa. The prices of these articles having fallen, the workers receive lower wages, and there is some possibility that the production may cease altogether.

GERMANY.

ADVANCES FOR THE PURCHASE OF CLOTHING IN GERMANY.

Unemployed persons who have been out of work for a considerable period often find it difficult to take up a new situation owing to their lack of the necessary equipment, especially working clothes. The Prussian Minister of Welfare, in agreement with the Federal Minister of Labor, has issued a decree authorizing advances from the unemployment relief funds to supply the necessary working equipment and clothes to unemployed persons who have a prospect of at least six weeks' employment. Either the articles themselves or the money for their purchase will be issued as a loan to the persons in question. In cases of special hardship the communal authorities may remit repayment up to twelve times the daily rate of unemployment benefit.

LABOR BANK IN GERMANY.

The "Deutsche Kapitalverwertungs-Gesellschaft m. b. H." (German company for utilizing capital) Berlin S. O. 16, Engelaer 25, the newly founded bank of the German trade unions, wishes to establish closer relations with the Labor banks already in existence in other parts of the world in order to transact whatever business these latter may have in Germany. All information that may be required will be readily granted.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

EMPLOYMENT STANDS.

Preliminary figures issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate small change in employment during August as compared with July. The decrease was but one-fifth of 1 per cent. The total amount paid in wages increased seven-tenths per cent.

PAPER MAKERS STICK.

The strike of organized paper makers against the International Paper Company is now in its third year.

That the company feels the effect of this remarkable solidarity against low wages is shown by its appeal to individual unionists. The company has been forced to speed up their strikebreakers, and this gentry is leaving in large numbers.

PANAMA CANAL EARNS SIXTEEN MILLION IN NINE YEARS.

An official report of the Panama Canal showed that for the nine years it has been in operation it has earned a net operating profit of over \$16,000,000. Of this total \$13,000,000 was derived from tolls, taxes on vessels and cargoes.

CHILD LABOR STILL INCREASING.

Child labor is increasing in the United States. Latest figures indicate an increase in child labor in 1922 as compared with 1921 and in 1923 as compared with 1922. Legislatures in 44 states have met since the national child labor law was declared unconstitutional. Only 8 states have taken steps to improve their child labor laws.

COAL DEALERS ASSAIL 10 PER CENT WAGE GAIN.

With the probability that an era of coal gouging has been blocked, coal dealers throughout the country are raving at Governor Pinchot for suggesting that the miners' 10 per cent wage increase can be absorbed by the industry.

This statement makes it difficult for every one who handles anthracite to raise prices on the ground that wages are responsible.

The National Retail Coal Merchants' Association has filed a sorrowful complaint with the United States Coal Commission against the Pinchot settlement. Of course, labor is blamed—"arrogant, organized labor," the coal dealers say. These business men tearfully declare that their profits are only moderate. Their plea closes with a defense of "the principles of liberty and encouragement of individual initiative, upon which our freedom and prosperity rest." This sentiment sounds good, though it is not clear what relation it bears to the question at issue.

PHYSICAL DEFECTS BLAMED FOR CRIME.

"Seventy-five per cent of all crime is a by-product of poverty, and much of that crime can be traced to bad teeth, short-sightedness, bad feet and other physical and mental deficiencies," said Louis D. Gibbs, county judge of Bronx County.

The speaker declared that it is the early environment that shapes life. "And the slum life in our cities produces criminals," he said. "Physical defects render the individual unable to adjust himself to society. He falls behind and then takes the line of least resistance."

Union Health Center News

The Union Health Center is arranging a special Health Education Program for its year's activity. The most attractive feature of the term will be a remarkable course of special exercises for working men and working women. The brief course of six lectures that was given by Dr. Crampton last year was so successful, that upon petition of the Union Health School the course has been enlarged to thirteen lessons, beginning Thursday evening, November 1st.

This course will be given by Dr. C. Ward Crampton, former director of evening schools and a physical training director of the Battle Creek Sanitarium. Dr. Crampton has worked out a special course to fit the defects of garment workers; defects which have arisen as a result of improper seating and improper standing when at work.

Each worker taking the course will be given a thorough medical examination by the doctor of the Union Health Center. This will be followed by a special examination by Dr. Crampton to ascertain the physical defects of the person, that is, whether he is round-shouldered, whether he has curvature of the spine, flat feet, etc. Each worker will then be given a special course of exercises to fit his

problem and to correct his own defects.

Arrangements are now being made to secure the gymnasium of the Washington Irving High School for this purpose. The entire course of sixteen lectures inclusive of the physical examination will cost \$5.00. This is an extremely low fee and was decided upon by the members of the Union Health School.

Those members of the I. L. O. W. U. who are interested in joining the class will kindly register at the office of the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street. Inasmuch as the class will be limited to thirty, it is necessary for all registrations to be made as soon as possible.

This course promises to be one of the most unique features ever attempted by any trade union body.

The Union Health School will open on Friday evening, October 26th. A course of lectures in anatomy and physiology will be given by Dr. Iago Gladston of the New York Tuberculosis Association. The opening lecture of the Friday night lectures will be given on Friday evening, October 26, in the auditorium of the Union Health Center. If you are interested either in the health lectures or the Health School, now is your time to register.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the
UNITY CENTERS

of the
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Season 1922-1923

LESSON 5—Continued.

- The dominance of the banks has created an elaborate financial structure. This includes savings banks, commercial banks, investment banking institutions, trust companies (department stores of banking), investment departments of insurance companies, promoters, commercial paper houses, farm loan associations, Land Banks, etc. Of this array the most important are the investment banks and the commercial banks—the former in the main determining what industries should obtain fixed capital, the latter (chiefly, although they play some role in investment funds also) determining what industries should obtain working capital. The Federal Reserve System is in essence an attempt to centralize the commercial banking structure.
- The development of the investment bank, especially since 1900, has led some economists to point out that the business men no longer is the risk-taker in industry. (Thorstein Veblen, above.)
- There can be no doubt that the financial structure is now world-wide in scope. Financial movements in one country affect all others; and financial penetration has been the necessary forerunner of modern imperialism and the development of backward countries. (H. G. Moutin, Financial Organization, Chapter XXX, p. 772.)
- Many technical men, economists, labor unionists and socialists are answering the "Challenge of Finance" by a demand for its social control. (e. g. H. L. Gantt, "Organizing for Work," Chapter VI; Thorstein Veblen, above [indirectly]; American Federation of Labor, "Bill of Rights," February 23, 1921; Major C. H. Douglas, "The Control of Distribution and Production," "Credit Power and Democracy," "Economic Democracy.")

LESSON 6.—What the War Has Done To Our Present Economic System.

- Just as today man produces goods by power machinery, so he fights with power machinery. Modern War has been industrialized to such an extent that it is "quantity destruction" which must be carried on not by regular armies and individuals, but by nations, engineers and chemists. The horrors of machine war are so terrible, that many historians, philosophers and humanitarians before 1914 argued that its very horrors would keep men from resorting to it. But the war came nevertheless, and with it greater horrors than even the thinkers foresaw.

WAIST MAKERS' UNITY CENTER MEETS

High School Class Meets at Washington Irving High School—Mr. Davidoff, Instructor

The high school class under Mr. Davidoff which held its sessions in the Waist Makers' Unity Center, P. S. 40, has been transferred to the Washington Irving High School, 16th Street and Irving Place, ROOM 724.

Those of our members who wish to join this class should report to Room 724, at once, between 6:30 and 8:30 p. m. There they will find Mr. Davidoff Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings. After

the class is organized the hours will be arranged to suit the convenience of all.

Mr. Davidoff, as an instructor, needs no introduction to our members, who know of his interest in our educational activities and of his good qualities as a teacher.

EAST SIDE UNITY CENTER TO BE OPEN NEXT THURSDAY

Owing to the Jewish holidays, P. S. 63, the East Side Unity Center, will be open Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of next week, instead of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Members who attend this Unity Center are urged to go present.

Encouraging Word from Stuart Chase of the Labor Bureau

I have read with great interest the announcement of courses for the coming year issued by the I. L. G. W. U. Educational Department. What is more, I have read parts of the pamphlet to certain business and professional men who happened to be taking their vacations in our vicinity here in the White Mountains. Drifting in to talk and argument with them, they proceeded, according to the habits of their class, to denounce Labor for its ignorance and its low ideals. I

let them rave on for a time, and then I quietly produced your pamphlet, and read them some of the course headings—Foundations of Modern Civilization, The Economic Basis of Government, Applied Psychology, The Evolution of Industry—

They were a pretty sheepish lot of men when I—or better when you—got through with them. I do not think they will be quite so handy with their "ignorance" arguments hereafter. The poor boob!

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.

(Will Open November 16.)

UNITY CENTERS

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

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

Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40—320 East 20th Street, Manhattan. Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171—103d Street, between Madison and Fifth Avenues, Manhattan.

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

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

Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43—Brown Place and 125th Street, Bronx. Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 150—Christopher and Sackman Street, Brooklyn.

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

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

OPENING CELEBRATION OF OUR WORKERS' UNIVERSITY ON NOV. 10

The resumption of the activities of our Educational Department and the reopening of the Workers' University and Unity Centers will be celebrated at Washington Irving High School on Saturday evening, November 10. For this occasion, a musical program will be arranged with many well-known artists, and short talks will be given by friends of the workers' education movement. The program will be followed by a dance in the gymnasium. Detailed announcement will be made later.

Our members who wish to spend the evening in sociability should reserve this evening. Admission will be by tickets only, which will be distributed free proportionally among our local unions.

MEMBERS MAY STILL REGISTER FOR THE UNITY CENTERS

Our members may still register for our eight Unity Centers. Classes in English for beginners, intermediate and advanced students have been organized in each Unity Center. Classes will be formed in physical training. Short courses of six lessons in economic, social and industrial problems will be given later in the season.

Those of our members who wish to join the Unity Centers may register either at the office of their local union, at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, or at the Unity Center nearest their home.

When registering at the school, members must not forget to mention that they wish to join the classes of the I. L. G. W. U. Admission is free to the members of the union.

Our Locals and Education

The success of the educational work of our International is primarily and fundamentally due to the fact that the thousands of thinking men and women who constitute the membership of our organization, realize to what a tremendous extent education will help Labor to achieve its aims.

The classes which we have organized in the Unity Centers, Workers' University and the extension courses have attracted in the past many of our serious minded members. We have no doubt at all that during the coming season they will continue their education and many others will join them in our classes.

But this is not at all sufficient. The Educational Department has been exerting all its energy to attract to our courses as many of our members as possible. But there are a great many who will not come to our classes. And this will occur for good reasons.

Some are too tired evenings to go to a school. Some have important union activities which claim their entire leisure time and attention. Some have such problems at home, in their family, that they are unable to give any time to educational work. But a great many of these, we know, are nevertheless anxious to learn more and more about the world we live in,

the aims of our organization and of the labor movement, and how to bring about the things we dream of.

Such people are found in every local union. It is the business of each of our locals to help their members to satisfy their urge for education. The old saying is, if the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must come to the mountain. If these people cannot come to our regularly organized classes, we must provide activities which will reach them.

It is the duty of each local union now, immediately, to canvass the situation, select an active educational committee, and to communicate immediately with our Educational Department. If the local union acquaints us with the need of its members, the Educational Department will organize the classes in subjects which are wanted, on days and at hours which are convenient and in places which are accessible. In this way, it will be possible to reach practically all who want more knowledge.

We urge our locals to attend to this matter at once.

Again, select your educational committees, determine what you want, and get in touch with our Educational Department.



Final Financial Report of Dress Joint Board

The final financial report of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union, which went out of existence as an independent body early this month in accordance with the decision of the General Executive Board of the International Union to amalgamate the two existing joint boards into one, was rendered on September 5th at Beethoven Hall. This meeting was called especially for the purpose of winding up the activities of the Dress Joint Board by receiving and acting upon the financial report rendered by the International auditor, F. Nathan Wolf, and read by Brother Mackoff, ex-secretary of the Joint Board.

The financial report consists of the balance sheet as of August 27, 1923; the final adjustment of surplus of the same date, and a statement of receipts and disbursements from April 1st to August 27th, 1923. The total assets of the dissolved Joint Board amount to \$187,627.68, the principal items of which are: cash in banks, \$99,731.23; money on deposit with

the International, \$36,500; Liberty bonds, \$13,900; due from locals, \$34,284.77; and a few miscellaneous items. Among the liabilities are listed securities from employers amounting to \$100,261.87; loans payable \$30,000; and revolving funds due to locals \$23,162.50. The report shows a surplus of assets over liabilities of \$28,000.62.

In view of the fact that Local 25, the Waistmakers' Union, owed the Joint Board the sum of \$15,940.90, and also a few minor items which had to be written off the books, the net surplus to be divided by Locals 10, 22, 60 and 89 in proportionate shares amounted to only \$12,610.63.

In the statement of receipts and disbursements from April 1st to August 27th, it appears that the total receipts for this period, including a balance of \$98,307.34 on April 1st, amounted to \$377,215.10; and that the disbursements showed a sum of \$277,483.88, leaving a balance on August 27th of \$99,731.22.

Among the outstanding items of income during these five months were

payments by the six locals amounting to \$99,818.13; payments by the same locals on the 1923 assessment amounting to \$29,296.39; liquidated damages collected from the employers, \$2,270; collected wages, \$16,171.46; Unity House collections, \$31,145.50; and loans returned by Unity House, \$18,675.

Among the principal items of disbursement are: maintenance of the fourteen department of the Joint Board, \$41,806.04; court expenses, including injunction litigation, \$9,611.70; general strike expenses for 1923, \$19,925.24; collected wages paid out, \$15,827.63; returned securities, \$25,193.13; and Unity House collections returned in loans to same amounting to \$42,465.50.

As stated above, this report was rendered by the Auditing Department of the International and countersigned by F. Nathan Wolf, general auditor. The Joint Board voted approval of the report and thereby brought to a close its functioning as a separate financial agency.

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Menace of Fascism

(Continued from page 7)

care and meticulous nursing; but even so, if one considers that it had at its service ambassadors, envoys, consuls, committee attaches, retinues and trains as well as hordes of spies, private detectives, voluntary stool pigeons, strikebreakers and the rest, it is amazing to note how miserably it has failed to make even a decent show.

BLACK SHIRT METHODS IN AMERICA

This is the case of the United States. Of course the first eruption of this yellow and black rash appeared in the Little Italies of our larger cities, but attempts have also been made to inoculate the native with the virus, though the results are not yet fully apparent.

A Fascist club, camouflaged under the impudent name of the Dante Alighieri Society, has been in existence for some time among the students—most all American-born, of Columbia University, whose staid and serene halls have resounded to the hearing of the writer, with the murderous "Alala" of the Fascist battle charge against union headquarters and labor centers.

In Nebraska a group of disgruntled Ku-Klux Klanism bolted from the night-shirt brigade and tried to set an "American Fascist" fraternity, with all the trappings and catchwords of the Mussolini zealots, but after holding a couple of conventions, splitting in two, and advertising in the New York press for organizers (sic), the American Fascisti have not been heard from again. Inquiries made by the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America have failed to disclose to this day the present whereabouts of the Dux Supreme, the Lictors, the Praetors, the Ariari and the plain riff-raff of the first and only 100 per cent American Fascist.

The other kind of propaganda which has been confined to the Italian immigrants has fared considerably better. It is fed every day by the entire Italian press, except one San Francisco daily, and it boasts of three direct organs, a monthly in New York, a weekly in Boston and another in Wilkes-Barre. Lately the Boston paper has been declared the only official mouthpiece of Fascism in America by the Fascist directorate in Rome, while the New York monthly lays a claim as the only high-brow vehicle of doctrinaire propaganda. According to these papers no less than 85

fascio (local organizations) have been established in the various cities of the Union, all of which are federated in a national body dependent on the Central Fascia of New York City which, in its turn, takes orders directly from Rome. It is needless to say that not a single union man, indeed not a single bona-fide working man at this stage of the game, belongs to these groups, which are led and ruled by ex-officers of the Italian armies, futuous intellectuals, a few business men and employers of labor, and the secret agents of Mussolini.

A RECORD OF FAILURE IN ITALY

Well, perhaps the United States has already had too much Bolshevism with so many strikes that end in arbitration and so many Labor party conventions and conferences that end in fist-fights and libel suits; perhaps the United States has too many private detectives, gunmen, militiamen, constabularies, company unions, strikebreaking agencies, judges, jailers, and hangmen to uphold the law and save civilization from the voracious workers; perhaps the time is arrived to scrap the Monroe doctrine and beg the help of our foreign friends to save us from our domestic enemies—but why don't the Fascisti prove to us first that they have made a full success of it in their native habitat?

Why do strikes still take place in Italy? Why hasn't Mussolini paid a single cent of Italy's debt to the United States? Why is the Italian flag going down the way of the mark? And why, oh why, doesn't Mussolini prove that a workman can at least keep on living like a stray dog in his glorious empire without having to come here as an indentured servant to work for his keep, to break strikes, to sell himself to a new bondage in order to exterminate radicalism as he (Mussolini) himself is begging Washington to let him do?

For the latter is indeed the only solution that Fascism has found so far, or will ever find, to the tremendous problems of modern Italy, a solution which is as old as the first that was ever dictated by hunger in a barren land, a solution which is none other than the gradual and progressive depopulation of a country not sufficiently depleted by war, famine, floods, eruptions and civil strife. Mussolini's greatest stroke of statesmanship is about to be made. He can't send as many of his men as he can to

the United States and enrich Italy on this new slave trade which the Fascisti over here are the advance sales agents. To do this successfully he must have here a labor movement that is pliable and friendly, and the only way this can be done is to have it threatened and blackmailed into acquiescence through the repeated assertions that Italian Fascisti will establish here their own forms of trade-unionism.

MUSSOLINI-GARY SELECTED IMMIGRANTS

Mussolini wants a "selected" immigration to the United States, and Judge Gary and Secretary of Labor Davis have completely agreed with him. The Italian Commissioner of Emigration has stated to the Associated Press that he is ready to send here "specialized" workers of any trade, weight, age or pedigree, even "5000 red-haired plumbers if such order is filed in." These men, hand-picked, as the official statement says, are ready to come here as soon as they are wanted. They are all Fascisti, of course; some through fear and the desire to facilitate their escape from the Mussolini millennium, and the rest because they are "hand-picked."

Once these "selected" men have come here—and they will come here if organized labor permits it—then, and not only till then, we shall have a concrete idea of what Fascism truly is. Gary wants them to come, all the chambers of commerce are clamoring for them, the vernal press is full of the praise of the "new" Italian worker and peasant, the "best" in the world, and Secretary Davis is "impressed" and has an "open mind."

It is no use to gainsay the danger of Fascism in America, however mild it may appear now, however we may contend that it shall never become an alarming factor in our public life so long as it is confined to Italian immigrants. It would be indeed a baneful mistake to forget that there are more than 3,300,000 Italians in the United States, not to remember that fully 200,000 of them are according to the figures of the Italian Chamber of Labor of New York, belong to bona-fide labor unions. These men could fall easy prey to the "hand-picked" and selected immigrants and the "5000 red-haired plumbers" that will come from there with stern and precise instructions and will be assisted here to find jobs in the right places by whomsoever is interested in putting labor ever is interested in putting labor

FIGHTING FASCISM AT THE PORTS

The original Italian Fascisti in

America have been scattered and thrown into confusion by the prompt and energetic action of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, actively helped by the effective intervention of practically all labor organizations in the country. But they are not destroyed. They are only marking time and waiting for their opportunity. And their opportunity will come with the "new" immigration and the new forms that Fascism will assume, perhaps under another and less objectionable name. That it is going to be so, was revealed lately by the disclosure that Almerindo Portifoglio, one of the multi-millionaire cloak manufacturers of New York, had been appointed by Mussolini as one of the triumvirate who will "reorganize" the Fascios in the United States and make them more acceptable to the American people. Incidentally, Portifoglio employs only Italian help, models and salesmen excepted.

Selective immigration, a new word for involuntary servitude, must be prevented at all cost, unless we want to repudiate the 13th amendment to the Constitution. Selective immigration, especially from Italy, means nothing but the importation of slave labor with all its connotation. It means contracts made on the other side for the wholesale carrying over of strikebreakers, no matter how and under what guise—the dastardly attempt is camouflaged.

Let immigrants come here as free men, without any official stamp of approval save the one from the sanitary authorities and a certificate of honorable conduct, the only prerequisites for admittance that America has ever required. These immigrants American labor will welcome as brothers and fellow-workers; as it has always done and will guide and help in securing as large a share of the bounties of life as falls into its own lot. The others, those who are willing to barter their spiritual birthrights for a passport of the Italian dictator and a mass of postage from the American feudalists, had better enjoy the bounties of Fascism at home. (From Locomotive Engineers' Journal, Sept., 1923.)

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

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

The members of Local 10 who crowded to capacity the assembly room and the hallway of Arlington Hall, decided in a plain and forceful manner Monday night, September 24, that they approve of the decision of the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U., to take disciplinary measures against any and all members handed in "leagues."

This meeting, it may safely be said, was without parallel in size of member attendance excepting, of course, times of strikes. To say that 1,200 voters were present is to give a conservative estimate. And out of that number there were but 26 dissenting votes recorded by the secretary, which number some say is an overestimate, as the counting of this vote was very difficult owing to the vast crowd.

It may come as a surprise to many members that the matter of the G. E. B.'s decision was acted upon at this meeting, since to all intents and purposes the matter was disposed of at the last meeting. In fact some of the speakers Monday night admitted this.

It will be recalled that the Executive Board had decided upon the approval of the communication. The question was taken up at the general meeting in July. And the chairman then ruled out of order, a resolution which was introduced that the decision be condemned. The chairman based his ruling on the ground that a decision of the International, as the parent body, could not be reversed by a local union. He also ruled that to condemn or protest against this decision would be contrary to the by-laws.

A group of about six or eight members persistently clamored at the last meeting for a point of order. They refused to be seated and refused to listen when they were told that there were regular channels provided for in the event that they were dissatisfied with the rulings of the chair. The disruption tactics by these few assumed such proportions that President Ancel was finally compelled to adjourn the meeting.

The matter could have ended right then and there had the President and the Board so decided. However, the chairman felt that, since the question of the ruling was open for debate, he for one desired to test its correctness.

The matter was taken up with the Executive Board. The Board decided since there are regular means provided for the testing of any dispute it would take this the matter to a test. It was felt that this is what the few dissenting members should have done. It was what they were advised to do. And if they had the welfare of the organization at heart and were interested in its progress they could have done just this. The Executive Board felt, it should be clearly understood, that it was not obliged to test this question. Rulings of the parent body are final unless reversed by a convention. And a local union is in duty bound, if it wishes to continue as part of the International, to abide by its decisions.

But the small group seemed bent upon proving that what they desire solely is to hamper the organization. And so, instead of appealing to the proper sources and testing the validity of the chairman's ruling, they seemed more inclined to break the meeting up.

The Executive Board, assured of the loyalty of the vast majority of the members, feeling certain that they are interested in preserving the integrity of the International, decided to seek a ruling of the International on the action of the President of the

Local. It was, at any rate, an ideal opportunity to test just this point.

A committee consisting of Benjamin Evry, chairman of the Board, Philip Ancel, president of the Local and Joseph Fish, general secretary, was appointed for this meeting up with International President Sigman. Brother Sigman stated that theoretically the chairman was correct in his ruling. The decisions of the I. L. G. W. U. were final unless reversed by a convention. But, the President further said, there was no harm in submitting the decision to a vote. The members could, if they so desired, vote against the matter and stand whatever consequences faced them.

President Ancel and the Executive Board were pleased by this ruling. They felt that it was ample proof to all dissenters that satisfaction may be gotten on all matters provided regular and orderly means are resorted towards securing it.

When the question was taken up and before it was submitted for discussion the chairman called upon Manager David Dubinsky to state the position of the International. Dubinsky, as a vice-president of the I. L. G. W. U., was present at the sessions at which this question was decided. The manager made the matter very clear when he said that neither the International nor any other organization would tolerate government within a government. He said that the decision of the parent organization was prompted by the fact that certain leagues had become obnoxious in their attitude towards the union; that officers who were elected as a result of the activities of the members of one particular league, were not responsible to the organization proper but were rather obligated to groups which had within its folds members who were not connected with the union. And not only that, but men who were suspended and expelled from the union for disruption tactics were members of these groups and sought to foist their decisions upon the unions.

Manager Dubinsky pointed out, during his presentation of the International's position and during the course of his arguments for the adoption of the decision, that the purpose of some of the "leagues" was disorganization. A majority of the members of some executive boards of the International local unions were called by outside groups into caucus and were given orders by men not in the slightest degree connected with the International.

Not only were outsiders interested in having things "put over" but they together with a majority of the elected officers held meetings in the regular quarters of the union, or at a regular Executive Board Meeting. Dubinsky said that these outsiders were not only content with deciding on what should be the doings, but they also decided as to who should be appointed or elected to certain offices.

Replying to a statement by one who was opposed to the decision that a certain league was at one time very active within Local 10 and that some good measures were adopted by its activities, Dubinsky pointed out the differences between leagues. But, he stated, if one league has for its purpose the disruption of the organization, then it was time to do away with all leagues.

Leagues are sometimes necessary and there have been times when they performed commendable work. But, Dubinsky pointed out, when certain leagues overstepped bounds of reason—when slander and disruption becomes the purpose of some leagues and when the leaders of these leagues

openly admit that their purpose is disruption, then such action as decided upon by the International must be resorted to. And it must apply to good, as well as bad leagues.

There were some dramatic moments at the meeting. Dubinsky was reminded of the time when a league flourished in Local 10. But, he reminded his opponent that he, the opponent, himself, was the sponsor of a resolution which was adopted by the members of Local 10 tending to expel those members who in 1919 were members of the then existing "shop steward" movement or councils: One of the leagues now active in disruption tactics is nothing more than an offspring of that first league.

In his closing argument, the manager said that the International would not tolerate a union within a union. All problems, he said, must be decided upon by the very members who work in the trade; who had struggled to build up the organization, and not by those who experienced none of the hardships which the members and officers of the International and the locals had been forced to undergo in order to build up the union.

Warning was given to the obstructionists that neither the local nor the International would tolerate slander and abuse. Respect must and will be accorded the properly chosen representatives of the members. Any one found guilty of these tactics in the future will be disciplined, and if necessary, expelled.

Another one of the speakers who also favored the International's decision, Brother Charles Stein, very aptly reminded the members of another organization which was organized and functioned outside of the organization proper. And which was nothing more than a scab agency. He said that that was the danger of leagues: that sooner or later, when the power of the union cannot be captured by them, they are prone to turn into scab organizations.

Something like this nearly happened in 1919. In the dress and waist strike of that year an organization composed of discredited officers was formed. And employers were promised, in return for consideration, that the placard of the striking cutters would be taken by the members of this group.

That cutters are interested in allowing full sway to their officers for the progress of the union was one thing that was plainly evident at Monday night's meeting. Seldom has such order prevailed. The night was a hot one. And nearly every one was drenched in sweat. But they waited patiently for the chance to show where they stand.

At first President Ancel called for a "aye" and "nay" vote. There was a lusty "aye" that greeted approval of the decision by the 1,200 men. The 26 votes against clearly showed

how the members stood.

But a show of hands was called for. Apparently the members wanted to know just how the vote stood. When the chairman called for a show of hands, a count at once was seen to be out of the question. It was impossible to wedge oneself through the mass for the purpose of a count. However, the votes against were easy to count for obvious reasons.

An account of the meeting is contained on the front page of this issue of JUSTICE. That the question is interesting enough to occupy the best position need hardly be emphasized. Especially when it is remembered that such an unprecedented gathering took place on one of the important Jewish holidays.

In order that the members may be familiar with the decision of the International, it is important that the text of the order be printed here for future guidance. It reads in part as follows:

"The Local Unions are . . . directed to order all their members of . . . leagues to immediately cease all activities in the 'leagues' in any shape or form. All members of objectionable activities . . . shall be brought to trial on the charge of conduct detrimental to the organization, in the manner provided by our constitution.

"Locals and joint boards will be held strictly accountable for the enforcement of this decision, and are requested to report their action on it to the G. E. B. without delay."

LOCAL 89 INDORES MINIMUM WAGE FOR FIREMEN AND POLICEMEN

At its last regular meeting, held on Tuesday, September 25, the Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 89, passed a resolution in favor of a minimum wage for uniformed firemen and policemen. The resolution was adopted at the request of the Uniformed Firemen's Association of Greater New York, Local Union 84, which appeared before Local 89 on behalf of the uniformed public servants of New York.

The resolution in part reads as follows:

"Resolved that we, the Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Union, Local 89, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, do hereby indorse the proposition to establish a minimum wage scale for first grade patrolmen and firemen of this city, fully realizing the necessity of an adequate living wage for these men who daily risk their lives in the interest and welfare of the city."

This resolution was signed on behalf of the local by Luigi Antonini, its secretary.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

CLOAK AND SUIT	Monday, October 1st
WAIST AND DRESS	Monday, October 8th
MISCELLANEOUS	Monday, October 15th
GENERAL	Monday, October 29th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place