

"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. VI, No. 18.

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THE CALL OF MAY DAY

The First of May is calling.

The great workers' holiday is calling out to all whose ears are open to appeal, whose hearts can throb with response, and who have minds that will understand.

The First of May is your holiday. In May Day you shall seek and find a new hope and new strength in your struggle for a better life for yourself, your neighbor, and your fellow-men the world over! May Day is sacred. May Day must be wholly given over to rest, thought and festivities.

On May Day, the power of Labor should be demonstrated through rest, through abstaining from work. Let those who work for a living and those who do not, feel alike that on the First Day of May everything remains at a standstill, that all human life is impossible, unthinkable without the driving force of those who produce and create.

How vital such a demonstration is both for the workers of the world and for those who live off their toil! The world has become so accustomed to the spectacle of a great majority of its inhabitants driven under the lash of toil while a minority is enjoying the fruits thereof, that we scarcely notice the barbarity and absurdity of such an economic order.

It is the First of May, and its call is directed to all workers everywhere, in every productive walk of life, regardless of what god they worship, what language they speak, or what color their skin.

May Day talks to them in a language they can scarcely fail to understand: You must unite if you are to be freed from the yoke of slavery in which for untold generations you have been harnessed. Unity—this is the magic word that will sunder your chains and will make you free. Unity—this is the great key that will open for you all the sources of joy, life and happiness.

Root out the prejudices of hate, envy and suspicion against your fellow-workers which have been hammered into your minds since times immemorial. Discard as you would your deadliest enemy, vain pride, the silly feeling of superiority over your fellow-producers, because you might think that they are not as skilled workers as you are. There is no such thing as high labor and low labor.

Labor is high and fine when it is free and useful to society. But every form of labor is ugly if it is forced upon us and if from it only a few derive benefit.

Tear out from your hearts the puerile illusion that you, occupying this or that piece of land on our planet, are in any respect better than those who live on another stretch of its surface. Don't regard those who speak a different language from your own, who live somewhat differently and eat and dress not quite like yourself—as strangers, as "barbarians."

May Day calls to all the workers of the world: No matter where you are and who you are—as long as you work to be able to exist—you belong to the world-wide working class. Your paramount interest in life and your most important problem are one and the same: To make an end to the division of society into two classes, of workers and idlers; to make it impossible for one man to toil and suffer all through his existence so as to afford another human being every luxury that unearned wealth can give.

Vacate your shops, leave idle your work benches, your foundries, mills, mines and fields where in the sweat of your brow you are toiling for the crumbs your masters choose to allot to you. May Day is your sacred, great day on which you declare war, incessant war, on all who exploit and fleece you, on all who keep your head bowed down lowly so that you might not see how gloriously the sun is shining upon the world, how blue is the sky, and how sweet life could be—if it only were not made so bitter for most of us.

May Day is the day on which the working class, hands across both hemispheres, is solemnly pledging itself not to halt for a moment in the great and holy struggle for its own emancipation, for the sundering of the age-old chains which are still binding its mighty limbs.

S. Y.

A Message From President Morris Sigman

Dear Sisters and Brothers—Delegates

I greet you in a spirit of triumph
of our locals to our Jubilee Conv.

We are today on the threshold of our International Union. We are determined to proceed uninterrupted with the task which our predecessors began twenty-five years ago. Their courage and self-sacrifice were great and inspiring. They have done all they could to bring more light, more sunshine, more freedom, into the lives of our workers. And we as their successors surely cannot go back, but must advance continually on the same road.

Not all has been done by us for those who have sent us to this convention. There is still much to be done if the load of our workers is to be made tolerable. True, we have more bread than we had twenty-five years ago, but not enough to be satisfied with. Our work conditions are considerably better than they were, but still not good enough to be able to declare with a clear conscience that there is nothing to fight for any longer. Our workers still suffer from frequent and devastating unemployment which will be a matter of the past if our industry is placed on a sound basis. Our members are still not secure with their means of existence for the next day. And we, as their emissaries to this convention, must take counsel among ourselves as to the abolition of these evils of today, as our predecessors sought to do away with the evils of their day.

In the hope that you and we will all fulfill our duty, and that at this convention we shall concern ourselves with nothing but the welfare of our great membership, I welcome you to our Jubilee Convention.

MORRIS SIGMAN,

President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Convention Boat Leaves This Saturday Afternoon

Delegates Go to Boston on Northland

The New York delegates to the Boston convention, and all such delegates from other cities as have stopped over in New York on the way to Boston, will leave for that city on Saturday next, May 3, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, daylight saving time, on the Northland, one of the Fall River Line steamers.

The Northland will leave Pier 18, North River, foot of Murray street, and all delegates as well as those who might desire to come to see them off, are requested to be at the pier at least a half hour before leaving time.

The Boston convention will take place at Convention Hall, the imposing meeting-hall owned by the Musicians' Protective Union of Boston, and located at 56 St. Botolph street, —the same hall where our convention was held in Boston in 1918.

Telegrams and communications relating to the convention should be forwarded to the following address:

Convention, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,
Convention Hall,
56 St. Botolph Street,
Boston, Mass.

Big Chicago Dress Firm Settles; Others to Follow

As we go to press, President Sigman received a telegram informing him of a break which has occurred in the ranks of the obdurate Chicago dress employers whose workers have been out on strike for nearly ten weeks.

The readers of JUSTICE are aware of the fact that the General Executive Board at its meeting in the early part of April, decided to go on with the Chicago strike uninterrupted, until the workers gain union conditions and a collective agreement in the trade. A special assessment was levied upon the members of the In-

ternational to finance the Chicago strike, and this act by the General Executive Board practically assured victory to our striking fellow-workers in Chicago.

The telegram, which is signed by Vice-president M. Peristien, the indefatigable leader of the strike, reads as follows:

"Hyman Brothers have signed an agreement. As soon as this became known, fifteen manufacturers held a meeting and tried to induce Hyman to withdraw, but instead, two other manufacturers

(Continued on page 2.)

All Other Union and Trade News on Page Two

Union Demands Concrete Reply From Jobbers

Time to Come to Definite Decision, Says President Sigman—Protective Association Seeks Conference

Last Monday evening, April 28, another conference between the sub-committees elected by the Union and the Jobbers' Association in the New York cloak industry, to discuss the terms of the new agreement, took place at the Hotel McAlpine.

This conference, the third in number, resulted in no definite understanding on any of the demands of the union. The representatives of the jobbers again discussed at great length the terms of the Union, as submitted in its memorandum at the first plenary meeting between the Union and the Jobbers' Association, but failed to come to any definite conclusion on any of its points.

President Sigman thanked the representatives of the jobbers towards the end of the conference for their generally correct attitude at the conference. "But," he said, "this alone will not carry us very far. It is time to hear concrete proposals with reference to the new agreement. In preparing this program, the Union has taken into consideration not

only the interests of the workers, but every factor in the industry. And we believe that those factors which are vitally interested in the well-being of the industry want more than mere talk.

"We all want results. And it is obviously useless to go on with endless debating. We request the sub-committee representing the jobbers to give the terms of our demands thorough consideration before they come to the next meeting with us, so that we might hear from them what they are ready to accept and what they themselves propose for the remedying of the industrial evils which the Union is firmly determined to abolish."

The representatives of the jobbers replied that the conferences should continue unbroken and they will take into consideration the suggestion of President Sigman.

Protective Association Seeks Conference
The Protective Cloak, Suit and

Skirt Manufacturers' Association notified President Sigman on April 30 that it is ready to confer with the Union on the terms of the memorandum submitted to them and that they would like to have the first meeting within the next few days.

Owing to the fact, however, that the convention of the International Union begins its sessions in Boston on Monday, May 5, and that all the leaders of the organization are, as a result, busy with preparations for this convention, it will be impossible for the Union to meet with the Protective Association until the convention is over.

For the same reason, the meetings of the sub-committees with the jobbers will also have to be delayed until our delegates return from Boston.

Another Conference With American Association

On Tuesday, April 29, in the afternoon, the conference committee of the Union held another meeting with the representatives of the American

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The cloakmakers form the most impressive division in the huge May Day parade. Local 1 and Local 55 are very strongly represented. Practically all the members of Local 17 were in the ranks of the marchers.

Miss Josephine Casey, International organizer in the Kalamazoo, Mich., carpet strike, is arrested with eleven girl strikers in front of the Kalamazoo Carpet Company. They are charged with violating an injunction which forbids picketing.

An impressive mass meeting is being held by the members of Local 1, and is addressed by Sol Rabinoff, Meyer London and Abraham Blass. Important trade problems are discussed and it is decided to accept the following recommendations: the introduction of standard prices, the registration of contractors and sub-manufacturers, the modification of the existing protocol agreement, and the fixing of definite fines for any manufacturer who is found guilty of violating the rules of the agreement between the Union and the employers.

Association, the sub-manufacturers. We expect to give the details of this conference in our next issue.

Big Chicago Dress Firm Settles

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stood up and served notice on this group that, if the whole group does not settle, these two will. Important developments are certain to follow. The Hyman firm settled on a forty-hour basis."

Chicago Delegates Will Place Dress Strike on Convention Agenda
The convention of our Interna-

tional Union which begins its sessions on Monday next, will no doubt pay special attention to the fight of our Chicago dressmakers. In addition to this strike by the General Protective Board, the Chicago strike will be brought squarely before the convention by the delegates of the Chicago locals and the Chicago Joint Board. It is expected that the convention

will adopt special measures, if by that time the strike is not yet settled, to insure its final success.

As the strike continues, it is becoming, it would seem, not only the affair of our own International and its Chicago locals, but the fight of the entire labor movement of Chicago. Rarely has a labor struggle received such wholehearted sympathy and cooperation from every section of the Labor movement in that city as has this strike of the girl dressmakers.

The locals affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades in Chicago have now begun earnestly to consider measures for raising a big fund for the strike. Several trade unions have already, as a token of solidarity with their fellow-workers, voted sums for such a fund, and a committee was organized to canvass every Labor organization in the city for the purpose of raising money.

At a mass meeting last week, held at 180 W. Washington street and attended by practically every man and woman involved in this strike, Vice-president Perlstein delivered an address containing a review of the

strike situation from the day it broke out ten weeks ago.

"After nine weeks of fighting, of sacrifice and suffering," said Vice-president Perlstein, "you stand before the world as men and women firmly determined not to surrender until your aim is won. Your employers are busy day and night trying to reach you personally and by mail, in an endeavor to convince you that the strike is over and that you return to work."

"Your bosses are trying to fan the flames of race hatred, and of national antagonism. They are busy telling the Jewish girls that the Polish workers are ready to push them out of the trade, and they are whispering to the Italian girls that the Negro workers are scheming to take their places."

"To this there is only one explanation: your employers see that they cannot make dresses without you, and all their sluggers, detectives, scab, private police and injunctions cannot do the work which you are doing in the factories. They are despondent, for they see clearly that ruin stares them in the face."

"I know your spirit and your courage. And I know that none of you will allow himself or herself to be misled by the attempts of your bosses to demoralize you. There is no doubt in my mind that we are 'on the eve of victory.'"

Chicago Joint Board Confers

With Cloak Employers

The president of the Cloak Manufacturers' Association of Chicago, Mr. P. L. Kirschbaum, last week forwarded a letter to the Chicago Joint Board of our Union, in which he requests the Board to confer with the committee of the manufacturers on the terms of the new agreement in the cloak industry, to take the place of the old one which expires on June 1.

The Joint Board accepted this invitation, and the first conference between the Union and the employers

already took place at the Atlantic Hotel. The conference committee of the Union consists of Vice-president Meyer Perlstein, and Brothers Bialla, Rapaport, Feitelson, Stein, Trubakov, Glassman, Friedman, Ruffer, Dolnick, and Novick.

The results of this conference have not been made known yet. It is expected, however, that the Chicago Joint Board will come to an understanding with the employers in the local cloak trade in a peaceful way.

International Locals Celebrate May Day

International Officers Address Meetings

Practically without exception every one of the locals of the International in Greater New York have celebrated May Day this year by impressive mass meetings and indoor demonstrations.

Locals 1, 3, 9, 11, 17, 22, 23, 25, 35, 48 and 89 have held huge meet-

ings in some of the largest halls in the city. The meetings were addressed among others by President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and Vice-presidents Feinberg, Heller, Breslaw and Ninfo.

International locals in Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago also held May Day celebrations.

Bertrand Russell to Debate With

Morris Hillquit Next Monday

On Monday evening, May 5, at 8 o'clock, Bertrand Russell, of England, well-known scientist and philosopher, will debate with Mr. Morris Hillquit the question:

"Is the British Labor Party Revolutionary?" Mr. Russell will take the negative and Mr. Hillquit the affirmative.

The debate will be held at Carnegie Hall, 67th street and Seventh avenue, under the auspices of the Rand School of Social Science. The chairman will be Dr. Percy Stickney Grant, well-known liberal clergyman.

Tickets are now on sale at the Rand School and at the Forward Building.

Brother Yanofsky Receives Many More Greetings

A Letter From John P. Frey

Brother Saul Yanofsky, whose friends and admirers in the Labor movement and in the Labor press celebrated his sixtieth birthday last week, has been the recipient of a great many more congratulatory messages during this week. Among these one received from John P. Frey, the editor of the International Worker's Journal, deserves particular mention. John P. Frey is one of the leading labor editors in the country and a clear-sighted, forceful journalist. His letter reads:

Dear Brother Yanofsky:
When I opened the April 25 issue of JUSTICE, I found that you had celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of your birth on April 18. I

want to join your many friends and admirers in extending most sincere congratulations. You have endeared yourself to those who know you because of the unselfish interest you have shown in the wage-earners' welfare, and the great ability you have demonstrated as a courageous and intelligent writer. In looking back over the years, you have just reason for pride in the reputation you have so justly earned. May our movement continue to receive the assistance of your gifted pen for many, many years to come.

With kindest, personal regards,
Sincerely and fraternally yours,
JOHN P. FREY.

For All The World

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

With the coming of May, the blossoms and flowers of the eternal aspirations, the back is turned to the dreary and bleak winter of inaction and reaction, and the thoughts burst open to new hopes and new strivings. It is spring again the world over.

There is no time like the spring. Then nature is at fresh endeavor. The frost has thawed, the sap has risen, the soil is eager for seed and sunshine and shower, the song of Labor and love fills the air. It required only a transfer of kindly sympathy to make May Day the token of fellowship and fraternity across all lands.

Such a day for reckoning up what is best, there must be. It is so soft to fall into routine, even when ideals beckon and call; it is so difficult to do the immediate and yet reserve a sense of proportion for the ultimate. Always the road bends up, weariness oppresses and it seems so far to the horizon beyond.

Especially will this be so as the Labor movement steps out of the rut of negation into the highway of accomplishment. Gains that are trifling measure so well against the dark past that it becomes a test of endurance to kindle the flame that means more light instead of heat. Already that hour has struck in many lands, where Socialists have come into office, sometimes even to power.

The immediate task requires so much marrow and sounds such deeps of energy. The ultimate looms ever so much more remote. It is so tempting to sell the heritage for a mess of porridge when hunger is ever keen.

But they who are enlisted for the long campaign will go on.

There will be faltering and fainting, the losing of many who have served well and the gaining of some who have their price. The main army will move forward. Only the procession of the years can mark the unfolding of the bud of the workers' dreams until the happier social order has come to flower. Social change is not nickered by days or months, but by decades and generations. Only Labor as a whole can bring it forth.

Here a little and there a little the men and women with the plow and hoe and rake and seed and cultivator hoop over the stirred soil. Always it is better pulverized to feed the welcome particle that touches it to the quick and starts over the cycle and span of throbbing existence. For that makes for the culmination of living.

Not in one clime, but in all lands, the perennial processes go on. However different the loom, however mixed with the clay, by dint of persistence, devotion and loyalty, response comes and progress is made. Sooner or later the pulse of each stride in uni-

son, and allowances of past experience, present circumstances, industrial development and racial temper blend in the seed-bed of common duties and equal ideals.

The mixture blossoms into international programs of peace and well-being and civilization.

Altogether Labor and Socialism have come through in the test. It could not be expected that selfish individualism, with its inherent menace to solidarity and social service, could be brushed aside for the mere asking. Quite naturally should it be assumed that among the first who would be tempted would be enough who would fall. But delinquents have not been sufficient to cause shame or despair.

The movement has hardly been hindered, even by the defection of those who went under as in the French Government, or who yielded to militarism or the blandishments of prestige before Labor as a whole came into its reward. Against that is so much genuine worth in all countries.

Moreover, there is ground for rejoicing in that Labor has not been found wanting when ability was needed. Notably has this been so in England. Here the Liberal Party, swollen with all the powers seized during wartime, has failed to cope with the critical difficulties the elder statesmen inflicted upon it and people. Succeding to their estate, the Conservative party could find no escape but in the hopeless retreat to forgotten nostrum. Called to the helm of the Ship of State with fear and trem-

bling, the Labor party has taken firm hold and has already brought confidence where there was panic and security where there was storm.

Better than all, it has merited the support of its fellow citizens, while seeking the way to international amity, understanding and good will.

Out of the day's work, out of pressing necessity, out of home connections and national ties, is coming the far look to the philosophy which embraces these in detail, yet reaches to a wholesome welcome to other deeds, other members of human society, other possibilities of development into a finer, richer, more bounteous future. Soon comes the tingle of blood that makes the whole world kin.

For this alone, when the sums of endeavor and achievement have been cast up, remains as the total to be checked against what has been spent in the daily grind or the yearly yield. To look out for self and only that is but a pace ahead of stupid self-interest. But to let oneself open up with the spring, so that the mind's eye rambles over the hills to the sunrise and the inner sentiment expands to the throbs of kith that is mankind—that is the essence of the civic which is deserving of the best and which bestows most in return.

And as a harbinger of the good times coming, when renewal of wishes and research for the ever blossoming fill the hours with promise, May Day reminds us that only can we come into our own as our own is for all the world.

Bertrand Russell on "The New Civilization"

Eight hundred students, professors, labor leaders, business men and social workers attended the welcoming dinner to Bertrand Russell, held on Thursday evening, April 3, at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant, New York, under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Bertrand Russell chose as his subject, "The Building of a New Civilization." He said in part:

"The deep-seated evils of our civilization may be summed up in militarism and competitive industrialism. The former must be dealt with if our civilization is to be preserved; the latter, if it is to be worth preserving.

"In the event of war, nine-tenths of the population of London would be unable to escape, and would perish. That is why we have not protested more vigorously against French policy in the Ruhr. In Germany and Russia, the evils which the English only fear have already happened.

Needed: A Change of System

"To avert such evils, it is not a change of heart that we must seek to bring about, but a change of system. The appeal to self-interest is obvious, and the extent to which people apprehend an argument is increased by education and diminished by any strong contrary passion. It is possible but scarcely probable that rationality in Europe will operate to bring Europe into a condition as stable as that which existed after the Napoleonic wars. There is, however, little ultimate hope except in a single government with the sole control of armaments. Conventions prohibiting the use of this or that means of warfare are futile. Nor will the Covenant of the League of Nations be much more effective. The League could not attempt to coerce France or England; much less restrain Russia or America from acts of aggression. It will not be effective unless it includes Germany, Russia and America. No nation will go to war for a mere treaty, but only for defense of what they believe to be national interests.

"Very reluctantly, I have come to the conclusion that the first formation of a world-government, if one ever is formed, must be by the way of imperialism, not by the way of volun-

tary federation. In this process America will play the chief role. In spite of the immense amount of ignorant good will in America, American policy since 1914 can be explained in terms of interest. Practically every thing that has been done has furthered the oil interests and the house of Morgan. The same sort of interest has, of course, dominated British and French and all other national policies. It is a great mistake to regard political events from a moral point of view. In the growing tension between France and England, America has pretended neutrality, but has in fact taken the side of France. This may not have been the desire of the average man, but in international affairs the average man seldom counts for much.

American Imperialism

"The result of America's policy, given the folly of the Europeans, may be a continuing weakening of Western Europe until America is left in undisputed command. I say 'Western Europe' because I think Russia may escape from this bondage, owing largely to the intelligence and skill of the Bolsheviks. England will find it difficult to adopt Socialism because, if we did, Americans would be likely to believe that we had nationalized women and slaughtered thousands of estimable men in cold blood and might be led to prohibit the export to us of grain and raw cotton, in which case half our population would die of hunger. The League of Nations cannot offset this because its organization is political. But the true government of the modern world is economic. It belongs, in the main, to those who control raw materials, transport, and credit. This is the dominion which America is establishing. Under it we should have a real international government, whatever antiquated political forms might survive.

"I foresee, at no distant date, a possible extension of the American financial empire over the whole American continent, the whole of Western Europe, and also the Near East. (In Persia it is already established.) The empire of American finance would be likely to be illiberal and cruel. A nightmare sometimes comes before me of an imperialism that would crush trade unionism, control education, encourage competition among the workers while avoiding it among capitalists, that would make life everywhere ugly, uniform, laborious and monotonous; under which men of ability in all countries would be purchased by high salaries. The world would enjoy peace, broken only by the dropping of bombs from aeroplanes on strikers, but would look back to the old days of war as a happy memory almost too bright to be true.

"What can we do to prevent this nightmare prospect from being realized? The desirable alternative is international Socialism.

Building for the Future

"The British Labor party is doing something toward this end. It is engaged in building a new civilization. It has grown as a result of infinite sacrifice, toil and endurance. A few years ago those now in power were despised because of their pacifism; now there is an extraordinary transformation.

"A similar movement in America is possible. It requires patience, courage, education and a knowledge of the realities of the situation. With these qualities it is possible to build up a Labor movement which will ultimately climb into power.

"The future of mankind rests on the development of a liberal and tolerant outlook in this country more than on anything else. Under capitalism the United States may purchase prosperity, but at the price of misery elsewhere. This country should depend not on domination or force, but on justice, quality and freedom. But these things cannot be obtained while we allow the means of life to be privately owned. What is the use of a political democracy if men who exercise their vote are controlled by oligarchical power? Anyone who believes in democracy ought to be able to carry the step further into industry itself.

"I see in my more hopeful moments a world organized scientifically by the community on the basis of common service for common ends, with a view of producing the necessary amount of goods and only the necessary amount, creating an immense amount of leisure, increasingly devoted to objects of art, of science, of friendship and of the enjoyment of life; a civilization that is less hurried, less pushed, less worried or lashed by fear than ours. I believe that such a world can be produced if men and women of the leading nations join together to bring about an industry based on production for use. Machine production has thus far been used to intensify the evils of exploitation and to make wars more destructive. Technical efficiency is a quite wonderful thing if the ends are human happiness. It is a hideous thing if it results in a mechanistic outlook on life. The choice is before America; a choice with which is bound up the immediate destiny not only of America but of mankind."

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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Election Prospects in France and Germany

By LEON CHASANOWICH
(Special Correspondence to JUSTICE)

Paris.

April 6 was a big day in the political history of Italy. On that day Fascism, the Bolshevism-inside-out of Italy, had its triumphant fling.

Fascism, which like its Russian antithesis, scorns all "democratic prejudices," has devised for "rejuvenated" Italy an election system to suit its end to perfection and has thereby assured for itself, come what may, a solid two-thirds majority in Parliament. And anyone who has watched the Fascist ways and means of winning elections was prepared to take the Italian election rather lightly, discounting it far in advance as anything but the free expression of the will of the Italians. Today, this farce is over. Mussolini has put the "Job" over and scored a typical Fascist moral victory.

Of far greater significance, however, are the parliamentary elections which will be held in Germany on May 4, and in France on May 11. The French Government has managed to delay the French elections one week after the German elections. It was a shrewd move and it showed plainly that the French are by far the cleverer politicians. Poincaré is speculating on a triumph of reaction in France and he expects thereby to mend his own political fences which have shown considerable unsteadiness in the last few months. The German Government has doubtless committed an irreparable blunder by rushing the Reichstag elections in advance of the French balloting. To begin with, were the French elections to occur first, Poincaré's democratic and Socialist opponents would have had a stronger hand in their attempt to smash the "Bloc National" which has been governing France since the Armistice, that union of narrow-minded nationalist groups which has made the destruction of Germany its goal and converted France into the center of the world's reaction and hinders the recovery of all Europe.

It has been frequently observed that in the fight of hate and envy which is dividing Europe into opposing camps, each side strives to benefit by the mistakes of the other. And right now, just as the prestige of Poincaré is slipping and the voice of common sense is beginning to be heard in France, and when under the influence of the English Labor government it began to appear that the desire to reach an understanding would finally gain the upper hand—at this moment the madness of the German reactionaries will have time to subside, Poincaré will lead the electors of France to the ballot box, and all the crazy, fantastic slogans which the German super-patriots had used in their campaign for regaining control over the destiny of the Fatherland will be utilized by Poincaré and his lieutenants to fan the flames of French patriotism. Poincaré will draw the picture of the coming German menace to his French electors by the very same means and campaign motifs the German die-hards have employed to gain ascendancy: no reparations, the tearing up of the Versailles Treaty, preparations for the next war, etc. The moment Poincaré succeeds in convincing the French people that such a menace really exists, his triumph is secured, and the hope for an understanding between France and Germany is definitely lost.

Had the German Government been possessed of any degree of political sagacity, it would have done everything possible to postpone the elec-

tions until after the French have had theirs. It certainly had enough warning of the winds that are blowing in Germany from the Hitler-Ludendorff trial and from the subsequent manifestations of the infinite stupidity and brazenness of German reaction. A victory of the democratic elements in France and consequent better prospects for an agreement with Germany would materially weaken the chauvinist flood in Germany and would immeasurably improve the election prospects of the republican parties and of all the left parties in the country. At present, however, the situation is anything but promising.

What the Germans lack at this moment most—and this is becoming clearer as the election campaign continues to develop—is an inner national discipline, a national tact. Some may be amazed to hear the Germans accused of lack of discipline, a nation supposedly devoted to the idea of discipline to a degree of idola-

try. But it must be kept in mind that the discipline which every one in Germany used to bow to in former days was largely an external influence supported by the mailed fist and carried, so to say, at the point of the bayonet. Just as soon as this outward compulsion disappeared, with the breakdown of the monarchy, the old German discipline went with it. In its place we see today an indescribable scramble of every form of party and group interests which have forced all national-interests to the background and have placed in jeopardy the very existence of the German nationality.

This internecine group fighting is conducted with blind fanaticism, which does not take into account the dire results which this strife is bound to produce on the German international situation, and it is particularly those parties which pretend to monopoly of patriotism that are the gravest offenders in this respect and

are ready to sacrifice the national interests of the country for their petty group interests and ambitions. These Germans might have known, for instance, that every rash and careless statement made by Germans in Germany is being widely exploited in France against their national interests. Nevertheless the election campaign, and for that matter the Hitler trial, is being conducted on the part of these so-called patriots with such a total disregard of the interests of the country as a whole, that it seems almost unbelievable. They are organizing, on paper of course, huge armies for revenge and are waging juvenile wars for the redemption of the Fatherland, just in order to prove that the Social Democrats, the Democrats and the Jews are unfit to govern Germany.

The sum total is that France, instead of liberating itself from the war mania, is enhancing its hatred and suspicion against Germany, and that every attempt to demobilize war hatreds is being nullified. The Hitler uprising and the trial have caused Germany more than a lost battle. A victory of the reactionary forces in the present elections may mean to Germany another lost World War.

A May Day Suggestion

The International Holiday

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Labor's Stake in Cooperation

By ALBERT F. COYLE

(Editor, Locomotive Engineers Journal; Executive Secretary, All-American Cooperative Commission.)

(Concluded from last week)

A YEAR'S RENT FOR A WEEK'S WAGES

In the fourth place, the aim of the cooperative movement is to provide homes at cost for workers and people of small means. The cooperative societies of Europe have long cherished the ideal of a year's rent for a week's wages. It sounds too good to be true, doesn't it? Yet there are whole cities in Europe where not a single house is being put up by real estate speculators or private profit contractors, because the cooperative building guilds have put these profiteers out of business. And what splendid homes these cooperators are building! Not mere shacks or cheap and tawdry tenements, but the very best construction possible, designed to last a hundred years or more. We have already started a similar movement in this country. In a half dozen cities there are now cooperative building societies organized to put up homes at cost, in the case of Milwaukee with the active financial support of the municipal government.

TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

One of Labor's greatest benefits from the cooperative movement is the training for leadership which cooperation gives to the rank and file. Exceptional ability and talent lie buried among the workers because they never have a chance to assert themselves. The cooperative movement, by reason of its democratic control, provides the opportunity for competent men to rise to their rightful level, trains them in business principles, sets them to work serving their fellowmen, and hence develops an army of leaders to guide Labor on to a better day.

SERVICE INSTEAD OF PROFITS

We learned, at the outset that the cooperative movement proposes to transform our whole industrial order on the basis of service instead of profits. Can't you realize what this will mean to the workers themselves? It will put a new spirit into industry, make the day's labor a joy instead of a drudgery, and the worker will have the satisfaction of creative work that made possible the master craftsmanship of the medieval guilds. Herbert Hoover's Commission on Waste and Industry found that American industries are now only 20 per cent efficient. Why? Because men will never release their best efforts simply for money, because millions of workers are sick and weary of the sordid system of grab and greed which animates profit-making industry, because the cooperative ideal that we are in industry to serve our fellowmen is the only incentive able to enlist the whole-hearted response of the workers.

Cooperation will also give to Labor a democratic voice in the conduct of industry. It provides that every worker, no matter how poor or how humble, shall have an equal vote in the richest and most powerful in determining the destiny of his industry. And this is morally right, for it places manhood above money; it asserts that he who invests his labor and his life has an equal if not superior right to him who merely invests his money in the direction of any enterprise. Cooperation is the essence of the Plumb Plan for the railroads and the American Plan for the mines, by which the rail workers and the coal miners are striving for industrial democracy in these two autocratic industries. Labor will never come in to its own until it conquers industrial autocracy. And here again cooperation is the only safe, sure road to certain victory.

COOPERATIVE BANKING THE KEY TO POWER

Finally, cooperation will place into the hands of the workers, if they will but use their latent power, control of the nation's credit and banking resources. A little over three years ago the first Labor cooperative bank in America opened its doors in Cleveland, with a paid-in capital of \$500,000. Today there are twenty-three labor banks stretching across the continent from New York to Spokane, from Cleveland on the Great Lakes to Birmingham in the Sunny South, with combined resources exceeding \$45,000,000, while a half dozen other Labor cooperative banks are in process of organization.

Do not underestimate the tremendous importance of cooperative banking to the Labor movement. It is not a new fad. There are today \$5,000,000 workers' and peasants' banks throughout the world, many of them in successful operation for more than seventy years. Because these banks are organized for service instead of for profit, they do not risk speculative investments, but use their funds for productive purposes. Hence they are far safer than profit-making banks. Their importance lies not merely in the fact that they share their earnings with their depositors, or even that they mobilize the workers' money under their own control rather than entrust it to private bankers to use for purposes hostile to Labor. More significant still, cooperative banking gives into the hands of the producing classes the control of vast sums of money and credit power which in turn will enable them to control industry.

Let me give you a few startling figures. The combined resources of the 20,178 banks in the United States, according to the U. S. Comptroller of the Currency's Report for 1922, were \$54,000,000,000. Of this sum just \$50,000,000,000 was contributed by the depositors, either in cash deposits or in profits on past business. In other words, the bankers only put up \$1.00 out of every \$13.00 with which they do business, the depositors and customers of the bank furnishing the balance. Now, why should not the workers and farmers, who constitute the great majority of these depositors, put their deposits in their own cooperative banks, and thus control the greater part of the banking resources of the nation? When once they do this, they will also control industry, for credit is the lifeblood of industry. This is why workers' cooperative banks are the most important development of the decade for American labor unions.

ARE YOU DOING YOUR SHARE?

In every city in America workers are taking a keen and eager interest in the cooperative movement. The past few years have seen the remarkable rise of cooperative grocery stores, bakeries, meat markets, coal yards, restaurants and other consumers' enterprises, as well as the successful founding of producers' cooperatives or the manufacture of clothes, cigars, clothing and many other products. Is the Labor movement in your city looking backward or forward? Is it content merely with the ceaseless struggle for wages, or has it grasped the dynamic significance of cooperation as the strongest single aid to the Labor movement, bringing a richer, happier, more abundant life to the entire community? What are you, as an individual, doing to spread a realization of the value of cooperation among your fellow-workers and your local unions?

Five years ago a group of five hundred

representatives of the leading farm and labor organizations of the nation met in Chicago to form a national cooperative bureau, where workers and farmers could come for reliable advice and guidance. The All-American Cooperative Commission was the result of this meeting, officially dedicated as "a movement to encourage and coordinate cooperative effort of the producers and consumers of America; to unify action in eliminating waste, speculation and profiteering in the necessities of life; to develop intelligence, mutual understanding and good will."

Today this Commission, from its

headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, is covering the whole nation with a weekly Cooperative News Service, promoting both producers' and consumers' cooperation as well as cooperative banking, and contributing invaluable aid and information to groups of farmers and workers striving to win their economic salvation through the cooperative movement.

The hour has struck for a great forward step in American cooperation. The hosts of organized Labor are better prepared to lead in this advance than is any other section of the community. Throw your united strength behind this movement for the sake of your own welfare, for that of your fellowmen, and for the upbuilding of that world-wide cooperative commonwealth, wherein man shall live as brothers free, inspired by the eternal cooperative ideals of service, of democracy, of social justice, fraternal good will and peace.

"Go, Thought, Upon the Golden Wing"

By BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

[This poem was written by Vanzetti as an Easter message to his friends and these loyal souls who have stood by him through his four years of incarceration. It was late, however, in reaching the outside world, having just been received by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of New York.]

Fly, my thought—through the living and flaming atmosphere of this divine spring morning; go and reach the hearts of my friends and voice to them my message which can be understood but not said.

What of it, if I have loved too much Freedom—if our world has revolved four times since I was thrust in prison and deprived of all that makes the travail of life worthy to be lived.

No, not of all—not of the immense real generosity of the universe.

All is vain if the Terror can check the Battle for Freedom—the woman who does not love and sacrifice in vain, but to be the mothers of real men.

No reflection of the blue sky, no Heavenly flames reach the dungeons which men have built for their fellowmen. It seems a victory of the human aberration, or the tyrants, lords of the land.

But it is nothing but mockery to their ferocious folly. Easter is at the threshold; resurrection at hand. And all the free creatures—free of the yoke of human authority, renew, rejoice and sing. All the captured ones bend to Freedom.

Resurrection! Vain were the pyres, the crosses and the arenas, vain are and vain will be the chains, the gallows and the usages.

It is a force that transcends the power of all the tyrants, cosmic virtue. For this I bear my cross and I know I suffer but in vain.

Resurrection! The Christian legend shall cease to be an irritation—shall become a living truth—by your deeds and merits—O, my friends!

"The New Calvary"

The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of New York will show a recently completed film, called "The New Calvary," depicting the life of these two Italian workers during the past four years of their imprisonment. The film will run from May 5 to May 11, inclusive, at the Italian Theater, 14th street and Sixth avenue.

The features which make this film one of the most interesting contributions to the annals of Labor persecution have been taken during the four

years of Sacco and Vanzetti's trial and incarceration.

With the film will be seen a special performance by an Italian company of dramatic artists, some of whom were associated with the late Duse, in a play called "The Daughter of the Condemned." This play was received with enthusiasm in London, Paris, Rome and other Italian cities and special permission for its first appearance in New York was obtained from the author, M. Gravier.

Mr. Clement Giglio is the director of the entire performance.

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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

It is twenty-five years since the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union first saw the light of day. Its arrival created no sensation, and the birth of this proletarian child was not announced by the ringing of chimes from high steeples.

There was, indeed, little occasion for particular jubilation over its coming, we must admit. Too many such organizations had been formed in the past, only to die an early death after a brief and uneventful life. Twenty-five years ago the workers in our industry were altogether too poor and ignorant to justify any belief that they would succeed in raising this newly-born union to maturity. The logic of realities a quarter of a century ago indeed held out but slim hopes for this infant to survive all the hazardous disorders of childhood—without proper nutrition and nursing.

Not only the world at large, but even labor's own world, paid scant attention to the new organization. Unheralded and pretty much unnoticed, this International for a long time remained a mere name on paper. Its affiliated locals in those days were never certain of what would become of them the next season, and, in point of fact, most of these locals had first to be built up by this International and put on a basis of comparative security.

As one reads the early pages of its history, one cannot help marveling, indeed, how this youngster in the end not only survived but grew into lusty and powerful manhood. It can only be explained by the fact that, notwithstanding the malnutrition of its youth, this child was endowed with red-blooded virility of that triumphed over all the deadly obstacles it encountered as it grew. Secondly, it was the love-offspring of its family of parents. They shared their last crumbs with it to keep it alive, and for ten long years they nursed it in anguish and want, but nevertheless with love undivided and a loyalty that knew no equal.

Then the child overnight, as it were, grew into a giant. The world of Labor, which had all but forgotten the puny organization born so unobtrusively in 1899, of a sudden beheld in 1909 the heroic struggle of tens of thousands of waistmakers led by this International Union. In quick succession the cloak strike of 1910 followed, which revolutionized the real life of the entire country. It marked the beginning of the rare industrial organization, of a remarkable career full of rare industrial achievements and of practically unbroken success in every struggle it had waged against its numerous and powerful enemies.

Of course, it is not our intention to give here a history of our Union—even in its merest outlines. We shall only attempt to bring back to our readers some of the horrible features and conditions of labor which prevailed in our industry before the International entered upon its historic mission.

Twenty-five years ago, the cloak operator, finisher or presser, the waistmaker and the white goods worker were regarded as little more than social outcasts, as the lowliest of the lowly. They worked like slaves during the rush seasons, worked as long and as hard as they could stand the strain physically, often to a point of literal exhaustion at the sewing machines and pressing tables. And when there was no work in the shops, they would starve in silence, waiting meekly for the time when work would again show up near the machines.

The employers treated them like cattle. Their shops were not much better than stables, breeding places for contagion and disease. Beside this, cloakmakers were compelled to buy their own machines and tools, and would have to carry them along whenever they changed their jobs.

To say that the condition of these workers was not far removed from peonage is to put it quite mildly. It was a hopeless and dreary existence for tens of thousands of men and women and the great many more thousands dependent upon them—an existence interrupted from time to time by sporadic, though vain, attempts to make things better by striking. The vicious circle which surrounded them offered no way out, no relief.

When the International came upon this fighting scene, things began slowly to change. The first step was the abolition of the abominable practice of workers owning and migrating with their machines from shop to shop. Then came a little more light and cleanliness in the workrooms, and slowly the work hours began to be reduced. And when, some few years later, the International realized that it had developed a substantial quantity of fighting power, it launched a conflict for the complete recognition of the Union and for a collective agreement with the employers. It entered upon a new period, the "protocol" era,

which played an important part in its history, regardless of what some may have thought of the agreement, one way or the other.

This, however, was only a beginning. The work-hours were still too long and the earnings of the workers still too insecure. The International decided to make an end to the piece-work system and soon introduced week-work in its place. And, as we compare the bleak conditions of those early days with conditions today, we must admit that, imperfect as they are yet and still replete as is our industry with evils and problems which our International is pressing for solution right now—the difference is nothing short of marvelous. As compared with the semi-slaves of a score of years ago, our workers today are free men and women. They are no longer the playthings of the employer's whim, and when aggrieved they find recourse and protection in their organization. They are union men and women, they carry the union card, the modern industrial shibboleth which has converted them, like so many other workers, into self-reliant human beings and has given them rights of which they never dreamed before.

All of that in the course of fourteen short years! Wherein lies the key to the solution of this phenomenal transformation? It is our way of thinking the following outstanding contributory, facts are mainly responsible for it.

First, it was the courage which the International has displayed throughout its existence, not in a physical sense, but the courage of its convictions, a feature which has characterized it from the first of its active days to the present.

The International, once having adopted a course of action, never deviated from it, no matter what the outside world thought of it. It would go on bravely fighting its way ahead until it brought the rest of the Labor world to its way of thinking. It had the courage of being "conservative" whenever it deemed it best for the interest of the workers, and was not afraid to embark upon a policy which appeared ultra-radical, to suit the aims of the Union. Let us cite a few examples.

The "protocol" and all its accessories were being looked upon in some Labor circles as nothing short of treason to the class-struggle idea. But the International recognized at that time that this agreement was necessary for the Union's growth and acquisition of strength, and it had admirable courage to proceed against this stream of opposition because it believed itself right.

A similar situation arose in 1921 when the International made use of the injunction weapon in order to bring the employers to terms after they had locked out their workers. In radical circles there was loud grumbling and head-shaking in the direction of the International, but our Union deemed it an excellent thing to turn the weapon of the employers upon their own heads, and it went straight ahead regardless of the unfriendly whispers of the heresy-hunters.

The International daringly blazed new industrial trails where other organizations had feared to tread: Our Union abolished the slavery-breeding piece-work system; it was the first to introduce the 44-hour week; it was also the first in the garment industry to establish a minimum scale on the basis of living wages. It did pioneer work, not only for the so-called "immigrant" trades, but it actually set the example for many unions in a number of the standard industries to follow. Our International never followed, it always preceded the march of events.

Our Union has had the courage of its convictions and never tolerated the benevolent counsel of outsiders, no matter what their intention, good or bad. The International always had the spirit to point out to such busybodies that they cannot either control or dictate to it, even though, on more than one occasion, its reward for this courageous stand came in the form of calumny, and vituperation from these world-benefactors.

It showed the same unflinching spirit when it learned that a few of its own members had been misled by some evil outside influences to betray their organization. With equal determination it severed this cancerous growth, lest it infect the entire body of the Union. It refused to become intimidated by the so-called communists who conspired to wreck the International through a campaign of unprecedented malice. It met its enemies, inside and outside, in open battle and defeated them.

The second characteristic of our International is the spirit of self-sacrifice which permeates it. We do not know of another organization or leadership that would lay claim to a higher and more inspiring record in this respect. In its fight nothing ever seemed to retard it: hunger, want, and persecution which did not stop before jail doors, never daunted its members when the interests of the organization were at stake.

This spirit it has displayed not only where the issue affected the well-being of our own workers. The International came forth to help every important battle of organized Labor in the past decade—the fight of the steel workers, the miners, the Amalgamated, the Furriers, and many, many others. It has become the very heart of the Labor movement and a shining example for others to follow.

Its third outstanding feature is that it never has been a one-man organization. It never depended for its existence on the ability of one single personality whose departure might materially affect the fortunes of the organization. At this convention we shall have as guests and visitors a number of men who in the past had served our Union as presidents, vice-presidents and in other offices—to the best of their ability. The International is grateful to them for what they have done. But after they had left our midst, others came forth at once from our

Our Jubilee Convention

By ABRAHAM BAROFF

Twenty-five years ago, the men and women employed in the making of women's wear had no labor organization worthy of that name. There were traces of trade unions here and there but these were of a mushroom-growth variety, springing up literally over night and disappearing before they could amount to anything for the workers in the trade. Our work had not yet, in those early days, learned the great truth that their power lay solely in their unity and they were completely in the hands of their masters.

Long hours, meagre pay and the arbitrary will of the boss or the foreman prevailed in the shops. The terms of labor under which our workers were employed, the treatment accorded them, and the pittance they received for their labor seem almost incredible to us today.

Giant Labor was asleep. The hard exploitation, the inhuman conditions, had all but smothered hope and even desire for a better deal. Only here and there a few individuals with vision enough to perceive the coming better day hoped for the time when the sweat-shop would be done away with and supplanted by a more rational system of labor and life. But how small, how insignificant, this hope appeared amidst an ocean of stark despondency!

And just at the time when hope seemed at its lowest ebb, a small group of plain workers, clear-headed and knowing exactly what they wanted, set out to build a real union in our industry. They knew that their first object was to lift the half-enslaved worker in the sweat-shop from the abyss of ignorance into which he had been dragged, to inspire him with the idea of his own worth and significance as a great factor in the economic structure of our social organization, to teach him that he is entitled to human treatment and to a better life than what was allotted him.

This handful of propagandists,

fired with the zeal of pioneers, and believing that solidarity is the only working-class asset worthwhile building upon, got together and at a small convention laid the cornerstone of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. There were, of course, wisecracks among us, at that time, too, who ridiculed this attempt and regarded it as sheer fantasy. "You cannot build a union of cloakmakers," they sneered. To be sure, it was difficult to believe twenty-five years ago that the workers in the women's wear industry would rise to the level of appreciating the value and importance of a permanent trade union. It was difficult to believe that these timid, spiritless men and women, who tolled day and night under most abominable conditions, would, of a sudden, become inspired and come out to fight against their oppressors for better conditions of labor and for their natural human rights.

But these pioneers of the sacred ideal of labor's solidarity ignored these taunts and sneers. They went with religious zeal after their object—the spreading of trade-union propaganda among the masses. They stubbornly and steadfastly called upon the workers to unite into labor unions.

In the many battles which the workers in the women's wear industry have had to wage since these early days, they have not always come forth as victors, but even in defeat their courage never failed them. Failures only taught them better discipline and the lesson of improved fighting tactics. They had profound faith in the invincibility of the workers' cause, a faith which they communicated to every one with whom they came in contact and which, in the long run, has brought glorious results.

Yes, the dream of the pioneers is a reality today. Our International Union will celebrate next week, at its Boston convention, the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence, at which

delegates, representing more than a hundred locals will assemble in festive meeting. Few, very few of the first pioneers will be present at that gathering to take part in the celebration. But those who will come, will have every right to be mighty proud of the child they reared, of the triumph of that inspiring constructive plan which they have begun realizing twenty-five years ago under indescribably difficult conditions.

...

Our International has, during these twenty-five years, deviated a step from the path marked for it by its founders and organizers as a genuine labor union. It has fought a great many stormy battles which adorn pages upon pages of the history of the Labor movement of America. From a small, almost insignificant organization, it has grown to be a big, powerful body with branches in every city and district in the country where women's garments are being made. It occupies a place of honor in the general Labor movement of the land.

Our International is not only exercising its share of influence upon the life and the labor of the workers in our industry. It is taking a part in every movement which aims at the betterment of the workers, both in America and Europe, and has contributed generously towards every appeal for help from abroad for the needy and broken-down victims of the recent great cataclysm. Our International has not failed throughout its history to give liberally towards such working-class battle—whether of immigrant workers in the East, of workers enslaved in the steel mills, or of diggers of coal in the collieries of America.

We are proud to come to the Jubilee convention of our Union with such a record to look back upon. On our banner are inscribed the achievements of more than two decades of

genuine progress for the workers in our trades. We had a difficult row to hoe, a rocky road to travel. We have been attacked by open and hidden enemies, and by opponents who have served the interests of the employers indirectly, through sheer ignorance. But we are bringing back to this convention our banner unscathed and unstained. We have proved equal to all our difficulties and have emerged unbeaten and unretarded by the storms we have faced.

Twenty-five years ago our workers did not own a single bench in a meeting hall. Today our Union has a string of imposing office buildings owned outright by the workers and controlled by them. Moreover, our workers today own and operate a great bank for their own needs.

Yet our success does not intoxicate us. We know we still have a great deal to accomplish; in this hour of jubilation, we remember, that our work has just begun. The aims which our International has set for itself are not yet realized. But in this festive hour we are more than ever convinced that we shall eventually achieve these great aims. The quarter of a century that has just passed only inspires us to greater effort. It strengthens our belief, in ourselves, and it makes us all the more confident that the spirit of solidarity will lead us to our glorious goal—the abolition of the unjust industrial order under which we live.

Let us celebrate with unbounded glee our jubilee gathering, but let us make this event an occasion for still greater unity and solidarity among our workers. Let us hope that this Jubilee Convention will enact such decisions as will bring more light and joy into the house of our workers, the members of our International. Let us help in creating at this Convention such a wonderfully inspiring atmosphere as will make us all truly fit for carrying on the great work of our Union, and, through that, contribute our share towards the chief objective of the Labor movement all over the world—the liberation of the working class.

War Against War

Manifesto to the Workers of all Countries

ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

We are drawing near the tenth anniversary of the day which saw the outbreak of the World War—that fatal August day which let loose Armageddon upon the world, and opened the way to a slaughter and havoc which has been unexampled in the annals of the world.

For four long years the world suffered untold agonies; for four long years the peoples fought each other like wild beasts; for four long years the flower of the world's youth was sacrificed on the battlefields; for four long years civilization was forgotten, and its most elementary lessons were thrown to the winds.

During these four terrible years, thousands of young men went forth to battle in the confident hope that they were fighting to end war, and to make the world safe for democracy.

They did not know that they were merely the dupes of the lies and insinuations of small groups of capitalists, who were seeking to strengthen and extend their domination of the world.

Then came the sham peace that shattered the illusion of so many, and destroyed the dream that this was the war to end war.

And now the countries of the world are again making ready for fresh war.

Science is busy seeking new and ever more terrible methods of dealing death and destruction. We all know that the next war will bring with it wholesale slaughter to a degree undreamed-of before. The very air will be laden with death and will

bring pestilence and destruction to countless multitudes far remote from the actual centers of war. The next war will be the final triumph of barbarism; it will sweep from the face of the earth the last traces of civilization.

In the next war there will be no place for personal heroism. The days when man could show prowess on the battle-field are forever gone by. Henceforth he will be killed by a system of mass destruction, which will work as unerringly as the machinery which he now uses for mass production. The sole use of the mechanical perfection to which he will have attained will be to doom millions to horrible and inevitable death.

There is one way of escape from this terrible fate, and only one. There is one power which can end war, and only one. That power is organized Labor.

When men stood aghast in the midst of the ruins wrought by the last war, it was the working-class which was the first to raise the flag of the International. It was the internationally organized working-class which first raised the cry "Down with War!" It is the workers, who, organized in their trade unions and in their political groups, will put an end to all war. If they so desire—and they will so desire—then the onward march of the great Peace Army will put an end forever to the evil deeds of those who, with incredible cold-bloodedness, are now calmly recommencing the ominous activities which, unchecked, will plunge the world into the unimagined horrors of the next war.

On the third Sunday in September of this year, the International Federation of Trade Unions is organizing an Anti-War Day in all the affiliated countries. It is supported by the Socialist and Labor International, the International Cooperative Alliance, and the International of Socialist Youth. Let this day be

(Continued on page 8)

rank and took their places and carried on the work with the same loyalty, the same ability as they had in the past!

Such in brief is our International. This, to our mind, sums up its big doings in the past and this serves as a bond for its future achievements. For, substantial as its accomplishments have been, they are only a beginning upon the long road of the

Labor movement. Our record is truly an inspiration as compared with the state of things before the International entered the ladies' garment industry. But the curtain is just being raised, there is still a world of things to be accomplished. We face the future with bright hope; sooner or later our dream must come true.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



E P I C

Man and the Masses. By Ernest Toller. Translated from the German by Louis Untermeyer. Produced by the Theatre Guild under the direction of Lee Simonson at the Garrick Theatre, with Blanche Yurka and Jacob Ben-Ami starred.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

The earth, whose core is still a flame, swims in icy space. Outside earth's outermost rim is utter blackness. In that void lives Pure Idea, and Social Force, and all those cold impersonals that care nothing for men's lives. And man, cowering away from the terrifying blackness of too big things, hugs his little earthy hearthstone. The woodman whose nights are saved from the engulfing unknown only by the tiny glow of a candle flame, guards well its kindly light. So man dares not look away, dares not look into that disregarding blackness where dwell the mighty impersonals.

Perhaps that is why New York critics, with only one exception, found nothing in Toller's "Masse-Mensch." It has come straight from that outer void. It has nothing of those small sharp poignancies that are individual life, nothing of that immediate sting that comes from watching familiar tragedies that sometimes might be ours. No, this play is epic; new epic,

great epic written on the vast canvas of eternity with the gigantic crayons of mass-man. It pulls and stirs and lifts, not because life is cruel and men cry out vainly against 'the butcher,' but because movement and masses and starbly-great ideas are soul-stirring and heart-lifting. "Masse-Mensch" is not a great play, greatly produced. It is a great mass experience, greatly lived.

One can easily say it is not American experience—yet. Perhaps not; yet who that has thought and read has not wondered whether Mass-man is the next great force which individual must either conquer or absorb. Formerly men fought storm and flood and pestilence and mammoth. And so the heroes of old epic slew dragons and giants and villainous armies. But in this new epic that is rising, Man faces Mass-man; with a curse and contempt, but with understanding and a keen urge to be of them and with them. Of course, it is transitional, this gesture. Here one knows Man

will not defeat Mass-man, but absorb them. Yet beneath the knowledge, there still sound undertones of doubt.

"Masse-Mensch" is Toller's doubt. Man can no longer go apart from Mass-man. This much is evident. He must go with or against. Where is the difference? To go with Mass-man because one hates suffering and war and murder and hate and injustice means to inflict and embrace war and murder and hate and injustice in Mass-man's name. Is that all? Is inhumanity less lastingly when it strikes in the name of humanity?

Toller hurls these questions at his audiences. One cannot escape their impact; and after the first shudder over their ruthless searching has passed, one would not. He who would fight with and force the masses must answer them. Toller, brooding in his prison cell over the searing memories of the revolution, whose defeat imprisoned him, apparently has not found the answer. The woman of his play has given up everything to mass but her unquenchably hungry love for her husband. She denies that love satisfaction, but she cannot destroy it. She comes to the mass, asking them passionately to renounce in their fight all the ugly cruelties of her husband's (and her own) class. And a voice rises among them as blood-thirsty and doggedly determined upon class victory at any human costs as those that drove her from her old class loyalties. For a moment she is persuaded, but when the uprising has been defeated, she knows. She refuses liberty from her husband who comes offering gifts from a well-fed class who "understood the purity of her motives," and refuses to match at freedom with those comrades who are ready to kill

a guard that she might live. She dies, proclaiming the goodness of man to the priest who interceded with God for evil man; and to the State whose mass-soldiers kill her.

All this is portrayed in a succession of great moments, which linger unforgettably long after the final curtain. Each scene—snapshots of reality—is followed by a dream scene—snapshots of the woman's ache and thought and doubt. Thus Masse-Mensch becomes a gaunt shadowed gallows, leaning threateningly, over mad dancing men; a working mass swaying now to the humane eloquence of the woman, now to the inflamed passion of the Mass-voice, a rasping chorus of grotesque stock brokers churning world tragedy into stock quotations, a brave strident voice that rises to a Mass-cry of greeting to the pounding of soldiers' guns on a barred door; a chained, tormented woman, calling God (or social forces or what you will) to the bar of humanity's justice. Mass and motion and sweep and vastness. This is Masse-Mensch.

It would be ungrateful to discuss Toller's thesis. For the play is not a thesis; it is a question, a doubt. But one thing may be suggested: Realities can never be defeated by denial. One may accept distasteful facts without embracing them. For only the powerful can stamp out great evils and the ends desired must change our valuation of the means adopted. When this is said, we may, with Toller, make doubt our "eternal caution."

Mass-man has indeed entered thought and art. Surely every worker (once more indebted to the Theatre Guild) owes it to himself to see this play.

First of May Thoughts

By FANNIA M. COHN

The world is tired of the gruesome events of the last decade. Tens of millions of human beings are crushed by our present-day industrial and social organization. A desperate outcry is heard from many parts of the globe, from men, women and children who cannot any longer endure the burden imposed upon them by our present industrial civilization. The human mind is in search of a solution of its problems, conscious of the fact that man is the creator and the supporter of his social institutions and that when these institutions outlive themselves it is within his power to change them to meet new conditions. Social forces that mold our economic and political institutions are always in play. The workers begin to realize that there are great social forces in process now that tend to change our form of society, and the question arises in the minds of many: Which group is destined to direct these social forces?

Millions of men and women of the working class and of the professional groups look toward the organized Labor movement as the agency destined to bring about this great historic change, and all realize that the first essential to the accomplishment of this change is that the group that is to play the most important part be prepared morally and intellectually for this historic mission. And the unconscious thought that is in the minds of many is: "Are the workers through their trade unions prepared to assume this great historic mission?" The answer to it is the movement for workers' education within the trade unions of our country.

The movement for workers' education is based on the conception that education was always the greatest influence in our lives. Many realize that the object of our educational system at present is to adjust the in-

dividual to the environment with the view of perpetuating our social structure as it is, with all its destructive influences. But the object of workers' education is rather to adjust the environment to the needs of modern life.

The aim of the workers' educational movement is to encourage the worker to begin to prepare for the great task of transforming our social structure on a more human basis now through manifold activities within his own trade union. In the economic, co-operative, political, research and educational fields. Those who are active in the workers' educational movement are convinced that through such activities the Labor movement will develop the necessary leadership from within its own midst.

Today, when the workers celebrate the First of May, that is the symbol of international solidarity amongst the workers, they realize more than ever that mankind can be saved only through international solidarity; and nothing will so contribute to the understanding of the unity of mankind, irrespective of race, creed or country, as workers' education.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday afternoon, May 3, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss "Can a Radical have an Open Mind?" in his Current Events Class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street. At 5:30 p. m., the Hon. Bertrand Russell will lecture on "Mechanism and Life."

On Monday evening, May 5, the Hon. Bertrand Russell and Mr. Morris Hillquit will debate the question "Is the British Labor Party Revolutionary," at Carnegie Hall, under the auspices of the Rand School. Mr. Russell will take the negative, Mr. Hillquit, the affirmative. The Rev. Percy Stieckney Grant will act as chairman.

War Against War

(Continued from page 7)

the first day of the mobilization of the International Peace Army! Let this great demonstration, in which you will be shoulder to shoulder with your comrades of other lands, be your challenge to the powers that make for war. Make yourselves one with those who, in this the first World Anti-War Day, are defying the powers of hate and greed, and are teaching the new night of world brotherhood and solidarity. Let the forces of Life and Progress unite to do the will of Peace and Labor.

Come then, Comrades, in your thousands, to demonstrate on our International Anti-War Day.

War against war! Long live universal peace!

SIGNED:

International Federation of Trade Unions:

Leon Jouhaux, Th. Leipart, C. Mertens, Vice-presidents; Jan Oudegeest, Joh. Saanenbach, John W. Brown, Secretaries.

Amsterdam—Nederl. Verbond van Vakvereenigingen, R. Stenhuis.

Belgrade—Glavni Radnicki Savez Jugoslavije, Luka Paravicic.

Berlin—Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, Th. Leipart.

Berne—Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund, Karl Dörr.

Brussels—Commission Syndicale de Belgique, Corn. Mertens.

Budapest—Magyarországi Szakszervezeti Tanács, S. Jassai.

Jerusalem—General Federation of Jewish Labor in Erez Israel, D. Baur-Gorion.

Johannesburg—South African Industrial Federation, A. Crawford.

Klausenburg—Cons. Gen. at Uniunilor Muncitoresti din Romania, Geza Hoffer.

Copenhagen—De Samvirkende Fagforbundt Danmark, C. Madsen.

London—The Trades Union Congress General Council, Fred Bramley.

Luxemburg—Gewerkschaftskommission Luxembourg, P. Krier.

Madrid—Union General de Trabajadores, Francisco L. Caballero.

Milan—Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, d'Aragona.

Ottawa—The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, T. Moore.

Paris—Confederation Generale du Travail, Leon Jouhaux.

Riga—Latvijas Arodiedribu Centralbure, E. Morica.

Warsaw—Związek Stowarzyszen Zawodowych w Polsce, Z. Zulawski.



FOREIGN ITEMS

LUXEMBURG

AN ATTACK ON THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Luxemburg employers are following the examples set in other countries, such as Germany, Austria, etc., and are trying to make their new wage agreements conditional upon the consent of the workers to the lengthening of working hours. This course has been advised by the president of the Federation of Industrialists, and a large metal-working concern has already succeeded, by the application of considerable pressure, in enforcing what it calls a "temporary" suspension of the eight-hour-day. On this occasion the Government lent its aid to the employers. The Luxemburg Federation of Trade Unions has discussed the question and passed a resolution "to spare no effort to repel this attack on the vital interests of the workers."

NORWAY

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE NORWEGIAN FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

On the 30th of March, 1924, the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The Federation was founded at a congress held at Elster in 1899. In the first few years of its existence it had many difficulties to contend with, and the number of affiliated organizations and members was very small. It has only achieved its present position after many a fierce conflict, but it can now look back upon much good and successful work. The date of its jubilee coincides however with a time of bitter economic conflict, which is unequalled in its history. For the last five weeks some 10,000 workers have been involved in either strikes or lock-outs, and all attempts at settlements have hitherto failed.

GERMANY

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The Executive Committee of the German General Federation of Trade Unions decided at its last meeting to inaugurate a campaign in favor of a referendum on the subject of the statutory eight-hour day. A commission of five was appointed to do preparatory work to this end.

GREAT BRITAIN

WIDESPREAD DEMANDS OF BRITISH WORKERS.

The successes of the dock-workers and the tram-workers and the recent decreases in unemployment are encouraging other unions to put forward demands for increased wages. Thus the National Union of General Workers has put forward a demand for an increase of ten shillings a week in the wages of all unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the unions; it has also decided to propose an increase in the wages of women members. The National Union of Textile Workers will propose a 10 per cent increase for the woolworkers' section. The National Society of Pottery Workers is also demanding an increase, in the face of a demand of the employer for a 10 per cent reduction. The National Federation of Building Workers is demanding an advance of 2d. a hour. A lockout is threatened in the shipyards of the country, although determined efforts are being made to avoid it.

HUNGARY

EXTRAORDINARY HUNGARIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

On March 30 an extraordinary congress was held by the Hungarian trade unions, which was convened for the sole purpose of discussing the economic position and the rise in prices. The congress was attended by 366 delegates. The chief speaker was Gal, the Secretary of the National Centre, who said that the distress among the workers had now reached an intolerable pitch; as the average weekly wages of workers of ordinary ability was only 260,000 kronen, while the barest minimum wage requisite to keep body and soul together was 600,000 kronen. Gal's speech was followed by lengthy debates, most of the delegates being in favor of much more radical measures than those suggested by Gal. Kabek, a Socialist member of parliament, who is also secretary of the Metal Workers' Union, declared that partial strikes were useless in the present desperate circumstances, and urged that the whole of the working class should prepare for a general strike, a proposal which called forth enthusiastic applause. Various other speakers discussed a suggestion that all the Socialist members should walk out of parliament. This suggestion was opposed by Farkacz, another Socialist member of Parliament, who reminded the congress that the twenty-four Socialist members were a mere handful in comparison with the 200 other members, but their presence in Parliament at least enabled them to make known the demands and grievances of the workers on the floor of the legislative assembly.

SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Industrial Federation has issued invitations to all trade unions to attend a trade union congress, to be held at Pretoria on April 22 and the following days. A few non-affiliated unions have also expressed their intention of sending representatives, so that there will be a representative gathering of trade union leaders from all the industrial centers of South Africa. The great Rand strike of January, 1922, which for the moment smashed trade unionism in South Africa, may in the long run benefit it by causing reconstruction on more practical lines than in the past. Should a trade union congress successfully establish itself, the South African Industrial Federation might give way to it. It is thought that it will be better, if possible, to establish a national organization through a national trade union congress than through the closer and more permanent form of organization provided in the S. A. I. F.

Press Bureau, International Federation of Trade Unions

DOMESTIC ITEMS

AMEND ORGANIC ACT TO DEFEND CHILDREN.

The child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution has been reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee. The proposal would permit Congress to limit and regulate the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. On two occasions Congress passed legislation of this character, but it was set aside by the United States Supreme Court.

"It will not be questioned," said the committee, "but that the power should be given to control, regulate or even prohibit the use of child labor in all cases where the character of the labor is dangerous in itself or may become dangerous through the inexperience or carelessness of childhood; where in itself or in its surroundings it is detrimental to the physical or moral welfare of childhood, or where it is in character too onerous for the growing bodies of youth."

NEW FATALITY RECORD.

There were 166 fatalities resulting from industrial accidents throughout the State, according to reports to the New York State Department of Labor. This large number of deaths sets a new mark for the calendar month.

UNORGANIZED STRIKE.

Notice by the chief of police of Bayonne, New Jersey, that strikebreakers would not be permitted in that place, ended a two-day strike of several hundred employees of the Vacuum Oil Company, a Standard oil subsidiary.

The company agreed to pay "the prevailing wage rate." Before suspending work these employees appealed to the company management and then to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., without success. A strike of Bayonne oil workers, nine years ago, resulted in the killing of several workers.

WOULD SCRAP SLUMS.

Andrew J. Thomas, of New York, architect of a well known insurance company's building projects, urged the Society of Architects to concentrate to scrap the slums of this city. He emphasized the lack of air spaces in old-style tenement architecture and pleaded that allowance be made for playgrounds and other garden spaces in future designs.

PACKERS NOW PROTEST CONTRACT THEY SIGNED.

The Swift and Armour interests have asked the court in Washington to set aside the famous "consent decrees" of 1920, in which the Swift, Armour, Morris, Cudahy and Wilson packing interests agreed to abandon various commercial activities not directly connected with the packing industry.

The agreement was made with Attorney General Palmer, and was hailed at that time as a new method of adjusting differences with industrial and commercial corporations.

Now the Swift and Armour interests ask that the agreement be dissolved. They say the attorney general had no power to make such an agreement.

LAND GRAB CHECKED.

In a bill passed by the House, the Secretary of the Interior is instructed to withhold land patents to the Northern Pacific Railroad. A special commission is authorized to investigate the railroad's claim to 4,000,000 acres of land.

Secretaries Work of the Interior Department and Wallace of the Agriculture Department have reported to President Coolidge that the railroad is not entitled to the additional land because of violation of terms under which public lands had been granted by Congress.

WORKERS CAN'T LEAVE GEORGIA.

The State Federation of Labor convention denounced a Georgia law that prohibits workers from leaving the State except under certain conditions. In interpreting this law State officials frankly express the *serf* ideal that labor must be held for the convenience of exploiters. This is the theory of injunction judges, who restrain those who "injure business" by inducing labor to quit employment.

The law provides that before any one can induce workers to accept employment outside the State, he must secure a labor-agent permit and furnish an indemnity bond sufficient to cover any valid debt owed by any or all of these workers.

Hal M. Stanley, State Commissioner of Commerce and Labor, has ruled that under this law no one can induce workers to leave the State—unless county and municipal officials furnish him (Stanley) a written statement that this labor "could well be spared."

In condemning this law the unionists declared that it is not the business or the duty of this State to decide whether an individual's labor is necessary to the welfare of Georgia.

CHEMICAL TRADES ARE DEADLY.

The expansion of chemistry in this country demands the adoption of a nation-wide system of accident prevention and industrial health, it is asserted in a report of the committee on occupational diseases and hazards in the chemical trades, made public by the American Chemical Society, at its meeting in this city.

"The past year," the report says, "has seen a number of disasters in our own or in closely allied industries. The frightful results from some of these calamities ought to be sufficient stimuli to inaugurate plans for preventing similar occurrences in the future."

Substances used in the dyeing of furs and in cosmetics are given as sources of poisoning. Match box dermatitis resulting from contact with matches and the striking surfaces of match boxes, is given among other sources of infection.

Two Years' Work of the Educational Department

[REPORT SUBMITTED BY THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE TO THE
GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, APRIL, 1934.]

(Continued from Last Week.)

Publicity

The work of the Educational Department was made effective by the publicity afforded by the Labor press. The educational page in our own "Justice," "Gerechtigkeit" and "Giustizia" reached our membership. The Yiddish and English Labor dailies and weeklies used the material which we supplied and acquainted their readers with our programs and the descriptions of our activities. We also issued several attractive posters which were placed in offices of our local unions and published brief leaflets describing our educational activities. These were distributed among our members.

What Has Been Accomplished

For seven years the I. L. G. W. U. has conducted educational activities. It spent many thousands of dollars. A number of earnest, faithful and farseeing men and women have devoted countless hours and energy to this task. What has been accomplished?

First of all, thousands of workers attended classes, lectures and other activities. In these they learned a great deal about matters connected with their industry, their organization and the Labor movement. They learned some of the economic laws underlying the development of the present order. They learned some of the fundamental psychological laws which govern the relations between human beings. They were inspired by literature which deals with the life, hopes and sorrows of other men and women.

But, chief of all, they became acquainted with the story of the struggle of their class. They heard how other workers, like themselves, speaking other languages and members of other races, struggled for many years; how they attempted to get more joy and happiness out of their miserable existence; how their attempts to unite for common interest were met with persecution and oppression from the ruling classes; and how, in spite of it all, they succeeded finally in winning the improved conditions which prevail today and in raising society to a higher level. They learned how through the devotion, loyalty and endless effort of other workers, they are in a position today to enjoy some of the beauties and comforts of life. They learned how unity and solidarity helped their fellow workers to achieve all this. They became sources of information to others who could not take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the International.

It is possible that all they learned was not used immediately by them in their daily organization activities. It is possible that to some, all this information was merely so many words. But, knowing human nature as we do, and knowing how all great movements for freedom and emancipation originated in similar efforts, we cannot doubt that a large part of this instruction and training had a practical outcome. There is no doubt that a great many of our members who attended our educational activities were inspired there to greater sacrifice in the cause of human welfare, to higher ideals, to more strenuous endeavors to make life happier for all humanity and to greater desire to serve their fellow men.

Management

The planning of our educational activities is entrusted to the Educational Committee which consists of five vice-presidents. In formulating the policy of our educational activities, the Committee is guided by the instructions of the previous Convention as formulated in the report of the Committee on education.

While retaining for itself the planning of the educational activities the committee leaves the administration to the Educational Department.

Democracy in Our Education

To guard against an over-centralization of educational control, we have established a Permanent Joint Conference of the educational committees of our local unions. This conference meets from time to time with the Educational Committee. It renders valuable service in helping us to keep in touch with the locals and in passing on suggestions from the rank and file.

Students' Councils

In each Unity Center, the students elect two members from every class to serve on a Students' Council. In our Workers' University, the students' councils, besides aiding the Educational Department to keep in touch with the classes, select three of their number to sit with the Executive Committee of the Faculty. This group considers the problems of each Unity Center and of the Workers' University and passes upon the curriculum. The Students' Councils also arrange social affairs which make it possible for students and teachers to become fully acquainted with each other.

Visits were made to the galleries of the Museum of Art and Natural History where talks were given by lecturers.

The Students' Council, with the assistance of the Educational Department, also arranged excursions, hikes and outings during the summer months.

The hikes have always been most interesting. Many of our members belong to different local unions and do not know each other. At the hikes they become acquainted, make friends with each other and spend a few hours a week in sociability

and good fellowship, called forth and influenced by beautiful surroundings. It is needless to emphasize the importance of this open air recreation to our members, who spend most of their working time indoors.

Members of Other Unions Admitted to Our Classes

Although our educational activities were arranged for our members, we were glad to admit members of other unions who wished to take advantage of them.

Educational Leadership of the I. L. G. W. U.

It is extremely gratifying to state that the movement for Workers' Education, which our International Union had the privilege of initiating in America, is growing in our country. Labor Colleges and study classes are being organized every where. No one questions now whether it is the duty of the Trade Unions to develop their own educational institutions. And, wherever such institutions are organized, the advice of our International is sought. Our leadership is recognized by all who have written on the subject. The name of the I. L. G. W. U. will go down in history, as having helped to give to the American Trade Union Movement a spiritual and intellectual meaning.

The educational activities of our International are well known abroad. Requests for our curriculum, for our publications and outlines were received from many European countries and from Mexico and Japan.

Workers' Education Bureau

The Workers' Education Movement in the United States has grown greatly. While a few years ago there were but a few struggling Labor schools in our country, today scores of them, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, reach the American worker. The Workers' Education Bureau, organized three years ago by representatives of existing Labor schools and in which our International was among the leading spirits, has been not only endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, but also actively supported by it. The Bureau reaches now a large number of American unions. Sixty per cent of the membership of the American Federation of Labor through their national unions are now affiliated with the Workers' Education Bureau. Many important State and City Federations of Labor are also affiliated. Its Executive Board consists of men and women who represent the various tendencies of the American Labor movement. We cannot forbear from expressing our gratification at the fact that our International was the pioneer in the movement for Labor Education in America. We are proud of the part we played in this movement. And American Labor recognizes the debt it owes to the I. L. G. W. U.

Brookwood College

You are acquainted with the aims of the Brookwood College. A number of our members are now studying there. In the past two years our International contributed six hundred dollars. The New York Joint Board of the Cloak Makers' Union contributed one hundred dollars, which were transmitted through our Educational Department.

Officers of our International participated actively in the development of this first American resident Labor college.

Conclusion

All must agree that the educational activities of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union must go on. The time for doubt and skepticism has passed long ago. The world moves and we must not stand still.

We utilized our available assets as far as possible. We conducted Unity Centers, Workers' University, forums, extension courses, lectures and courses at meetings of local unions and social activities. Our plans for the future are large and ambitious. We expect to open more classes. We expect to have a larger number of groups, both for elementary and advanced students, for the intensive study of the history and theory of the Labor movement. We expect to conduct more forums with sufficiently interesting programs to attract thousands of people for entertainment and instruction.

We must conduct such activities wherever our membership resides. We must satisfy the educational desires of our brothers and sisters in other cities. In short, we must reach a much larger number of the rank and file than we did heretofore, because out of them will come the Labor movement of tomorrow.

All this will require more effort. But it will be well used. It will be a wonderful investment, one for which future generations will bless us. We urge all to realize its significance, for Labor education will give to many in our midst an opportunity to develop their body and mind. It will furnish them with the material which will enrich the leisure hours, which were won by their organization in its struggles on the economic field. It will develop an intelligent membership, educated, healthy, full of life, full of desire for a new world. They will be trained for self-expression. They will obtain a fuller understanding of the great economic and philosophic problems and of the social facts which confront them. Our educational activities will develop in them a new vision of brotherhood and cooperative effort to be attained by organization in the Labor Union and the Labor Movement.

The Early Eight-Hour Struggle

By JACOB W. STARR

President, Association of Retired Federal Employees

A century and a half ago, that bright ornament of British literature, Ben Jonson and bar, Sir William Jones, penned this famous distich for the guidance of his professional brethren: Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven.

Yet to the world aliot, and all to heaven.

No thought here for the common people, the toilers. Yet, answering his own query, "What constitutes a State," the same gifted writer was forced to admit:

Not high-raised battlements or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate,
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned
Can constitute a State.

No, men, high-minded men,
Men who their duties know,
Best know their rights, and, knowing,
dare maintain,
Can constitute a State.

Notwithstanding Sir William's noble tribute to mankind, in his day and the darker periods immediately preceding, men were not appreciated chiefly for their commercial value as food for powder in the constant struggle for supremacy among the petty despots of Europe.

Labor, now recognized universally as the true and immovable cornerstone of State, was degrading; the laborer, a common hind, no better than the swine without the lordly castle walls.

In England, Macaulay tells us: "The common people of that age were not in the habit of meeting for public discussion, of haranguing or petitioning. Parliament, no newspaper described their cause; it was in the rude rhyme that their love and hatred, their exultation and their distress found utterance." It is the vehement and bitter cry of Labor against Capital. Six pence a day was now all that could be earned by hard labor at the loom. If the poor complained that they could not live on such a pittance, they were told that they were free to take it or leave it. For so miserable a recompense were the producers of wealth compelled to toil, rising early and lying down late, while the master clothiers, eating, sleeping and idling, became rich by their exertions.

Contrast the foregoing gloomy pictures with the condition of the American working men of today, as portrayed by their eminent leader and fearless champion, the Hon. Samuel Gompers. Listen to this: "If I am called upon to name one of the good things which is conspicuous, I reply, our common schools for the workers' children, and as I write the words, I hear again the enthusiastic sentiments on this point uttered in my presence by Italians, Bohemians, Americans and Irishmen: 'To think,' they say, 'your country gives even the school books free.'"

Labor's champions have had no lowly bed of ease, but:
The toilers' battle, once begun,
Bequeathed from toilers' sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

And, again, quoting Carlyle: "These things befall not, they were slowly done in an hour, but through the flight of days."

Looking back for only a score of years, who then would have dreamed of seeing no less than thirty (?) members of labor unions seated in the House of Representatives, making laws for this mighty nation.

Times have changed ever since 1878, when the Committee on Education and Labor, of the Senate, through General Burnside, its chairman, reported adversely on the eight-

hour law measure then pending—a measure which had already passed the House providing for the enforcement of the original act of 1868, approved June 25, 1868, during President Andrew Johnson's administration. Strange to say, one of the grounds for this adverse action, as set forth in the committee's report made "after mature consideration," was a protest against the measure signed by seven mechanics of Boston, praying that the "eight-hour day be repealed." It was afterwards shown that the signatures for this extraordinary document were bogus, but it accomplished its purpose, and fairly illustrates the unscrupulous methods with which the champions of the eight-hour law have had to contend through all these weary years.

All wages were too low that did not enable a man to have a comfortable home, good food, warm clothing, means to educate his children, and something besides for a rainy day.

What is known as the eight-hour law had lain dormant for ten years, when, in 1878, long before the organization of the American Federation of Labor, a delegation of working men from Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, California and other States, assembled in Washington for the purpose of securing legislation for the enforcement of the eight-hour law. The mist of a century obscure the names of most of these early pioneers of the eight-hour law, but still there are preserved those of William M. Streeter, of California, their chairman; Jacob M. Davis, of Brooklyn, their secretary; James W. Peake, of Philadelphia; Richard Emmons and Joseph Brown, of Washington, D. C., and Samuel C. Hunt, of Boston.

Probably all of these men have crossed over the Great Divide, but they did their work well. Through their efforts, headed by Captain Starr, whose aid they secured, the House of Representatives passed the bill previously referred to, as reported adversely in the Senate.

In the Washington Star of June 20, 1878, there is told the story of the visit of this delegation to President Hayes, in which the President was told that an evasion of the law by Secretary Borie in 1868 and 1869 cost the Government \$200,000. In 1872 there was another evasion of the law, and Congress appropriated another sum to pay arrears, that on the 10th of July previous, Secretary of the Navy Thompson issued an order requiring ten hours a day work, with a reference of working eight hours with a proportionate reduction of pay. Captain Starr secured the services of General Banks as the chief spokesman that day, and the President gave to the delegation the usual stereotyped reply that he would refer the matter to the Attorney General for his interpretation as the meaning of the law.

Of the aid signers, including the officers, of this set of resolutions, probably all have crossed over the river. Captain Starr, the only known living member of these pioneers, still maintains his residence at Camden, N. J., although employed in the War Department at Washington, D. C.

So the leaders pass on, men and names are forgotten, but the cause of Labor, though often temporarily halted in the final summing up, marches steadily and triumphantly on.

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РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

RUSSIAN-POLISH BRANCH

В ОТДЕЛЕ.

Массовым собранием Русско-Польского, Украинского и Литовского Отделов Юлиана Каукиейкер, состоявшегося в пятницу, 25-го Апреля, в зале Народного Дома, 315 Нт 10-ая ул., было единогласно решено послать на предложение увеличения массы членов резолюцию с требованием более широкого, польского, украинского и литовского рабочих и производств данного отдела была выдана чартер на особый Русско-Польский, Украинский и Литовский докладный комитет. Тут же была собрана Комиссия для разработки этой резолюции.

На регулярном собрании Исп. Ком. Русско-Польского Отдела, которое состоялось в понедельник, 28-го Апреля, в доме 315 Нт 10-ая ул., были заслушаны комиссия и вынесенные следующие рекомендации и решены вопросы:

К Испытательному Комитету обратился недавно прибывший из Европы товарищ с просьбой рекомендовать его в члены. Товарищ этот объяснил, что он всего только 6 месяцев в Америке и работает в полевых мастерских.

Общая же просьба Испытательного Комитета намере рекомендовать дым был принята верна и тем, чтобы мастерская в которой работает этот товарищ был организован и товарищ этот должен содействовать ее организации и тогда ему будет оказано необходимое содействие и assistance в членстве.

Следующим был решен вопрос о том, чтобы на первом персональном конгрессе был сделан докладный сбор в пользу, тогдашней делегации в Германию. Тут же была собрана комиссия для заведования и распределения этих сборов в которых вошли: Казимир отделе А. Анисевич и товарищи М. Вольвич, В. Катиня и В. Наровский.

В заключение по общему расширению и увеличению массы членов и комитетом были товарищи И. Уверальский, В. Марончик, И. Вутовский, М. Валуцкий, В. Каский, К. Давидский и А. Морос.

После этого были заслушаны и при-

даны докладом секретаря в докладах 1 и 35 в доклад докладов.

В разном был решен в принципе вопрос чтобы, если кто из товарищей уезжает, что член должен принадлежать к "Корпорации", то об этом должно быть немедленно доложено в комитет.

ВНИМАНИЮ ЧЛЕНОВ РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКОГО ОТДЕЛА.

На время отсутствия секретаря отдела по случаю отъезда на конвенцию членов, все работы членов Р.-П. О. будут приниматься товарищем Секретарем, в здании Джойнт Берд, 130 Нт 25-ая ул., на место отъезда, и во всех остальных отделах Джойнт Берд.

На время конвенции все заседания административных учреждений членов собрания не будут, потому что будут собираны в и общее собрание или Испытательного Комитета, так в общее собрание членов Р.-П. О. Каукиейкер.

О КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯХ.

По поводу конференций между административных членов членов и административных ассоциаций членов (каждого), много сказать нельзя. На конференциях в среду, 28-го Апреля, подкомитет от членов и "каждого", после трехчасового обсуждения требований членов, на время придет на в какую организацию членов и в общее собрание была отведена на понедельник 28-го Апреля.

Результаты этого заседания конференции будут доложены административным членом на заседании предшествовавшего собрания Джойнт Берд в среду, 30-го Апреля.

А. Шевченко, Секретарь.

ВНИМАНИЮ ЧЛЕНОВ Р.-П. ОТДЕЛА КАУКИЕЙКЕРОВ.

В пятницу, 2-го Мая, в 7.30 ч. веч., в зале Народного Дома, 315 Нт 10-ая ул., состоится ОБЩЕОТДЕЛЬНОЕ Собрание членов Русско-Польского Отдела Каукиейкер. В порядке дня доклад с отчетом о заседании Джойнт Берд и др. очень важные вопросы.

Приходите ко всем.

ACCIDENTS/CAUSE NEEDLESS WASTE

On January 16, Safety Day, the American Museum of Safety opened at 124 East 28th Street, New York City. The new museum, which will be run in cooperation with the State Department of Labor, offers a number of interesting exhibits showing the uses of safety devices in industry. Unfortunately the floor space available is very limited, so that the exhibits are small and crowded. We hope that more room will soon be available, that the museum may expand and increase its usefulness.

The problems of industrial safety is a tremendous one, and one that has been unfortunately too much neglected. During one month last fall we had 192 industrial deaths in New York State, and the report for this year shows 3,000 deaths from accidents causing one or more weeks' absence from work. A United States Department of Labor study shows 21,000 deaths annually, and a minimum of 28,846 years of labor time lost annually as a result of industrial accidents.

These accidents are largely unnecessary. It has been estimated that at least one-half of them could be avoided. From one-sixth to one-third of all the accidents in industry are traced to machine operation, in a study of 350,000 industrial accidents made by the National Bureau of Casualty and Security Underwriters, and the report continues: "The point of operation of a machine, if our observation is correct, can in the majority of cases be

made absolutely foolproof, readily and at small expense." These accidents could and should be eliminated.

Illiteracy and ignorance of English cause a large proportion of accidents. If the experience of the Ford Motor Company is at all typical, no steps should be left untried in the effort to teach every worker to read and write English. In the plants of this company the number of accidents has decreased 54 per cent since 1914 when schools were started in connection with the factories.

But neither safety appliances nor education in English will do away with the thousands of accidents that are caused annually by the carelessness of the individual worker. He must accept his responsibility and stop taking a chance which often injures not only himself but his fellow workers. A safety campaign should be carried on continuously in every factory to train the workers to live up to this responsibility.

The Western New York Division of the New York Telephone Company has been carrying on an accident prevention campaign for the last three years, with telling results. During 1920 there were 65 accidents causing loss of time, in 1921 the number was reduced to 19, and by 1922 to only 9 accidents. For the first four months of 1923 there was not a single accident in the division. We can see that results are obtained quickly from such campaigns.

—Consumers' League Bulletin.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

In spite of the fact that in the announcements for the regular meeting which was held on Monday, April 28, no word was contained with respect to any special business, the matters discussed by Manager Dubinsky in his report were of vital importance. Dubinsky, in the report, touched upon the most important phase of the situation in the union, particularly with respect to the progress of the conferences.

The manager said that thus far little progress had been made in the conferences, especially with the jobbers. The discussions which took place up to now concerned themselves solely with thrashing out the important points of the union's demands for reconstructing the industry. This is primarily due to the fact that the present agreement will not expire until the end of May. It is even a matter of conjecture as to whether anything definite will be known then because the season will not yet have begun.

In speaking of the steps to be taken with respect to enforcing the union's demands, Dubinsky said that there were three methods, one of which the union must adopt towards the realization of its program. However, what the union must have uppermost in its mind is to adopt such means as will be conducive to the best results.

One of the methods is to come before the employers in a dominating manner. For obvious reasons this method is not practical, particularly in view of present-day conditions. Neither side would gain much if it were to adopt such a method for the institution of desired changes in contractual relations.

The second method which Dubinsky said could be used as a means of gaining the ends of the union is through conferences, discussions, attempts at convincing and persuasion. By adopting this method there is the possibility that the union could make the manufacturers see the wisdom of its program and the benefits to the industry that would result from its acceptance.

The third method is for the union to drop its demands or declare a strike in the event that it is faced with a rejection of its proposals. Dubinsky very emphatically said that in no event will the International consider dropping its program for the very much needed reconstruction of the industry. The present condition, due to the growth of the jobbing system and the growth of the contracting and sub-manufacturing shops, has made it impossible for the workers to earn a decent livelihood and work under decent standards. Every day makes the getting fed and holding of a job more precarious.

"It goes without saying," the manager said, "that the union is ready to exert its full energy and the utmost of its financial resources in carrying on a strike to the end that certain very much needed improvements in the industry be instituted."

For the present the union has adopted the second method of bringing about the necessary improvements in the cloak and suit industry. Up to the present time four conferences have been held with the various employers' organizations.

While, as was stated already, no definite decisions were made one way or the other, the union nevertheless is preparing for any emergency, it may face. The effect of these conferences is being felt in the entire market. Neither the jobbers nor the manufacturers have placed orders with the mills. This, coupled with the fact that the season, which but a very short while ago seemed to be very promising, took a sudden bad ending,

makes the present outlook somewhat gloomy insofar as work is concerned.

Conferences will quite naturally be postponed for three weeks due to the fact that the leaders of the union are leaving for the convention. They will be away for two weeks and it will not be until some time during the latter part of the third week that negotiations will be resumed. The postponement will have no effect whatever on the final outcome, as the conferences with the employers must of necessity progress solely because of the uncertain condition in the industry.

An interesting incident in the conference with the Protective Association occurred, which Dubinsky told of during the course of his report. At first the conferences on the Protective side did not think that the union was serious when it proposed to them the same demands as were proposed to the jobbers. However, when the workers' representatives did propose the same demands, because the majority of the Protective members were also sending out work, the attitude of the employers changed. They insisted at first that the union proceed with enforcing its demands upon the jobbers and suggested that the manufacturers be left alone. The union, of course, insisted upon proceeding with a discussion of the demands submitted.

When the representatives of the Protective could not gain the point of being left alone, they immediately instituted an agitation in the press, particularly in the Journal which is issued exclusively for the ladies' garment trade. The utterances in this paper contained reports and statements to the effect that the workers have reached the pinnacle of decent working conditions. The high-class showrooms and the spacious factories are mentioned as some of the very fine things which the workers are enjoying.

The manager stated that the jobber is the most important factor of the various associations in the cloak and suit industry. Such being the case, the final outcome of the conferences with the jobbers will determine whether there will be a break with all of the groups of the employers' organizations.

There are four groups with whom the union will have to make the agreement which expires at the end of May. These are the Jobbers, Protective and American Associations, and the independent manufacturers.

During the course of his report Dubinsky made mention of the fact that the office is being rearranged. Members will recall that the Executive Board had appointed a committee which was given the power to make the necessary arrangements. The work, by the time this issue reaches the members, will have been completed.

The manager said that workers nowadays are not content with a mere pittance for their labor. In their demands for shorter hours and increased wages they have in view their needs for recreation and education.

This tendency, Dubinsky pointed out, reflects itself also in the local unions. The officers too desire light and space in connection with their daily tasks. Dubinsky mentioned Local 9, the finishers' organization, the majority of whose members are elderly men. This local has purchased a site and is building an office on it, which promises to be a very fine one. The Operators' Local 1 owns its own building also.

Active members of Local 10 some time ago spoke of the organization owning its own building. However, present-day real estate conditions do

not permit of this just now. Hence, the Executive Board did the next possible thing and rearranged its office to permit of more efficiency and convenience for the officers in connection with their work and more space for the attention of the members.

According to the change, all of the executive departments are arranged in the front of the loft. This, of course, includes the Finance Department, the department for issuing working cards, the complaint department and the manager's office.

The back of the loft has been walled off and contains a room for the meetings of the Executive Board and lounging space for members.

Ten years ago, Dubinsky said, it was undreamt of for local unions to own their office buildings. It was thought then that one room in which were a desk and chairs was sufficient for the work of the officers. Today not only do the members desire to congregate in decent offices and in their own buildings but they wish also to own their own banks.

During the course of his report, Dubinsky also stated that in response to a call issued by the Executive Board, a meeting of the delegates to the convention took place. Brother Isidore Nagler was elected chairman of the delegation. The meeting was held last week. The most important matters taken up by the delegation were concerning the resolutions to be proposed.

One of the resolutions which the delegates intend to propose to the convention is to change that part of the International's constitution which governs the suspension of members. The present clause allows a grace of thirty-nine weeks before a member is dropped for non-payment of dues. The fifty-two week clause was so long in existence that most locals still allow the fifty-two week clause in spite of the existence of the thirty-nine week grace. For this reason Local 10's delegation will propose a resolution which will urge the amending of the constitution to again allow a fifty-two week grace period before a member is dropped for non-payment of dues.

The delegation will also propose a few other resolutions which call upon the delegates to be elected to represent the International at the American Federation of Labor Convention to work for the formation of a Labor party along the lines of the British Labor party. Another resolution will request the new General Executive Board to create a scholarship fund for the education of a limited number of active members who show an aptitude along lines of academic work. The education of such men will be for the purpose of using their learning for the benefit of the union.

During the two weeks of the convention the office, in the absence of Manager Dubinsky, will be in charge

of Business Agent Sachs. Brother Sachs's knowledge of the office and of the Joint Board will make it possible for him to give the proper attention to the members during the two coming weeks.

The meeting which was scheduled to take place Monday evening, May 12, has been postponed. The next regular meeting of the organization, which is to take place on Monday, May 26, will be held as scheduled.

Manager Dubinsky announced to the members that the last General Executive Board had levied an assessment of fifty cents per member in support of the Chicago strike. The local has forwarded the amount due to the International. When the assessment is to be paid by the members, will be determined by the Executive Board in the near future. Dubinsky said that the Chicago workers are putting up a remarkable fight for the maintenance of union conditions and, in spite of privation and recent holiday needs, they continue in their determination to see the strike through to a successful conclusion.

Among other matters which Dubinsky spoke of were some of the recommendations contained in the report to the convention of the General Executive Board.

He said that in this report it is proposed that an assessment of \$10 be levied or that there be passed by the delegates an increase in the per capita; that is, a raise in dues.

IN MEMORIAM

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Brother Aaron Demow. He joined the organization in August, 1909, and has been an active member of the Union. His loss is felt by the organization and the condolences of the Union are extended to the bereaved family.

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CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, May 19th

REGULAR MEETING Monday, May 26th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place