

"My righteous-
ness 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. 51.

New York, Friday, December 19, 1924.

SAMUEL GOMPERS DEAD

Old Chief of American Labor Succumbs in San Antonio on Way Home From Mexico City—American Labor Movement Deeply Stirred Over Loss of Leader and Founder—National Funeral in New York on Thursday, December 18—Great Procession to Mark Passing of Gompers—I. L. G. W. U. Members in New York Abstain From Work on Morning of Funeral in Honor of Fallen Leader

Samuel Gompers is no more.

On Saturday, December 13, in the small hours of the morning, the old president of the Federation of Labor died in a San Antonio, Texas, hotel surrounded by members of the Executive Council and a group of close friends and life-long associates.

Gompers died, as he lived, in harness, in the midst of his labors, and until the last minute was the leader and master-mind of American organized labor. In his death, the trade union movement will miss its ablest exponent, a fighter without fear and reproach, and a wise, sagacious counsellor.

Eternal honor to his memory!

Readers of Justice, no doubt, are familiar from the daily press with the details of President Gompers' lingering illness for several years past, the numerous crises through which he passed, which culminated in his death on December 13.

The news of the passing of the old leader swept the entire country with lightning rapidity. It filled with sorrow the heart of every thinking man and woman in America but struck particularly heavy the world of labor. The name of Gompers has come to mean so much to members of trade unions and has become so closely associated with their struggles and activities for generations past that his death seemed almost unbelievable.

All union headquarters and offices throughout the land are draped in heavy mourning. The I. L. G. W. U. Building in New York City became a mass of black color the moment the

news of Gompers' death had been confirmed from Washington last Saturday morning. The offices of the American Federation of Labor have been deluged with messages of condolence from every quarter of the country and from abroad.

The message forwarded by the General Executive Board of our International Union reads as follows:

December 13, 1924.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

On behalf of our General Executive Board and in the name of the

rank and file of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, please convey to the Executive Council our bereavement over the irreparable blow which the forces of Labor in America and the entire world have suffered this morning in the death of our grand old chief, the father of the American trade union movement, Samuel Gompers. The demise of Samuel Gompers is too stunning and incalculable a loss to the organized workers of this country and to us to find at this moment adequate words for expression.

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International Offers \$3,000 Reward For Conviction of Perlstien's Assailants

Local Two Adds Another Thousand Dollars to Reward Offer

President Morris Sigman and Secretary Baroff issued last Tuesday, December 16, an announcement that the International will pay a reward of \$3,000 to any person or persons who will supply authentic informa-

tion leading to the capture and conviction of the instigators of the criminal assault upon Vice-president Meyer Perlstien on Saturday, December 6.

The announcement was made on behalf of the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. and goes into effect at once. The instigators of the dastardly attack upon the life of the administrator of the combined cloak operators' local, Brother Perlstien, must not escape the consequences of their murderous act, President Sigman explained in issuing the statement containing the reward offer, and the International will do all it can to facilitate the efforts of the police authorities to bring the criminals to justice.

President Sigman also announced that he cancelled his trip to Chicago and Canada for two weeks to take a personal hand in the investigation of the crime and to direct other import-

ant developments connected with the attack upon Vice-president Perlstien. The Local 17 controversy and its latest phases likewise require the presence of President Sigman in New York.

The condition of Brother Perlstien has shown, during last week, a steady improvement, and his physicians are now confident that he will soon fully recover. He is permitted to leave his bed, though he is still very weak from the appalling loss of blood resulting from his head wounds. The whole membership of the I. L. G. W. U. in every city in the country is tremendously aroused over the crime, as evident from the number of telegrams which are daily pouring into the General Office expressing indignation over it and offering sympathy to Brother Perlstien and calling upon the International authorities to use every effort to detect the conspirators and to punish them.

President Sigman In Philadelphia and Baltimore

Last Friday evening, December 12, President Morris Sigman journeyed from Washington, where he attended during the day the Third-Party movement conference, to take part in a meeting of the Baltimore Joint Board called specially for that purpose.

The general condition of the ladies' garment workers' organization in Baltimore still leaves much to be desired. Despite the efforts of Manager Polakoff who is doing his best to keep the locals going, the special difficulties attending the local cloak situation and the numerous non-union small-town shops are handicapping the Baltimore Joint Board at every turn it makes and create obstacles for the unionizing of the industry. It must be remembered that in Baltimore, more than in every other cloak center, the woman element in the cloak shops is very much in evidence and it offers a stumbling block to the Union from an organization point of view.

On Saturday evening, December 13, President Sigman visited Philadelphia and attended a meeting of the Philadelphia cloakmakers' organization which discussed the terms of the new agreement to be presented to the employers very shortly. Among the subjects which will be offered to the next conference with the employers' association and recommended for incorporation in the new agreement are the sanitary union label, unemployment insurance and several of the other important modifications introduced in the New York market as a result of the report of Governor Smith's Mediation Commission last July.

The meeting approved these demands and elected a conference committee to meet with the manufacturers. President Sigman will take part in these negotiations with the Philadelphia employers, if he is in the East at the time they take place.

Joint Sanitary Board Formed in Baltimore

Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Dr. Geo. M. Price of New York Attend

The organization of a joint sanitary board of control in the women's garment industry of Baltimore was perfected last Saturday, December 13, at the Hotel Emerson of representatives of civic bodies, the Baltimore Joint Board of Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, manufacturers, women's clubs and the City Health Department of Baltimore.

The meeting was presided over by Brother Sol Polakoff, International representative in Baltimore, who announced that the manufacturers would have the same representation on the sanitary board as would the Union, but that others, representing the general public, would also be members. A second meeting will shortly be called to elect the other members of the board, which will con-

sist of either nine or eleven persons. Dr. William Henry Howell of the Department of Hygiene of Johns Hopkins University was announced as director of the Board. It was also announced that among the members of the board would be Mrs. Peter B. Bradley of the Housewives' Alliance, Mrs. Charles E. Elliott of the League of Women Voters, and Mrs. William Milnes Malloy.

To Use Sanitary Label

It is the intention of the sanitary board to introduce to the Baltimore industry the sanitary label, which will be placed on every garment made in the union shops of that city. The label will attest that the garment was made under sanitary and union conditions.

Local 2 Concert in the Bronx Tomorrow

Mme. Soloff, Soprano; Max Jacobs, Violinist, and B. Gottesfeld, Reader, Will Participate

Tomorrow evening, Saturday, December 20, at 7:30, the concert of Local 2, to celebrate the re-opening of its educational season, will take place in the beautiful auditorium of

Public School 61, Charlotte street and Crotona Park East.

Among the artists who will participate will be Mme. Soloff, the well-

(Continued on page 2.)

SAMUEL GOMPERS DEAD

(Continued from page 1)

pressing its full weight and significance. With our heads bowed and hearts aching we stand, with the other millions of his fellow workers and countrymen, conscious of an overpowering feeling that a great warrior for the common weal had passed out of our midst, that he died on the field of battle a commanding historic figure, a symbol of the irresistible advance of the workers of America towards a brighter, greater and better future and a source of everlasting inspiration for generations to come.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, MORRIS SIGMA', President.

ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.
Another message of sympathy was forwarded to Washington headquarters of the American Federation of Labor by the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Union of New York, reading as follows:

Gompers Marble Bust, Presented By I. L. G. W. U. At His Bier in Washington

The marble bust of President Samuel Gompers presented to him by the I. L. G. W. U. delegation at the El Paso convention reached Washington safely in the middle of last week. Before he left for Mexico City, Gompers expressed the hope to President Sigman that the bust would be placed in his private office, near his desk.

Fate, however, willed otherwise. The bust arrived in Washington only a few days ahead of the body of President Gompers from San Antonio. The wish of the old chief was, however, partly fulfilled, as the marble bust, draped in black, was placed alongside his bier in the Council

American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Accept our deep sorrow over the great loss suffered by the American Labor movement. President Gompers' death is a tremendous blow to organized Labor in this country and all over the world.

President Samuel Gompers has been a true comrade and a fore-fighter for humanity, for greater liberty and for the rights of the masses. He will remain immorial among the great names of organized workers the world over.

We hope that the cornerstone laid down by President Gompers in our American Federation of Labor will remain forever a monument for the great masses of organized workers in America.

JOINT BOARD CLOAK AND DRESS MAKERS' UNIONS, LOUIS E. LANGER, Secretary.

Chamber of the Federation Building, during the few hours his body lay in state in Washington.

I. L. G. W. U. Board Summoned to Attend Funeral

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor invited the entire General Executive Board of the International to take part in the funeral ceremonies in New York City. An official invitation was also extended to the Cloak and Dress Joint Board of New York.

General Secretary Baroff thereupon summoned by telegraph all the members of the General Executive Board residing outside of New York to come

to the city Thursday morning to take part in the final procession in honor of the fallen chief of American Labor. The International also announced that the General Office would be kept closed from nine in the morning until two o'clock in the afternoon on the day of the funeral and called upon all the members of the International in Greater New York to stop off from work and take part in the great funeral march. President Sigman issued the following statement on this occasion:

"The workers have respected and valued President Gompers when he was alive. The workers know what Gompers meant to the Labor movement and to our organization. There is no doubt that our members will respond in large numbers and come to the funeral procession to pay him last honors."

When the body of President Gompers reached New York on Wednesday morning, December 17, it was met at the train by the Executive Council of the Federation, the entire personnel of our General Executive Board, a number of officers of our organizations in New York and adjacent cities, and practically by every known Labor man in New York City. The procession, under military and special police escort, proceeded to the Elks Club, where the body reposed in state the whole day of Wednesday and all night until the following morning. Behind it were massed hundreds of floral pieces, tributes from every Labor organization of North America, Mexico, and Europe, from relatives, fraternal organizations and friends.

All day long and well into the night a constant stream of men and

White Goods Workers Ask Employers to Confer

The agreement in the white goods trade between Local 62 and the Cotton Garment Association is to expire on January 31, 1925, six weeks from now, and according to the terms of this contract, both parties to it are to begin negotiations for its renewal some time before its expiration so as to prevent any dislocation of the trade and to make possible an adequate discussion of suggestions and demands made by either side for the improvement of work conditions in the shops.

"To meet this provision, Abraham Snyder, the manager of Local 62, forwarded last Monday, December 15, an invitation to Mr. Herman Mason, the manager of the Cotton Garment Association, asking the employers' group to take part in such a conference and to cooperate with him in arranging it." Brother Snyder has consulted the general office and the officers of the District Council concerning it, and representatives of the International and of the Council will quite likely attend the conference with the employers, together with a committee of Local 62.

women from all walks of life passed before the coffin to look for a moment at the face of the dead leader. It was the women workers, merchant, professional men and women, and girls from shops and stores. In the morning of Thursday, December 18, Rabbi Stephen Wise of the Free Synagogue, a friend from childhood of the dead leader, intoned the services, and was followed by James Duncan, first vice-president of the Federation who said good-bye to his departing chief in the name of American Labor.

The Elks conducted the final services after which the body was taken to St. Mary's Hollow Cemetery, Tarrytown, for interment. As a mark of nationwide respect to the dead leader, the business life of New York was stilled for two minutes from 11 o'clock to 11:02, and commerce and industry in many other cities came to a temporary halt at that moment. The flags on all public buildings in New York came to half mast and were kept in such a state until the funeral was over.

Among the honorary pallbearers of President Gompers were a great many leaders of the labor, professional and intellectual life of New York. President Morris Sigman, Morris Hillquit, Meyer Lendin and Abraham Cahan were on that list. Hugh Fraunce, the veteran New York representative of the American Federation of Labor was in charge of the funeral arrangements from the moment the body of President Gompers reached New York.

Joint Board Presents Demands To Dress Contractors' Association

Concrete Proposals Made By the Union At Third Conference

The third conference between the representatives of the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board, headed by Vice-president Feinsberg, and a committee from the Dress Manufacturers, Inc., the organization of the dress contractors, took place at the Hotel Astor on Monday last, December 15. The discussion at this meeting centered on a list of demands presented by the Union's committee for incorporation in the next agreement between the workers and the contractors' association in the dress industry.

These demands came as a logical

follow-up of the discussions between the two parties at the two previous conferences. They consist principally of a request for the standardization of wages in the trade and for a substantial wage increase, seeking a guaranteed minimum wage of not less than fifty dollars for operators working by the piece, and a substantial increase for cutters, sample makers, examiners, drapers, finishers, belt-stitchers and cleaners—all week workers. For piece workers, the Union asks minimum base rates of \$1.00 an hour for operators, \$1.50 for pressers, and \$1.00 for finishers, as compared with

\$1.00, \$1.10 and 55 cents per hour under the old agreement.

Among the other important demands of the Union are a complete union shop, a sanitary union label, and an unemployment insurance fund. Further conferences to consider these demands will be held shortly, and it is quite likely that a conference in which all the three factors in the dress industry, the Union, the jobbers and the contractors will take part will be arranged to settle the demands of the workers' organization from the viewpoint of the whole industry.

Local 2 Concert Tomorrow

(Continued from page 1)

known soprano, who will sing operatic arias, and Jewish and Russian folk songs. Max Jacobs, director of the New York Chamber Symphony, will play several violin selections and B. Gottesfeld will read humorous sketches.

Folders announcing the program of the Educational Department of our

International Union in the Bronx will be distributed.

We expect the members of the I. L. G. W. U. with their families to come and celebrate the beginning of the educational season, and feel sure that the evening will be an artistic and social success.

Admission is free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

"Why I Joined The Labor Party"

Lord Thomson will speak on "Why I Joined the Labor Party" on Monday evening, December 29, in the Cooper Union. This will be his first lecture in the United States.

Lord Thomson is a celebrated general who was prominent in the World War, and was a member of the first English Labor Government. He will

come to the United States at the invitation of the Foreign Policy Association.

Admission to defray the expenses of his visit will be \$1.10 and 25 cents. The Educational Department has obtained a number of the twenty-five cent tickets.

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All Sadowsky Shops "One Factory"

Impartial chairman Raymond V. Ingersoll, acting as special arbitrator in the case brought before him by the firm of Sadowsky, Inc. and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York, rendered a decision to the effect that the firm is bound by the terms of its own contract and is to treat, with regard to work conditions and regulations, all its shops—inside and outside—as one factory. The Sadowsky agreement is to run until July 15, 1925.

Ingersoll was selected as special arbitrator in this case by the mutual consent of the Union and the firm. The decision reads in part:

"The immediate question, submitted for arbitration upon documentary evidence and upon argument of counsel, involved an interpretation of the agreement under which the parties had been operating. In particular it was a dispute as to the significance of paragraph 3 of the contract. This paragraph reads:

"The said contractors' shops as to be designated by the employer, together with its inside shop, above mentioned, shall, for the purposes of this agreement, be considered one establishment with respect to its obligations towards its employees, it being the intention of the parties hereto that all former workers of the employer, whether retained in its inside shop or placed in any of said contractors' shops, shall until the expiration of the term of this agreement, receive the same wages, opportunity to work and treatment as if they had continued in the inside shop of the employer."

"On this question the arbitrator upholds the position of the union.

"Paragraph four sets forth definitely that the inside and outside shops here involved shall, for the purpose under discussion, be considered one establishment and that all former workers of the employer whether retained in its inside shop or placed in any of said contractors' shops, shall

until the expiration of the term of this agreement, receive the same wages, opportunity to work and treatment as if they had continued in the inside shop of the employer.

"The latter following is in a separate section, separately numbered, and is clearly intended as an amplification rather than as a limitation of the terms and effect of paragraph four. The terms of paragraph four on this point are too definite to be overcome by any inference to be drawn either from prior negotiations or from the fact that they are not repeated in the following paragraph.

"It is, of course, open to the manufacturer to bring himself in due course under the conditions prevailing more generally in the industry, but at present he is bound by the terms of his own contract.

"The manufacturer and the union should proceed to adjust their differences under complaint number two on the basis of this decision in favor of the union. It will not be necessary to hear testimony as to the exact state of facts unless in the course of adjustment irreconcilable differences should arise."

Toronto Joint Board Condemns Communist Sheet

Statement By Joint Board of Toronto Cloak Makers' Union

During the last few years, our Union has waged a bitter fight against poor employers in Toronto. Each season we have been compelled to conduct under highly unfavorable circumstances individual strikes which have cost us a great deal of money and effort. Thanks only to the unlimited devotion of our members were we able to maintain better conditions in a number of shops—much superior to the other non-Union shops in our city.

Our last season was an unusually bad one, and our employers had figured it out that the time has come to

deliver a death blow to the Union in Toronto. They have therefore caused three lockouts in the largest union shop. We accepted the challenge and decided a strike in these three shops. After five weeks, one of three employers settled with us, while the other two are still fighting us. We are certain that, as soon as conditions in the trade will improve, we shall be able to bring the other two firms to terms.

It is not an easy matter to wage such strikes. The strike benefits, the numerous arrests and court proceedings have depleted our treasury which never was a big one. The situation, however, the temper of our members, the Joint Board decided to bring the entire matter before the workers, and we are proud to state, that, notwithstanding the unemployment and the very bad season, our workers decided to tax themselves five dollars apiece and, what is more, had paid up this tax in the course of one week. With the aid of the International, we are now also conducting an agitation to organize the trade and we hope to be able very soon to establish union conditions in all the Toronto shops.

Our "lefts" have been rather quiet lately, especially when activity meant doing constructive work for the union. We fought for a while that they may have finally been brought to their senses and that they, at least, would cease interfering with the regular activities of the organization. True to their color, however, they recently published a fresh bit of slander which, of course, found place in their very mouth-piece, the New York "Freiheit" of November 8. Our Toronto organization is being lied about and slandered in that statement, among other things says:

"The Cloakmakers' Union of To-

ronto, which only a few years ago was one of the strongest labor bodies of Toronto with a membership of 2,000, is today only a skeleton, with a paper membership of 500. This is due to the leadership of one person who wanted to show that he could do wonders, but only ruined the organization.

What concerns the persons who are at the head of the union at this moment there is little to be said about them at present. They have neither the will to organize the workers in the cloak industry who are being harshly exploited today, nor the required mental baggage and energy for the task."

We decided not to let this attack pass unchallenged.

The Joint Board, at a fully attended meeting on November 13, voted to express its condemnation of the above-mentioned sheet and of all the so-called "revolutionists" of Toronto who are responsible for this becoming of our Union. We know that the spreading of calumny of our union serves well the interests of the employers and hinders our work and progress.

We also decided to appoint a committee to investigate the entire matter and to call to an accounting every member of the union responsible for the printing and spreading of this slander. It was also decided that all the members of the Joint Board sign the statement condemning the ugly "left" catering for their shameful nation-betraying activity.

In the name of the Toronto Joint Board of the Cloak Makers' Union: ABRAHAM KIRSHNER, Chairman. CHARLES SCHIATZ, Vice-Chairman. H. Greenberg, K. Wagner, H. Reinhold, S. Braude, M. Goldman, H. Frumtchick, S. Kreisman, L. Galinsky, M. Jacobs, L. Ginsburg, A. Friedman.

Jamaica Police Still Mistreat

Gottlieb-Seiff Pickets

The strike of the workers in the children's dress shop of Gottlieb & Seiff which has been going on at Buxton, Avenue and South Street, Hamilton, N. L., since early in August, continues with unabated bitterness.

As Justice readers know, the Jamaica firm involved in this strike had failed in obtaining a permanent injunction against the International Union and the Jamaica local after it had first succeeded in getting a temporary restraining writ. The motion for an injunction was defeated through the decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

But what it failed to achieve through legal channels, the Gottlieb-

Self firm, so it would seem, is now bent on accomplishing by harrasing and terrorizing the strikers and their pickets. The shop is surrounded by "protections" who prevent the pickets from talking to the few strikebreakers that come in and go out of the shop. Moreover, as in the past, the firm is receiving the cordial support of the Jamaica police in their effort to suppress the workers as the blue-coats have been ceaselessly harrasing the girl strikers and have subjected them and the union's organizers to arrests, fines and every other form of abuse in order to break down their spirit.

The strike, however, is on, no matter how hard the Jamaica police exert their beneficial efforts on behalf of the struck firm. The workers will not return to the shop until they have won their just demands and not a minute sooner.

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Samuel Gompers-Cigarmaker

By J. CHARLES LAUE

While the nation and the Labor movement of the world was paying its tribute to Samuel Gompers, as Labor leader, statesman and citizen, in a small room overlooking the noisy elevated tracks of the Third Avenue "L" in New York City was a small group of cigarmakers that mourned the passing of its most distinguished member.

The headquarters was that of Cigarmakers' Union No. 144, the union to which Sam Gompers belonged, which he organized forty-nine years ago, of which he was the first president, the local which gave him his standing in the Labor movement, a standing which he never relinquished up to the day of his death.

His union dues to the local were paid up for the current year, Jack Melhado, secretary, showed, pointing to the books. To the family of the deceased veteran will go a check of \$600 in due course, the funeral and death benefit to which all good standing members of the old-time cigarmakers' organization are entitled. Arrangements have been made for a group of the oldest cigarmakers, including the few survivors who knew Mr. Gompers when he worked in Stachelberg's shop, to attend the burial.

Crepe has been hung on the local's charter, yellow with age. The elaborate flourishes of the handwriting of a bygone day are still decipherable under the dust covering the picture glass and frame that protects the document but poorly from the destroying effect of the light rays. It is in effect the first testimonial to Samuel Gompers, as an organizer, in the days when the American Labor movement was still in its birth pangs.

The charter itself is an example of

the fine workmanship of a bygone day. The lithograph shows a decorative border of strands of braided tobacco leaf. In the upper center are the clasped hands emblematic of brotherhood, beautifully done by an artist-craftsman of two generations back. On the left is a drawing showing an old-time cigarmaker at the bench and on the right an Indian sitting on a bale of the fragrant weed.

The cigarmaker shown in the charter is almost a likeness of Gompers of the period, when he was an expert workman, employed in what was known as "the Spanish houses" where the finest cigars were made. Machine manufacture has practically driven out this type of workmanship today. The journeyman, as they all did in those days, affected a flowing black moustache.

The charter is made out to Samuel Gompers, as President of the new local, and to six others, Levi Bossie, Henry Baer, David Straus, Ad. Straesser, K. Nickelsberg and H. Fronhafer. Gompers survived them all, except Straesser, who is retired, said to be living near Tampa, Florida, where large quantities of high grade, hand-made cigars are still being made.

The date of the charter is that of November 24, 1875, and is granted by the Cigar Makers' International Union, organized in 1864, according to the seal, which does not show very clearly. Subscribed are the names of George Hurst, President, Cigar Makers' International Union; W. J. Miller, First Vice-president; L. P. Rohner, Second Vice-president, and Jno. J. Jusio, President, Cigar Makers' State Union. All these men have died. With the passing of Gompers, as one of the old timers put it, "goes the last of the Mohegans."

A Man Worth Knowing About

By NORMAN THOMAS

We Americans are familiar with racial and religious problems. Prejudice born of them played a sorry part in our last election. Even our Labor movement has not altogether escaped the curse of white injustice and arrogance toward colored workers.

But our problems are as nothing compared with a country like India, where divisions of race and religion have been the chief factor in keeping the country subordinate to the British crown. Indian freedom depends upon understanding, primarily between Hindus and Moslems. It also depends upon the abolition of the social boycott and economic exploitation of the so-called untouchables, who are not allowed to draw water from public wells, or pray in public temples, or walk on public roads. If one of them must set out on a walk—he is compelled to make a noise so that the caste people may be aware of his approach and keep away from him.

Not even the rising tides of Indian nationalism were successfully surmounting these barriers of religion and caste, until that remarkable figure, Gandhi, appeared on the scene. The highly educated man whose appearance is strange to our Western eyes, is a hero of all India. Recently there have been various riots between Hindus and Moslems. The Hindus object to Moslem sacrifice of cows which are sacred. The Moslems object to Hindus playing drums outside their mos-

ques. On differences no more serious than these, over and over in history, bloody strife has arisen. At last Gandhi brought about peace. He did it by entering, a few months ago, on a fast for twenty-one days. Thus he did penance for the sins of his people. In his fight against the wrongs of the untouchables, he has gone so far as to adopt a child of the untouchables as his own. At all times he insists that the basis of independence is not merely political emancipation but a moral freedom of the people themselves.

His method is the method of non-violence. Under its influence, the sikhs, one of the most war-like of tribes, in their quarrels with the British, have marched resolutely in battle array, but unarmed against soldiers.

It will not be for us to dismiss as striking man as Gandhi was a curiosity of the Eastern World. In our own struggle against racial and religious intolerance, and all forms of exploitation, we need to know something of his spirit. Whatever one may think of some of his ideas, his spirit is the spirit of the Labor movement at its best. His method may be the surest aspect from the method of war yet offered to a weary world. We suggest that Labor colleges and Labor classes and thoughtful workers generally ought to know more of this unique and singular figure.

Big Debate on Immigration

Congressmen Johnson and La Guardia Clash

A debate of unusual interest will be held in which will participate Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington against Congressman F. H. La Guardia of New York. The subject of the debate will be "Resolved, that a rigid restriction of immigration is necessary for the welfare of the United States."

Congressman Johnson is the sponsor of the recently enacted anti-immigration laws, while Congressman La Guardia, of the Twentieth Congressional District, is known as a firm opponent to immigration restriction.

The chairman of this debate will be Supreme Court Justice John Ford.

The debate will take place at the New Star Casino, 107th street and Park avenue, on Sunday afternoon, December 21, 1924, at 2:30 p. m. Both Congressmen will come directly from Washington for the purpose of engaging in this joint discussion.

Admission will be fifty cents, with a small reserved section at \$1.00 a ticket. The debate is arranged under the auspices of the National Labor Forum of this city. Tickets may be obtained at the office of the Jewish Daily Forward, at 62 East 106th street, office of the Harlem Educational Center.

ing condition. Our modern industrial system, however, precludes the hope of permanent abolition of unemployment as, in fact, periodic industrial idleness is one of the pillars upon which this system rests. Means have to be found for the amelioration of this evil, and as the State is still displaying but scant interest in this matter, as if it had no responsibility whatever for the distress of idle workers, it remains for the trade unions themselves to seek relief for the man out of work.

Our union has for this purpose decided to introduce an unemployment insurance fund which is raised in the following manner: Each employer is obliged to contribute weekly two per cent of the amount of his payroll, in addition to one per cent deducted from the wages of each individual worker, and this sum, for each shop, is to be forwarded weekly to the trustees of the insurance fund.

The fund is governed by a board of trustees consisting of representatives of the union and of the employers' associations. From this fund the unemployed members of the cloak and suit makers' locals in New York are to be paid a certain wage for a fixed number of weeks during the year, just as they receive strike benefits in

time of strikes or sick benefit when they are ill. It stands to reason that this fund could only operate when contributions towards it are made regularly and promptly and it is, therefore, the direct business of every member of the union to take care that in the shop where he is employed the insurance payments be collected and regularly forwarded to the insurance fund. The board of trustees which administers the fund is at present engaged in working out the details with regard to the amount an unemployed worker may receive, the length of benefit period, etc.

The New York Joint Board is tremendously in earnest about carrying out these two important industrial reforms in our trades. It is intent upon making a one-hundred-per-cent job of it, and for this purpose it has recently formed, as Justice readers know already, a new office, a "Labor and Insurance Department." This office will keep in close touch with the labor department of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and with the Insurance Fund, which is being administered, as stated above, by a special commission.

Concerning the details of the operation of this new office—next time.

The Sanitary Label and the Unemployment Fund

By CHARLES JACOBSON

Manager, Label and Insurance Office

The new agreement in the cloak and suit industry of New York signed last July contains two important clauses which should receive closest attention on the part of every member of the locals affiliated with the New York Joint Board and of every trade union worker in general. They concern the provisions for a sanitary label and for unemployment insurance.

Both clauses are industrial innovations. The sanitary label purports to give the union the means for controlling production by jobbers of their output of garments in clean and wholesome union shops—while the unemployment fund aims at easing, as far as possible, the hard lot of the workers in the cloak industry who are compelled to undergo annually the hardships of long idle periods. It would be in place here to cast some light on the opportunity the enactment of these two new measures might afford our organization for attaining the results just stated.

We start with the label. The sanitary label is being supervised in the cloak industry of New York by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and is being sold to each shop where sanitary and other union conditions are fully met with. Technically, therefore, the label is only a guarantee that every garment on which it is sewed on is made in a clean shop. As a matter of fact, however, the significance of the label is much greater than that, inasmuch as such labels are sold only on union shops, and they

therefore testify to the fact that the garments on which they are found are made under general union conditions, sanitary regulations included. In other words—the sanitary label is in reality a union label.

As the label is obligatory on all garments turned out by employers under contractual relations with the union, it gives the organization an excellent means for ascertaining whether these jobbers and manufacturers are producing their garments in union-contractor shops or not, as non-union shops are barred from using the label. It is obviously of utmost importance to every worker employed in a union cloak shop to carefully watch that all garments manufactured in it carry the sanitary label. The workers will thereby protect themselves against any possibility of the garments being made in "open" shops. The union will, of course, on its side, directly enforce the rule that all garments made in union shops carry the label without exception.

As regards the unemployment insurance fund, its chief importance lies in the fact that the women's garment industry, more perhaps than any other occupation, has been afflicted with distressingly long idle periods between seasons of season. The union of the ladies' garment workers has therefore been compelled to pay this matter of idleness greater attention than any other Labor organization and has for years been searching for a solution of this dishearten-

The Steel Terror

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

In a debate in 1908, before an audience of 5,500 people, the late Henry Clough, distinguished New York banker, was offered fifty dollars in gold for an optimistic answer to the following question: Admitting that the best paid workers in the world are, as you boast, the American workers, but calling attention to the fact that even these command sufficient for their own products to prevent over-production (working with modern machinery)—what have we comforting to look forward to when the 800,000,000 people of Asia, the worst paid people in the world; are equipped with modern machinery and the world-busting contest of the ages begins for the foreign market for our goods? The banker remained silent and gave no other sign of intelligence—except embarrassment.

Forty-five years ago British capitalists had already set up \$70,000,000 worth of cotton machinery in India—which was operated by labor costing less than three times per day. Now note the drift since 1913.

Increase in Far East Mills
The extent of this increase in native cotton mills can be gathered from the appended table:

Spindles in the Far East	1913	1924
India	5,500,000	1,928,000
China	1,000,000	3,380,000
Japan	2,214,000	4,351,000

"Their total holdings is ten per cent of the world's spindles, or rather more than one quarter of those held by Great Britain. It should, however, be noted that China works her spindles 180 hours per week against forty-eight normally in Lancashire, and until recently Japan worked a 132-hour week, in shifts of course, but the power of the spindles is virtually three times British spindles since they are three times as much worked."

This helps explain why in one English city, Lancashire, there are "today not fewer than 91,000 operatives registered in the Labor Exchange, worthless."

This modern miracle, the machine, made of steel, emulated, eating nothing, wearing nothing, consuming only a little oil, living on and on—this machine, whirring, buzzing, snarling, pouring out product almost automatically—all day, all night, all year—attended by the poorest paid worker in the world, this machine, hundreds, thousands, millions of them, presently to be roaring in all the industries in the far-off Far East, will bring Ramsay MacDonald back to power, bring the British Labor Party to the mastery of Parliament, will produce an American Labor Party, will present an educational task for the Socialist Party far beyond its present vision. This machine, whirling night and day, 10,000 miles away, will yet stand tall and terrible before the workers of the western world—of all the world—and command attention, command study, command consideration as a new force, the greatest force, the supreme factor, in modern industry. This machine is a commanding part of the workers' environment. Sooner or later—sooner than we seem to think—the workers of the world will stand blinking before the fact that industrial evolution is part of a natural process in which Nature seizes all organic things with this life-lashing law: Adjust yourself to your environment—or die. A million departed species, failing this command, now lie locked in all the rocks laid down in the last hundred million years.

The Lancashire weavers, recognizing the modern machine as the prime

factor in their environment, must adjust themselves to that machine—or tread the weary ways of life defeated, utterly defeated. They must socialize the ownership of this cotton machinery and the purpose of this machinery. They must. The workers of the world must socialize the ownership and purpose of this wonder-working, modern-miracle, means of production—or be lashed through the weary years across the stage of existence, and, generation after generation, go defeated and despised to their graves.

This industrial socialization is to be the life-saving, life-crowning adjustment of our time, a process that will make the twentieth century referred to as the beginning of the Era of Re-adjustment, the Dawn of Society.

The Faithful Few

By WM. C. CROOKER

When the meetin' called to order, And you look round the room, You're sure to see more faces That from out the shadows loom. That are always at the meeting And stay until it's through. The ones that I would mention Are the always faithful few.

They fill the vacant offices, As they're always on the spot, No matter what the weather, Though it may be damp and hot. It may be damp and rainy, But they are tried and true, The ones that you rely on Are the always faithful few.

There's lots of worthy brothers, Who will come when in the mood, When everything's convenient They can do a little good. They're a factor in the Local And are necessary, too; But the ones who never fail us Are the always faithful few.

If it were not for the faithful, Whose shoulders at the wheel Keep the Local moving onward Without a halt or rest, What would be the fate of others Who claim so much to do? The Local would go under But for the faithful few.

The Shame of Massachusetts

The State of Massachusetts on November 4 at the general election held a referendum on the question of ratifying the pending child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution. The result was a vote of three to one against ratification. This is an astounding fact which confronts the State of Massachusetts, the United States of America, and the world. Massachusetts, who was in the forefront of the battle lines for emancipation of the negro slaves in 1861; Massachusetts, who has been in the forefront of progress in industrial legislation for the past quarter century, refuses her vote to emancipate the child slaves of industry in other states today.

Why? The answer is written in cold facts. Massachusetts is a great textile manufacturing State. Of the five States that have thus far expressed themselves on ratification of the amendment; one, namely Arkansas, which is not a cotton mill State, has ratified. The four others are Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Massachusetts. Three of those four States are cotton mill States. The ownership of their mills is largely in Massachusetts. The textile industry employs more children than does any other industry.

It is true enough that these facts did not appear on the surface in the fight in Massachusetts—a bitter fight into which were dragged "boishevism," religious issues, the prohibition issue, the income tax issue, the States rights issue, education issues, and everything and anything to keep the discussion away from the real question at the root of the opposition—namely, whether or not the manufacturers of the United States are to continue to have available in some States the labor of children by means of which both to profit there and to beat down wages of men and women in other States. The immigration law has deprived manufacturers of cheap foreign labor formerly available to them.

The campaign of the opposition in Massachusetts was conducted under the name of the so-called "Citizens Committee for Protection of Our Homes and Children." But the membership of that committee included the names of several well-known manufacturers and the finance chairman was a past president of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts.

Through this so-called "citizens committee," utilizing radio, paid advertising, public platform, hand-bills, and every other means of publicity, that money can buy, there was broadcast over the State of Massachusetts such a blast of misrepresentation concerning the amendment that it was impossible for its supporters, with scant funds and small equipment, to overtake or counteract it before election time.

A panic vote was cast, by an electorate deceived and alarmed over the bogey of bolshevism with which the mill owners succeeded in identifying to thousands of minds the constitutional amendment which would enable Congress to abolish child labor. The victory in the referendum went to the forces that could control the avenue of communication and publicity, and do it swiftly and so that it could penetrate the fog of misrepresentation and misunderstanding they had created. The opponents of child labor had less than \$2,000 for a contest in which the opposition was backed by the money of the National Manufacturers' Association of the United States.

The propaganda against the amendment was of a character almost unbelievable; all of it, however, being either lifted wholly or at least derived from the brief against the amendment published a few months ago by the National Manufacturers' Association, repeated by the official organ of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, and the Southern Textile Bulletin and the whole array of manufacturing interests lined up to defeat the amendment. It ran principally as follows:

1. That the amendment was framed in Soviet Russia.
2. That the amendment would "nationalize the children."
3. That the amendment would give Congress some new and unprecedented power to interfere between parent and child.
4. That the amendment, because of the upper age limit of eighteen years for congressional jurisdiction, would prohibit all work of any kind by children under eighteen—specifically, they said, the boy could not milk the cow or the girl wash dishes.

This was fiercely asserted notwithstanding the fact that the amendment is not a law and prohibits nothing whatever; and notwithstanding the fact that Massachusetts and most other States prohibit children from factory work under fourteen, from certain other occupations under sixteen, and from the still more hazardous occupations such as night messenger work, ammunition making, or railroad engineering under eighteen. Unless the amendment authorized Congress to legislate for children up to the age of eighteen years it would be impossible for Congress to prevent the labor of children of sixteen and seventeen in the manufacture of explosives, for example.

5. That the amendment would be abused by Congress for the purpose of taking away State control over education—thereby to destroy parochial schools.

As a matter of fact, this amendment, giving Congress power to pass a labor law, could not by any court be construed to empower Congress to enact education laws.

6. That the amendment would give Congress exclusive power over the labor of children, thereby destroying the power of the State.

The amendment in fact gives no exclusive power whatsoever, and section 2 of the amendment provides that "the power of the States is not impaired," except to prevent their falling below certain minimum standards.

(Continued on page 7)

WHY WORRY?



JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

SAMUEL GOMPERS

In the course of his long life, standing squarely on the firing line of a never-ceasing battle, Samuel Gompers has won for himself a great many enemies. On the one side, he was detested by the enemies of organized Labor who saw in him a relentless opponent to their schemes for enslaving the American worker. The hosts of "open-shoppers" today are probably rejoicing secretly that at last they are rid of their most effective adversary and that they might in consequence now hope for a more successful drive to crush the Labor unions. Gompers also gained for himself bitter enmity among so-called radicals who conceived him to be the greatest obstacle in America for their fantastic revolutionary mirages.

It was, on the whole, enmity well earned. Of course, had these opponents of Gompers been able to see further than their noses, they might have understood that the old chieftain of American Labor, powerful a personality as he was, derived his strength solely from the working mass, reflecting in his policies their ideas, aspirations and state of mind. They could not, however, grasp that, and this explains their narrow and dogmatic hatred of Gompers.

But for every detractor and hater of Gompers—the living and the dead—there have always been and are today tens of thousands of wage-earners who recognize that Samuel Gompers' life was dedicated undividedly and single-mindedly to the cause of the man who works for a living. These will receive the news of their leader's death with dismay in their hearts and a feeling of irreparable loss. And to their voices in this hour of sorrow will be joined the voices of every right-thinking man and woman in the land who recognize true greatness wherever found.

Few, very few, indeed, are men found of the Gompers stature in our generation—here or elsewhere on the face of this globe. The passing of this rugged, heroic figure leaves a vacancy, an emptiness in the world that will not be easily filled. How many are there leaders of Labor who, having dedicated their all to the cause of lifting the workers to an ever higher level, have never deviated a hair's breadth from their course, have never been caught in the net of life's allurements, have never bent a knee before the devastating influences of temptation? One may count them on the tips of one's fingers—with enough digits to spare.

Of course, Gompers was in love with his life's work, which to him was the greatest compensation and substitute for all other prizes that the short span of our existence may hold in store for us. But one, indeed, must have a great soul and a heart that beats in unison with all the pains and woes of humanity to have loved his cause and to have worked for it as Samuel Gompers did!

Gompers, the poor thirteen-year-old shoemaker-apprentice, who, without any schooling and tutoring but merely by the dint of his own prodigious efforts, has become one of the most powerful figures of our time, is the pride and the glory of our Labor movement—nay, the glory of all mankind. His life, pure and untainted, will remain an inspiration forever for the working masses and his departing shadow will cast a glow of greatness upon the movement which his figure, while alive, has helped so much to dignify and invigorate.

That's why we feel so keenly the loss of Samuel Gompers. His death robs the workers' struggle in America of its most valiant figure. Of course, even a Gompers could not live forever—yet, it seems unbelievable that he is gone. For the moment it feels as if he is without an heir in our Labor movement, that though we have a multitude of able and honest leaders, there is not one upon whom his great mantle could fall full square—as great an orator, as brilliant a writer, as convincing a debater—and above all, one gifted with such a sense of understanding of the workers' woes and joys, with so much tact for leading such a movement like ours which daily creates new problems that demand a clear, sharp and consistent answer.

The world has lost in the death of Gompers a great spirit, a legendary figure, but the Labor movement has lost through it a loyal father, an inspiring leader, its very soul, its finest and best expression.

As yet, this loss may not be so generally felt. Only later, when there might, perhaps, ensue a race for the cloak of the fallen leader, when annually there might occur a swapping of leadership—until the fittest for the task is eventually found—will the significance of Samuel Gompers be fully appraised.

The Labor movement will, we have no doubt, be able to weather even such a great blow as the death of Gompers. The old chieftain had built a movement on solid rock, and this movement, no matter how dependent for its effectiveness for leadership, will tower for generations to come. Nevertheless, the loss of Gompers will be felt for a long time and for many years we, in the Labor movement, shall feel orphaned because of his departure.

Gompers left a legacy to the workers of America. His last will was a message of unity and solidarity to the wage-earners and their leaders. This is the only heritage devised by Samuel Gompers to the movement he loved so dearly. Let us follow in the steps of the departed master. Let us hold together, and against all odds, the unity of the working class. There is no better way of honoring his memory than by making the cause to which he devoted his great talents and soul even more invulnerable, even a more effective instrument for the emancipation of the workers.

SHALL MEMBERS BE COMPELLED TO ATTEND MEETINGS?

A correspondent raises this question in one of our recent issues. He tells the story of a woman member who regards the union as something quite apart from her own little world, her own affairs. The union will get along without her coming to meetings. She does not even suspect, so it would seem, that without members the union as a living, active organization is unthinkable. Shall we force her to come to meetings?

What shall we do with such members? Shall we endeavor to enlighten them that without coming to meetings their dues-paying is only a mockery and a fraud? But we have tried "enlightenment" galore, yet our meetings are being attended less and less. Willy-nilly, the few that come become eventually the "bosses" of the local, and thus give rise to the formation of a so-called machine within the union. Later, a cry arises that the union is being managed by a clique, though the protesters would not or cannot see that it is through their own neglect that the machine had been built up and that they themselves have systematically contributed towards its making.

We have also tried to hold meetings jointly with lectures and other forms of entertainment. But these ventures have not proved more successful either. The members come to meetings only when they expect an all-round shindy, a free-for-all washing of dirty linen. This seems to be the only effective means for attracting members to meetings—rather sad, isn't it?

It stands to reason that theoretically we are against the imposing of any fines for failure to come to meetings. But the circumstances are such that we must at this moment see the practical side of this step. There is danger that our locals will remain in the hands of but a few persons and that the union, to all intents and purposes, will become a mere shadow of an organization. In a situation of this kind, we believe, this measure, distasteful as it appears to us, is, nevertheless, quite justifiable.

We do not, of course, for a moment suggest that a Labor union can be maintained for any length of time by applying this method of forcing members by money fines to come to meetings. The most it can do is to make them acquire the habit of attending to the business of their organization.

But our meetings will have to be made more interesting and attractive for the rank and file of the workers, if even this step is to succeed. We do not believe much in drafting "entertainers" to meetings, though these things do not harm on an occasion. What is most important is to take care that our meetings offer the fullest form of free expression for everybody without exception. We have received more than one complaint from our readers that they are not given the "floor," that they are being hooted down and not allowed to have their say at times.

We believe that meetings must be conducted in orderly fashion. But the passion for "order" must not lead us to suppressing the opinion of such of our workers as come to meetings and are not as conversant with parliamentary niceties as we would desire them to be. We should rather see our chairman sit on the side of liberality than enforce too rigidly and strictly the rules of procedure at meetings.

Yes, the money fines introduced in some locals, and contemplated in others, for increasing attendance at meetings may be a good measure for a while, and may inculcate into some workers the custom of coming to meetings. It is, however, but a palliative. The principal aim of our leaders should be to make the workers feel that they are real partners in this great venture, the organization of the wage-earners in the ladies' garment industry; that they are its true governors and caretakers, and the rest—loyal and regular attendance at meetings, will come by itself.

Unity Centers

Our Unity Centers in seven public school buildings are now open. There are classes in English for beginners, intermediate and advanced students. Register at once at the Unity Center nearest your home or at our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

Step By Step

"Step by step the longest march can be won; can be won. Single stones will form an arch. One by one, one by one."

"And by union, what we will Can be accomplished still. Drops of water turn a mill. Single ones, singly none."

Samuel Gompers :- Impressions and Reminiscences

By S. YANOVSKY

I never was a close friend of Gompers. This probably is totally my loss, as those who have known him intimately tell me that he had a very approachable and charming personality. A few of my personal glimpses and impressions—from a distance—may, nevertheless, be of some interest to readers of Justice.

I first heard the name of Samuel Gompers in 1886 in connection with the movement for an eight-hour day which at that time had just started in America, and which had come to end, as is known, with tragic legal murder of the Chicago anarchists.

I became very much interested in his attitude in that fight, for while the Socialists of that period invariably adhered to the viewpoint that the eight-hour work day must be fought out and won through legislative measures, Gompers maintained throughout that it could only be achieved through the economic struggle, in the factories, mines and plants.

This is what Gompers had written concerning it in his annual report to the American Federation of Labor convention in 1900 in Louisville, Ky.:

"The movement for the establishment of an eight-hour work day in 1886, though destroyed by a highly deplorable event, has, nevertheless, aroused the workers in a high degree the realization of their duty, and has accomplished so much that that year has led to a greater recognition of the significance of our Federation and to the adoption of its present name."

The Chicago affair, however, swallowed too much of my whole being for me to become further interested in Samuel Gompers and his Federation, at that time a young enterprise, just beginning to live.

Thus many years passed during which Samuel Gompers to me was but a name, and, I must admit, not a very savory name at that. Like many others, I confess, I had condemned him as a reactionary, as one who was holding back the forces of social revolution in America—without ever having heard his speeches or read his writings. Just like many present-day "revolutionists" who are still stamping him as a "reactionary" without giving themselves the trouble of finding out what Samuel Gompers really wanted or believed in.

A few years later, when John Turner of London, England, visited America for a lecture tour and was detained at Ellis Island as a "dangerous anarchist," Gompers aided in constructing a great deal towards making his tour a success. At the beginning I believed that this was merely a bit of strategy on the part of Gompers. The Socialists and Gompers were at sword points at that time and I reckoned that Gompers exerted himself on behalf of Turner so that the latter might help him indirectly in the fight against the Socialists. I did not like this idea very much—for whatever the theoretical differences between the followers of both schools may have been, I felt that it was entirely improper for the anarchists to line up together with that "arch-reactionary" Samuel Gompers.

I therefore considered it my duty to talk matters over concerning it with John Turner and I was greatly astonished to learn from him that in his judgment this "arch-reactionary"—Gompers—was an anarchist, not a Mosian nor a follower of Kropotkin, but nevertheless, according to his own beliefs, a philosophical anarchist.

This incident has made me give more thought and attention to the doings of American Federation of Labor, though I still did not get the

opportunity of meeting its chief spokesman and leader. The first time that I saw Samuel Gompers and heard him speak was at the great cloak makers' mass meeting at Madison Square Garden in the summer of 1910, where Abraham Cahan, Meyer London, myself and several others had been invited to speak. I confess, my first direct impression of him was not entirely favorable to the old Labor chief, but this was soon forgotten as he began to speak. A flame of wrath and indignation poured forth from every sentence of his and the impression upon his hearers was truly the most stirring one I could imagine. It was not so much what Gompers told his audience, as I fully believe that the majority of the cloak makers understood but little English at that time, but the idea itself. I am certain that the epoch-making cloak strike of 1910 owes its origin, to a great extent, to that speech of Samuel Gompers.

From that moment I began to understand the source of this man's great influence upon the American organized workers. I began to feel that he was a man of great personal integrity and devoted heart and soul to the Labor movement. I met him a few years later at a banquet of the Cap Makers' Union. I made a speech in which I emphasized the ultimate aims of our movement. Gompers had spoken before me, but he deemed it necessary to rise again and to declare that he did not agree with my remarks. Needless to say that I thoroughly disagreed with his criticism, but several of the union leaders present asked me to desist from replying. Nevertheless, I went to say that, though we did not agree, I felt a great respect for him as for a man who knows what he wants and knows how to fight for it.

Several years passed and I met him again at a jubilee meeting of the United Hebrew Trades. He delivered an impassioned oration and in the course of the evening listened to speeches by Derrow, myself, and a few others. I was not an intimate acquaintance at that time, but I remember, though it was not on my personal level, that it was not an intimate one. It is only after I became the editor of "Gerechtigkeit" that I had the opportunity of coming into closer contact with the old chief. And the more I saw of him, the more I learned to respect and to love him as a person of sterling honesty, of rare sympathy for his fellow men, as a man who above everything else in the world was a passionate lover of liberty and of tolerance.

His conduct of the convention of American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City in 1919, the first Federation convention I ever attended, particularly impressed me. I came to Atlantic City to criticize and find fault, ready to see in every delegate a labor politician, but soon became genuinely enthused by the convention, and most of all by its chairman who, though already old and feeble at that time, managed to infuse his very life and soul into it. I saw before me a real example of a Labor leader. Gompers carried everything before him, though he did it with infinite tact. His influence was marvelous, indeed. A word, a grimace from him was sufficient to bring the whole turbulent sea of delegates to a deadly silence. Every remark of his, no matter how trivial, was received by the convention with the utmost attention. He was the idol of the whole gathering.

And notwithstanding all this, there was nothing cold, nothing distant in his relations with those who surrounded him. He was a comrade and a pal to all of them, he called them by all their first names, and this was

really the first case in my existence where the old truth—"familiarity breeds contempt" did not seem to work out in the least. The secret of it all was that he conducted the convention with the utmost degree of honesty. Friend and foe alike received their chance to talk, and if I ever witnessed a gathering where the principle of democracy was lived up to a degree of scrupulousness it was that gathering, and the other conventions of the American Federation of Labor that I attended. And if ever I met a chairman who never lost his head under the most trying circumstances and led a convention with uniform tact and wisdom and not, as some believe, with an iron hand, it was Samuel Gompers.

In speaking of his tact, I recall a short time after his death when his delicate with Governor Allen of Kansas, which I attended. Seating at a banquet with him later in Montreal, I remarked to him that he had been too mild to the Governor, that he could have demolished him by his own arguments.

"But do you know, Brother Yanovsky, what the newspapers would have made of me the following morning?" he countered, "they would have torn me to shreds. I could not debate with him in the manner you might have. I am nevertheless as strongly as I could, destroyed his points one after another, though I did not call them all by their true names."

It is this natural gift that had stood him in excellent stead both in the environs of the Labor movement and in the other social strata which he used to enter from time to time in the interest of the Labor movement. I am sure that Gompers never failed to tell the high and mighty all he thought of important things and issues, though he did it in an inoffensive manner even if it did hurt them. It was his unimpeachable integrity and honesty nevertheless, which earned him love and respect in all walks of life, yes, and his infinite endurance and staying qualities.

Another remarkable trait of Gompers was his consistency and loyalty to his life-long principles. Least of all Gompers has been a politician and a time-server. I read sometime ago his book—Labor and the Employer's book in which he only too obviously showed the indefatigable leader of Labor, had no time for book writing. The book consists of a collection of speeches, interviews, articles and statements made by him in the course of a long period. Nevertheless, the book reads like a product out of a single mold. One sees in its fragments and pieces of Gompers' view of the world and its doings, his devotion to the ideas of freedom; it reflects the architecture of the American Federation of Labor, his attitude towards all burning problems, his stand on Bolshevism, Socialism, his attitude on the last World War, all encompassed within his guiding ideal—a free humanity.

I deeply regret that I did not form a more intimate acquaintance with him in the last few years. It is my fault, of course; but reading each month his leaders in the "American Federationist," his debates, and his statements for the past six years and listening to his speeches at conventions and meetings, I believe that I have come to know him thoroughly. At least his spiritual physiognomy. And I am convinced that Samuel Gompers was a truly great spirit in our time, and that with his life work he had immortalized his name in the history of our struggle against all that is ugly, fraudulent and evil in our social order.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The I. L. G. W. U. induces general strike of white goods, wrapper, and kimono workers. The demands include a fifty-hour work week, abolition of child labor (investigations have brought out facts that twelve-year old girls are employed in blouse trades), sanitary shops, increases in earnings, and recognition of the Union.

The Nevers Cloak Company, unwilling to accept the Union's terms, moved out to Bridgeport, Conn., to manufacture park coats under non-union conditions. The Union followed them to that city, and after a few weeks of organizing activity among the workers, the latter went out on strike.

The Union takes the form of Brown, Siegel & Stahl \$25 for inducing a presser to work "v" the piece, and orders the worker off the job.

Rand School Notes

On Saturday, December 20, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss "The German Election," in his Current Events Course at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. At 3:30 p. m. the regular Camaraderie meeting will be held. Tea will be served at 3:30 and at 4:00 a report of the Mexican Federation of Labor Meeting and the Inauguration of Calles will be given by Harry W. Laidler, delegate from the League for Industrial Democracy, and Nellie S. Nearing, delegate from the Rand School.

Shame of Massachusetts

(Continued from page 5)

of protection for their children against premature labor.

The campaign in Massachusetts disclosed the nation-wide scope of the manufacturers' program against the child labor amendment. But were there doubt on that point, the recent establishment, along with the existing offices of the National Manufacturers' Association in the Union Trust Building in Washington, of a "National Committee for Rejection of the Twentieth Amendment" would make the fact clear. That "National Committee" is composed of seven prominent manufacturers representing seven sections of the country. The director of this committee, Frederick W. Keough, is the associate editor of Industrial Progress, organ of the "open shop" manufacturers.

There is undoubtedly a bitter national fight ahead on the child labor amendment—bitter as it was in Massachusetts. But now everybody can see where the power of our forces can tell where to level their guns. The lines are clearly drawn. On one side, organized labor and all the great national organizations that work for civic and social betterment—not one of them having a commercial end to gain. On the other side, the National Manufacturers' Association and its branches or subsidiaries, seeking to prevent the abolition of the labor of children and in consequence to lower industrial standards and standards of life all over the country.—Life and Labor.

BUY

WHITE LILY TEA
COLUMBIA TEA
ZWETOCHNI CHAI

Exclusively

IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Not So Long Ago

Lord Shaftesbury. By John and Barbara Hammond. In the "Makers of the Nineteenth Century" Series. London: Constable, 1923. 312 Pages.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Lord Shaftesbury was born at the very beginning of the nineteenth century (1801); he died close to its end. Within the span of his life the machine captured England and the world, making modern Britain from its feudal yesterday. Within that same life span, the workers fought for the right to be men even in a machine world, fought, first blindly, then with careful plan. They fought some thirty years before they won the Ten-Hour Bill; they fought for the regulation of child and women labor, for better living and working conditions, for the right to organize, for the right to vote. The Chartists made their bravely futile essay; the Grand National Labor Union came, flourished a little and died; the Owenite Socialists launched their fine, forerunners Utopian. Yet when Lord Shaftesbury appeared on earth amidst of workers, unorganized, baffled, wretched, driven before the triumphant advent of power and steel industry. When he died these same workers, organized in strong unions, were slowly gaining mastery over their fate.

There are some few men who are fortunate enough to be able thus to draw the thread of their lives through a great epoch. Lord Shaftesbury's active life touches every great humanitarian movement launched by our last century's forebears against the blind, destructive sweep of the Industrial

Revolution. He was one of the leaders of the Ten-Hour Day Agitation; he was a prime mover in the public crusade that sought to make cities out of slums; he did much to aid in the abolition of the young "chimney-sweep" barbarity; he persisted to succeed in the attempt to institute legal safety regulations in coal mining; he transformed the treatment of insanity from feudal cruelty to modern enlightenment.

The study of his life, therefore, becomes the frame of a dark, yet heartening chapter in the workers' long struggle to master their fate. Within it is etched both the terrible mass misery of the nineteenth century England and man's slow conquest of it. Of course, that conquest is by no means complete; but none could read this moving description of "not so long ago," without realizing what great forward strides the workers have already made.

This terrible nineteenth century—what a price its workers had to pay for the gifts it brought the world. What a trail of death, and starvation and bleakness it drew through the lives born into it—born but, to work and suffer and die. The Hammonds have placed themselves among the foremost interpreters of this momentous period in social evolution. They have already told the tale from the various angles of its nameless here

sufferers: the town laborer, the village laborer, the skilled laborer. In this volume they present it from still another angle—from the life and work of one of its great public figures.

Lord Shaftesbury belongs to the great humanitarians. Narrow, bigoted religious, stratified, without any of the light graces of an English gentleman, he gave himself to the cause of alleviating the terrible wretchedness he saw about him. He could not tolerate the knowledge that children of four and five spent days and nights in the mills where machine work maimed them as it did not. Mere babies were arriving at workshops in lonely, dangerous, gas-filled mines. Men, women and children were working twelve, fourteen, twenty hours a day. Mushroom cities were breeding disease. Little boys were pushed up hot chimneys to sweep them free from soot, because the householders liked winding chimneys. Other men far fewer in number meanwhile were getting richer and enjoying the comfortable life of the bourgeoisie.

So Shaftesbury quoted the Bible; but with the crusading instinct of Richard the Lion-Hearted, Christ's word for him was no justification of things as they are, but a gospel of action. The tenacity with which he pursued the Ten-Hour Bill, the mines—safety law, city public health control and sanitation, reform of the chimney-sweep practice, the administration of the lunacy laws, was epic in itself. Shaftesbury was in Parliament, but he had only disappointments to spur him in his chosen work. He received no ministerial honors; premier after premier, recognizing the value of his work, gave coveted posts to others. But Shaftesbury persisted, decade after decade—and won. For many years the workers regarded him as their Parliamentary spokesman. And certainly, measured by his accomplishments, this noble Tory becomes a man born.

It is a strange union. For Shaftesbury was a Tory, first and last. He participated in the great reform movements, but only as a humani-

tarian—and a paternalist; not at that. Unhappily, most all things are to him; he feared the extremes, to which working-man self-expression might lead. He wanted always to get to the workers; give them his type of education, give them religion, give them better conditions, give them the kind of better lives he thought they should have. To help the workers win their due—such an ideal was entirely alien to his thought and ideal.

And yet, for all his quarrels with him, the workers revered the man. For hard experience has taught workers how to use all who can aid them. Only philosophers can choose. As the Hammonds paint him, Lord Shaftesbury undoubtedly emerges a working-class hero. A terribly lonely, solitary figure, he belongs to the mass.

And what painting the Hammonds bring of their picture. Painstaking scholarship, careful documentation, dignified execution, all these are new to us from the Hammonds as a matter of course. In addition, they bring great psychological insight to this study. Lord Shaftesbury stands forth at its end for more than a public figure. He has become a man. A fascinating man, with all the baffling perplexity of humanity. This same man who collected monumental data on the conditions of working-class England fought for "Idle-Sunday" laws. This man saw the need for public sanitation also sought guidance on questions of State from phantoms of the Bible. It is strange to watch the process by which a bleak childhood and a great epoch make a weak, strong man.

The Hammonds sketch the process with shrewd fidelity. They have woven the pattern of a man against the background of an age; the story of an individual against the epic of the mass. They have woven, moreover, with a craftsmanship that is always sure and often beautiful. A passionately moving book, this study of a Tory noble, man serving the workers' cause belongs on every student workers' reading list.

Two Small Books

Child Labor and the Social Conscience—By Davis Wagstaff Clark. New York, Abingdon Press, 1924. \$1.00.

Workers' Education Year Book, 1924, Workers' Education Bureau of America, New York. \$1.00.

Child labor is becoming a more insistent problem than ever. To the person who is looking for data favoring the Child Labor Amendment, Mr. Clark's book will be interesting. It is a monograph on child labor, treating briefly its physical effect upon the child, its effect upon his opportunity for education, upon his efficiency in adult life, and upon the labor problem in general. The author also discusses the relation between child labor and juvenile delinquency. Included in the book are excerpts from the writings and addresses of influential men.

There is a brief bibliography and a history of the movement for

the abolition of child labor.

The initial volume of the Workers' Education Year Book is further evidence that workers' education has become a definite and important movement. The aims of workers' education are stated in Part I. Part II is a report of the Third National Convention which was held in New York in April, 1923. Part III contains a directory of trade union colleges, study classes, educational committees, affiliated State and local unions and other workers' education enterprises in the United States. In addition to this list of educational enterprises, there is a list of national organizations affiliated with the Bureau and a bibliography which will introduce the reader to the growing body of interpretative literature in the field of workers' education. C. M. E.

Wage-Cutting Prosperity

"Vote for Coolidge and bring prosperity. But when Coolidge is safely elected we will cut your wages. When we say prosperity we mean our prosperity—not yours." That is what the mill owners of New England would have said to their employees before November 5 if they had been frank.

The last of textile wage reductions listed for November covers twenty cotton mills in New England, including some of the largest. It includes three woolen mills, one hosiery and one carpet-mill. These are the cuts which have been published; probably there are others. The movement may

spread. This in spite of the fact that raw cotton is cheaper than for many months and demand for textiles is increasing.

The Daily News Record, a trade paper for the textile industry, discussing in a recent issue says:

"The wage question is still of the utmost importance in the minds of New England textile manufacturers, and although little is being said about it at present, there is a strong feeling that something may develop after the national elections are over. . . .

"The manufacturers have all the better of the position just at present,

Child Labor

Down in the depths of the factory's gloom

They gather at early dawn,

Where the ceaseless whirl of spindle and loom

Goes on and on and on;

And the gold of gold in the tainted air,

An invisible Moloch stands,

As he watches the fabrics woven there

By the toil of childish hands.

Backward and forward, over and up,

Steadily still they go,

But they hold to the lips a bitter cup,

Whose dregs are the dregs of woe;

For the hopes of youth grow faint and die,

Held fast in those iron hands,

And the cold, hard world has never a sigh

For the patient, childish hands.

Ah, ye, whose darlings, in flowery ways,

Know naught of grim despair,

Think of the heated summer days,

And your children working there,

Where never a cooling zephyr comes

Through the factor's stifling breath,

Where the looms rave on and the spindle hums

In the treadmill 'round to death.

And onward, onward, upward and back,

In the close and crowded rooms,

In a dizzy race on an endless track,

Go spindles and shafts and looms;

Till the angel of death, with its fearful glass,

Shakes out the dusky sania,

As the merciful, longed-for shadows pass

Over worn-out childish hands.

W. A. B.

particularly with winter coming along. The political effect of widespread reductions in the mills would have been disastrous, it is believed, to mill interests, which desire Republican success because of the protective tariff policy of the Republican party. This, coupled with the fact that approaching winter would make a more difficult time to strike, caused

many manufacturers, who believe wages must come down, to conclude that the best time to start their drive for lower wages would be after election."

Prosperity for the textile workers will never come by trusting in the cynical policies of their employers. It can come only from union organization to protect themselves.



DOMESTIC ITEMS

Meat Barons Break Their Pledged Word

In 1920 the "big five" meat packers signed an agreement with the Department of Justice that they would withdraw from related food industries and confine their activities to meat. This agreement, known as the "packers' consent decree," was understood to end all prosecutions under the anti-trust law.

Armour and Swift, leaders in the agreement, now ask a District of Columbia court to declare that this agreement, which they voluntarily signed, is null and void.

Traveling on Highways More Deadly Than War

Travel on the nation's highways is more dangerous than modern war, according to a statement in connection with a national conference called by Secretary of Commerce Hoover, in Washington, to discuss this question.

Last year, the statement says, traffic accidents in this country took a toll of lives almost exactly one-third of the total battle losses of American troops in their nineteen months' participation in the World War. Traffic accidents in the same period seriously injured more than twice the total casualties of American troops in the war, including dead, wounded, missing and captured, and injured more than three times the number of American troops wounded in the nineteen months.

The loss in the United States due to street and highway accidents, last year, amounted to 22,600 human lives, 678,000 serious personal injuries and \$600,000,000 economic loss, an increase of eighty per cent in the last seven years. About eighty-five per cent of these accidents were due to automobile traffic.

Injunction Denied By Judge Anderson

Federal Judge Anderson has rejected the injunction plea of a score of cut stone contracting firms in the Bedford-Bloomington limestone district of Indiana. These employers wanted their organized stone cutters enjoined from ceasing work. The Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association has attempted for more than three years to effect a settlement with these concerns.

One of the amusing incidents of the hearing before Judge Anderson was the admission by attorneys for the employers that they organized "independent unions." The employers included in their plea a demand for \$5,000 damages for each of the complainants. Judge Anderson dismissed the plea without comment.

Farmers' Troubles Blamed On Middlemen

Because of the exactions of middlemen, farmers in New Jersey are deserting their fields even in sections most advantageously located, according to David H. Agans, master of the New Jersey grange, which is holding its annual meeting at Atlantic City.

"The consumer," said Mr. Agans, "is paying enough for farm products, and if the farmer received his fair share of this money there would be no trouble. The middleman, however, crowds both the farmer and buying public, paying entirely too little to the farmer and keeping the cost up to the latter."

The grange leader scored "middlemen's monopolies," which keep the price of farm products up to the consumer even when there is a surplus of such products.

It was announced that New Jersey farmers are awakening to the benefits of cooperation and are joining farm organizations in greater numbers. In the last nine months the membership of the grange increased by 1,200.

Company "Union" Rejected; Penny Can's Fool Workers

According to figures made public by the Railroad Labor Board, telegraphers employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad have rejected the company "union" by a vote of more than twelve to one.

The telegraphers declared by an overwhelming vote that they favor the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, as their representative in wage negotiations with the company. The vote, as announced by the Labor Board, was 4,258 for the bona fide union and 318 for the company "union."

The policy of the railroad management has been not to recognize the regular unions, but to encourage their handpicked "union." The vote was conducted by the Labor Board, and is a rebuff to General Atterbury and other officials of the anti-union corporation.

Favor Six-Day Week For Fire Fighters

Officers of the International Association of Fire Fighters are assisting locals of that organization in the province of Alberta, Canada, to secure a six-day week. At the forthcoming elections in the cities of Calgary, Edmonton, Lethbridge and Medicine Hat the question of one day's rest in seven for fire fighters will be voted on.

"The fire fighters in these cities work eighty-four hours a week, and they are the only workers who have to labor seven days a week," said Secretary-Treasurer Richardson of the International Association.

"A great deal has been said regarding the service the public is entitled to from firemen, but it must not be forgotten that the public has a duty to perform if it expects fire fighters to render this service to the most efficient form. Present conditions do not speak very highly for the manner in which the public has rewarded the firemen for their faithful service."

FOREIGN ITEMS

SWEDEN

Great Advance in the Swedish Trade Unions

During the first six months of this year the Swedish trade unions have again made a good stride forward. On December 31, 1923, the National Federation had a membership of 312,022 (286,269 male and 26,573 female). At the end of June, 1924, the membership was 336,848, of whom 28,682 were females. The largest of the affiliated unions is that of the metal workers, with a membership of over 60,000.

SWITZERLAND

Eight-Hour Day No Bar to Prosperity

It will be remembered that in February last a referendum was held in Switzerland to settle the question of the eight-hour day. When the majority declared in favor of the retention of the eight-hour day, Government and employers alike lifted their voices, and prophesied the economic ruin of the country.

Surprisingly enough, however, the export figures have risen steadily every month since that date. Since the war, Swiss exports have declined some thirty or forty per cent, and the decline persisted until the beginning of this year. Now there is a fall in the number of the unemployed and of short time workers; at the end of March, there were still 21,380 unemployed, at the end of April only 16,700. During the first quarter of 1924, the export figures for dyes alone have risen twenty per cent; the export of cotton and woolen goods have also risen considerably. The watch export has increased from forty to forty-eight million francs, in value, and that of machinery from thirty-five to forty-one and three-tenths millions. Other articles of export show similar increases.

The building industry is doing as much as it did in pre-war times. Many industries, such as embroidery, which were almost completely stagnant, have now recovered, and are employing large numbers of workers. Other factors, no doubt, have entered into this growth of prosperity, but one thing is certain and that is that the eight-hour day has not formed an obstacle to it. Economic depression is far more likely to be merely one of the morbid phenomena resulting from the methods in which capitalism organizes its production and the distribution of its goods.

FRANCE

Decline of the Communist Trade Union Movement

Hand in hand with the general decline in the membership of the various Communist parties goes a decline in the membership of Communist trade unions in many of those countries where these have an independent existence.

These countries include Czechoslovakia, Holland and France, and the above remark is especially applicable to Northern France. At the time of the trade union split in France, the Communist unions of the "Department du Nord" had 91,000 members; now, according to the report submitted at the last congress, they have only 70,000. (The membership of the older trade unions has risen in the same proportion.) One of the causes of the decline is undoubtedly the divisions within the Communist ranks. As in Germany, sectarianism and jealousy abound. In Germany, indeed, the divisions have gone so far that there may even be said to be a split among the splitters; those leaders which have fallen into disfavor in Moscow have now begun the issue of a publication of their own (which was promptly banned by the "orthodox"); and the trade unions which are quarreling with Moscow are now beginning to be known as "Independent Communists."

France would seem to be treading the same road, judging from a recent manifesto published by the National Council of the Unitary or Communist Trade Unions of France, in which there are bitter complaints of the anarchical and disruptive activities of the minority, their attempts to secure autonomy, and their recent threat to withhold their contribution. The Communist building workers of Seine-et-Oise Department have just unanimously resolved to break off all connections with the Unitary Trade Unions.

In Italy, the Communists have given up hopes of winning over the more advanced and class conscious workers, and they are therefore concentrating on land workers and small peasant proprietors. This is unfortunately a serious threat to the existence of the bona fide land workers' union, which has naturally been one of the chief sufferers from the Fascist terrorism, and has found it extremely difficult to keep going at all; now that it has also to contend with disruption from within, it may have to go under altogether. A Communist land workers' union, affiliated with the Moscow Land Workers' International, has already been set up in South Italy.

PORTO RICO

Porto Rico Election Outrages Protested

A committee representing the organized workers and other citizens have prepared a manifesto against frauds and corruption of the Conservative party at the November 4 election. In San Juan the workers' majority of 5,000 votes was reduced to less than 100. In other municipalities, clear majorities for the workers were changed to majorities for the sugar barons and representatives of other corporations that control this island.

"The right to vote was shamefully violated in all municipalities of the island," the manifesto declares. "Election inspectors and secretaries acted in an arbitrary manner, and the workers' challengers and observers were often ejected from polling places."

It is proposed to comply with these outrages and present them to the President of the United States, to the Congress, to the American Federation of Labor, and to the American press.

"We shall knock at every door asking for justice, and we do not doubt that we shall obtain the proper preparation for our people," the protesters declare.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School

Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 530

Saturday, December 20

1:30 p. m. B. J. R. Stolper—Clear Voices in English and American Literature: Hamlet.

2:30 p. m. Paul Brinsenden—Current Trade Union Problems: Collective Bargaining Between the Railroads and the Non-operating Groups of Employees.

Sunday, December 21

10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Psychology of Conflict: Are There Good and Bad Forms of Economic Competition?

11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Industrial Development of Modern Society: Agricultural Revolution.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' BUILDING

3 West 16th Street

Wednesday, December 24

7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement: Psychology of Pride, Attention and Power.

Thursday, January 7

7:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement: Wasting Industry.

UNITY CENTERS

Tuesday, December 23

Bronx Unity Center—P. 5. 61

Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street

7:45 p. m. Theresa Wilkes—Changing Economic Institutions: The Economic Maladjustment—the Industrial Crisis. Discussion of Business Cycle, Wages, etc. Caused ascribed by Henry George, Marx, Mitchell, Veklan.

Wednesday, December 24

East Side Unity Center—P. 5. 63

Fourth Street near First Avenue

7:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Social and Economic Forces in American History: Natural Resources.

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Friday, December 19

7:45 p. m. H. Rogoff—The Meaning of the Expulsion of Senator La Follette and His Colleagues from the Republican Party.

Friday, December 20

7:30 p. m. Dr. Iago Goldstein—Preventive Measures Against Workers' Diseases.

Friday, December 19

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street

7:45 p. m. B. Hoffman—The First Attempt of American Trade Unionism in an Independent Political Struggle.

Friday, December 20

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street

7:45 p. m. H. Rogoff—The Meaning of the Expulsion of Senator La Follette and His Colleagues from the Republican Party.

Saturday, December 20

Local 9 Building—67 Lexington Avenue

1:40 p. m. Max Levin—Discussion Method.

Public School 61—Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Bronx

7:30 p. m.—Concert given by the Cloak Operators' Union, Local 2, to celebrate the reopening of our Educational Season. Participants in the program are announced on first page.

Sunday, December 21

Isarim Socialist Educational Center—42 E. 106th Street

10:30 a. m. B. Hoffman—Twenty-five Years Labor Movement in America.

Cloak Rooms, Local 2—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx

10:30 a. m. Max Levin—Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Friday, December 20

Russian-Polish Branch, Cloak Operators' Union—315 E. 10th Street

7:30 p. m. Dr. Anatole Gorielsky—Preventive Measures for Workers' Diseases.

Wednesday, December 31

Brownsville Labor Lyceum

New Year's Concert and Dance—Prominent artists will participate. Detailed announcement next week.

Thursday, January 2

Brownsville Labor Lyceum

7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement. In these discussions we shall study some of the fundamental laws of human behavior. We shall analyze some of the instincts that urge us to want to fight, to create, to lead, to follow, etc. We shall also analyze some of the laws which underlie the progress of human reasoning. Illustrations will be drawn from the workers' experience.

OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

PHILADELPHIA

Friday, December 12

431 Pine Street

7:30 p. m. John B. Leeds—Sociology: Education—the School, the Press.

Workers' Education—Its Importance

By FANNIA M. COHN

There was a time when the entire energy of the Labor movement was consumed in building its unions. Its whole attention was consciously concentrated toward immediate economic demands, although unconsciously to the attainment of ultimate aims. Naturally, at such a period in the history of the trade union movement, it was the fighter—the soldier in the trenches—who came to the front, and I bow my head to these men and women who laid the foundation of our trade union movement in this country. They fearlessly performed their duty; their devotion and self-sacrifice to the cause of Labor call forth in us a feeling of gratitude and are an inspiration to the younger generation.

Our Labor movement can be compared with the history of this country. At the time when the pilgrims migrated to this continent, with a rifle in hand they went in search of food, the first essential need of a human being. After this need was partly satisfied, they directed their attention toward the erection of shelters, the second essential of a civilized man. No sooner was this need satisfied, than they went in search of better clothes. When they had these three essentials, they started to think of their intellectual and spiritual need—hence the erection of churches and universities.

The trade union movement in this country has gone through these three stages of development and now is approaching the fourth, where it feels that it is in a position to make its own intellectual and spiritual contribution. It is determined to make its own experiment in this field, and this is expressed in the movement for workers' education within the trade unions. Every group in modern society tries to give expression to its own ideas and conception of right and wrong; these are usually best reflected in their educational and social institutions. The Labor movement, in making this independent experiment in education, is consciously or subconsciously striving toward the creation of new spiritual and intellectual values. It realizes that the modern trade union movement is more and more becoming a gigantic institution, constantly increasing its activities.

It is natural that when the Labor movement had to be constantly in the trenches in its fight for food and for a decent living, it was not in a position to think about anything else but how to satisfy these elementary needs of the worker. While it was striving for ordinary human rights, for decent treatment of workers who were engaged in the mills and factories, it could not give any attention to the need for adult workers' education. But with the increasing leisure of the toiling masses, through the supreme effort of the trade unions to decrease their working hours, came the question of how to spend these hours.

The question then arises who should voice Labor's aspirations and hopes in its new venture in the field of workers' education, who should carry the message to the workers that knowledge is power? Who more than an intelligent trade unionist? It is not only the application of the mind that makes the appeal to human imagination and idealism, this must be coupled with fine feeling and a faith in

the aims of the organized Labor movement. If workers' education is to serve the Labor movement, then it must be coordinated with the interest of organized Labor. It should be the subject of the workers' education movement to break down the artificial barrier between education and life. In workers' education we want every student to feel that his union life is a vital part of his education, and his educational life a vital part of his union. We want him to bring his union problems to all classes and to take his reflection and added grasp of facts gained in study back to his shop and the business meeting of the union.

Fortunately enough there is the army of instructors in every field of intellectual endeavor who are willing to place their knowledge and skill at the disposal of the American Labor movement through which the workers' education movement is functioning. These men and women are in need of the assistance of intelligent and devoted persons within the Labor movement to acquaint them with the trials and tribulations, the victories and defeats, and the manifold problems of the organized Labor movement. They also want to understand better the policies of the Labor movement and the causes and psychology out of which they were formulated. The assistance that we can give these people will be invaluable, for the contact of these two groups—the men and women of theory and the men and women of action—is bound to resolve itself into a great constructive social force. Workers' education provides this.

In workers' classes we expect that the instructor should not simply give instruction but should also foster a spirit of comradeship. It is not our intention merely to imitate the conventional method of instruction and "regimentation" but we base our instruction on the conviction that the aims and aspirations of the workers can be realized only through their own efforts on the economic and education fields. Emphasis is laid on the fact that while organization gives the worker power, education will give him the ability to use that intelligently and effectively. We keep away from the conventional idea of education where students strive to use it as a ladder for their own personal advancement; we emphasize that the education the workers get is to be placed at the disposal of the Labor movement in particular and society in general. To achieve this we must create in the classroom an atmosphere which will imbue in the student and teacher a proper spirit of understanding, and this will come from the contact of the intelligent and active trade unionist and the scholar.

The question arises to many, has the Labor movement such persons within its midst who are qualified to interest and to bring into its service the trained technician, educators and scholars? The answer is yes. This new movement calls to the front a new element within the trade unions. We see them here and there offering their service, bringing with them enthusiasm, idealism and vision. But are we encouraging these new soldiers in the cause of the Labor movement? Do we appreciate the contribution of — (Continued on next page).

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

From present indications there is reason to believe that the election of officers, which is to take place on Saturday afternoon, December 20, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place, will be another big one as regards interest and number of participants.

Welfare Meeting Stir Interest

There are a number of important things that will make possible a large, if not unusually large, vote. One of these is the fact that the season has begun. Another is the fact that the great majority of the members are in good standing due to the extension granted for the payment of dues at the old rate.

However, important as these reasons are for the interest which is manifested by the members in the election, they are not the most important. What has raked up the present interest in the election as indicated by discussing wherever cutters congregate, is the good and welfare meeting, which was held on Monday, December 8.

Officers and active members of Local 10 as well as of other organizations are unanimous in the opinion that it was one of the finest and most novel meetings that they have heard of or witnessed. At this meeting the opportunity was afforded every member who had anything to say respecting the organization to say it. Under ordinary circumstances, the average member desiring to become acquainted with the different candidates could not have the opportunity which was held out to him at this meeting.

The portion of the members who attend meetings of the organization once in three months and who come to the office of the union only when business impels them to do so is in a position to familiarize itself with the more detailed work of the organization. Naturally, listening to a few disgruntled members on street corners gives them an erroneous conception of the union.

Hence, when the Good and Welfare meeting was announced these men were only too glad to take advantage at this meeting where they had an opportunity to become acquainted with the candidates. And as a result of the clear report of manager Dubinsky respecting the minutest details of the work of the organization and the discussions preceding it by different members and candidates, the rank and file of the membership were able to gain a definite knowledge of the issues involved in this election.

Some Candidates Withdraw

The list of candidates as originally given for the offices of president, vice-president, manager-secretary, business agent and inner guard, remains unchanged. At the meeting at which the candidates were nominated, forty members of the local accepted candidacy or the Executive Board. Two of these, Brothers Max Sirowitch and Isaac Rosenthal were taken off by the Executive Board because they failed to qualify for office as required by the constitution. Neither of these men held membership for two years at the time of accepting the nomination.

This brought the number of candidates down to thirty-eight. Since these two members' names were taken off the ballot thirteen other candidates have decided to withdraw their names. Some did not send in their blank resignations, which automatically prevents their names from appearing, and others decided not to run for office. It will be remembered that as a condition of candidacy the constitution requires every candidate to sign a resignation blank. This brings the list of names of candidates for members of the Executive Board from forty-one down to twenty-five.

Election Board To Have Strenuous Task

One of the members of the Election Board, on looking over the printer's copy of the ballot remarked that the members of the Election Board will not be finished with their work until Sunday morning. In this he was right. Last year's ballot was probably half the size of the one which will be given each member this year.

In the election of 1923, at all the full time office, only the office of business agent was contested. And there were only eighteen candidates for members of the Executive Board. The 1923 ballot, not including the Miscellaneous Branch, contained a total of twenty-four candidates. The ballot in the present election, excluding the Miscellaneous Branch, contains thirty-six names. The following is a copy of the official ballot:

OFFICIAL BALLOT

of the
AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS UNION, LOCAL 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Of New York and Vicinity
ANNUAL ELECTION
December 20, 1924

(Here follow instruction as to how to vote.)

For President

Vote for One (1) Only
PHILIP ANSEL
IRVING HOROWITZ

For Vice-President

Vote for One (1) Only
MAURICE W. JACOBS
BENJAMIN KRAKOWER

For Manager-Secretary

Vote for One (1) Only
DAVID DUBINSKY
JACOB LUKIN

For Business Agent

Vote for One (1) Only
DAVID DOLNICOFF
SAM B. SHENKER

For Inner Guard

Vote for One (1) Only
SAM MASSOWER
WILLIAM MINTZ

For Delegates to Central Trades and Labor Council

Vote for Two (2)
PHILIP ORETSKY
MOE DIAMOND

For Ten Members of Executive Board

Vote for Ten (10) Only
IGNATZ FISCHNER
LOUIS PANKIN
HENRY ROBBIN
BENNY EVRY
AUGUSTUS WOLFF
MAX SILVERSTEIN
LOUIS CONVOY
SAMUEL KERR
HARRY ZASLOVSKY
CHARLES W. SERRINGTON
MEYER SKLUH
SAMUEL TAFT
ISIDORE BALTER
JOEL ABRAMOWITZ
LOUIS FORER
JACOB FINGERHOOD
AARON ABERMAN
ABR. SABBATH
WILLIAM FEIN
MEYER MENDELWITZ
MANUEL GREENBERG
SAM MENDELWITZ
MAX STOLLER
NATHAN STARR
MAX PASTEL

The ballot for the members of the Miscellaneous Division is the same as the one given above for the organization proper, except that there are

only three candidates running for the Executive Board, two of whom are to be elected. The names of these candidates in the order of their appearance on the ballot follow:

For Two Members of Executive Board

Vote for Two (2) Only

ABE GOLDRING
FRANK G. LEWIS
HERMAN WEINSTEIN

Dress Conferences Continue

The conferences with the two employing groups, the Association of Dress Manufacturers and the Jobbers' Association, in the dress industry continue. These sessions have been going on within the past few weeks. The novel features of the present negotiations are the demand by the union for unemployment insurance and the label. It is these questions that have so far consumed most of the time.

Manager Dubinsky at the last meeting of the Executive Board, reported that a meeting would take place between the officers of Local 10 and of the Joint Board for the purpose of going over the agreement with a view to determining changes which the cutters desire to incorporate in the new agreement.

As was reported in these columns previously, there are other important demands which the union has presented, in addition to the label and the question of insurance. These are the demand for an increase in the minimum scale of the cutters to fifty-five dollars per week and the right of a business agent to investigate shops without being accompanied by a representative of the Association.

At the conference with the jobbers there were discussed two other points which were embodied in the demands of the union to that organization. They are the assumption of responsibility by jobbers and manufacturers for the wages of the workers employed in all shops, inside and outside, and the limitation of contractors.

The demand for responsibility by jobbers and manufacturers for wages due workers is an important one. The organization has had many experiences with contractors who for one reason or another fail to pay the workers wages due them on pay-day. The reason offered invariably concerns the jobber who, the contractor says, has failed to pay him for work delivered. Workers who failed to report this to the union immediately upon being so informed by the contractor very often came into their shops a day or two later and found the shops closed, the contractor having disappeared in the meantime. It is for this reason that the union insists that the jobber should rightfully assume this responsibility.

Miscellaneous Members Meet

At the meeting of the Miscellaneous members, which was held in Monday, December 15, in Arlington Hall, the attention of those present was directed to the organization campaign, which is in preparation and which will be called within the next two months or so.

Before going on with the regular order of business, Vice-president Maurice W. Jacobs, who presided over the meeting, called upon the members to rise in memory of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who died on Saturday, December 13. Brother Jacobs, in eulogizing the departed leader of the American Labor movement, said that the International owes him a great deal because it was through his untiring efforts that many of the gains which the members now enjoy were made possible.

In the report to the members on the conditions in the trade, in addition to urging the members to aid the Miscellaneous Council in the organization drive, the members were reminded of the election and urged to participate. The candidates whom they are to vote upon will be found above.

Unions Join Hands In Second Child Development Conference

"Youth must be served" is an old, old saying. That cause which wins the rising generation to its ideals is the cause that will prevail. Wise men and shrewd institutions have learned that important fact, long ago.

Organized Labor's fight cannot be only on the union firing line. It must also be waged among the future working men, the sons and daughters of the present workers. It was that thought which caused a number of trade unionists and educators to meet a year ago in the Council Room of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in New York City, to launch the National Association for Child Development.

The warm welcome which the effort has received from labor unions and the progress made in its work during the past year have encouraged the Association to call a second labor conference during the month of Janu-

ary, 1925, for the purpose of putting the work on a nation-wide basis. This gathering will be held in the I. L. G. W. U. Auditorium, 3 West 10th street. A call has gone out this week to all unions in New York City and vicinity, inviting them to send delegates to this conference, and thus to cooperate in the launching of the Association's national campaign.

During the short period of existence of the Association it has very good results to report. An organization for young folks, known as Pioneer Youth, was formed; a camp for boys and girls was conducted last summer on a 171-acre farm near Pawling, N. Y.; already been gotten under way this fall and winter in New York City, and the work will now be extended into Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10 ELECTION OF OFFICERS

For the term beginning January 1, 1925.

Saturday, December 20, 1924. Polls open from 12:30 to 6 P. M., in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place.

INSTALLATION OF OFFICERS

The newly-elected officers will be installed Saturday, December 27, 1924, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place.

The following speakers will address the meeting: Morris Sigman, President of the International, and Abraham Baroff, Secretary-Treasurer; Israel Fineberg, Manager of the Joint Board, and S. Yznofsky, Editor of Justice.