

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

—Job 27.8

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VII, No. 31.

NEW YORK, N. Y., FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1925

Price 2 Cents.

Pres. Sigman Takes Over Temporary Management of New York Joint Board

Vice-Presidents Israel Feinberg and Meyer Perlstein Resign Their Posts—Special Meeting of Joint Board on Tuesday, July 28, Votes to Accept Resignations.

On Monday, July 27, there were held two special sessions of the General Executive Board summoned by President Sigman to consider some important developments in the New York situation.

The consensus of opinion among the members of the Board, reached after a thorough discussion of the events in New York, was that, while the situation is not quite as serious as it might appear to some outsiders,

there is no doubt that the Communist union-breakers had succeeded in creating a considerable confusion in the minds of some of our members, a confusion which might develop into a serious demoralization if immediate steps are not taken to check it. It was, for instance, disclosed in the course of the discussion that the New York Joint Board, which should have proved the principal bulwark of defense against the demoralizing activity of the Union's enemies, is functioning not as vigorously and as smoothly as it should. A spirit of uneasiness, of disharmony has found its way into the Joint Board which must be set at rest at once and harnessed for the real serious work confronting the central body of the New York cloakmakers at the present moment.

The unanimous opinion of the members of the G. E. B. was that the grievances cited by some of our members against this or that official of the Joint Board were largely of an imaginary nature. It was admitted, however, that the existence of these grumblings is a serious embarrassment.

(Continued on Page 2)

Cleveland Body Lines Up Strongly for I.L.G.W. Policy

Sister Mollie Friedman Reports on State of Affairs in Ohio City. Need Funds for Further Attacks Upon Union.

International Organizer, Miss Mollie Friedman, who is directing organizing work for the I. L. G. W. U. in the Chicago dress and waist market, spent last week in Cleveland, where she went at the request of President Sigman. Miss Friedman is no newcomer in Cleveland, where she spent a year and a half in organizing activity in 1921-22 and has helped materially in putting the women workers of that city in the ranks of the organized garment workers.

In a letter addressed to President Sigman from Cleveland, Sister Friedman, among other things, writes:

"I attended two meetings, one of the Joint Board and one of Locals 25 and 27, and at these meetings a report was submitted by a special trial committee which tried two members for distributing leaflets against the International. The spirit in which this report was received was so wonderful that I was only sorry you were not here. Every one of the men who got up to speak on the question of the report brought back to me the great spirit of love and devotion which our members used to display in the great fights against the employers."

"I was not surprised to hear Louis Friend, Katovsky or Kreindler dq

fend the International, but when I heard other men speak it was a treat. The substance of their remarks without exception was—'Our Union—right or wrong—our Union! At the Joint Board the 'lefts' succeeded in getting the tremendous vote of one individual. At the Local 25 meeting they had seven votes. Both meetings were well attended. Personally I did not speak on this question at the Local 26 meeting at all. I thought it best to let the men and women from the rank and file handle this problem."

Local 22 Has Big Nomination Meeting

Last Thursday, July 23rd, Local 22, the Dressmakers' Union of New York, held a meeting to nominate executive officers in the auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

The hall was crowded with members of the local. The audience listened attentively to the speeches delivered by Brother Julius Hochman, the manager of the dress division of the Joint Board, and by several representatives of the International office.

In his remarks, Brother Hochman, among other things, stated that he is

confident that this big and enthusiastic meeting of dressmakers would be reported in the Communist press the following day as "gathering of a few

(Continued on Page 2)

Ousted Communists Sue Bank To Grab Local's Money

Need Funds to Continue Attack on Union.

The group of discredited "class-strugglers," now that they have been definitely put out of office, and having obviously burned all bridges behind them, are turning to the courts to aid them in their attack upon the Union.

They, namely, began last week a suit against the International Union Bank to compel this bank to release

the funds of Local 22 held by it, so that these ex-officials might use it for their campaign of defiance and union-breaking, or for replenishing the empty coffers of their Communist allies. These ousted "executives," so it appears, though they were fully aware of the fact that the "checks" which they were signing were not worth the paper they were written on, have, nevertheless, been issuing them in large quantities. Now these checks are coming back rapidly to plague them.

Of course, this suit is a worthless venture from a practical point of view. The International, according to its constitution, is the ultimate custodian of these funds, and will not give them up to these union-smashers and their partners in shame. What is interesting, however, is that while the International could have started in the last few months more than once suits for criminal libel against this clique of Communist detractors, it has refrained from going for redress into capitalist courts. It remained for the Communists to appeal to a judge for help against the "ultra-reactionary bureaucratic union leaders."

Local 20 Notifies Manufacturers To Renew Annual Agreements

Prospects for Peaceful Settlement Very Bright

The prospects for the next season in the raincoat trade are very encouraging, and it is almost certain that the waterproof garment manufacturers will renew their agreements with the Union without a fight.

Last Monday, July 27th, the Raincoat Makers' Union of New York held a well-attended shopchairmen meeting which took up for discussion the question of agreement renewals. It was decided, in view of the fact that the agreement in the trade expires on August 1st, to send letters to all manufacturers calling upon them to renew the contract.

As a result, already one of the largest firms in the trade, the Cooper Rainwear Company, signed an agreement, and it is expected that the rest of the trade will soon fall in line. A few employers, whose influence in the trade is rather limited, notified the

union that they intend to form an association, intending thereby that they

(Continued on Page 2)

A Warning to Members of Locals 2, 9 and 22

All members of Locals 2, 9 and 22 are called upon to pay dues and other union obligations in the office building of the Joint Board and in the local offices of Locals 2 and 9 only.

At the same time, we warn all members not to pay any dues nor to make any other payments in the office of Local 22, 16 West 21st Street, which was raided by the Communists and is still held by them by force. Payments made by any of our members at the 16th Street office, or at any other Communist office, will not be recognized. Members making payment in any office except such as are officially designated by the Union, will automatically exclude themselves from the Union and will lose their rights to any Union benefit or support.

ABRAHAM BAROFF,
Secretary-Treasurer, I. L. G. W. U.

President Sigman Takes Over Temporary Management of New York Joint Board

(Continued from Page 1)
ment and a hindrance to the work of the Joint Board. A decision was therefore adopted, with great reluctance, to accept the resignation from office of Brother Israel Feinberg and Meyer Perlstein, general manager and manager of the Protective Office of the Joint Board respectively, which had until now been rejected. It was also decided that President Morris Sigman, with the assistance of Vice-Presidents Breslaw, Halpern, Nifno and Dubinsky, take over the full control and management of the Joint Board.

Welfare and Unity of Organization Paramount Motive

Among the reasons urged against accepting the resignations of Feinberg and Perlstein it was advanced that these resignations might be clarified forth by the Communist agents as a victory for their propaganda as proof that it was their clamor which compelled them to give up office. This reason, however was quickly rejected as of little consequence. It would, indeed, be a sad day for the Union, if its leadership were to take into account, when framing its decisions the comment of these "red" agents-provocateurs. These paid union-wreckers would have their barking and snarling to do anyway, whether Brothers Perlstein and Feinberg remained in office or not.

Of real importance in this matter is the fact that the members of the G. E. R. were finally induced to accede to the viewpoint that at this moment the desire for full and unobstructed harmony within the Union should outweigh their reluctance to accept the withdrawal of Feinberg and Perlstein from office. It was accordingly decided to call a special meeting of the Joint Board for Tuesday, July 28, to take formal action upon the resignations.

Joint Board Accepts Resignations
The special meeting of the Joint Board took place in the auditorium

of the International Building, and immediately after opening, went straight to the heart of the problem which it was summoned to settle.

A number of delegates argued that the Joint Board has no fault to find with the activity of these two officers, and opposed the acceptance of their resignations. There were others who maintained that Feinberg and Perlstein were being sacrificed to satisfy the lynch mob spirit inflamed by Communist provocation and that such a course is essentially wrong.

Both Feinberg and Perlstein, however, insisted that their resignations must be accepted, and President Sigman, in a strong speech, appealed to the Joint Board not to hinder them in carrying out their wish to retire from office.

"I shall not, at this moment," said President Sigman in speaking of the resignation of Vice-President Feinberg, "tell you the true reason of his withdrawal from office. I know that all of you who are protesting against the resignation of Feinberg, are not telling all you know concerning it. I say, nevertheless, that the resignations of Feinberg and Perlstein must be accepted as the higher consideration of the Union's welfare demand it. I only wish to say this much: It is not the Communist machinations that make it imperative that these vice-presidents retire from office, but it is your inactivity, your own lack of cooperation that is responsible for it. This is their irrevocable decision, and you cannot change it now."

President Sigman then proceeded to the second part of the G. E. R.'s recommendation, namely, in which President Sigman is being proposed as general manager of the Joint Board, which he accepted on the sole condition that he receive the fullest cooperation of the Joint Board and of all its locals and that a new leaf be started in the life and the activity of the Joint Board.

The Joint Board at last voted to accept the resignations of Brothers Feinberg and Perlstein, coupled with the proposal that President Sigman, together with the committee of the vice-president above mentioned, proceed at once to take over the management of the Joint Board.

Brother M. J. Ashbees declared in a few warm remarks that since it is acknowledged by all the delegates that both Brothers Feinberg and Perlstein had rendered the Joint Board their best services as its officers, that a committee be elected to express to them the sincere appreciation of the entire organization.

The motion was unanimously accepted, and the chairman of the Joint Board, Bro. Azeel, appointed at once a committee for this purpose. The meeting of the Board was then adjourned.

The readers will find the full text of the resignations of Vice-Presidents Feinberg and Perlstein, as read by them to the meeting of the Joint Board on Tuesday last, elsewhere in this issue.

LOCAL 22 HAS BIG MEETING

(Continued from Page 1)

business agents who went through the ceremony of nominating officers." Needless to say, that the prognostication of Brother Hochman tallied exactly with what the reptile Communist agents had to say the next morning, concerning the meeting, having reported it as a "failure".

The meeting nominated a full list of executives, voting on whom will be set for some day in the immediate future.

LOCAL 20 TO RENEW AGREEMENTS

(Continued from Page 1)

would expect concessions for themselves and their members, perhaps, in the form of wage wage reductions, abolition of the legal holidays, etc. Needless to say, that the Union regards these anticipations as mere fantasies and will pay no heed to such demands whatever. The local, however, intends this year not to sign with some employers who have in the past been conducting sub-standard sanitary shops—until they comply with all health and decency regulations.

Brothers S. Freedman, M. Kaplan, W. Weingarten and M. Gindgold were appointed by Local 20 to deal with the group of employers who are planning to form an association.

In speaking of Local 20, it is in place to inform our readers that the controversy between this local and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers which arose out of the reported intention of the latter organization to claim jurisdiction over the Cooper Rainwear Company as over a firm making men's

SECRETARIES!

To such of you as have not yet ordered the new combined lay and receipt books, we have forwarded a book in order to make certain that by July 1st all who make payments to our local unions shall obtain the official I. L. G. W. U. receipt.

Fraternally yours,
ABRAHAM BAROFF.
General Secretary-Treasurer,
I. L. G. W. U.

THE RECORD AND PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT, I. L. G. W. U.

Is calling upon all secretaries of affiliated locals to transmit to it monthly, before the 15th of each month:

1. All day-book sheets, where income from members is entered.
2. The specially prepared index cards for members accepted through transfer or reinitiation.
3. A detailed report of members suspended during the month.
4. New addresses of members caused by change of residence.

According to our by-laws, local of the I. L. G. W. U. may be fined for failure to supply the information requested above. We ask our local secretaries therefore to be prompt concerning it.

TO ALL MEMBERS!

It is our fond ambition to see "Justice" reach regularly each week the homes of all our members. We spare no time nor energy to realize this ambition, and we call upon you to help us succeed.

1. Remember to notify us of your new address upon change of residence.
2. When you write to us, please, give your local and ledger numbers.
3. Ask your neighbors in the shop if they get their paper regularly. If he or she do not, explain to them the importance of keeping in close touch with the life of the organization and with the labor movement in general.

"Justice" is recognized as one of the liveliest Labor papers in America and you cannot afford to miss it even for a single week.

Fraternally,
H. A. SCHOOLMAN.
Director

clothing, is now fully straightened out. The Amalgamated, upon learning all the facts in this case, refused to deal with this firm, as the work terms in this shop are today, as before fully under the control of Local 20.

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This is the Official Receipt of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. All Locals and Joint Boards must use this receipt. Members and other persons making any payments to the Local or Joint Board must get this official receipt.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President; A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer, I. L. G. W. U.

Documents Which Prove Conclusively Communist Conspiracy Against Our International Union

How Communists Manufacture Cloak and Dress "Shop Chairmen" Meetings

Readers of "Justice" who occasionally read the Communist press, or some of the foreign language periodicals in New York City which for mercenary reasons of revenge are now solidly lined up with the Communist clique in its attempt to break up the Cloakmakers' Union, must have, in the last few weeks, come across descriptions of enthusiastic "shop chairmen" meetings held under the auspices of the "Joint action committee" of the ousted former officials of Locals 2, 9 and 22. An unsophisticated reader may have easily imagined from these eloquent write-ups that these ex-officials, in their war upon the organization, have the unanimous support of all the shop-chairmen in the cloak and dress industry, who are ready even to break up their Union at the call of these retired executive board members and their inspiring guides—the Communist politicians.

Our own publications, and the Labor press, have consistently denied that these Communist meetings were in any way representative of the sentiment of the mass of our workers, or that they were composed of shop chairmen. We pointed to the fact that these were Communist meetings, got up through the efforts of the Trade Union "Educational" League and the Communist party headquarters, and recruited largely from their loyal henchmen in all sections in the city. We also emphasized the fact that the tail and head of this propaganda against our Union had not sprung from our own ranks, but was engineered primarily from Communist party headquarters and is still being directed from there.

We have now come in possession of some very interesting material which, we are inclined to believe, will interest our readers, inasmuch as it tends to support unequivocally our statements as to the Communist origin

and fostering of the present turmoil in the Cloakmakers' Union. We are reproducing facsimiles of several letters forwarded from the Communist headquarters to their party members which throw a particular glare upon this situation.

EXHIBIT 1.

406 EAST 14TH STREET
Room 22
NEW YORK, N. Y.



Urgent and Important O A D L

July 10th, 1935.

Dear Comrade:-

We called you to a very important meeting for last Monday July 8th, and our roll call shows that you failed to attend - this, at the present time, cannot be tolerated by our Party.

We are giving you another and the last chance to show that you are sincere with our movement - You must come to our Headquarters 108 East 14th Street, this Monday July 15th, 8:30 P.M. sharp

We are going to take a roll call and those that fail to answer this time surely cannot be considered a rebel and certainly not a communist. We expect you on time.

Respectfully yours,
George Jampolsky, Sec. Org.

This letter, the reader will notice, is signed by "Jack Jampolsky, Industrial Org." and is sent from the headquarters of the Trade Union Educational League and the Communist party. It chides them for not hav-

ing shown up on time at the "meeting of last Monday, July 8th." It is marked Urgent and Important Call and is addressed not only to members of the "Educational" League but obviously to all party members, as "Industrial organizer" Jampolsky em-

phasizes that failure to attend "cannot be tolerated by our party."

The Communists are invited to come on Monday, July 15th, to headquarters to get ready for the meeting on the

following Thursday, July 16th, at which the "militant cloak and dress-makers" will assemble to denounce the leaders of their Union.

Next follows:

EXHIBIT 2.

406 EAST 14TH STREET
Room 22
NEW YORK, N. Y.



SPECIAL NOTICE

VERY IMPORTANT

July 14th, 1935.

Dear Comrade:-

You are a militant Cloak or Dressmaker. You are well acquainted with the present situation. You are certainly in touch daily with the developments. Well, will you be able to miss the most important meeting called by the Left Wing? No, we know that you will not miss this meeting no matter what are the circumstances.

So - here it is:-

MANHATTAN LYCEUM

66 East 4th St.,

THURSDAY - JULY 16th, 1935

8 P. M. SHARP.

This will be a joint meeting of Cloak and Dressmakers and very important questions will be taken up for action - and you must not fail to be present.

Remember, comrade, it is this Thursday - and as a rebel we expect you to be on time.

Fraternally yours,
Executive Committee

P.S.

BRING THIS LETTER WITH YOU.

This is another circular letter, for warded from the same headquarters of the Communist organization, marked very important and addressed to the "dear comrades", obviously the members of the Trade Union Educational League. It contains an invitation to attend the "most important meeting called by the Left Wing" at Manhattan Lyceum, on Thursday, July 16th, one of the much heralded "shop chairmen" meetings. It is signed by a mythical "executive committee", and it calls upon all "rebels" to be there on time.

Another circular which comes to our attention comes from Philadelphia and as we have had no time to make a photographic reproduction of it, we shall copy it word for word, for the benefit of our readers:

EXHIBIT 3.

EMERGENCY CALL FOR GENERAL
TUEL MEETING

Dear Comrade:
Special General Tuel Meeting is Called for Monday July 27, at 8 P. M., at 521 York Avenue.

A tremendous situation has developed in the New York Needle Trades Union. Over 20,000 workers under the leadership of our comrades in New York are waging a winning fight against the Sigman machine. For the first time in the history of the American Labor movement a reactionary unionism is being smashed.

Philadelphia TUEL must help our comrades in this fight. Philadelphia comrades must understand the situation in New York thoroughly.

Member of the JOINT ACTION COMMITTEE from New York will be at this meeting to outline and explain the entire situation to the Philadelphia comrades.

Fraternally yours,

R. BAKER
On Thursday July 24 a mass meeting is called at Public Hall—on Second Street corner.

The reader will notice that the secretary of the Philadelphia branch of Foster's Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), not a branch of cloakmakers or dressmakers, but a direct organization of the Communist party, is calling its members together to "help its new York Tuel comrades to smash" the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. To this meeting a representative of the New York group of suspended officials of the three locals is coming to "explain the situation." What can be sweeter, indeed, than this reaching out of hands of two groups of union-breakers?

We ask our readers:

Judge for yourselves: Is this destructive movement which clearly aims at the very life of our Union, a movement of cloak and dressmakers, or an heinous attack, originated, nurtured and kept alive by the Communist "horers" from within who are mobilizing every ounce of their strength to "bore" our Union to death since they cannot capture it by any other means for their political purposes?

GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY!

The Office of the International, 3 West 16th street, is open every Monday and Thursday until 7 o'clock to enable members of the Union to purchase

"The Women's Garment Workers" at half price—\$2.50.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
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A Quarter Billion Profits from English Coal Mines

Coal Owners' Profits From "Ruined Industry"—Facts on Impending British Coal Strike.

By HERBERT TRACY

Profits amounting to \$22,750,000 were made by the coal owners in the last three years—a total without parallel in any other three years in the history of mining.

The figures, given by the Secretary for Mines in the House of Commons on February 18 this year, are:

1934	\$14,250,000
1935	\$27,500,000
1932	\$11,000,000

An average annual profit of \$14½ millions made in a period of universal trade depression, under the operation of the national agreement which the coal owners allege to be the cause of the troubles in the mining industry, and when the industry was working the seven-hour day, does not justify the coal owners in pleading poverty as a reason for refusing to pay the miners a decent wage.

Profits on this scale were never made even in the heyday of the mining industry. In the five years before the war, including 1913, a boom year in which coal production reached its peak, the average annual profits were \$11,000,000. Nothing but the inflated standards of the war period, when prices equivalent to as much as 17 per cent on invested capital were made as against an average of less than 10 per cent before the war, can justify the coal owners' allegation that the mining industry cannot pay its way without sweeping wage reductions.

Appetite grows by what it feeds on. During the war colliery owners and shareholders became accustomed to colossal figures, like the "profit standard" of \$22 millions allowed them by the Government when the Excess Profits Duty was imposed.

An elementary knowledge of mining finances is sufficient to show that in the last ten years the private interests that control the mining industry have received scores of millions of pounds in excess of the normal return to capital.

In the first three years of the war, 1914, 1915, and 1916, profits were actually nearly double the annual production of \$13,000,000. The total for the three years was \$74,800,000, or nearly \$25 millions a year. From 1917 to 1921 the shareholders received 15½ per cent as a return on their capital, as compared with an annual average of less than 10 per cent before the war.

In addition, as the miners' secretary, Mr. A. J. Cook, pointed out at the Backmaster Inquiry last year, out of a total capital of nearly £40 millions owned by 34 companies the amount figured to the shareholders out of reserves or undivided profits was no less than £17 millions, upon which dividends have to be paid.

Capitalist Effrontery — In face of these facts, showing an absolutely unprecedented yield of invested capital, an appropriation by private interests of scores of millions of pounds in excess of the normal return to capital, the coal owners have the effrontery to claim credit for generosity in foregoing "repayment of the losses and deficiencies due to them under the current agreement," and to justify the abolition of the minimum wage and reduction of wages all around as the "solution compatible with economic common sense."

In defence of their proposals the coal owners have put up a thoroughly

disingenuous plea. They declare that since the beginning of the present agreement the whole of the net proceeds of the industry has been handed over in wages. A more misleading way of stating the true facts of the present position in the industry could not be conceived.

It is not denied by the miners' leaders that, as a matter of arithmetic, the finances of the industry are at the present time seriously affected by the decline in the coal trade. The critical state of affairs is reflected in the enormous increase in the number of unemployed mine-workers since May, 1924, when the new agreement came into operation. The number of unemployed in that month was 38,694, and on the corresponding month this year the total was 109,246 unemployed.

But it is merely confusing the issue to suggest, as the coal owners do, that the slump in the coal trade has wiped out the margin of profits. It has already been shown that profits in the last three years were higher than the average of the last five years before the war. It can also be shown that even in the last twelve months the position, bad as it is, does not justify the coal owners in saying that the industry is not yielding any profit at all.

Taking the coal fields as a whole, in the thirteen districts which include the four principal exporting districts along with those producing mainly for island consumption, a trading profit of 6d. a ton was made in the twelve months ending March this year. This margin is not, indeed, by post-war standards, a considerable one, but it must be remembered that the pre-war margin of profits, which the miners endeavored to have, established as the standard profit in the negotiations of last year, was no more than 8d. a ton.

Telling Statistics

If sacrifices have to be made, why should the miners be forced back to a wage standard lower by several shillings per shift than that prevailing in

1914 rather than the shareholders should be forced to content themselves with a smaller margin of profit? Who profited most when abnormal gains were made between 1914 and 1921—the miners or the share holders? Who have suffered most, the shareholders or the miners, during the trade slump of the last four years?

To ask these questions is to answer them. Nor should it be forgotten that the coal owners are attacking the principle of the minimum wage over the whole field of the mining industry, with the deliberate intention of bringing wages into relation with conditions in the districts which have been most hardily hit by the trade slump. Figures issued by Mr. Cook over the week-end, show the actual effect of the employers' proposals in some of the most important districts. The figures are as follows:

District	Pre-war average weekly wage	Reduction
Scotland	10 2	2 10s
Northumberland	9 2	2 20s
Durham	9 10	2 05s
South Wales	10 6½	1 10s
Eastern Division	10 9	7 3s
Lancs and Cheshire	9 6	10 2s
North Wales	9 5½	1 12s
Forest of Dean	9 3½	1 8s
Kent	12 10	1 28s

The first four districts named are those which produce mainly for export, and their output represents more than half of the total national production. In the twelve months ending March these four districts made a very small profit, amounting to \$234,332, or a fraction less than one penny a ton. But the next district in this list, includes the Yorkshire group of collieries, which made, on an output of more than 8½ million tons (about 25 per cent of the national output), over 16 millions in profits, or 1s. 5d. a ton. Actually this figure represents a larger profit than was made in 1913 (a boom year), and is nearly double the average profit per ton made in the five years preceding the war.

The plain truth is that the coal owners are endeavoring by their present policy to cut down wages so as to bring back profits to their former high level, even in the export districts, and to place the non-productive collieries on a profitable basis, at the expense of the miners as a body. Their policy is one that will advantage the

POSSESSIONAL

By G. HARRISON RILEY,
In New Leader.

Glorified dollar, lust of gold,
Lord of hate's far-flung battle line—

Dollar whose awful hand can
Dominion over yours and mine.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us
yet,
Let us forget—let us forget;

Dollar for which our honor
dies—
Dollar that breaks the loving
hearts—
Brotherhood's bond we sacrifice—

Make altars of our money marts.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us
yet,
We may forget—we may forget!

Fast shall our navies melt away,
And murderous guns shall cease
to fire—
The greed and war of yesterday
Be as with Nineveh and Tyre.
The Judge of all may spare us
yet,

When we forget—When we forget.

small colliery owner, but will benefit the big companies and combine with much more. But it spells ruin for the mine-workers. And it means impoverishment for the community as a whole.

Why should the coal owners, who have already been over-rewarded with inflated profits during the last ten years, and have received back many times over their capital invested in the mining industry, be permitted still to stand in the way of the unification and scientific reorganization of the industry? Why should they be allowed to lay the mining community to waste, to hold up the production of coal, to inflict upon the community enormous losses, in order to force the industry to continue to yield tribute to them? They have had their pound of flesh. The mines for the nation!

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aerial cascade
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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 all accomplished still.
Drops of water turn a mill,
Black no one, singly none."



Garments Wet With Blood

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

I was drifting through the bargain basement of a great department store late last summer looking for something cheap and cool to wear during the hot days that are always so trying at the end of summer. A knot of women gathered about a table loaded with house dresses, on which there was a special sale, halted me in the narrow aisle.

"It's a bargain lady! Only 89c, and look at the material and style, it sure is swell." A bobbed-haired and much bepowdered and lip-sticked little flapper flipped out of its folds a gray colored "Happy Home" house dress, and with outstretched arms held it under her chin for her customer to admire. The grave-eyed women, whose dress and care-worn face marked her a working-class mother, answered:

"Yes, it is pretty, and mighty cheap too. I can't make one for that much. I'll take it and the rose colored one." And from her shabby purse she took two one-dollar bills and started to hand them to the salesgirl. I caught her arm and cried:

"Oh! don't buy them, please don't! They are prison-made; they are laden with the germs of disease and death, and they are wet with the blood of working people."

A gasp of horror went round the table, the bargain-hunting women stared at me, the woman drew back her money, and the salesgirl stammered:

"Made in prison—wet with blood? You're nutty! These dresses are nice and clean—there ain't a speck of blood on them, and they are bargain I tell you!"

Bargains? Yes, they are bargains—but the American people are paying a staggering price for them. And because it is the working people who, for the most part, fill our prisons and use prison-made goods they pay more in hard-earned cash and in human misery for prison products than other people. But the effects of our existing systems of exploiting the labor of convicts reach the high and the lowly: the rich and the poor; the merchant prince in his palatial city department store and the village storekeeper in the small hamlet; the farmer on the lonely range and the wage worker in the city tenement; the manufacturer in his great industrial plant and the garment worker who operates his machines. The price that the American people pay for prison-made bargains challenges the member of the chamber of commerce and of the labor union; the public servant in his legislative hall and the official in town executive office, and the educator in the college classroom and the clergyman in the pulpit. It is a thing from which no American citizen can turn aside and say that he does not share responsibility.

There are approximately two hundred thousand men and women in our penitentiaries, reformatories and workhouses at the present time. The number varies with good and bad times, high and low wages, plenty and scarcity of employment, but the criminal, like the poor "ye have always with you."

Some sort of employment must be provided for this great army of human misfits and they would all go mad. Human beings cannot endure the abnormal life and the dreary monotony of prison existence without occupation. The sentence imposed by the judge upon offenders convicted of felonies, and who are sent to our penal institutions, always carries the penal-

ty of "hard labor" and that means that the labor power of two hundred thousand, or more, absolutely helpless prisoners is always ripe for exploitation.

By some strange process of reasoning we seem to have arrived at the conclusion that the individual who exploits convict labor performs some great social service, and we reward them in the most astonishingly generous manner. We know that many capitalists of finance have been cared for by our elected officials with tender paternalism, but it is in the industry of prison labor contracting that state paternalism shines in its most effulgent glory.

Through this most striking tendency to paternalistic generosity our elected officials, in most states, compel the taxpayers to provide the prison labor contractors with splendid factory buildings, equipped with heat, light and power, and kept in good repair. They also donate the use, operation and maintenance of motor trucks to haul the contractor's raw material to the prison factor, and his finished product back to the railway station.

All of this the prison labor contractor receives without money and without price, like salvation, it is his reward for providing the "hard labor" mentioned by the judge. The state of affairs then sell the contractors the labor of the convicts at about one-sixth to one tenth, per unit of production, of the going wage in a given industry. The state, at the expense of the taxpayers also feeds, clothes and houses the convicts, and provides guards and prison keepers to force the prisoners to produce the "task" set by the contractors.

During the late war when the United States was having its first experience with "government by hysteria" via the "Espionage Act," I had the far-from-comfortable, but most illuminating experience of serving fourteen months as a political prisoner in the State Penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri, where Federal women prisoners were kept on contract. Incidentally I might mention that the Church Federation of Chicago became interested in my case, made an exhaustive investigation and presented proof to the United States Department of Justice that convinced the officials that my arrest, trail and conviction was a grave miscarriage of justice. On the findings presented by the Church Federation I was released at the end of fourteen months incarceration of a five year sentence.

It was a most terrible experience, one that no one would have the courage to choose, but it was one of the most valuable experiences of my life, and one that I hope will be of value to the whole nation. As I stood in court waiting the Judge to pass sentence I said:

"It may be true that God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform. It may be that down in that dark, noisome, loathsome hell we call a prison, there may be a bigger work for me to do than I have found in the past. It may be that there I will find opportunities, I have sought always, opportunities to take light into dark places, to minister to sick souls, to lift up degraded humanity. And God knows that in prison, more than any other place on earth, there is need for that kind of service. If it were necessary for Jesus to come down among men that He might save them, it may be necessary for me to become a convict among criminals to serve them. If this be true I will face

While peace lovers have disputed over methods, militarism in America has gained ground.

Take the matter of the World Court, for example. Every peace lover believes in settling international quarrels by arbitration or judicial action rather than war. But there has been a sincere difference of opinion as to whether the present World Court was proceeding on a basis which would in fact outlaw war. To some advocates of outlawing war, it seemed instead to give it (under certain circumstances) recognized legal standing.

Now however a number of advocates of the present World Court and of the outlawry of war have united on a proposal that the United States immediately join the World Court with the understanding that the other nations join in preparing and adopting a treaty for the outlawry of war. The proposal signed by such prominent advocates of the existing court as ex-Justice Clark of the U. S. Supreme Court, and Prof. James T. Shotwell and the foremost advocates of the outlawry of war including S. O. Levinson and Raymond Robins, reads:

"As a measure directed toward the abolition of war and in order to make the Permanent Court of International Justice a more effective judicial substitute for war in the settlement of international disputes we favor the program embodied in the three following proposals:

"1. The immediate adherence of the United States to the Court Protocol, with the Harding-Hughes-Coolidge reservations.

"2. Within two years after the adherence by the United States to the Court Protocol, the signatories thereto, including the United States Government, shall formally declare by appropriate government action their endorsement of the following basic principles of the outlawry of war and shall call an international conference

prison; I will face the things that go with prison life, as serenely as I have faced judge court and jury."

I will never be able to think of those fourteen months without a shudder, the memories of them are branded into my soul, but I have no regrets. I know that only by actual experience could I gain the knowledge, acquired to make an intelligent study of crime and criminals and the most sane and scientific methods of dealing with them.

In the Missouri State Penitentiary I came face to face, for the first time, with many unknown things connected with our prison system, and among others the price we pay for prison-made bargains. I found that under the guise of punishment for crime, and in the name of the reformatory of criminals, tremendously profitable and far more brutal form of chattel slavery than that existing before the Civil War.

(To be Continued)

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of all civilized nations for the purpose of making a general treaty embodying these principles.

"A. War between nations shall be outlawed as an institution for the settlement of international controversies by making it a crime under the law of nations. (The question of self-defense against attack or invasion is not involved or affected.)

"B. A code of the international law of peace, based upon the outlawry of war and upon equality and justice between all nations, great and small, shall be formulated and adopted.

"C. When war is outlawed the Permanent Court of International Justice shall be granted affirmative jurisdiction over international controversies between sovereign nations as provided for and defined in the code and arising under treaties.

"3. Should such signatories within two years after the adherence of the United States fail to make such declaration and to join in a conference for the purpose of making such general treaty, the United States may in its discretion withdraw its adherence to said Court Protocol; and further should such signatories fail, within five years after the adherence of the United States to said Court Protocol, to make and execute a general treaty embodying in substance the aforesaid principles, the adherence of the United States shall thereupon terminate; but any action of the Court taken in the interim shall remain in full force and effect."

"Isn't this plan worth your support? Then say so to your Congressman."

Help For China

On the whole there is reason to be pleased with the present state of American opinion, both official and unofficial, with regard to China. The Administration is committed to prompt international action to abolish extra-territoriality, but on the condition that the Chinese take adequate measures for the protection of foreigners, and to permit China to raise sufficient revenues by increasing her customs. Conferences on both these matters were provided for by treaty or resolution of the Washington Conference and action on them is scandalously overdue.

Best of all is the letter of President Green of the A. F. of L. asking President Coolidge to induce the Power to give up all special privilege in China and to call an economic conference in which representatives of the wage workers will be included.

In the face of these declarations we must not however be lulled into false security. President Coolidge's suggestions do not meet all China's legitimate demands.

"The special privileges given to foreigners in treaty ports" to use Mr. Green's phrase, is farther than one would guess from any statement by the Administration. The pleas demand for protection for American citizens were moreover come with better grace if our own Federal Government had not always professed impotence to protect Chinese citizens here."

Moreover Harry Kingman, a Y. M. C. A. secretary at Shanghai, writes us that the Chinese are asking why if Americans are their friends, the Americans have the most gun boats, the largest landing patrols and the most strike breakers in Chinese ports? The American farmers and workers ought to insist on an answer to that question. Their slogan should be: Not one American boy or one American dollar to maintain foreign imperialism in China.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

BE ON YOUR GUARD, CLOAKMAKERS!

It is quite possible that as some members of the Cloakmakers' Union this warning comes too late. If it is true, as some reports seem to indicate, that the union-wrecking hysteria is rampant in some of our cloak locals, logic and common sense might as well be cast to the four winds. When an epidemic rages in a blind fury, it is, perhaps, best to fold one's arms and wait until its devastating force has spent itself, in the hope that after it is gone some may still be left in the arena energetic and willing enough to start reconstruction work and to repair the vast damage wrought by the cyclone.

For the moment, while a considerable portion of the cloakmakers are acting as if they had become bereft of their senses and are bent on smashing up their Union and destroying its prestige, the one course left open is to remain patient, to watch and keep silent.

Of course, this is almost a superhuman task. To keep silent while one's heart bleeds as on watches the maddening swirl which has caught in its grasp persons who only yesterday were and acted as sane men and women; not to say a word when one's brothers and sisters are engaged in the deliberate pulling down of what it has taken years of untold sacrifice to build up; not to utter a sound of protest when one still hopes that an eleven-hour warning might bring to reason some who had been dragged into the meshes of insanity by the sheer force of mob psychology—is well nigh impossible.

And besides, we feel that we owe this word of warning to ourselves, to our own conscience—lest at some later day a memory might rise to plague us that in a critical moment we had failed to do our full duty.

Watch out, cloakmakers!

Think only of the consequences of your present actions! Incited by a group of unconscionable demagogues, you are now seeking to wreak vengeance upon the heads of some of your leaders without noticing that thereby you are undermining your own existence and bringing untold misery upon yourselves.

Take, for instance, that single instance recorded last week in the columns of "Justice". A group of so-called "left" workers in a certain shop, in order to make that shop solidly their "own" and to destroy the control of the Union in it, had entered into an arrangement with the boss to work for lower prices if he would refuse to recognize the Union any longer. Could you think of a more startling example of hysteria, of a more glaring attempt of cutting one's nose to spite one's face—all for the sake of "squaring accounts" with this or that, for the moment, unpopular leader?

Or take another reported case, similarly bordering on stark insanity. A girl had been discharged in a shop without cause and she appeared in the office of the Joint Board asking for redress. The case is at once taken up by the Joint Board with the employers' association and the girl is ordered reinstated. The employer, however, refuses to abide by this decision, whereupon the workers of the shop are summoned by the Joint Board to a meeting. The workers in that shop, however, are "lefts"; they refuse to come to the meeting or to aid the Joint Board in reinstating the girl.

In other words, the "class-strugglers" in that shop had made common cause with the employer and are ready, instead of taking up a fight on behalf of the unjustly discharged girl, to aid the boss in defying the Union and in nullifying its prestige.

Another reported instance is that of a shop where the Union had ordered a worker to be taken off the job for plain, unvarnished scabbing in time of a strike. It turned out, however, that this blackleg is now a full-fledged "left" and the "lefts" in that shop began clamoring that he be reinstated. A committee from this shop came to President Sigman, who in plain and simple words explained to them that if this black sheep were to come back to the shop in defiance of the Union order, the prestige of the organization in the place would disappear and that they would all, within a very short time, be made to feel the taste of autocracy in the shop. Nevertheless, the committee went away unconvinced and awayed by the same blind, unreasonable feeling of distrust and animosity.

Let us mention one more fact. We are being informed that some shady persons are visiting cloak shops and collecting money for a "defense fund". It is a fund, mind you, not for defending the Union against employers, or for aiding other striking workers, but a fund to fight the organization of our own workers, to break down its influence and its authority in the industry.

What is this impenetrable maze that is enveloping the minds of the cloakmakers? What black witchery has driven reason from control and installed hate, blind passion and intolerance in its place? What argument, what force of reasoning can prevail against this epidemic?

Nevertheless, difficult as it might be to speak, it is thrice more difficult to keep silent in this critical hour in the life of our Union, when on the waves of treachery and hate it is being tossed around in a whirlpool of despair.

Let us turn, for a moment, some recent leaves in the history of our organization; let us as quietly as we may examine some of the things which the "reactionary", the "counter-revolutionary" leaders of the Union had accomplished during the last few years.

To begin, they had, after years of jurisdictional fighting and hectic disagreement, combined into one body the three cloak locals in New York City, thereby putting an end to a steady source of demoralization within our ranks. This was achieved at the cost of the undying enmity of the former leaders of the two annexed locals, an enmity, the full force of which is now being brought into effect by these ex-leaders against the Union. The former officers of the two merged cloak locals, themselves professed opponents of Communism, are now making common cause with the latter and are doing everything in their power to obstruct and molest the organization.

The irony of the situation is further accentuated by the fact that the "lefts" in our midst who have been shouting so loudly for amalgamation, are now working hand in hand with the discredited former leaders of these locals against the men who had the courage to follow out their convictions and who, despite tremendous obstacles, had called into being the united cloak operators' locals in New York!

We go a little further.

There had been in New York for years two joint boards—one in the cloak trade and another in the dress trade. In recent years, however, there has grown up rapidly in our industry a demand for the combination of these two point boards into one for the sake of economy and efficiency of trade control. Needless to say that this "revolution", advantageous as it may have been for the interests of the workers in both trades, was bound to arouse strong opposition among a number of persons who had played important parts in these separate joint boards. But the leadership of the Union, undaunted and in face of a mighty opposition, went ahead with this task and united both boards. Does that seem like an act of "reactionaries", an act of hide-bound conservatives, or "traitors"?

And what about the considerable number of officials, ostensibly pillars of the "machine" and avowed "rights", of men who were occupying prominent places in the organization, whom the administration of the Union had only recently asked to leave their offices on no other ground but that they had outlived their usefulness as union officers and that they therefore had to make room for more capable and efficient persons? The leaders of the Union knew, of course, that by asking them to abdicate their posts they would incur their everlasting animosity. This prospect, however, did not seem to discourage them in the least. Does that appear like an act of ultra-reactionary leadership, like opportunism or cowardice?

Let us recall some other facts. When the operators' locals were finally united into one local, No. 2, and a permanent executive board had to be elected to run its affairs, the leaders of the Union determined that every member of the local, regardless of party affiliation, should have an equal chance in running for office, if only they would help advance the progress of the organization and the well-being of its members. A majority of Communists were elected to the new Executive Board. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Union gave them their blessing and told them to go ahead and prove their worth and ability as trade union officers and leaders.

But what has happened? These newly elected officials, gave the first day of their entrance into office, began to demonstrate that the interests of their local, of its members, and of the Union as a whole, concerned them but little. They began taking orders from an outside alien group of politicians whose aims, policies and ambitions are poles apart from the work and the mission of our Union. Should the leaders of our Union have kept silent in the face of this defiant violation of the law and spirit of our organization? Should they have buried their faces, ostrich-like, in the sand and condoned such a deliberately antagonistic policy?

They did not, of course. They placed these recreant officials under charges, and the trial committee had sifted the evidence in the case and found them unworthy of the trust with which they had been vested. The leaders of the Union, of course, knew too well that by this drastic and courageous act they would forfeit some of its "friends" among the public, and that the Communist press would set in motion against it a bitter, reckless campaign of slander and vituperation. Did these prospects daunt them? Did these political considerations halt them in carrying out what, as officers of the Joint Board and of the International, they had pledged themselves to uphold and defend when they were elected by our convention?

Not in the slightest degree. They displayed rare courage and unswerving determination—qualities of leadership which should have won for them unqualified admiration among the masses of our workers. Surely that was not an act of time-serving, cringing politicians, not the act of men, who for the sake of a demagogic appeal would forego their sacred duty and obligations!

Soon there will come a day when every honest cloakmaker

An Open Letter by Alex. Gotz to Edo Fimmen

Famous leader of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionists, condemned to death by the Bolsheviks three years ago and since incarcerated in the Butyrky Prison in Moscow, writes from his cell a letter in which he categorically denied all the fabrications concerning the "fair" treatment accorded political prisoners in Soviet Russia spread by Fimmen, Purcell, Winchewski, and Bolshevik allies in the United States—Story that Gotz, Marie Spiridonova and other arrested Revolutionists are kept by the Bolsheviks at "summer places" denounced as a lie out of the whole cloth.

In the leading organ of the Belgian Socialists, the Brussels "Le Peuple", of June 16, there was printed the following letter from Alexander Gotz, the famous leader of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionists, for the past six years a prisoner in a Russian Bolshevik jail, to Edo Fimmen former secretary of the Amsterdam Trades Union International, who in the last few years has been conducting pro-Bolshevik propaganda in the European press. The letter reads as follows:

"Butyrky Prison, Moscow, February 1, 1925.
"In the Moscow 'Izvestia' of January 15, there appeared an article by Dr. Sverichkov in which are given your impressions of the trip you made to Soviet Russia.

"When a former secretary of the Amsterdam International and an old fighter in the ranks of the Dutch Labor movement embarks upon such a course, I deem it my duty to the workers who might be inclined to believe you, to declare that you have either become the victim of a cynical swindle in the Bolshevik press or that the role of an advocate of the Bolshevik power had dragged you so far beyond the boundary of truth that in your statements, or in the statements which are being ascribed to you, there is not a trustworthy word.

"You say:
"I received the permission to visit all prisons and houses of detention. First of all, I desired to see Gotz, but was told that he was not there. This was unexpected.

"What does this mean? Where is he?"

"He is," was told, with his relatives in a summer place near Moscow.

"What summer place?"
"At a summer place to improve his health."

"I got the address of the place and journeyed there at once. There I met Gotz. I found him actually at liberty, enjoying the fresh air of the place and surrounded by the tender atmosphere of his relatives."

"And somewhat disappointed you conclude:

"And yet we had believed that the poor fellow is immured in a stony bag, that he is dying a slow death, the

victim of your horrible persecutions!

"Why, then, do you make public these facts? Why don't you deny all these lies that are being spread about you?"

"I agree with you. Lies must not be passed over in silence, and therefore I declare:

"It is a lie that you ever visited me. Everything you say concerning it is a fabrication from beginning to end. I know that foreigners consider my country as a land of fairy tales where the most impossible miracles are liable to happen.

"Empress Catherine the Second, once was shown the famous illusory Potemkin villages in the Ukrainian steppes, and she believed it. Purcell (the head of the English trade union delegation which recently visited Soviet Russia), on the morning after the entire intelligentsia of Georgia had been massacred by the Bolsheviks, was shown a happy Georgian population dancing peacefully under the sweet strains of Caucasian music. He was shown workers' homes built far more comfortably than English cottages. And, to your lot, Mr. Fimmen, it has fallen to meet an imaginary Gotz, a happy, living witness of Bolshevik humanitarianism.

"It is a lie that I lived with my relatives in a 'summer place' near Moscow.

"During the five years that I am imprisoned in Bolshevik jails I never was anywhere in any state of liberty. In your story there is, however, a tiny kernel of truth. After our trial (three years ago), we were transferred to the 'interior prison' of the Tcheka, where we were kept in dark almshouses with boarded up windows, without newspapers and books. The long confinement in that dungeon under such horrible conditions had so affected the health of my comrades that the prison authorities themselves were compelled to transfer them temporarily to better sanitary conditions. For this purpose we were brought over singly, one after another, to a farm belonging to the Tcheka where a special prison had been erected and where until then there had been kept under strictest guard the members of the central committee of the Left Socialist-Revolutionists, Marie Spiridon-

ova, Ismailowich and Mayorov. On this space of ground, which occupies about a half of a desiatin (less than an acre), fenced around with barbed wire, we could remain in the air until nine in the evening, under the eyes of our prison guards, who followed every step we made. We were permitted to have our families there, provided the latter were ready to submit to the full prison regime.

"This village 'idyll' lasted for each of us two weeks, after which we were sent back to the Butyrky Prison, in which many of us had spent many years under the Tsarist regime.

"In the course of two and a half years, our group (the group of the 12 condemned Socialist-Revolutionists) had gone through eighteen hunger strikes which lasted a total of 366 days. Already in December, 1924, one of our comrades, the tried old revolutionary Sergei Morozov, who had spent two terms in the Siberian hard-labor mines under the Tsar, committed suicide.

"I want to draw your attention to another fact. After our trial, we remained for seventeen months in prison under a sentence of death. This is an unheard of procedure in the history of justice in any civilized country in the world. To this picture I wish to add the following: every member of our group had spent an average of four years in Bolshevik prisons, and an average of twelve years in prison and banishment, while the years we had spent in Tsarist jails are added to this total.

"I hope that these facts will dampen somewhat the affected joy of Mr. Fimmen.

"In the person of Mr. Purcell, you, Mr. Fimmen, have acquired a worthy comrade.

"Purcell did see me, not in the columns of the 'Izvestia', but in actual life. True he found me not in a 'summer home' surrounded by relatives but in the Butyrky Prison. But I can readily perceive that Purcell who had just recently passed his Bolshevik honeymoon and who is overfilled with admiration for the wonders of Bolshevik reality, will not, in order to complete his series of One Thousand and One Tales of Bolshevik Miracles, refuse to confirm the story that the Butyrky Prison, the old, filthy jail of Tsarist days, is a veritable Crystal Palace. Don Quixot accepted the ugly and filthy Aldama for beautiful dame Dulcinea—why should not Purcell be allowed to perceive in the crippled, disorganized and primitive life of Russia the features of a realized Communist ideal?

"Lastly, may I be permitted to follow your own example and the ex-

ample of Purcell, in forgetting for a minute sad realities and wandering off into the fantastic realm of Utopia. Let us accept for a moment that Communism had triumphed in England and in Holland, and that Pollit and Wynkoop had been enthroned as the rulers of these countries. I do not doubt for a moment that, regardless of your present 'revolutionary declaration', you would, as quickly as you would get a taste of the Communist dictatorship, shake off its charms and raise the banner of revolt against it. Then, you might understand why, to the wrath and hatred which the Communist dictatorship calls forth within us, there is added a feeling of contempt mixed with pity for the puerile declarations of the foreign apologists of Bolshevism, declarations that are essentially contradictory and wholly untruthful. On the one hand they seem to be enthused with Bolshevik tactics, while, on the other, they reject it as something to be applied to their own countries. Then you might be able actually to perceive the shameful role they have forced you to play in the revolutionary movement."

"Your name, and yourself, will be used by them to cover up license and despotism of the meanest sort. Your authority is being applied as an armored shield against those workers and peasants who have not as yet bowed their heads before triumphant violence but who still pursue their heroic fight for democracy and Socialism.

"In the conversation with Sverichkov, you are alleged to have mentioned that the Second International had requested you to interfere on behalf of the Georgian people in its struggle against the Soviet force, and that you had proudly replied: 'You are in error, if you believe that I am a lackey!'

"Why, then, have you deemed so readily the lackey library of the Kremlin?"

(Edo Fimmen attempts to reply to the burning questions put to him by Gotz, in a letter to the Brussels "Peuple" of June 16th, in which he denies the fact that he ever told anyone that he had visited Gotz, that the interview in the "Izvestia" is misleading, that his interviewer, whom he still believes to be a "serious" journalist, must have made these errors owing to insufficient knowledge of the French language in which they were conversing, and that he had forwarded a strong denial of it to the Moscow publication, which obviously was ignored and never printed.

At any rate, the following may be clearly deduced from this remarkable document:

1. That the "Izvestia", had knowingly faked an interview with a (Continued on page 11)

who is now participating in the lynching parties attempted against the leaders of our Union, or who is condoning these attacks by silence, will feel deeply of himself. They will indeed, have cause enough to regret profoundly for having allowed themselves to be carried away by this cataract of fabrications, lies, slander and meaningless phrases. This is our hope, and it is likewise the hope of the men who, during all these long and trying months of internal strife fostered by outsiders have fought bravely for the principles and the life of our Union, without fear or favor, being fully aware that each of their acts would be deliberately misrepresented by their enemies, and that in the crusade launched against the name and prestige of our organization their dearest and most cherished personal sentiments would be dragged into the mire by the ugly vandals of the Communist press.

But it is not that future hope alone that is keeping our leaders smitten to their posts. They are there, in spite of their personal eagerness to leave the nasty and repulsive atmosphere created by the unclean methods of their "opponents", to save the Union from the barbaric onslaught of these impostors who dare to speak today in the name of the cloakmakers. It is this paramount sense of duty which keeps them upon the bridge in these days of stress and storm in the life of our Union, loyal to their oath to defend it against all enemies!

"But what about higher dues? Why don't you mention that when speaking of the achievements of the leaders?" we hear some voices.—What about the Governor's Commission and its accomplishments? What about the raid upon the offices of the two locals?"

No, we have not forgotten this, not by a long shot. We think it is a very important matter, and we expect to talk about it in detail and as clearly as we know how. Not that we expect to win at once back to reason such cloakmakers as are today infected by the deadly germs of mob hysteria. But we think not in terms of today only; we are convinced that the day of awakening is on hand, and we are eager that the cloakmakers find, at least in these columns, a frank and honest interpretation of every act of their officers. We are sure that the day is not distant when they will think differently of these acts of their leaders for which they are now ready to crucify them!

We shall, in our next issue, give our readers a candid exposition of these "crimes" committed by our leaders, and we hope to prove to them that in all these steps and moves, they were actuated by only one all powerful motive: how to make our Union ever stronger and more influential, and how to make the lot of our workers more tolerable and easier.

Letters of Resignation by Israel Feinberg and Meyer Perlstein

July 23, 1925.
Joint Board Cloak and
Dressmakers Union.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I herewith tender my resignation as manager of the Protective Division. The reasons for resigning I can tell you in a few brief words:

I did not seek the managership of that office, nor did I seek any other office with the local union in New York. I was away from New York serving the International for several years and, when President Sigman requested that I take over the work of amalgamating the three operators' locals, I intended to return to the place I came from as soon as I had accomplished this task. It was at the suggestion and advice of President Sigman that I decided to take over the managership of the Protective Office for the period for which you have elected me. It was not the position that attracted me. It is the office that had some attraction. It is the work that can be accomplished in that office that appealed to me.

The Protective Division office is confronted with the most complicated industrial problems in our industry. The industrial problem of New York, as far as the large and small shop manufacturer and jobber are concerned, were always unsettled and they are even more unsettled now than ever. These industrial problems attracted me. I thought that by giving them my full energy and attention, and with the full cooperation of our active men in New York as well as of the President of our International and of General Manager of the Joint Board of whose cooperation I was assured, something tangible could be established which would be beneficial

to the workers and to the industry as a whole. These were my intentions and that was the reason why I accepted the office.

I came into this office at the end of the season, and I am leaving it at the beginning of the season, so that the entire period I was in it there was not an opportunity to tackle the real problems; in addition, the situation in general was complicated by other developments. But with all that conditions began to improve. The work in the office became organized, and the relations with the employers were put on a higher plane. But the fight that the Union was compelled to start against the Communist clique in our ranks divided our attention from the complicated problems, and our entire energy had to be devoted first of all to clearing up our organization from the pest that threatened it.

The political situation in the Union did not bother me at all but it seems I made a mistake in this regard. It is the political situation that is predominating and it is because of the political situation that I am resigning.

As far as the fight with the Communist clique is concerned, I am in it. I have been in it and I will stay in it. But I see the sky clearing up, and I am convinced that in a very short period—a matter of weeks—the Communist clique will be a thing of the past in our organization. So I am not resigning because of the "lefts". I am resigning because of the political situation in our Union. I do not get the support of the Joint Board that I should get in order to accomplish the desired results. Friday's meeting of the Joint Board, in not giving me an opportunity to re-

organise my office on a basis where the members should be able to get the full benefit that efficient organization could give them, has proved to me that I will be interfered with in my work. Other matters in connection with the work of this office that are of great importance have come up and do come up, and with the present state of mind of the Joint Board, I feel that I shall not be able to do the things that are necessary. That is the case, I have no business to stay in that office any longer.

I am leaving the Joint Board with no grievance against anyone. On the contrary, I have full respect and admiration for a good many members and delegates to the Joint Board. I do feel sorry that, after our organization has been in existence for so many years, and after we have succeeded in having our organization become one of the most progressive and wonderful labor organization in the world, there are some people in our ranks that do not realize that industrial problems cannot be solved through political maneuvers.

In conclusion, I want to express my appreciation to the business agents in my office for the cooperation they had given me.

MEYER PERLSTEIN.

Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit,
Skirt and Reefmakers' Unions,
130 East 26th Street, N. Y.

Brother Chairman and Members
of the Board:

I hereby wish to tender my resignation as general manager of the Joint Board to take immediate effect.

With your permission, I will state in brief the reasons that have prompted me to do this. I have been serving the Joint Board of the Cloak makers—and later the Cloak and Dressmakers—for the past three and a half years. I assure you that I have considered it the most honorable position given to a worker, to manage the affairs of our great organization. I can assure you that during this period I have been trying, as much as a person possibly could do, to lead our organization, with your cooperation, in the direction that would yield the greatest benefit to the workers comprising it. May I say at this point that I am honestly and sincerely convinced that our Joint Board, and our great International as a whole, can be considered as one of the outstanding labor organizations in existence,—an organization that has spared no efforts to make the lives of our workers more bearable, if not pleasant. While it may be true that we have not as yet succeeded in making their life's necessities more secure, this is due to the very peculiarities and difficulties with which our industry is confronted. I believe firmly that our last effort to solve the problems of the industry for the benefit of our workers that is, the ten demands, is and should be, for the immediate future, the slogan of our Union.

I am ready to admit that during the time of my services to our Joint Board, I must have made some mistakes, just as I believe that you have made mistakes, but, if we accept the principle that man is fallible we can forgive ourselves these mistakes because they were made, I am convinced, with all sincerity of purpose, and without ulterior motive. During the past year and one-half, the work of the Joint Board became particularly difficult because of the Commission and the investigation that it conducted in the industry. The Union had to exert every effort to acquaint the experts of the Commission with the various features of our industry and also the conditions from which

our cloakmakers suffer—the conditions largely brought about by the development and existence of the jobbers. All this time I worked under tremendous difficulties and with great exertion.

It is not important for the present to take cognizance of the results of the Commission's labors. I am convinced that this is the first time in the history of our International Union and Joint Board that we succeeded to depict a true picture of the cloakmakers' condition and life as clearly and as forcefully as we did through the instrumentality of the Commission.

All this time that I conducted this special work and conducted the usual routine of the Joint Board as well, I began to note that an organized group which represented itself as "left wingers" led by the most agency known as the Workers' Party—this group evidently determined either to capture the Union and transfer it into the hands of this union-breaking clique or else smash it entirely and destroy the organization that was built up with such great sacrifice and devotion. I made it a point to talk to these people and explain to them that the Union's strength can be maintained only when the workers comprising the Union are united. I tried to convince them how dangerous and harmful it would be to deliver the Union into the hands of a band who have not the slightest interest in the real welfare of the workers but who are interested only in bootlicking the chief commissars of Moscow and trying to make them believe that American is on the verge of the Communist Revolution. What I want to bring out here is that I made every effort to convince them, and, although it often happened that the most influential men while facing me in my office would conceive that I am right, nevertheless, they were so demoralized, and so lacking in sincerity that as soon as they would leave my office they would deny all that they previously conceded and they would conduct themselves in exactly the same disruptive manner as before.

Very often I was misled as to their intentions and their sincerity. I thought that they seriously intend to do real work for our Union and devote themselves to the interests of our members. I thought that our only points of difference are as to party activity and party ideals, and so I imagined that they may be trusted with responsibility in our organization.

But what was the result?

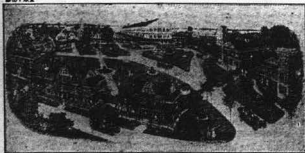
The result was that they usurped their office and used it not for the purpose of improving the conditions of our members, but in the interests of a political clique, which is attempting to remove or ruin any man who has the courage to expose their betrayal.

It then became clear for me that, if this Union which was built up with such sacrifice and effort is to live and develop and remain the defender of its tens of thousands of members, it must first rid itself of the "red" reactionaries in its midst, and, as you know, the Union succeeded in placing this poisonous and destructive element outside the pale of honest trade unionism.

Well then there are at all times and at every opportunity certain members of the Union—honest and devoted members who have certain objections to this or the other policy or conduct of the administration. Add to that the fact that this warring of the red flag by the Communists blinded some of our members to their real danger.

(Continued on page 11)

The International Workers' UNITY HOUSE FOREST PARK, PA.



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ABRAHAM BAROFF, Chairman



DOMESTIC ITEMS

Standard Oil Bosses Grant Eight Hours?

THE Standard Oil Company of New Jersey announces the adoption of the eight-hour day in its oil fields. The decree making the eight-hour day effective is accompanied by a wage decree that materially cuts wage rates so that employees will earn much less under the new regime than the company permitted them to earn under the longer work day.

Railwaymen's Membership More Than Doubled in Twelve Years

MEMBERSHIP in the National Union of Railwaymen has more than doubled since the amalgamation in 1913, according to statistics issued from Unity House, and the total at the end of last year stood at 381,605, as compared with 170,000 in 1913.

The N. U. R. attained a maximum of 481,081 members in 1919, and the general trade slump of the last four years caused a loss of nearly 100,000 members. But last year the increase in membership was close upon 20,000 as compared with 1923.

Assets of the N. U. R. increased from £476,454 in 1913 to £1,742,576 at the end of last year. During the year the Union lent over £23,000 to assist them in fighting the employers.

Big Woolen Trust Lowers Wages 10 Per Cent

UNORGANIZED employees of the American Woolen Company have received another slice of the prosperity promised them in the form of a 10 per cent wage reduction. About 40,000 employees in Lawrence, Mass., are affected.

"The reduction is made necessary by present business conditions," the announcement said. It is intimated that other mills will likewise "readjust" wages.

Until recently the woolen trust maintained a paternal attitude toward its employees. On the occasion of one visit to this city, President Wood of the trust was wildly acclaimed by the inhabitants. His costly ventures, however, resulted in a reorganization of the board of directors and his retirement. The welfare plans were abandoned, and now these workers face a 10 per cent wage cut for depending upon others rather than upon themselves.

Farm Press Supports High Wage Theory

THE agricultural press is accepting the theory that low wages of industrial workers affect the farmer and commerce, through a lessened consuming power, says Ethelbert Stewart, commission of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

"The agricultural press," said Mr. Stewart, "is showing a greater appreciation of the position always taken by the Bureau of Labor Statistics that the earnings of the workers, who constitute the largest numerical element of our population, cannot be depressed, nor the volume of employment in industry decreased, without it reacting upon the whole range of business in the shape of decreased consumption and hence a forced lowering of prices to a point where industry and commerce are hit just as hard as the workers themselves are hit."

Mr. Stewart illustrates this point by showing that the consumption of creamery butter is related to the volume of employment.

Labor to Renew Fight for Child Amendment

THE State Federation of Labor Convention in Aberdeen, Washington, voted to call a state-wide conference to plan a renewal of the fight for the Federal Child Labor Amendment.

Speakers representing the American Legion, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Parent-Teacher Association and other civic and welfare groups assured the trade unionists of their support.

The convention gave notice to Governor Hartley that the recall might be applied to him. The State Executive was declared to be on unfriendly terms with every one in the state but the timber and allied interests. The unionists called attention to the appointment of the wife of a large cannery owner as director of women in industry, charged with the enforcement of women's hour and wage laws, as a sample of the governor's interest in Washington's wage earners.

"His first public utterance, during his inaugural address, when he termed the wage workers and other supporters of the Child Labor Amendment 'Bolsheviks' and 'pestiliferous blatherers', was fully expressive of his mental attitude toward labor and its friends," the convention declared.

Strike Profitable to Mine Operators

A STRIKE in the anthracite fields would prove profitable to the operators. "The operators have everything to gain by a suspension," said Chris J. Golden, president of the Shamokin district. "They have 10,000,000 tons of coal on hand. We want no suspension because we want to keep our members working. When they don't work, they get no pay. The operators will make large profits through a strike or panic in the consumers' minds."

At the recent tri-district convention of anthracite miners in Scranton, Andrew Matthey, president of the Hazleton district, expressed the same views.

"The operators claim they have 10,000,000 tons of coal," said President Matthey. "A suspension means \$10,000,000 more in their pocket books. When the agreement expires and another has not been made, the mines will be closed, not by you, but by the operators. Two weeks later the coal will begin to move, but not for the same price. Public clamor will send the price up \$1 a ton. If the suspension continues, it may be that instead of paying \$18 a ton the public will have to pay \$19."

"The public and the press will blame the miners and the operators will get the dough."

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

Yellow-Dog Contracts Hit the Out-of-Works

SIR ARTHUR STEEL-MAITLAND, the British minister of labor, has refused unemployment insurance benefit to a number of youths who declined to sign an agreement that they would not join a trade union.

The youths were offered work as junior apprentices by a ship-building firm and were asked to sign indentures containing a provision that they must not join a union.

The boys refused to sign. Whereupon their employment benefit was stopped. An appeal was taken to the umpire, who decided that the condition in the indenture prohibiting trade union membership was not unfair or unjust. The minister of labor approved the umpire's decision.

The current issue of the Journal of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association declares that apprentice indentures in Manchester include a clause prohibiting a youth from joining a trade union until within six months of the termination of his apprenticeship.

CANADA

Canadian Unionists Aid Chinese Workers

THE trades and labor council of Vancouver demands that those responsible for firing on unarmed striking Chisamen at Shanghai be punished. Indemnity for the families of the killed and injured and the withdrawal of foreign warships from China are also demanded.

The trouble can be traced to brutal treatment and starvation wages paid Chinese workers by foreign exploiters, according to the Chinese benevolent association of Vancouver. The strike started at Tsingtau, near Shanghai, in cotton mills owned by Japanese capitalists. The mills employ child labor between 6 and 12 years of age. Working conditions include the 12-hour day, the seven-day week, a holiday on rare occasions and \$1 a month in Shanghai money.

A commission of which one-half were mill owners investigated these conditions and agreed to their correctness. The mill foremen are Japanese. If the children attempted to play they were beaten. If the parents object, they, too, were victims of this brutality.

The Tsingtau workers struck, and later the Shanghai workers joined in sympathy. The latter paraded and the police interfered. One striker was killed. Shanghai students then arranged a demonstration, but were shot down by Indian police, led by British officers.

NORWAY

The Norwegian Union Movement in 1924

AT the end of 1923 the Norwegian National Federation of Trade Unions comprised 31 national unions and one local union. The unions had in all 1,231 branches, and a total membership of 85,599. At the end of 1924 there were 29 national unions and one local trade union; the number of branches was 1,191 and the membership 82,767,—thus making an increase in membership of 7,141, or 8.3 per cent. In accordance with the decision of the last Trade Union Congress, the unions are being reorganized from a craft to an industrial basis. This reorganization is as yet far from being complete, having been carried out only in individual industries; several unions have, it is true, been disbanded or have amalgamated with other unions; but, on the other hand new unions, as for example, those of the chemical, food and drink, building and textile industries, have been formed.

The 23 different Trade Union papers published during the year had a total circulation of 59,693.

In 1924 234 new wage agreements were concluded, covering 80,380 workers, of whom 65,756 were organized, and 20 agreements, covering 6,529 workers, were expended. "The total increase in wages obtained by these agreements is reckoned to be 35,331,328 Kroner or 340 Kroner per worker per year. The working hours remained unaltered, namely 48 per week.

During the year 1924 129 strikes or lockouts took place, in which 46,443 workers were involved, of which number 46,890 were organized. The number of working days lost through these strikes or lock-outs amounted to 2,346,708, or 79 days per worker.

ITALY

The Founding of a National Centre for Workers' Education in Italy

FOR a long time past the Italian National Trade Union Centre has been deeply interested in the question of the workers' employment of his leisure, and hence with a scheme for the centralization of the various educational organizations of Italy. At the last meeting of the enlarged committee, a decisive step was taken, and the National Centre proceeded to found a "Federation of Cultural, Educational and Sport Associations" (Federazione associazione culturale, educativa e sportiva) which will be generally known as the F. A. C. E. S. The bodies which have taken part are the Trade Union Centre, the National Cooperative League, and the Federation of Labor Insurance Friendly Societies.

Besides the educational organizations and the Labor University, the new centre has also been joined by the various groups of the "Friends of Art and by the Labor Holiday and Sport Association," etc. The founding of the Federation which is a free national organization for the cultural, intellectual and physical education of the workers, is regarded by the Italian Labor Movement as an event of great importance. It has already been decided that the Centre shall affiliate with the projected Workers' Educational International.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



"Clear Voices In English and American Literature"

By B. J. R. Stolper

Course given at the Workers' University of the
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION
Season 1924-25

Lesson 10.—Gray's "Elegy"—Pity and Understanding
The Author.—Thomas Gray, a shy, scholarly young man,
sensitive to the political and literary currents of his time.

Beauty, Polish and Depth of Work.—The poem was written
in 1742-1760. Read aloud and discussed the poem will reveal its
eight years of thoughtful weighing and polishing.

Social Significance.—A sort of feeler to the radical ideas float-
ing about just before the American and French Revolution. Neither
bitter, satiric and witty like Swift, nor coldly intellectual-brilliant
like Pope; but rather plying and sympathetic to common men and
nature, like Wordsworth and the romantic school which came
later. A plea for understanding, a brief for equality of opportunity,
perhaps.

Note: Since the poem itself is fairly brief, it has been thought
best to quote the most telling stanzas, the better to study and dis-
cuss it.

"ELEGY—WRITTEN IN A COUNTRY CHURCHYARD"

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,
The plowman homeward plods his weary way
And leaves the world to darkness and to me.
Now fades the glimmering landscape on the sight
And all the air a solemn stillness holds,
Save where the beetle wheels his droning flight
And drowsy tinklings lull the distant folds;
Beneath that rugged elm—tho' yew tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
Each in his narrow cell forever laid
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

The breezy call of incense-breathing morn,
The swallow twittering from the straw-built shed;
The cock's shrill clarion, or the echoing horn,
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed.
For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
Or busy housewife ply her evening care;
No children run to lap their sire's return,
Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.
Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield,
Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe has broke;
How jocund did they drive their team afield,
How bow'd the woods beneath their sturdy stroke.

Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor Grandeur hear with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor.
The boast of heraldry the pomp of power,
And all that Beauty, all that Wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour,
The paths of Glory lead but to the grave.

Perhaps in this neglected spot a lad,
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands, this the root of empire, might have sway'd,
Or wak'd to ecstasy the living lyre.
But Knowledge to their eyes e'er ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll;
Chill Penury repress'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfath'ed mine of ocean ran;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.
Some village Hampden, that with dauntless breast,
The little Tyrant of his fields withstood;
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell quietus'd his country's blood.
The applause of listening senates to command;
The threats of pain and ruin to despise;
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes.

Their lot forborne, nor circumstances alone
Their growing virtues, but their crimes confin'd,
Forbade to wade through slaughter to a throne,
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind;
Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes ne'er learned to stray
Along the cool sequestered vale of life,
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.

Their name, their years, spelt by the unletter'd Muse,
The place of fame and elegy supply,
And many a holy text around we strew,
That teach the rustic mortalist to die:

For who, to dumb Forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing anxious being e'er resign'd,
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day;
Nor cast one longing, lingering glance behind?
Here rests his head upon the lap of earth,
A Youth to Fortune and to Fame unknown;
Fair Science frowned not on his humble birth,
And Melancholy mark'd him for her own.

"The Cooperative Movement in America"

By CEDRIC LONG

Extract of a Lecture Given at the
Workers Unity House, Forest Park
July 21, 1925

I.

1. Early Developments of the Move-
ment and Some Typical Examples
of Cooperation in the United States.
Back in the early days of the nine-
teenth century, at the beginning
of the modern industrial era, the most
abject slavery was introduced into the
mines, mills and factories which
sprang up throughout Europe. But
even in those days voices of protest
were raised against inhuman working
conditions and already liberal-minded
intellectuals were uniting with the
keenest spirits among the workers. An
outstanding figure of the time was
Robert Owen, son of a wealthy man-
ufacturer and himself an owner of in-
dustries. Owen and his friends spent
much of their lives in trying to de-
velop a cooperative or communistic
form of industry which would coun-
teract the evils of capitalism. They
organized communitarian communities,
cooperative farms and factories, co-
operative stores, almost everything in
the way of economic experiment; but
apparently made no attempt to intro-
duce political socialism in any of its
forms.

Most of these early experiments
died within a few years, after they
were born. Not only those in England
but those that Robert Owen started in
America as well. From the point of
view of strict economics all of these
efforts were abortive. As a matter of
fact, however, the spirit generated
among the workers; people was of cal-
culable value and inspired them to
continue experimenting for many
years afterwards.

In 1844, a group of twenty-eight
weavers in the town of Rochdale fi-
nally hit upon the happy combination
which has since then been known as
the "Rochdale form of Cooperation".
Many hundreds of attempts had been
made previously to organize coopera-
tive stores but all of them either had
too many capitalistic features or the
idealism of the founders carried them
so far away from capitalism that the
rank and file could not follow.

During the past eighty years the
Rochdale method of Cooperation has
spread to every country in the world
and is universally recognized as fun-
damental basis for cooperative orga-
nization among consumers.

There are now more than forty
million people united in the mem-
bership of cooperatives in all parts
of the world and the Movement in thirty-
two countries has become united un-
der the banner of the International
Cooperative Alliance, "The Coopera-
tive Internationale".

The essential differences between
the capitalistic form of business and
the Rochdale Cooperative form are as
follows:

1. Capitalism is based on the as-
sumption that the investor in a busi-
ness is entitled to all of the rewards.
Therefore, all profits are divided
among the stockholders in proportion
to the amount of their investment.
The producers are given the lowest
wage that can be forced upon them

and the consumers are made to pay
the highest price which can be extor-
ted from them.

The Rochdale idea is based on the
principle that the most important fac-
tors in industry are the producers and
the consumers and that capital is of
secondary importance. Therefore cap-
ital is paid the very lowest wage that
can be forced upon it and the work-
ers divide the balance of the profits
in proportion to their wages in a fac-
tory, or in proportion to their pur-
chases in a store.

2. Capitalism, on the theory that
the investor is the most important
factor in business, puts all power into
the hands of the stockholders and
they vote in proportion to their stock-
holdings. Cooperation is based upon
the theory that the human being is
more important than the financial in-
vestment. It demands democratic vot-
ing, one vote to each member regard-
less of the number of shares of stock
that he may own.

These two principles, unimportant
as they seem superficially, ultimately
upset entirely the whole foundation
of capitalist business. A few examples
of cooperation in America will make
this point clearer.

What Can Cooperative Buying, Credit or Housing Do for the Workers?

A few examples of the Cooperative
Movement in action gives us an in-
teresting answer to that question. The
theory of Cooperation at Millford, N. H.
is a tale of really remarkable achieve-
ments through co-operative buying by
quarry workers in a small American
town. In six Massachusetts industrial
centers the Jewish workers are con-
ducting successful cooperative baker-
ies, and these bakeries not only give
these folks better bread at a lower
price, but they have been the means
of raising funds for textile work-
ers' strike in New Hampshire, Rhode
Island, and Massachusetts. In Law-
rence we find cooperatives among the
Jewish people, the Italians, the Ger-
mans, and the Russians. Maynard,
Mass. is another small industrial town
where four cooperatives dominate the
business of the community. In the
west there are thousands of coopera-
tives among workers and farmers. The
best known and largest of them all
is the Franks Creamery of Minn-
neapolis which boasts a membership of
more than 4,000, distribution of its
milk to more than 25,000 workers,
and an annual business of 2½ million
dollars. Other commodities are being
handled by cooperatives in all parts
of the country.

The cooperative method of solving
the housing problem has been tackled
seriously only in New York and Mil-
waukee. The work of the Finns in
Brooklyn is already familiar. But
equally interesting is the story of the
632 Lexington Avenue Tenants' Union,
the Bedford-Barrow Apartments, the
Workers Mutual Aid Association, the
National Workmen's Cooperative As-
sociation, the Garden Homes Coopera-
tive Co. of Milwaukee. The enormous
profits and the despotic rule of land-
lordism does not necessarily have to
hold the workers of our large cities
in continued servitude.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

Изменения в законах о вознаграждении за убой в Америке.

В последние годы во всех штатах, за исключением Алабамы, Аризоны и Канзаса, законы о вознаграждении рабочих за убийства имеют существенно изменены. В этих штатах — это Аризона, Флорида, Массачусеттс, Мичиган, и Северная и Южная Каролина, подобные законы совершенно отсутствуют, и там пострадавшие от убой — могут добиваться вознаграждения лишь в обычном судебном порядке.

Общая тенденция изменений в действующих штатных законах это "либерализовать" закон: сокращение "пятилетнего периода", в течение которого вознаграждение не выплачивается, повышение максимума платежа, увеличение компенсации за медицинскую помощь.

В 12 штатах введено вознаграждение не только за убой, но и за бегство, определенно связанное с той же другой работой.

В 31 штате предпринимателю и пострадавшему работнику предоставляется выбор для выплаты своей работы или же ответственности за убой в обычном порядке гражданского иска. В 14 штатах, включая Калифорнию, Иллинойс, Мичиган, обязывает для обеих сторон штатный закон о вознаграждении за убой. Таким образом, в большинстве индустриальных штатов пострадавший от убой работнику не может искать убытков в судебном порядке; его дело автоматически поступает на рассмотрение штатной комиссии по убой. Решения этой комиссии, конечно, могут быть обжалованы в судебном порядке.

Законом о вознаграждении за убой обычно не распространяется на мелкие предприятия; так в Нью-Йорке страхование рабочих не обязательно для предпринимателей, имеющих менее четырех рабочих, в Огайо и Пенсильвании — менее трех рабочих, в Канзасе и Коннектикуте — менее пяти рабочих, и т. д.

Лишь в штате Нью-Джерси закон распространяется на все предприятия рабочих и на деловую прислугу. Во всех прочих штатах эти категории рабо-

чих могут искать вознаграждения лишь в судебном порядке.

Вознаграждение за определенные забастовки, тесно связанные с характером работы (определение в т. д.) введено в Нью-Йорке, Нью-Джерси, Коннектикуте, Иллинойсе и в некоторых других штатах.

Период вознаграждения. Лишь в Орегоне, Южной Дакоте и Порте Рино вознаграждение во всех случаях выплачивается за дни убой. В двадцати восьми штатах вознаграждение не выплачивается за первую неделю, хотя такая уплата предусмотрена, если нетрудоспособность продолжается более определенного времени (49 дней в Нью-Йорке). В 5 штатах вознаграждение не выплачивается за первые 10 дней нетрудоспособности, в 5 штатах за 2 недели и т. д.

Вознаграждение семьи за смерть работника.

Размер вознаграждения за смерть зависит от заработка убитого рабочего. В семи штатах в Массачусеттс, Неваде, Нью-Йорке, Северная Дакота, Вашингтоне и в Вайоминге, — одно вознаграждение пожизненной пенсии, уплата которой прекращается, однако, в случае второго заглаживания. Дети получают определенное в законе вознаграждение до достижения ими совершеннолетия. В большинстве других штатов определен максимум вознаграждения за смерть, он колеблется от 2000 долларов в Нью-Йорке и Южной Дакоте до 6500 долларов, в Огайо и в Алабаме 7000 долларов.

Вознаграждение за потерю работоспособности.

В большинстве штатов вознаграждение за потерю работоспособности признается вознаграждением за смерть. В 18 штатах, включая Иллинойс, Массачусеттс, Нью-Йорк и Огайо, закон предусматривает в таких случаях пожизненную пенсию. В других штатах определен сравнительно высокий максимум вознаграждения, 5000 долларов в Иллинойсе, 7000 и в Мичигане, 5000 и в Пенсильвании, 10,000 долларов в Массачусеттсе и т. д.

Временная и частичная потеря трудоспособности.

При временной потере трудоспособности, а результаты индустриальных ур-

LETTER BY GOTZ TO FIMMEN

(Continued from page 7)

"prominent foreigner", using Fimmen's name as a shield to cover up the inhumanity of the Bolsheviks in their treatment of political prisoners.

2. That Fimmen still considers the persons who had manufactured this atrocious lie as "serious" men in whom he still maintains confidence.

3. That if it is true that Fimmen had seen a vigorous denial of the facts contained in the Sverichkov interview, there is no record anywhere that such denial had been printed either in the "Izvestia" or in any other Bolshevik publication.

Вый, вознаграждение, обычно выплачивается на срок нетрудоспособности. Но в большинстве штатов закон определяет максимум сумм вознаграждения за максимум уплат в течение которых производится уплата вознаграждения. Максимум сумм колеблется от 1500 долларов в Вайоминге до 5000 долларов в Юте и Калифорнии в 6240 долларов в Алабаме.

Вниманию клонимеров и дрезменеров.

В понедельник, 3-го Августа, в 7 ч. 30 м. вечера в помещении 315 Нст 10-й уа состоится регулярное собрание членов Русско-Польского Отдела. В порядке дня важные вопросы. Приходите вовремя.

Секр. И. Шевченко.

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RESIGNATIONS OF FEINBERG AND PERLSTEIN

(Continued from page 8)

When the Union was forced to sever this Communist cancer from its body you can recognize that it was not an easy thing to do. It caused a certain amount of disorder within our ranks. At this time needed the united emergency of the Union needed the united efforts of all its truly devoted and loyal members. But a number of those members could not forget their objections to the administration and they did not apply themselves in this conflict with all the energy that they might have.

Personally I began to feel that perhaps I am in the way of their joining ranks with us as they might. Perhaps they do not like my policies or my manner of conducting my office. When I began to feel this way, I decided that I should be the last in any way to put a damper on the enthusiasm of our best and most active members. I thought that, no matter how important the fight against the Communists may be, it is fully as important to obtain the cooperation and devotion of all our loyal members.

In order then to attract these loyal members; in order to infuse complete harmony and unity in the ranks of our sincere and active union men, I decided to sacrifice my personal desire to serve in this Union, my personal interests, and I resign my office.

I do so in spite of the fact that I know that the Communist enemies of our Union will ascribe it to their efforts and as a victory for their side. They know it is not so. They know that neither Communists nor all their hangers-on have been able to succeed in this. I withdraw from the office that required so much application and so much effort only in order that there might not be the slightest impression, the slightest doubt that I am in the way of any honest man's effort and devotion to the Union.

I realize that it may be considered cowardice to withdraw from an office that I understood and promised to serve wholeheartedly and to the best of my capacities, but I am ready to risk even the aspersion of cowardice in order to preserve the unity and protect the interests of our Union.

I want to call to your attention, however, the fact that I am not leaving the Union. I remain a member, I remain with the International as a Vice-President. But I can assure you that inasmuch as I am concerned, I shall do anything and everything honorable in order to relieve the Union of this poisonous element. Nothing will be too small for me to do; I am sure by this time you ought to know me.

Let me, in conclusion, thank heartily and fraternally every officer, every manager, business agent, complaint clerk, stenographer, bookkeeper, local manager, and executive board for the wonderful cooperation they have given me while I had been their chief. I shall always carry a warm recollection of this splendid cooperation which I have enjoyed while in contact with them.

I would have a lot to say, but I do not want to overburden you. I only want again to urge upon you to stand firmly and loyally with the Joint Board of the International, as you have done up to now, and I am sure as I am alive, that you will, first, be rendering an historic service not only to our own International but to the American Labor Movement in general; and you will certainly make it impossible for anyone to destroy this organization of ours that has done such splendid work for the betterment of the great masses comprising our Joint Board of our great International.

ISRAEL FEINBERG.

OUT ALREADY

The Women's Garment Workers

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—from the early days of the organization to the last Boston Convention.

P.S. The General office will be open until 6:30 p. m. every Monday and Thursday to enable our members to purchase the book after work hours.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM E. SHENKER

Members Pledge Loyalty

"The Executive Board, in the course of its discussion (at the meeting held July 23rd) on the present situation in the union, decided to warn the members of Local 10 against participating in picketing or strikes, or both, when such strikes and picketing have not been ordered or called for by the regularly constituted authorities of the official organizations, such as Local 10, the Joint Board, or the International. Any member taking his orders from any other source but these will be disciplined. The members also stand instructed against participating in meetings of their shops or other meetings unless called or ordered by the officers of the organizations herein mentioned, or contributing otherwise to the support of the union's enemy."

This is the pledge of loyalty which the members adopted by an overwhelming vote at their regular meeting on Monday, July 27th, in Arlington Hall.

That this would be the issue before the members and that around the discussion of this question would occur one of the stormiest, if not the stormiest, meeting was undreamt of. Neither Manager Dubinsky when he suggested that this be presented in the form of a recommendation to the members, nor the Executive Board when it framed the suggestion in the form of a motion, suspected in the slightest degree what would follow the reading of this decision.

Fall to Break Up Meeting

What caused the stormy session was when discussion on the warning and the instructions was up for debate and adoption. The members, some five hundred of them, were not prepared to hear so lengthily a discussion and witness so much noise by about six or eight disruptions.

The question was made an issue practically during the course of Manager Dubinsky's report. The intent and meaning of the decision of the Board was plain to the overwhelming majority, that is, to all but the handful of communists and a few of their sympathizers. This latter group saw in the decision the weakening of their efforts to break the union.

At first a sympathizer of the communists thought he could jam through a motion for the calling of a special meeting at which this question should come up. Apparently, though he came prepared to disrupt the meeting, he felt that there was a need for more time to distribute leaflets of lies which would aim them in their campaign to befog the real issue and cause sufficient confusion to prevent the members from understanding the purpose of the Board's decision.

However, no support came from the membership for this project, and the few disruptionists were compelled to do the best they could with the time allotted to speak by the injection of "free speech" and the use of invectives directed against officers of the organization.

Failing to sway the great majority by this method, they resorted to interrupting speakers who spoke for the decision of the Board, and one of their clique, seeing that the members were determined upon order and seeing also that the members refused to leave the meeting, rose on a chair and in a hysterical tone screamed and shouted while waving his hands.

They sought in every way possible to create a riot. Sensing that the handful of men were trying to make martyrs of themselves after a few efforts to break up the meeting the overwhelming majority of the members, keeping their senses about them, finally settled back and voted in favor of the decision of the Executive Board by a vote of 325 against 65.

In Accordance With Previous Decisions

It was at the last session of the Executive Board that this question came up. A number of members had appeared in the office saying that they had received notices to attend shop meetings called by sources other than those of which Local 10 was a part.

One or two members had also informed the office that some of the workers of their shops had quit their employment and sought to know what action they, the cutters, should take. At first the Executive Board had no intention of making any special ruling. It was felt that the decision of the membership with regard to the attitude of the local and the cutters towards the suspended officials of Locals 2, 9 and 22, would suffice. In fact, at the shop meetings in the office, the cutters were fully aware of the meaning of the decision of the local and expressed and conducted themselves accordingly. They said that at no time did the thought enter their minds which would prompt them to take any other action than that which would be in the spirit of the decisions of the union.

However, the Executive Board felt that a warning and instructions would not be out of place and would help to make the stand of the organization plain and without question.

Campaign of Lies Forced Issue

The distribution of two circulars signed in effect, Committee of Progressive Cutters, during the few days intervening between the meeting of the Executive Board when the decision was adopted and this meeting, made it seem as though this decision would be the all-important question before the house.

This became evident when the manager, during the course of his report, was interrupted a few times and when he saw that there was an organized effort by a few individuals to disrupt the meeting. It was when he became aware of this that he said that the issue will again be fought out at the meeting.

Dubinsky, during his report, read before the house both leaflets. He emphasized certain parts from one of the leaflets:

"Brother Cutters: Do you know that Dubinsky uses thousands of your hard-earned dollars to pay gangsters to beat and cripple the girls of Local 22 on the picket (?) line!"

Policy Determined by Members' Decision

After reading the leaflets the manager challenged anyone who believed that the statement quoted was true and also challenged the author or authors of the leaflets to make himself or themselves known. The pause which followed, as expected, was met by absolute silence.

Speaking of his actions, "decided at his own pleasure," the manager stated that they were long ago the results of the decisions by the members at some important meetings and which decisions were decided by overwhelm-

ing majorities following hours of debating.

Following this report the manager said that if it were the will of the members to turn the organization over to communism and if they desired to adopt chaos as their means of conducting the organization he was satisfied since they, the members, were the final judges.

Then followed the debate. Those speaking for and against the decision of the Executive Board were evenly matched in numbers. Hardly a one of the six or six speakers against the motion to adopt confined himself to the merits of the question under debate. The question which leads this page is very plain and simple: Shall the members take their orders from, and are they willing to have their problems solved by, regularly constituted authorities of the organization elected by them, or do they choose to have their organization disrupted?

To Samuel Perlmutter, the question seemed out of place. He could not, he said, see how one who maintained loyalty towards the organization could even attempt to question the decision of the Board. This point, he said, is covered by the constitution and was a matter that always guided the activities of the organization throughout its existence.

Opponents Evade Issue

Replying to a statement made by one of the opposition that no officer expected to return to the shop, he asked whether, if every officer promised to go back to the shop upon the completion by him of his tenure of office, that would make a difference. That the speaker said, is not discussing the question squarely.

Isidore Nagler said that nothing mattered to the leaders of the fight for disruption but communism. It was their desire, he said, to deliver the organization over to the exponents of a new political theory.

The members were reminded by the writer that the question before the membership was not a new one. It was in strict accordance with the policy and tradition of Local 10: that of keeping the organization within bounds of economic activity. And one of the speakers who was at one time the president of the now extinct Waist and Dress Joint Board had been one of the sponsors, and an active one, for similar measures a few years ago against leaders of a similar movement, so-called "Shop Steward League."

He said that this speaker had urged the suspension of executive board members of the then Waist and Dress Makers' Union Local 25. Some time previous to this action the former chairman of the Waist and Dress Joint Board, while president of Local 10, had strongly advocated and helped pass a motion calling for the expulsion of members of Local 10 who were members of the "Shop Delegate League."

This person was also responsible for the imposition of disciplinary measures against a cutter who had refused to take the orders of Local 10

but who took his orders from the "Shop Delegate League". And when the writer urged the members to vote for the decision of the Board he reminded them that it meant no more than the seconding of a similar stand taken about four or five years ago and was in line with the purpose for which the local was first organized—that of improving the working conditions of the members.

As Manager-Secretary of the organization and to the Executive Board, Dubinsky presented the side of the organization and Executive Board. He said that this decision meant no more and no less than the reaffirmation of the policies, traditions and constitution of the local.

In this manner he put the matter before the members. And, he added with considerable emphasis, that the adoption by the members of the decision of the Executive Board means demand by the local of loyalty towards it by every member including those who even have different opinions and oppose the question.

However, he said, all this matters very little to those interested in defeating the purpose of the question before the house. For were this not the case the previous decisions of the members would be sufficient. These disruptionists, he said, were the authors of these leaflets, who signed them indiscriminately "Committee of Progressive Cutters," and "Committee of Progressive Pressers," printed by the same printed locale in the office of the Trade Union Educational League, and which seem to emanate from the same source, are intent only upon breaking up the organization.

Were this not their intention, the speaker went on, they would have long ago proposed something else in the place of what the International, the Joint Board, and the local have built up and given the members.

In fact, he said, in the letters by the leaders of the suspended officers to employers and their associations, they merely urged that the union be not recognized, that their regular representatives be ignored, and that they have no relations whatever. In the place of this nothing else is offered for the benefit of the members. Does this mean anything else but the disruption of the Union?

Decision Will Be Enforced

The decision, as was pointed out, was intended to make clear for the members their attitude and the attitude of the organization towards the enemies of the union in the present situation. There can be no misunderstanding its meaning. Though not intended, the question was made a very important issue and was debated very seriously, and its significance is evident.

The manager and the Executive Board mean to carry out the decision of the members in letter and spirit. Any member whose right to work is interfered with should report to the office for advice, information and instruction. Should any member feel lost as to what steps to take, he should immediately get in touch with the office.

All cutters are asked to read the first page of this issue for information on the recent developments in the Union which occurred since the writing of this article.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

REGULAR MEETING Monday, August 10

At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place
Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.

All Cutters are required to secure new working cards beginning with July and to return the old ones.