

"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. 36.

NEW YORK, N. Y., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1925

Price 2 Cents.

President Sigman Speaks to the Members of Our International

Sisters and Brothers:

When I took over, three years ago, the office of President of the I. L. G. W. U. I knew that I had undertaken a big job.

I knew that I would be confronted, first of all, with a fight against the Communist pestilence in our midst. I did not underestimate its power for evil. Knowing how easily our people are influenced by flowery talk and high-sounding phrases and being aware that behind the local Communist band there stands the Russian Soviet Government with all its unlimited resources, I could not fail to realize the size of the task ahead of me. I knew that every Communist mountebank in the land will be trained to heap abuse on me. I knew that in the fight against me, the Moscow agents would employ every contemptible methods under the sun. But I was determined that the Union must be rid of this horrible pest, and for our Union I was ready to give up my all, my life.

This, however, was not the only difficulty confronting me. I knew that not all was well in our Union, that many an unjust act is being committed under its authority, that many a wound would have to be healed in it, and that its conduct has not always been exemplary and praiseworthy. And I determined to pay my closest attention to this part of the Union's life as well.

Moreover, I saw directly that, in order to rid our Union of the Communist pest, it would necessary to cleanse it from other undesirable elements which make for this spread of Communist infection and stimulate it. Thus, my task was twofold, and by next December, at our coming convention, I shall in full detail state to you to what extent I have grappled with these problems and succeeded or failed. At this moment I can only say that my work has not been in vain. True, the results could have been greater were it not for the fierce Communist propaganda which actually blocked every step of ours. Nevertheless, I have done what I possibly could to eliminate evils which have accumulated in our Union for a number of years past and to free the Union from many individuals who have considered the Union as their "business" and only as such. A number of positive achievements have also been made during this time, which our members will probably learn to appreciate better only after the present haze that is enveloping their minds gives way to clear feeling and clear thinking.

As regards the Communist affliction, I believe that it is definitely squelched at present. We have exposed before the whole world the utter baseness of their motives. They still are writhing in the throes of final agony, but these are convulsions of decay. It is quite apparent that they have not succeeded in getting any power in the Union. Even their strongest supporters are afraid to come out in the open as Communists, and it is hardly necessary to add that the overwhelming majority of our members are not their disciples.

To make our Union doubly immune against this ailment, and primarily to insure the welfare of the organization itself, the General Executive Board of our Union has now adopted a program which, I believe, should be received with enthusiasm by our entire membership.

The basic motive of this program is more democracy and more freedom in the Union.

Our Union has been reared in a sphere of democracy, but a great many of our workers have unfortunately poorly understood these democratic principles and have disregarded them. They forgot that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and while they were napping some of their liberties were taken away from them. This created a ground for abuse of power and served as a source of growing dissatisfaction. And when I took over the office of International President I was fast determined to revive and bring back the fundamentals of democracy in our organization.

With the aid of the General Executive Board I have succeeded in achieving material success in this direction, but here is still a great deal which remains to be done. I believe, nay, I am firmly convinced, that our present program fulfils the task which I had sworn

to achieve when I undertook the difficult job of chief executive officer of our International Union. I believe that with the consummation of this program, complete democracy will be restored in our Union.

I believe that the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Makers' Unions will henceforth express the full will of its members as never before in its past. I believe that through this program the chasm which has divided the rank and file of the Union from the leadership will be bridged, and the mistrust, the lack of mutual confidence will vanish forever.

I am convinced that our expectations will be fulfilled, as I honestly believe that, with only a small exception, you are all true and devoted union men and women, and I further believe that you will know how valuable it is for all of you to retain your freedom and independence, and that you will henceforth exercise the greatest vigilance and not allow either internal or external enemies to harm you or deprive you of your fighting strength, your means of defense and security.

The Union, through the means of this adopted program is now entirely in your own hands. You can do with it whatever you please.

I am convinced, nevertheless, that you will devote all your energies now to the task of making your Union stronger. I, together with my fellow officers of the I. L. G. W. U., believe in the principles of democracy, and we base upon this hope our anticipation that you will justify our great confidence in your sane and sound judgment which is imbedded in every paragraph, in every letter of this program.

I am also confident that the wild antics of our enemies will not produce the least impression upon you. Remember, this program is the key to all you aspire by way of influence in the organization, and if there is anything in it that you, as members of the Union, would like to improve upon, you can easily accomplish it.

This program is your charter of liberty. I hope that you will never misuse it to your own harm and to the harm of your Union.

MORRIS SIGMAN,
President I. L. G. W. U.

Labor Day Is A Legal Holiday For Cloak and Dressmakers

Next Monday, September 7, is Labor Day, a legal holiday in the cloak and industry; and cloak and dressmakers are not to work on that day.

The Union, as always in the past, will patrol the women's garment district to observe strict enforcement of this rule. Members found at work,

or on way to work, will be called to account before the grievance committees of their locals.

All cloak and dressmakers are called upon to stay away from the shop district and avoid getting into trouble. All week workers are to receive full pay for the day.

Temporary Office of Local 22 Located on Ground Floor of Joint Board Bldg.

The office of the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, is now temporarily located on the ground floor of the Joint Board building, at 25th street and Lexington avenue.

The dressmakers' office attends to all complaints coming from dress and waist shops, collects dues, and receives application for membership. The attention of the dressmakers is particularly drawn to the fact that

dues may be paid only in this office and in no other place. Only in this office will they receive regular Union stamps for any money paid by them. Money paid by them, in place of dues, to any other person, office or group will never be recognized by the Union.

The dressmakers will therefore do well to stay away from the scab headquarters on 21st street and not allow any adventurers to swindle them out of their hard-earned pennies.

As We Go to Press This Evening, Wednesday, September 2nd, A Great Meeting of Cloak and Dress Shop Chairmen is being held at Cooper Union, at which the Program for Internal Organizational Reforms is being submitted by Pres. Morris Sigman and a committee of the General Executive Board

Plan for Internal Reforms Adopted by the General Executive Board to Restore Peace and Harmony in Our Organization

PREAMBLE

The General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' and Dressmakers' Union, after an exhaustive discussion, adopted unanimously a plan for peace in our Union, which when carried out will mark the beginning of a new era of constructive, harmonious and progressive existence of the Ladies' Garment Workers' organization of New York.

Our Union has been completely the fight against the Communist attempt to dominate it by dictatorial methods. Notwithstanding the virulent attack directed against us by the Communist forces, we find today the overwhelming majority of our workers on our side. Not a shop of importance in the entire trade is taking orders from the so-called "joint committee of action." The only tangible result from the stoppage on August 20th so far as has been a number of workers discharged by the employers whom we are trying to reorganize as fast as we can with considerable success.

The General Executive Board and the Joint Board, however, do not desire to close their eyes to the great undercurrent of dissatisfaction which exists among large sections of our workers in New York. For the most part these grievances are not directed against individual leaders of the organization, but represent fundamental discontent with the system and method of administration of the Joint Board, the representation system of the locals in the Joint Board, the administration of local and Joint Board finances, representation at national conventions, and also dissatisfaction with a number of paid officials of the Joint Board and some of the paid officials of the locals affiliated to the Joint Board. Some of these grievances are subjects with which only a convention may deal, but the majority of them may be rectified at once to make room for internal reforms that would be made the living practice and law of our organization without undue delay.

Time and again, during these weeks of strife and conflict, we have stated that our fight has never been directed against individual Communists in our Union nor against the right of any of our members to hold any political views or to belong to any political party of his or her choice. Our fight has been consistently against the Communist Party tactics to impose its will upon our trade union movement, to harass our legitimate activities and to divide our Union into factions. Such an imposition we regarded as a menace to the labor movement and such tactics we deemed and still deem our sacred duty to combat with every thing in our power.

During the past two years, the General Executive Board has been consistently at work upon a program of consolidation and efficiency calculated to meet the labor grievances which have created deep-seated dissatisfaction in the ranks of our workers. Thus, we consolidated all the three operators' locals of New York into one. We united the two joint boards in the dress and cloak trades into one body, and were well on the way to achieve a number of equally important organization measures and reforms. But the strike engineered by the Communists in the past year has materially interfered with our program of widespread administrative changes within our Union and has compelled us to expend a tremendous amount of energy in fighting the outsiders who were bent upon annex-

ing our Union to their party chariot. Now, however, that the Communist menace is definitely out of the way, the General Executive Board, the Joint Board and the executive boards of the locals are once more proposing to proceed at once with their program of radical internal reforms in our organization, so as to make it in the true sense of the term a labor union for the cloakmakers and the dressmakers, administered by them on a broad, democratic basis and by legitimate trade union methods.

THE PROGRAM

The plan for reconstructing our Union on the basis of greater democracy and more efficient administration is as follows:

1. That we immediately proceed with the election of executive boards and of local officers in all the local unions, affiliated with the Joint Board. These elections shall be conducted under the supervision of a committee of the General Executive Board in conjunction with a committee of outstanding representatives of the labor movement.

It is proposed and agreed that neither the members of the newly elected executive boards of Locals 2, 9, and 22, nor the members of the suspended executive boards of these locals shall be eligible as candidates for office in this election.

2. Simultaneously with the election of executive boards in all the Joint Board locals, there shall be held an election for a General Manager of the Joint Board through a popular vote. The choice of a manager by a vote of the general membership instead of election by the delegates of the Joint Board will give the members an opportunity to participate directly in the selection of the chief executive officer of the Joint Board.

3. The suspended executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22 shall be given a special grant to appeal to the General Executive Board against the decision of the special trial committee of the Joint Board. To meet any possible claim of partiality, since the General Executive Board is ready to hear the appeal in the presence of the same committee of representatives of the labor movement above mentioned, who are to act as the election and objection committee for the election of executive boards in all the Joint Board locals. Should this special committee, sitting together with the appeal committee of the General Executive Board, express its opinion that the appeal committee had shown bias or unfairness to the appellants, the General Executive Board agrees to give this committee of labor representatives full power to act as a final appeal committee and agrees to accept its decision.

(a) Such members of the suspended executive boards as will be reinstated to all rights of Union membership by the appeal committee shall have the right to run for any office in the Union as well as to be candidates for election as delegates to the next convention of the International Union, except for local executive boards and local officers for the ensuing term. This, however, does not include avowed Communists, as on this point the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. and the action of the last Boston convention is clear, and unless the next convention changes its position, professed Communists may not run for any office in our Union.

(b) Before this appeal is taken up, the suspended executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22 must turn over to

the International Union all its assets, records and documents of Locals 2, 9 and 22 present in their possession.

(c) The reorganization, by the means of the election above referred to, of the executive boards of all the locals of the Joint Board and the election of a General Manager by a referendum vote shall be carried into effect not later than four weeks after the day of the official publication of this plan.

(d) A change of the system of representation of the Joint Board to meet the demand for proportional representation cannot be decided upon at the present moment as the system in vogue at present is provided for in our Constitution and may only be amended at a regular convention. To meet the argument concerning the present equality of representation of the higher and smaller locals we propose that Locals 21, 45 and 64 shall continue to be represented on the Joint Board but without the right of vote on general matters except on special matters affecting their own locals.

5. The finance committee of the Joint Board shall consist of one representative of the delegation of each local. The deciding sanction resting with the Joint Board. This will give representation on the finance committee to each local and will obviate the grievance of some of the locals which until now have not been represented on this committee.

6. Immediately after the installation of the new Joint Board, a reappointment of the entire staff of paid officials and business agents shall take place in the following manner:

(a) All eligible members of the different locals shall fill out applications, including the present business agents who may desire to remain on the staff.

(b) All these applicants shall appear before an examination committee consisting of the General Manager of the Joint Board, its chairman, one

Joint Board delegate of each local, and the chairman of each local affiliated with the Joint Board and the special committee of representatives of the labor movement above mentioned. This composite committee shall act as an examination and appointing committee and they shall appoint a staff of paid officials for the ensuing term.

(c) If, however, the locals shall decide in favor of electing the business agents, such an election shall take place under the supervision of the same composite committee as outlined above.

7. In view of the fact that the agreements in the cloak and dress industries expire early in July, 1926, and also in view of the fact that there may be a sentiment for a change in the administration of the International Union, we propose that the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U. be held, instead of May, 1926, in the month of December, 1925 or January, 1926.

The General Executive Board shall therefore, immediately after the above proposed program is put into effect, proceed to make arrangements for the next convention. Election of delegates to that convention shall be conducted under the supervision of the above designated composite committee.

CONCLUSION

It is our sincere conviction that the program outlined above will meet with the full approval of the rank and file of our workers, who are so concerned with the welfare of their Union and that it will lead to complete and wholesome cooperation among all our members and will solidify our ranks, making our Union an effective and potent instrument for the preservation of work standards in the shops and for the solution of the pending industrial problems which face our workers in the cloak and dress industries of New York.

Labor's Moving Pictures

As labor's moving picture is being developed more and more it grips the heartstrings of those that have seen the few sets taken and realize the depth of the story told.

One of the features that shows the progress made since white men and women were sold on the auction block is a startling dramatization of the conditions before the Christian era began. To emphasize more clearly the terrible conditions under which women and men worked before the American Labor Movement was created, the home lives of the union and non-union men are set forth. Out of the hardships of the toilers in sweatshops develops a love story that will appeal to everyone. The degrading life of the sweatshop is shown in all its horror, while those employed in union shops depict in an emphatic way the benefits gained through trade union organization.

The union label never is found on articles made in sweatshops, nor under insanitary conditions. When found on any article sold it is complete evidence that it was manufactured by free, independent, loyal men and women in sanitary workshops where wages were paid through a collective bargaining. The union label is evidence that those who made the product upon which it is placed are receiving wages that will permit them and those dependent upon them to live

in reasonable comfort. It also is evidence that the article upon which it is placed was made under sanitary conditions, sufficient light and air and all that goes to make up a comfortable and health-giving workshop.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor and the members of the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department read the completed scenario as submitted by Secretary-Treasurer John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department and Douglas Rothacker, the producer of the film. A number of suggestions were made by those present to increase the effectiveness of the picture. A brief synopsis of each of the outstanding incidents in the advancement of the trade union movement will be shown in the captions. Those who have not kept in close touch with the progress brought to our people by the trade union movement will be astonished at the victories when grouped one after another in the captions.

Each set as made will be passed upon by officers of the American Federation of Labor and Union Label Trades Department. At each place of work ends in the struggle it becomes more and more evident that labor's picture will be the most wonderful history of the progress of humanity ever produced.

With the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board

By JOSEPH FISH,
Secretary-Treasurer.

A meeting of the Joint Board of the Locals 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 23, 35, 45, 48, 64, 82 and 89 was held on Friday, August 25, 1925, at the Auditorium of the International, 2 West 16th street.

The minutes of the Joint Board of August 21st and the report of the Board of Directors of August 25th were adopted as read.

Communications:

Local No. 10 informs the Board that they have approved the minutes of the Joint Board of August 7th.

Local No. 22 notifies the Board that the following members have been duly elected to represent them at the Joint Board: Simon Farber, Rose B. Mirsky, Harry Levine, Meyer Fine and Isaac Cannel.

The delegates are seated.

Local No. 89 advises the Board that they have approved the minutes of the Joint Board of August 21st and the report of the Board of Directors of August 15th.

The following delegates are to represent Local No. 22 at the following committees:

Board of Directors, Simon Farber; Grievance Committee, Isaac Cannel; Appeal Committee, Meyer Fine.

Brother Antonini then informs the Board that in today's issue of the "Freiheit", there was a statement to the effect that his Local, No. 85, had decided against the action of the International. Brother Antonini emphatically contradicts this statement and advises the members of the Joint Board that the Executive Board of his local decided to do everything possible to bring about peace in the present controversy.

President Sigman is then granted the floor. In a brief address he explains to the delegates that the General Executive Board met this afternoon in discussing various ways and means of bringing about peace in the industry. They have considered three or four different propositions and have finally concluded that only a far reaching plan will insure peace in the industry with the ma-

jority of the cloakmakers and dressmakers. He, however, states that there cannot and will not be peace with the Communists in our organization. Brother Sigman assures the delegates that by accepting the following plan, as recommended by the General Executive Board, they will be rendering a great service to the membership and to the organization and that they should therefore accept this proposition wholeheartedly.

The plan for reconstructing our Union on the basis of greater democracy and more efficient administration is as follows:

(A complete statement covering the entire plan the reader will find on page 2 of this issue under the heading, "Reform Program of the General Executive Board").

The following participated in the discussion, which followed the reading of the plan, favoring the proposition: Antonini, Grier, Dubinsky, Farber, Rose Mirsky, Hochman, Blum, Cohen and Secretary-Treasurer Fish.

The following delegates speak against the proposition: Schechter, Bornstein and Rothstein.

The following delegates vote, by roll call, in the affirmative: Abramson, Bloom, Kaplan, Zuckerman, Kurtz, Wertheimer, Bretschneider, Seigel, Cohen, Bender, Berman, Zaslavsky, Ansel, Forer, Pankin, Weinstein, Konak, Landsberg, Frumchick, Reiss, Sjira, Ambrosini, Vollaro, Castrovini, Rohlsky, Bernstein, Lauritano, Scuto, Egitto, Navrotsky and Yablonsky.

The following delegates vote in the negative: Dreyfus and Bornstein.

The following vote "present": Lesser, Brick and Schwartz.

Brother Bornstein, in behalf of his delegation, states that a number of statements have been made by previous speakers which misrepresented the attitude taken by Local No. 35. He assures the delegates that his local has always fought for things which were right, and that if this plan will be accepted, his local will work in its favor.

Labor Day Week-End A Big Holiday at Unity House

Labor Day week-end, the last days of the current week, will be celebrated at Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., by a throng of holiday makers.

An excellent classic program will be rendered on Sunday evening at a concert arranged with special care and taste by the entertainment director of the House. Among the ar-

tists are Matusewicz, well known concertino player; Marie Ginsberg, noted singer of folk songs, and several stage celebrities.

There are still a few vacancies left at the House, and those who want to take advantage of the opportunity to spend the week at Unity are asked to apply at once to the office, at 3 West 16th street, 3rd floor.

Dr. George M. Price Returns from Europe

New Home of Dental Clinic Nearing Completion

Dr. Price, director of the Union Health Center, has just returned from Europe, and is already busy supervising the alterations in the medical center, which is being extended now that the dental clinic is going to have a home of its own.

The new home of the dental clinic of the Union Health Center, located at 224 Fourth avenue, is nearing its completion. Carpenters, electricians, painters and mechanics are at work. The new home of the clinic will afford the dentists an opportunity to serve the members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union even better than heretofore. The immense floor has windows through which the sun comes pouring in. Every dentist's chair—and there are twenty of them—faces a window. There are rooms for surgical work, rooms for a laboratory, dressing rooms for the staff, dressing rooms for the office force. In short, it is the kind of place

that will adequately care for the thousands of members who could not be accommodated comfortably in the old quarters of the Union Health Center.

The need for such a place has been written about so often that it is obvious to all our members. Clean and healthy teeth are the foundation on which our general health depends. To go to a really good dentist is almost prohibitive for the majority of our members. The clinic of the I. L. G. W. U. Health Center, however, provides the members with expert treatment at a sacrifice, and at the same time charges for work and material only. The attendance next year in the new home of the Dental Clinic should be three times as much as was last year.

The clinic will be ready within a few weeks, and it is quite certain that the members will be pleased with the results of the constructive effort put forth by those in charge.

Local 50, Philadelphia, Nominate Officers

Secretary Abraham Bloomfield of the Philadelphia Waist and Dress Makers' Union, Local 50, writes us as follows:

"With the return of the cooler weather, the members of the Dressmakers' Branches of Local No. 50 are beginning to be active again in the affairs of the Union.

"During the past week, we held very successful branch meetings, where nominations of Joint Board members, recording secretary and business agent took place. The way nominations were coming in from the various branches, it looked as if we are going to have an enthusiastic competitive election which is welcomed most heartily.

"The almost complete disappearance of the waist industry is causing many of our members to look elsewhere for

their livelihood. Our Union, whose chief interest is the well-being of its members, has ordered shop chairman's meetings of the dressmakers where the question of the unemployed waistmakers has been the principal topic.

"It is most gratifying to note the willingness of the chairmen and their earnestness in dealing with this problem. The result is that many former waist operators are being taken into the dress industry, without the thought of returning to their former occupation should the waist trade ever come back.

"The organization campaign conducted last spring has placed our Union in a much stronger position. This fall we feel that there is a greater field and a better chance for organizing the many open shops that have sprung up recently.

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Aims and Ideals of Miners' International

By FRANK HODGES, Secretary,
Great Britain

Thirty-five years ago this month the Miners' International Federation was born. Its first secretary was Thomas Ashton, the then secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, happily still living and carrying on his duties both as international treasurer and as secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Association.

The first International Miners' Congress was held in Jolimont, Belgium, in May, 1890. Delegates, of whom there were 106, represented but five countries, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. The president of the Congress was the late Right Honorable Thomas Burt, whose memory will ever be cherished, not only among miners of Great Britain but by miners throughout the world. Mr. Burt delivered his opening address to a Congress representing only 263,000 members, of whom 200,000 were the miners of Great Britain, the remainder being the miners of the other countries mentioned above.

At the end of this conference the officers were selected and the international committee created. It will not be amiss to mention their names:

Great Britain—Thomas Burt, Ben Pickard, Enoch Edwards, and William Abraham ("Mahon").

Germany—Ludwig Schroeder and Herman Sachs.

France—Basley and Lamendin.

Belgium—Desmet, Cavrot and Narolle.

Austria—Einger and Ebert.

Most of these have passed into the great beyond, but their personalities continue to serve as great beacon lights to the present-day trade union leaders who are trying to guide the international industrial ship into the harbor of peace and understanding.

In the year 1904 the United Mine Workers of America became affiliated to the International, the Dutch miners following suit in 1905. By the year 1924, twenty-seven Miners' International Congresses had been held, the last one having taken place in Prague in August of last year. At that conference thirteen countries were represented by 123 delegates, the total membership of the countries being 1,972,150.

During these last thirty years the principal work of the Miners' International Federation has been concerned with questions of a purely industrial character. It is difficult to assess at its true value the work that has been done. Undoubtedly, it has influenced the national miners' unions themselves to struggle continually, both by industrial and political methods within their respective countries, to improve their industrial lot. The establishment of the eight-hour day in every mining country in the world was always the principal object to be secured. Safety legislation, improvement of the social conditions of the miners and their families, and the general physical and moral well-being of the miners themselves have also formed an important part of the work of the International since its inception.

But this has not been all. It has been responsible for considerable international education in the effort to secure international peace. It is true that the outbreak of the World War found the Miners' International unable to stand against the tidal wave of aggression which subsequently devastated Europe and flung the world into chaos. The struggle of Robert Smillie (president) and Thomas Ashton (secretary) to convene an international

Miners' Conference, with a view to action being taken by the international miners in June, 1914, to prevent the war, remains an imperishable memory in the minds of all lovers of world peace. The military machines, diplomatic difficulties, obstacles of passports, visas, and censorship, and above all the frightful quibblers of passion and hate, stimulated to great intensity by the fine press, rendered their splendid effort futile. And the war went its sanguinary way.

The very first body to convene an international Congress of Workers when the war came to an end was this self-same Miners' International, with Mr. Robert Smillie (president) and Mr. Ashton (secretary) still at its head. At this first post-war meeting it made a solemn declaration to call upon the miners of all the affiliated countries to take general strike action in the event of an imminent outbreak of war thereafter, and this solemn obligation rests upon the Miners' International Federation to this day.

Subsequent to this decision, other trade union internationalisms, such as the Transport Workers and the Steel Workers, adopted similar resolutions, and this policy is accepted universally among all trade union internationalisms which exist today. At this self-same conference, which was held in Geneva in 1920, a new and important step was taken in our history, for it was resolved to create, instead of the loosely connected and fortuitous Miners' International of pre-war days, with its part-time secretary and its ramshackle rules, a permanent bureau, a central headquarters, and a permanent staff. Unfortunately, owing to the violent fluctuations in rates of exchange, the debasement of currency in nearly all the mining countries, and the general depression during the last few years, funds have not been available for the creation of the permanent bureau. But today it is a living fact. May 1, 1925, exactly thirty-five years since the birth of the Miners' International, witnessed the creation of the Permanent Secretariat, with its headquarters in London. Every one of the affiliated countries adopted this new project with enthusiasm.

The ship is launched, and in a little while will be making headway under its own steam. Its main object hereafter will be to establish for all the maximum uniformity of conditions of hours, wages, safety legislation, etc., upon the basis of the country where these have reached their highest point. The variations at present existing in the coal-producing nations are many. Their very existence in the present state of the world's coal trade threatens to become a source of great danger, not only to the miners of those countries that are socially and economically backward, but they keep the miners of the best situated countries either chained to their present conditions or tend to drag them down to the inferior conditions of the backward countries. Through the medium of the Permanent Bureau correct information as to the economic and social conditions of the miners in each country will be made known to all, and it will exert both its economic and moral influence upon the various governments and coal-owning groups throughout the world, not only to elevate the conditions of the badly situated, but make possible a steady improvement in the lot of all.

The writer rejoices more than words can express at the wonderful loyalty and devotion of the miners of the United States to this great world idea. They are prepared to take up cheerfully their financial burden, and to

make their contribution to the solution of the world's coal problem. It is true that they are far removed from Europe with its conflicts and its general disorderliness, but this makes their interest all the more remarkable. They have thus broken through the industrial Monroe Doctrine which has characterized the American labor movement for many years past. Their interest in Europe in this practical fashion is comparable to a transfusion of the rich, young, virile blood of the western world into the body of old Europe, which, for some time, has shown signs of ill-health. If not of actual decay. The interest of President John Lewis and Secretary William Green, the latter now president of the American Federation of Labor, plus the warm sympathies of the present miners' secretary, Thomas Kennedy, are a sufficient guarantee of the continuance of American mine workers' sense of oneness with the rest of the miners of the world.

It remains now to secure the affiliation of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and the miners of Japan, China and India on the other, to almost complete the chain of international miners' solidarity. The Russian miners, too, would be no less welcome within the international fold, so long as they can prove to the satisfaction of a visiting International Miners' delegation to Russia, shortly to take place, that they can come into the international organization with the same freedom from political control as the miners of any other country. The miners of the rest of the world have no quarrels with the Russian miners as such for they are our industrial kith and kin. The imperative thing is that they can and do accept the rules and objects of the International Miners' Federation without let or hindrance, able to act with their fellow-miners at all times without having to submit to the dictates of any international political authority or instrument whatsoever.

This broadly, then, is the scope of work for the International Miners' Federation of the future. It is going to become a powerful agency in the establishment of the peace of the world. Its power in the main will be educative and moral. Its object will be to lift the miners on to a higher plane of public recognition and participation in the eyes of the world. Every lover of peace, every believer in industrial progress, every worker for a higher civilization, should give this new organization his fullest support, and cry in all sincerity, "Long live the Miners' International!"

ROADS TO SOCIAL PEACE. By Edward Alsworth Ross. Chapel Hill, N. C., University of North Carolina Press, 1924. \$1.50.

In this little book Professor Ross considers the different causes of strife within the United States, and suggests ways of preventing such conflict. He discusses sectionalism, sectarian strife, conflicts between different nationalities, class-struggle, and town and country conflict. He omits race conflict because, frankly, he does not know "what is the road to peace" for intermingled color races. Within the areas that he ventures to discuss, however, he insists we may have social peace if we "invile to the front . . . thinkers, rather than fighters. Listen to them and to women. . . It is such leaders who will find a way for confronted social groups exchanging default looks to get by each other without clash and to resume their march toward their goals."

—I. M. C.

A Letter and A Poem

To the Editor of "Justice":

In accordance with the appeal of Brother Sigman to the active members for co-operation and support of the Union, I herewith offer my support in the form of an appeal to the cloak and dress makers with whom I have worked, struck and helped to build our Union since 1910.

I am firmly convinced that the cloakmakers have forgotten the conditions that existed in our industry before the coming of the Union. I have therefore written this song (or poem) comparing the conditions, with the hope that it will restore the memory to a large portion of our membership, and with it also the appreciation for our Union.

Hoping you will find space in "Justice" for my humble offering, I beg to remain

Brotherly,

JULIUS LEVINE,
Local No. 10; No. 7663.

A Call to Cloakmakers!

h, cloakmakers, have you forgotten That in the days before nineteen ten,

When the bosses were in need of workers They would advertise for "hands" instead of men?

Have you forgotten how you used to tremble With hat in hand when asking for a raise?

But today when in meeting halls assembling Your forceful voice the enemy dismay!

Oh, cloakmakers, have you forgotten The long weary hours of toil When from seven to seven in the evening

You would be driven like slaves of the soil!

Lack of leisure, rest and recreation Before your time would make you old and gray—

Now, each week you have two days of vacation

And you are working only eight hours a day!

Oh, cloakmakers, have you forgotten The days of the foot-power machines?

When working conditions were so rotten That you had to pay for needles, thread and pin!

Have you forgotten how you used to hustle From shop to shop with the head of a machine—

How the sweat of brow and the pain of muscle

Ceased when the Union stepped in?

Oh, cloakmakers, have you forgotten When the boss to discharge had the right?

How uncertainty and constant fear and worry

Would make you restless day and night!

But now all is different — and you know the reason;

The job is yours if you only make good—

You share your work even in "slack" season

Because the men you all united stood!

Oh, let us stick to our International! Let us stick to our International!

And its army of brave and gallant workers—

Three cheers for our International!

JULIUS LEVINE

Prison Labor for Private Profit

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

The very fabric of our democratic form of government is being rotted and destroyed by the profits on prison labor. The impeachment trial of Governor John Walton of Oklahoma, held November 1923, uncovered just one little ulcer of graft and corruption, and it is typical of the whole country. If the lid were lifted in almost any state where prison labor is used to make private profits the stench would be equally bad.

Judging from the testimony produced at the trial Eli Brown, attorney for the Reliance Mfg. Co. is rightfully in possession of the title which newspaper reporters have given him—"King of the Fixers". And the "King" rules over a worthy court. There are many other "Fixers", less efficient perhaps and not quite so famous, but capable of oiling the wheels for private labor contractors in any state, at any time, no matter what political party is in power, wherever prison labor contracts are to be let, the contractors expect to pay the price, and the "Fixers" are required to act as go betweens and serve the politicians and the contractors in making contracts which will be satisfactory to all concerned except the prisoners who produce the profits, the taxpayers who foot the bills, and the decent minded citizens who still cling to ideals of clean politics.

What happened in Oklahoma is commonplace and typical of what is happening all over the country. House Resolution No. 19 declared that Eli Brown came to Oklahoma and scattered \$1000 bills about with a lavish hand. It also states that he fraudulently donated \$100,000 to the primary campaign expenses of Governor Walton with the willful and corrupt purpose of unjustly influencing the officers of the state of Oklahoma in favor of the Reliance Mfg. Co. in the management of its business in the state penitentiary. And the testimony of the witnesses in the Walton trial much more bribery an graft. The newspapers charged that this graft possibly reached \$100,000, and Mr. Rader, Secretary-Treasurer of the Reliance Mfg. Co. admitted on the witness stand that he did not know how much was spent to secure the contract, but that Eli Brown might have spent \$200,000 without his knowledge.

The English language cannot be more explicit than Sec. 7696 of the Statutes of Wyoming. It says: "The person or persons in charge of any penitentiary, or reformatory, or jail, or other prison in the state of Wyoming wherein state convicts are confined, shall not, nor shall any other authority whatever make any contracts for the employment of any state convicts at a fixed price per diem, or by what is known as the 'piece price' plan, or in any other manner whereby the labor of the convicts is let or controlled by any outside person." It would seem that no law could be more clear cut and definite than this, yet the "Fixers" found some way to evade it, and the Reliance Mfg. Co. runs a prison sweatshop in the state penitentiary, and the law, as well as the wishes of the majority of the citizens of the state is violated.

In West Virginia the state officials told me that the politicians "kicked like hell" about Eli Brown coming down there and "sopping up all the graft." They thought they could do the "fixing" themselves and keep the money in the family. And seemingly

they did, for after a maze of juggling the Gordon Shirt Co. finally landed the contract, for which they pay the state 70c per day for the labor of the prisoners. It is openly charged that a prominent banker and certain politicians shared in looting the state of almost a million dollars per year, representing the amount of the reduction below the price usually paid for convict labor. Eli Brown may be "King of the Fixers" but David Oberman of Jefferson City, Mo., threatens his reign: "The astute and efficient David not only does his own 'fixing' but he said to run both the Democratic and Republican party machines. And during the present administration he swanks about official functions with a gold sword dangling between his legs, a 'colonel' on the Governor's staff."

With literally millions of dollars siphoned from the taxpayers' ground out of the life-blood of the helpless convicts and their property stricken families, the Prison Labor Trust debases and debauches everything it touches, and dominates executive and legislative branches of government. Where men are for sale for blood-money the millions of the prison labor contractors are all powerful, but they can be made as worthless as dirt when the farmers and the wage workers have learned to stand together, and protect each other with the union label.

GRASP THIS 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.

Commonwealth College

By COVINGTON HALL

"Can any good come out of Nazareth?" was asked of old.

"Can any good come out of Dixie?" they ask today.

This is age-long question we ask of all new experiments, and because most of them do come out of Nazareth, and this we do because so few of us really believe that dreams can and do come true. Yet in their secret hearts men and women are always dreaming, are always imagining things that are not but should be, and this we must do or perish. It is human nature.

Being true to the nature of their kind, the founders of Commonwealth College also dreamed, and, dreaming, conceived the idea of establishing a school wherein farmer-worker youth could acquire that which is today practically denied to them—a higher education, and maintain themselves while doing so.

This was a novel idea in higher education and, of course, the pedagogues all cried out, saying: "What? a school for higher education based on a self-maintenance in a very simple thing? It means only this: That each student at Commonwealth is required to perform, outside of his or her academic work, a maximum of four hours labor daily, on the farms, in the workshops, or at communal services, in return for which the student receives food, shelter and laundry. The plan was designed to cut expenditures to a minimum, to make the group a democratic unit, and to bind all to the realities of life, thus serving an economic, a social and educational purpose. The only fee charged students is a fee of \$50 per semester, payable at the beginning of each semester. On this basis the school has operated

for two years now, depending on outside donations only for its capital equipment, so that it will enter its third academic year on the twenty-first of this coming September more hopeful and more certain of success than ever.

There were times, of course, when the way was dark and the road was rough, and there still are. There were days and weeks, and still are, when the teaching staff and students ate butterless bread and drank sugarless tea and coffee, with acidum a taste of meat, but they carried on, for graft is the driving force of a dream taking on form and substance.

But this was not all of the dream. They dreamed of a school that would, not only be self-maintaining, but graduate men and women capable of thinking and acting for themselves and of rendering leadership service to their fellow workers when they left its halls to take their places in the Great Adventure, life.

The entire curriculum of Commonwealth is therefore shaped to the end of creating individualities, of developing the personality and power of its students. In its educational program it seeks to make the student king himself, in order that he may control his physical and psychic functioning to his own and society's welfare; to give him a good general knowledge of the physical universe in which he finds himself, in order that he may think clearly and straightly on his material problems that will confront him throughout life; to impart to him a knowledge of the social sciences, in order that he may understand group behavior and thus be able to function efficiently as a member of the highly complex civilization in which he is destined to live and labor; to impress upon him the fact that the sole purpose of all true education is to saturate the soul with culture, the mind with science, the heart with the love of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful in all things.

That is what Commonwealth is trying to give to worker youth—a free and scientific education,—the most priceless thing on earth today, and I think it is fast passing out of this experimental stage here also.

After a long and bitter struggle, the College is now located on its own farm about ten miles from Meza, Arkansas, which town is its post office and railway station, on the main line of the Kansas City Southern railroad. The present site is one of the most beautiful in Dixie, resting as it does in a valley surrounded by on all sides by the wonderful Ozark mountains. Not only is the scenery varied and delightful but the climate is equable the year around, while a healthier country cannot be found anywhere else on the continent. The site, however, was chosen with an eye to utility as well as beauty. There is a plentiful supply of pure water for all purposes, including hydroelectric power, while the farms are capable of furnishing an abundance of fruits, melons, vegetables and berries of the finest quality and flavor.

Here, living under semi-peonage conditions, all must expect to live who come here before the College Community is fully equipped, the founding group of teacher-workers toils on, shaping the experiment into an institution which they hope will help solve the problem of higher education for workers and show the way for other schools to follow.



AUSTRALIAN LABOR:—"Just for a change I'll begin collecting at the top and work down."

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

ON THE WAY TO GREATER PROGRESS

The thing we fail to understand about the program for internal reforms in our Union is that it is hailed by some people as a "peace plan". We cannot quite see, from our viewpoint, the "peacemaking" side of it at all. Our Union does not, of course, intend to, and never will, make peace with the professional union-wreckers. It will wage the fight against them until they are rendered harmless, until this attempt to impose an alien force upon it from without is given up. The right of our members to rule their own organization as their own interests and sense dictate to them shall not be abridged or subordinated to any outside influence.

As between the leaders of the Union and the membership—no peacemaking efforts are certainly required. They have never waged against each other. The leaders have sought, to the best of their ability, to carry out the mandate of the members, as expressed in the resolutions and by-laws adopted by our last convention in Boston. Our leaders also are quite conscious of the fact that, all tumult and mob-hysteria manufactured so adroitly by the Communists notwithstanding, the great majority of the workers is on the side of the Union and stands ready to protect it against all enemies—internal and external.

The constructive program advanced in the General Executive Board is therefore not a "peace" plan in that circumscribed sense of the term. It is a milestone on the road of our Union to further progress and advancement. Our organization, we feel, should emphasize the fact, has always been a progressive labor body, always looking forward for betterment, for change. Our organization has had, on that account, stormy periods in the course of its existence, and, we frankly admit, that we are not quite certain that the plan decided upon by the G. E. B. will bring this "peace" in the Union for which so many are yearning. It might bring on further storms—but the leaders of the organization remain undaunted even in the face of such a possibility. They know that this is the way of progress, and they courageously proceed upon this road regardless of the yellow—"red"—black combination that blocks their path.

Our Union, we stated, always has been a forward-looking, democratic organization. There is, however, something in democracy that not always leads to progress and advancement. The majority is not always right. The majority is not always sure of what it wants. The working masses still fall frequently ready prey to the rantings of the worst demagogue. Democracy, in the eyes of many, has not yet passed its final test, its crucial examination as a system of government. Some go still further and proclaim that democracy has failed totally and dimly. These believe in dictatorship, in the rule of a few over the many.

The leaders of our Union, however, are not among these doubters. They believe that democracy—admitting all its shortcomings—is still the only desirable form of social and institutional government. They believe that the evils of democracy can be done away with not through the curbing of democracy but through its enlargement and extension. If a demagogue succeeds in misleading the mass, it is not the fault of democracy but is due to the fact that in this particular instance the practical application of democracy was not wide enough. Our leaders believe that the best remedy against such demagogues and mob fakery is more democracy—and it was this basic idea which inspired our General Executive Board in adopting at their meeting last Friday the program for internal reforms within our Union, to which we are quite sure the membership of the whole I. L. G. W. U. will give its hearty sanction and approval.

Recent events in the life of our organization have offered our leaders proof that there is valid ground in our Union and in its administration for genuine dissatisfaction that is likely to result in real harm. And having reached such a conclusion, the leadership of the Union decided to do all that is consonant with the spirit of a progressive labor union to eliminate all the causes of discontent in our ranks and adopted this program for a thorough administrative overhauling of the Union.

They have found out that the source of the whole evil lies in lack of democratic management, which has undermined the faith of a considerable portion of workers in their Union to such an extent that they were ready to turn it over to any group of glib-tongued adventurers. And they resolved upon a thorough change, upon the introduction of the widest form of democratic management in the organization so as to bring back these protestants to a better appreciation of the principles of trade-union democracy.

As far as we know and believe, for instance, the elections in our Union have always been managed honestly. Nevertheless, as a number of local officials have remained in office for many years in succession, not all of them popular with the masses, the impression began to grow that their election was not genuine and that a group of officials could perpetuate themselves in power, if only they desired. This impression, of course, has injured the Union materially in the eyes of the workers, and was later seized upon by the Communists in their fight against our Union.

The G. E. B. therefore decided upon a radical cure to eradicate this impression from the mind of the masses. It, namely, adopted a decision that a general election for all offices be held in all the locals affiliated with the New York Joint Board, that all boards be swept clean of incumbents, and that the workers be given a new and unrestricted opportunity to elect executives in all these locals upon whom not the slightest shadow of suspicion might rest.

Moreover, the G. E. B. decided, in connection with these elections, upon another step, quite unparalleled in the annals of our Union. It namely proposed that a committee of representatives of the labor movement, of persons of irreproachable integrity and standing, outside of our organization, cooperate with it in supervising the local elections, as well as the election of a general manager, the appointment or election of all business agents, and the election of delegates to the next convention. The idea was to make these elections a model to be followed in all further elections for officers in our organization in the future.

To emphasize this desire of the leaders of our Union for a complete and uninterfered with expression of the will of the workers in the coming election, the recently elected executive members of Locals 2, 8, and 22 not only consented to vacate their offices but expressed themselves ready to abide with the proviso not to be candidates in the coming election, in order to do away entirely with the suspicion that the ballots might be filled with special favorites of the leaders of the Union, with so-called "machine" candidates.

In a word, the leaders are determined to eliminate entirely in this election the dividing line of "rights" and "lefts", an issue which has brought so much harm to our Union. That explains the decision that in the coming election of executive boards (not other offices or convention delegates) neither the suspended officials nor their recently elected successors be eligible to appear on the ballot. New men and women, whose only badge and qualification is devotion to their Union, must come to the front in the coming elections.

The second decision, which accentuates still further the earnest spirit in which this program was adopted, is the point concerning the suspended members whom a trial board recently found guilty. Our leaders believe that these defendants had had a fair trial and that their suspension from office for a limited period is an honest verdict. There is, however, an opinion within the Union, and outside of it, that the trial of these defendants, was not entirely an unbiased one, and the G. E. B. has therefore decided to give such among them as are not known as avowed Communists a new trial before a mixed committee of our Union and of representatives of the Labor movement outside of our organization. If this outside committee should find the decision of the appeal committee of the G. E. B. either unfair or not in conformity with facts, this committee has the right to reverse the decision of the appeal committee of the G. E. B. and its decision shall be final and binding.

This proposal proves clearly that our leadership is firmly determined that none of our workers lose any of their rights of membership even though they may have behaved wrongly their Union in the past—all except such among them as are pledged, as full-fledged Communists, to the "sacred" task of placing the Union under the yoke of these "borers from within". Our leaders, in adopting this decision, are quite content to have every eligible man or woman in the organization, whether in agreement with its policies or such as are bitterly opposed to them, come to the next convention as delegates and there to decide upon the fate of the organization for the coming two years.

Some will, it may be expected, come forth with a clamor that the grant of an appeal is a "sham" because along with it the G. E. B. had placed the stipulation that the suspended members return to the International Union all property and assets in their possession at present. We can, nevertheless, assure those among the suspended members who have neither property of documents of the locals in their possession that this condition is not applicable to them. If they choose, they may forward their appeal immediately to the G. E. B. and it will be taken up at once. There are, however, a few among these suspended officials, who actually have taken hold of the Union's property, and it is only fair that they be made to return it before their appeal can be taken up, as a guarantee of their sincerity and straightforwardness.

The decision that the office of the general manager of the Joint Board be henceforward filled by a referendum vote of the members is based upon the same desire to extend the principle of democratic government in the Union. Still more important, perhaps, is the decision with regard to the participation of all locals, one member from each, in the finance committee of the Joint Board, which meets a grievance of old standing and one, which we believe, was badly in need of being righted.

There are, of course, a number of other problems that are of great interest to our workers, such as the question of dues and the right of the Joint Board to increase such dues, the question of proportional representation in the Joint Board, the course of the Union's industrial policy in recent days, etc. Some, for instance, believe that the Union had no right to submit its ten indus-

Labor Day—1925

By WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Labor Day!

Let us forget, it is well to recall that this is the forty-fourth anniversary of the origin of Labor Day. A small band of loyal earnest trade unionists in their enthusiasm for the benefits gained by organization, paraded in the city of New York on the first Monday of September, 1882.

This was the beginning of Labor Day.

In 1884 the convention of the American Federation of Labor called upon all wage earners irrespective of sex, calling or nationality to observe Labor Day until "it should be as unknown for a man to work on Labor Day as an independent day."

There is no need to tell how successful that appeal has been. None will deny that that condition is here.

When you return to work after celebrating Labor Day it will be with a satisfaction that can only come from the realization that the trade union movement has brought a better and broader life for both you and those dependent upon you.

The idea of Labor Day spread throughout the nation. Although a few of the states have not made it a legal holiday it is observed in them just as joyfully as in the states where Labor Day laws have been enacted.

As we look back over the past Labor Days shine along the pathway of Labor's progress like beacon lights. No matter how difficult the struggles or great the sacrifices of each year there was always the satisfaction of the gains made and recounted on Labor Day. And the gains were always greater than the losses.

From a small handful of men who met in Pittsburgh in 1881 and formed what is now the American Federation of Labor it has grown to enormous proportions, and its influence has revolutionized industry for the benefit of both the wage earners and employers. When it was organized the eight-hour day was simply a dream, for in those times ten hours was universally worked while many were kept at their tasks twelve, fourteen, sixteen and more hours a day.

The opposition to the eight-hour day was tremendous. In 1884 the American Federation of Labor took the preliminary steps for a universal demand for eight hours and in less than two years 200,000 workers in industry gained a shorter workday. By 1892 the eight-hour movement had spread throughout the nation. At the present time those who work more than eight hours are the exception.

The appeal which the American Federation of Labor issued in 1890 has been answered: It was:

"To all who love liberty and are loyal to the principles of free

government; to all who look forward to an increased wealth more widely distributed; to all lovers of the human race everywhere; to union men and those not now under the banner of organized labor, we appeal in the name of justice and humanity, of increased wealth and diminished poverty, to concentrate their energies upon the single issue of reduction in the hours of labor."

Organizers, who served without compensation for years, aided in placing the American trade union movement on a firm basis.

Legislation was sought and not a year has passed but some remedial laws have been enacted. The first great victory was the exclusion of the Chinese. While the law was enacted in 1882 it was many years later before it was so changed that the American people were fully protected from that sort of immigration.

Then came the federal eight-hour law and the women's act, which freed the last slaves in the United States.

Many people do not know that the trade union movement was the earliest advocate of compulsory education. At the same time it demanded that children should not be permitted to work for wages but should be sent to school and given every opportunity for recreation. The years have elapsed since then but the struggle to educate the masses and to bring freedom from gainful occupations to the children has actively continued. While two laws enacted by congress prohibited children at a tender age from working at gainful occupations they were declared unconstitutional. Now we have a proposed amendment to the constitution which if adopted will confer upon congress authority to pass statutory legislation making child labor free. Bitter and malignant opposition is being made to this worthy cause. But the American Federation of Labor will continue the fight until it has made it possible for congress to protect the nation's children from industrial exploitation.

The Saturday half holiday and the forty-four hour week are the results of trade union agitation.

The union label placed on articles produced by union men and women is proof that they were made under sanitary conditions at wages that permit the wage earners to live in reasonable comfort. When you buy union labeled articles you benefit your fellow union men.

Among the other victories and activities which no one can deny to Labor are workmen's compensation laws, the restriction of immigration, preventing the importation of labor under contract, collective bargaining, elimination of the sweat-shop evil,

abolition of tenement-hour labor, crusade against the white plague by insisting upon sanitary workshops, condemnation of the sale of narcotics and refusal to accept reductions in wages during industrial depression.

After years of agitation Labor finally prevailed upon congress to enact a law that "labor is not a commodity or article of commerce." That same law provides for jury trials in contempt cases. This was a most remarkable advance in the restriction of the assumed power of judges and the supreme court recently declared it constitutional. It also declared compulsory arbitration unconstitutional in either federal or state legislation.

As the trade union movement grew labor papers began to appear here and there until today they number in the hundreds. It was a difficult struggle for the labor press in the early days, but their publishers were so deeply ingrained with trade unionism that they accepted their setbacks and hardships philosophically. Because of their great devotion to the cause they

sought to advance they refused to recognize defeat. May all union men recognize the sacrifices made in their interest by the labor press.

One reason for the success of the legislation urged by the American Federation of Labor is that it benefits all the people except the privileged few. Labor asks for nothing that is not good for the people generally. It has stood by the farmer in his efforts for economic advancement. It always has supported any practical legislation that would benefit the farmers. It has aided every movement that has for its purpose the advancement of humanity.

While these are only a few of the outstanding gains made by Labor in the last forty-four years they are sufficient to show that on this Labor Day we have much for which to be thankful. On this day we should renew our pledge of continued and vigorous agitation for more progress and still more progress.

We should make it our endeavor to accomplish greater and greater results so that on our next Labor Day we can say as we have said on every other Labor Day that "the gains for labor this year are greater than the gains of last year."

WORKERS AND STUDENTS ON FIRING LINE



—Minneapolis Star

trial demands before the Governor's Commission. Others contend that the G. E. B. had erred in combining the three operators' locals into one and in merging the two New York joint boards. Still others assert that the G. E. B. had wrongly interpreted the decision of the Boston convention with regard to be Communists.

To meet all these contentions and to find out the Union's true stand in all these important matters, the G. E. B. decided that the next convention of the International be called, instead of next May, in December of 1925, when the President of the International and the members of the G. E. B. will be able to render to the whole Union, represented through its delegates, a complete report upon its acts and its entire record for the past year and a half.

The election of delegates to this convention, which will take place in about three or four months, will be conducted under the supervision of the same composite committee that will supervise the elections in the locals in the near future. In other words, the elections will be conducted in a manner that will not leave in the minds of our workers, and of the outside world, the slightest doubt as to their honesty and purity.

It is our confident hope that the program advanced by the G. E. B. will meet with a deep response among the masses of our members. The agonized shriek of disapproval from the Communist camp ought to convince every one of our workers who have

not yet lost the power to think that we have been right when we stated all this time that the Communists were only bent on mischief and that their clamoring for the "rights of the rank and file" was mere sham and bluff. They are now spewing more venom upon the program of the G. E. B., but this time it is, of course, because the G. E. B. had once more nailed them down as the inveterate enemies of our Union, as persons who should not be entrusted with any responsible post in our organization.

The Communists see that all their provocative labors have brought them nothing. They are bankrupt, and their fake stoppage supported only by a small minority of workers, has served as the last shovelful of dirt on the grave of their schemes.

Small wonder they are mad. They are thunderstruck and bewildered by this farflung move for greater democracy initiated by the G. E. B. and their reaction toward it proves conclusively that this coterie has never meant honestly by their mouthings about a "better, freer union." What actually they wanted was power over the Union, and today, as the decision of the G. E. B. had sent their stocks crashing to the ground, they are canonizing our Union again with volleys of filthy abuse.

The G. E. B. is, nevertheless, convinced that this gang has received its death blow. Their hands will now be freer to do all in their power to make the Union a stronger, more efficient and better organization and upon this course they are ready to proceed.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Science and Tomorrow

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Daedalus or Science and the Future. By J. B. S. Haldane. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, Ltd., 1924.

Leaves or the Future of Science. By Bertrand Russell. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, 1924.

If some such debate had grown about man's creation of the Gelem, it is pretty certain that that monster would not have destroyed its creators. No more absolute assurance of the race's final conquest of science, its glory and its menace, could be had than this searching inquiry and counter-inquiry into its place in the tomorrow of man. It is more than an optimist and a pessimist who answer each other here; it is man's thought that takes stock of the thing the race has builded blindly to ask what really lies in it for the welfare of that race. The answers suggested are not so important; that the questions are raised, however, is of the utmost significance.

The growth of knowledge among men contains, perhaps, the most stirring of racial experiences. The slow piling up of a skilled technique of control over things, the sudden spurt of that skill in the middle ages, the discoveries and inventions that made possible the rapid creation of the wonder world we live in, in these things lie the real epic of humankind. But as we have learned too well today, the patient seekers of

truth seldom stop to inquire about the ultimate consequences of finding what they seek. Former generations had turned up secrets; what, more natural than that present generations should proceed with the extension of the torch already lit into new dark spots. "And so step by step, often little recking what they did, the scientists and thinkers, noblest among men, erected the amazing edifice that is contemporary knowledge.

The rub comes in—stealthily and unexpectedly. Other men, seldom the seekers themselves, discover uses for the new findings which make them often as much menace as promise to the race. We have learned how to use the industrial technique of modern quantity production in the mass destruction of modern war: army headquarters are discussing the possibility of turning our knowledge of disease germs, won in the quest of their elimination, toward the still more effective war of the future. Psychologists have only to broach a new possible insight into the workings of the human mind, when propagandists seek to utilize it in the manufacture of conformity. Explosives

can be used as well to bore through mountains so that railways may join the corners of a continent, as to murder. And so on through the line. Yet the patient, selfless men of science, shall probably continue to add compoundly to the sum of things we already know. They are of the select few who seek truth without inquiring into its uses.

And it is for this reason that such a debate as this between Mr. Haldane and Mr. Russell is so important. For it makes articulate the pros and cons that agitate the spirits of every one of us who contemplates impersonally the Gelem, Science, that minkind is endlessly creating. Will we be able to make the thing serve human ends, or will it merely become an instrument of the blindly reckless and enigmatic?

Mr. Haldane assumes that mankind will use Science to make Science its servant. And the possibilities he paints for us in its service certainly make it well worth our while to learn the method of assuring this success. Speculation on the realms science may still conquer for us is always a fascinating business. We have at least acquired sufficient perspective to admit that nothing is impossible. The men of a generation ago peeped the likelihood of man flying through the air, or of voices travelling through the ether. Yet these things stand among the familiar accepted of today. And as for the men of a century or more ago, they regarded prophecies of the possible wonder yet to be uncovered by the progress of science as the rankest heresy worthy of thequisition or at least of social ostracism.

Today, on the other hand, both artists and scientists feel no hesitation in playing with the farthest reaches of scientific guessing. George Bernard Shaw peeps boldly into far-off times, and reported what he saw there as to be in the five volumes of "Back to Methuselah." H. G. Wells spent much of his artistic youth in building science for the scientists. On the whole, however, the artists have rushed in where the scientists feared to tread. Perhaps this is what makes the statement of Mr. Haldane so engrossing. We have in it, as it were, a first confession of a scientist's hope of science. And it is stimulating to note how closely Mr. Haldane's hopes parallel those of the artist. Largely Mr. Haldane also looks forward to the race's progress as a back to Methuselah.

It is a comely race that emerges from his pondering. Disease has been conquered in that far-off time and a race of strong and beautiful humans make the coming world. The sexes work and live together in happy and fruitful cooperation, building together an environment fit for even these real people to live in. Air and sea and land have been conquered and bound together in a wide service to man. There is no longer either dying or decay in this finer life but merely a peaceful and full-capacitated sinking into one sleep from which, unlike others, they will be no awakened. Sex life has finally become separated from reproduction and children are reproduced from specially chosen and matured eggs. Life is lengthened, the physical appetites appeased with both understanding and beauty, and the mental and emotional experience of all men draws into a web of satisfaction and continuing growth.

A splendid life indeed, for distant posterity. But it soon appears upon reading Mr. Haldane's book that it is a life made possible largely by advances in the physical, chemical and biological sciences. These sciences, naturally, have thus far to greatest achievement thus far and it is in them that on can read the most promising further advance for the future. But naturally enough also, any attempt to

build the better existence of the future solely out of and by means of their findings, leaves a wide-open loophole through which such a pessimist as Mr. Russell may enter. And enter indeed he does with a cold logic akin to Anatole France than to Shaw or Wells.

Mr. Russell's first reply to the glamour of Mr. Haldane's picture, is to point out that as much menace as promise may lie in the further advances of the natural sciences unless the social sciences are suitably developed to permit us to keep pace with our own findings. Look at the past, urges Mr. Russell before you begin to dream of the future. Take stock of our tremendous strides in the physical and inorganic sciences. What have they brought us. More diabolical war, more gruesome poverty, the bleak life for the masses of men, easier techniques of conformity. For it is in their uses, or rather in the uses to which they are put that inventions and discoveries become promise or menace.

Consequently, as long as the world is organized in terms of social classes of stronger or weaker, as long as it is further stratified into nations we may expect harm to come to humanity from the further advances of the inorganic sciences and the biological than good. For the social sciences remain in the most helpless infancy; thus far they have been able to contribute little to our ability to control our Gelem. Why may not further discoveries, therefore, be used by the powers that be to fasten greater helplessness and suffering upon the mass? Consider, for instance, enlightenment on the influence of glandular secretions upon the personality. If we learn that an excess of thyroid produces patient docility, may not governments after careful preparatory propaganda, inject thyroid into restless populations? May they not turn "backward peoples" into mercenary armies as they are already beginning to do? May they not loosen myriads of germs upon the earth in the next war, and encompass the destruction of humanity. At any rate, Mr. Russell sees little hope until the social sciences become really sciences and until some form of world organization has been formed. Shall then, Daedalus soar or shall he fall bruised and torn to earth with clipped wings? The answer lies squarely with the people—the workers and thinkers of the earth.

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DOMESTIC ITEMS

Labor Law Smashed; Injured Denied Pay

THE supreme court has wrought havoc among dock workers in the State of Washington by its rule that they are outside the State Compensation Law.

The decision will force the industrial insurance fund to stop payment on all claims previously admitted and still active. This includes time-loss payments, medical and hospital bills, payments on total permanent disabilities who are now pensioners and the payments to widows and dependents of the fatal cases.

In some of these cases, extending back more than three years, the statutory limitation has run and claimants or dependents have lost their rights to recover through the courts.

The decision affects all classes of logshore work, ship repairing and mills that are located at tide water. The latter either load or lighter lumber as part of their operations.

Canadian Farmers Fight Immigration

CANADIAN farmers in Saskatchewan are not deluded by the cry for immigrants, raised by captains of industry and the Canadian Pacific railroad. In opposing these interests, the convention of the Farmers' Union of Canada, held here, pointed out that no attempt is being made to stop emigration of thousands of Canadians to the United States. In the last 20 years this emigration has been larger than the natural growth of Canada's population.

The farmers declare that "they recognize the folly of bringing into this country, under the present economic conditions, immigrants who from their former environment, training and education cannot, for many years to come equal the present farming population which is forced to emigrate."

Machine May Replace Child Cotton Pickers

MACHINERY may replace child labor in southern cotton fields and likewise sweep the parents of these children into other activities.

Recent tests with a mechanical cotton picker in the Rio Grande valley and at Victoria demonstrated to the International Harvester Company that such a machine can be built.

One man operating a tractor and one on the machine got 90 per cent of the cotton in 10 acres in a day without injuring plants. This machine is the result of a study of 2,800 patents on file in Washington. Six of these have been purchased. It is believed that within five years Texas, with its level land that is ideal for mechanical cultivation, will grow the bulk of the cotton crop of this country.

It is estimated that the present machine, though in its infancy, will save 40 per cent of usual costs.

Labor Laws Compiled by Federal Bureau

UNITED STATES Bureau of Labor Statistics has issued a 1200-page compilation of federal and state laws with court decisions relating thereto.

Every labor law is included in the summary. The first undertaking of this character was in 1892. It included digests of mechanics' lien and apprentice laws and a list of legal holidays. The present effort is the sixth publication and is the most complete effort of its kind.

Such questions as convict labor, child labor, various systems of licensing of workers, mothers' pensions, inspection of workshops and factories, laws relating to labor unions, compensation, laws to protect working women, wages as preferred claims, and other protective measures, are treated at length.

Selling Stock to Labor Has Failed

THERE appears to be a rift in the scheme of selling stock to employees.

The plan seems to have a few disadvantages, and employers are grumbling. Their unorganized workers are refusing to view things from the employers' standpoint. Instead of "taking an interest" in their employment they sell their stock and take a profit when the market price increases, just as any other owner of stock.

This defeats the purpose of employees' stock ownership, according to Amos L. Beatty, president of the Texas company, one of the largest independent oil organizations in the country. He acknowledges that employees own their stock, but he points out that the company is not interested in employee-stock ownership to have these employees sell their stock at a profit. The purpose is to have them take an interest in the business and to encourage thrift. Some of these workers have even used their profits to purchase luxuries, according to Mr. Beatty, who hints that it may become necessary to discontinue the plan.

The Standard oil company of New Jersey also seems dissatisfied with its employee-stock ownership plan because these workers sell when they have opportunity to make a profit. The company announces that it will wait to see whether employees continue this practice before issuing more stock.

Hold Muscle Shoals, Says Electric Chief

LET the government retain Muscle Shoals and develop this vast water power, said James P. Noonan, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in his report to the biannual convention. Now is the time to safeguard the interests of the power-consuming public, the trade unionist said.

"Today the great bulk of fuel-burning and water power used in this country is generated by private companies. Undeveloped waterpower sites are fast passing into the hands of private corporations, and in a few years it will be too late to use any of the waterpower sites for the protection of the consuming public."

President Noonan said that the Muscle Shoals project affords an oppor-

FOREIGN ITEMS

FRANCE

Teachers Affiliate With Trade Union Congress

THE National Union of French Teachers, which has a membership of about 50,000, recently held its annual congress in Paris. At this congress it was decided, by 158 votes to 4, to affiliate to the French Trade Union Federation. The speech made by Roussel, the General Secretary, at the opening session, shows that this resolution is no mere formality, but that the idea of solidarity with the other workers has made great headway amongst the 160,000 French teachers, most of whom have not until now been organized in trade unions.

The rates of salary of the teachers stand on the same level as those of the postal employees, and they therefore claim to be treated at least as well as this category of the civil servants. They will not see the salaries of the P. T. T. employees (postal, telegraph and telephone employees) raised by 2,000 francs, while their own remains unchanged.

Roussel made the following three proposals: namely, that, in the event of the Inter-Ministerial Commission coming to a decision unfavorable to the teachers, (1) Roussel will resign his membership of this body, (2) the Department-Councils will likewise hand in their resignation as a body, (3) a 24-hour protest strike will be organized.

Want Wage Protected Same as Bond Interest

FRENCH workers demand that the government give them the same guarantee against loss through depreciation of the franc as is accorded investors.

The government has made a gold coupon loan that protects interest on bonds, and the wage workers now insist that their wages are entitled to the same protection as is money invested in these bonds and held by persons who do not depend on a daily wage.

POLAND

From Pillar to Post

BECAUSE the German and Polish governments are unable to come to an agreement with regard to future commercial relations, 35,000 Germans had to be turned out of Poland and sent over the border, and 8-10,000 Poles out of Germany. For most of the deported that means hunger and misery. Whether it is wage earners, or, as the press says, mostly artisans and small manufacturers, that are involved, is of no consequence. In any case it is sheer barbarism that cannot be protested against too strongly.

ENGLAND

British Textile Labor Resisting Wage Cut

MORE than 250,000 textile workers have been locked out because they refuse to accept a 10 per cent wage cut.

The employers piled up immense reserves during the war, and these were concealed by the issuance of stock dividends and cash bonuses. The present demand for textiles can not pay dividends on inflated values and the bosses are attempting to make workers meet the difference.

VENEZUELA

Venezuela Sets Free Political Prisoners

INFORMATION from Venezuela to the Pan-American Federation of Labor sustains a resolution passed by the Portland convention of the A. F. of L. in 1923, that political prisoners are held in that country, and that many of them are ill treated.

When the resolution was passed Venezuelan authorities, together with the Venezuelan minister in Washington, protested against the charge. They denied that there was such a number of political prisoners in that country. The minister was especially vehement in his protest. He insisted that political freedom existed, as well as guarantees for the workers to recognize trade unions.

The information now in possession of Santiago Iglesias, Spanish secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, shows that on July 23 last President Gomez of Venezuela issued a decree which set free hundreds of these prisoners whose existence has been so strenuously denied. The presidential order applied to all penitentiaries and military prisons.

A two-day "labor" celebration in honor of the president was held at the same time. Mass meetings of workers were addressed by government officials. There were many references to "our beautiful country, its mountains and rivers," but none to the aspirations of labor.

The interior minister of the government, Pedro M. Arce, urged these workers not follow the policy of workers in other countries, who are "organized to destroy civilization."

"The newspaper accounts of this event," said Secretary Iglesias, "would indicate that the company union" idea of American capitalists has extended into Latin America."

tunity to do a lasting service to the people by placing a curb on the greed of private interests.

"The government should retain that which belongs to the people and furnish to the instruments of government a gauge by which they may measure the service rendered by private capital in that field and determine the element of justice in their plans for what they deem adequate compensation for such service," he said.

"It is gratifying to report that the Muscle Shoals commission, appointed by President Coolidge, opposes the leasing of Muscle Shoals to private interests, pending further action by congress."



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Brookwood Railroad Labor Institute

By GARA COOK

During the last few years it has become increasingly apparent that if the American labor movement hopes to maintain its gains and advance its cause, its leaders must be trained specifically in the issues of their industries—must become specialists in their particular trades. So only can they work out their problems on an equal footing with the skilled technicians and highly trained experts to industrial management.

The rapid growth of workers' education in the last half dozen years is labor's immediate response to this realization. Like the old all round doctor, lawyer or business man, who through our great technical schools has now become the medical specialist, the special counsel, or the trained executive, so the versatile labor leader of a generation ago is realizing that he must study his industry in detail.

Moreover, just as great bodies of accumulated experience have been the basis for these technical schools, so it is a century of trade union experience which is making possible the educational experiments labor is now launching.

"First Railroad Labor Institute a Success"

An adventurous and unquestionably successful step forward was made by the workers' education movement when, from August 23, the first Railroad Labor Institute in this country was held at Brookwood Labor College, in Katonah, New York. Gathering from many sections of the country about two dozen representatives from the locomotive firemen, boiler-makers, clerks, carmen, machinists and other railroad labor organizations, together with a few members of other trade unions, the institute aimed to "help railroad men get a clear and comprehensive idea of the workings of the industry of which they are citizens," and in which they have invested their lives.

The institute was conducted on the method of group discussion. Otto S. Beyer, Jr., Consulting Engineer of the Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L., acted as emcee when opinions waxed too controversial, and also delivered the principle series of lectures. These included the history and growth of railroads, management, government regulation, adjustment of railroad labor disputes, and, running through the whole week's discussion, the latest development in railroad operation, union management cooperation, more popularly known as "the B. & O. plan."

Supplementing these lectures were addresses in the evenings by prominent labor leaders and economists. Herbert M. Jewell, President of the Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L., opened the institute with a talk on the history of trade unions, pointing out that the railroad labor organizations had now passed through the stages of opposition, and toleration, and were coming to be regarded as essential and constructive factors in industry.

Donald Richberg, well known labor lawyer, Whiting Williams, and David Simpson, a member of the Brookwood Faculty, were other speakers, and the final three sessions on Wages were directed by George Soule, a director of the Labor Bureau.

"All Work and No Play" Taboo

The success of such an institute depends almost as much on the rela-

tions of its members in "out of school hours," as in class discussions. It is not possible here to do justice to the play hours at Brookwood. It stands to reason, however, that something decidedly worth while has been added to your argument with a chap on railroad cooperation, if you have coached him on to a two-base hit when your baseball team is in a tight place!

Situated as it is in the hills of Westchester County, Brookwood offers the summer school student any number of beautiful hikes and automobile trips, and the instructors have pretty thoroughly "done" the country by the end of the week. At almost any hour, too, one could find some members, perhaps a machinist and a labor journalist, locking horns on the tennis court, cheered on by a couple of carmen and a boiler-maker.

Another feature of Brookwood's play time (although the hard-working editorial board might consider it rather stiff play) was the publication of a daily, mimeographed newspaper, a "file and scurrier sheet" of news, gossip and scandal, issued by a board of self-constituted editors. Springing out by spontaneous, "The Safety Valve" demonstrated as no lengthy, formal lecture could have done, the function of a labor paper in its group.

The outstanding event of the week, as probably all the members would agree, was the 25-mile bus trip to Pawling, New York, to visit Mamunt, the first residence school for workers' children. Mamunt was started by Mr. and Mrs. William Flincke, two of the staunchest friends of the American labor movement. Although it was closed for the summer, the buildings and equipment of the 177 acre farm were open to inspection by the guests.

Citizens in the Making

They were, however, able to see a similar experiment in operation, when, after a picnic supper near "the old swimmer's hole," they visited the nearby summer camp of the Pioneer Youth Movement, run under trade union auspices for the children of working men and women. Here 35 boys and girls under 15 are not only growing robust as self dependent, but are being so trained in the knowledge of economic and social conditions that when they grow older, they may be able to make constructive contributions to the labor movement.

When the visitors came upon the children, they were packed, row on row, on the floor of the "work shop," listening to a Chopin composition played by the camp orchestra. The youngest player, a second violinist, came to the key board of the piano. Flickering lanterns held by other children, furnished their light.

Followed the evening council meeting, high up on a hill overlooking the valley, when, under perfect parliamentary procedure, administered by a lad of 12, the election of a baseball captain was put through with impartial dispatch. And then they sang around the blazing camp fire.

A residence school and a summer camp for workers' children—a special kind of institute for the workers of a great, basic industry! Witnessing these experiments, one could not fail to realize that labor is squarely facing the problem of trained trade union leadership. In the words of A. J. Muste, chairman of the Brookwood faculty:

"The Railroad Labor Institute was a concrete expression of the growing

Labor Day

By FANNIA M. COHN

The men who founded Labor Day forty-four years ago expected that we would devote part of the day to reflection on the aims and problems of the organized labor movement. They hoped that we would think of the past achievements of the labor movement on that day, compare them with its present status, and on the basis of that comparison visualize the future and work for its realization.

It is appropriate that on Labor Day the millions of organized workers think of the important place they occupy in our industrial society. This will lead them to reflect on the many vexing problems with which the trade unions are confronted at present. This is the day on which millions of workers should dedicate their thoughts to the Labor Movement, and intelligent workers ponder over the vexing questions which confront it. To do this they cease work. But merely to be idle does not necessarily mean to observe Labor Day. It depends entirely on how we spend it, whether its existence is justified. By devoting part of it to reflecting on the aims, problems and prospects of the Labor Movement, we do justify its existence.

At the fourth convention of the W. E. B. in consequence, the Committee on Organization in its report recommended that a speaker be invited to the Labor Day celebration to present to the audience the ideas of workers' education. Labor Day is a festive occasion but we should be mindful of the fact that it has another function, to demonstrate the solidarity and brotherhood of the workers and to stimulate in them an interest in their trade unions.

On Labor Day more than ever the workers should realize that under the present system of industry, there is no chance for personal development or initiative on the part of the work-

ers. It is only through their trade unions that they obtain an opportunity to act in many capacities on the industrial, economic, political, cooperative and educational field. As members of unions they have a chance to develop their creative faculties. Through their trade union they act collectively and think of the good of the group rather than of their individual advancement.

To organized workers their union is not only the organization that protects them on the economic field, but also the organization that gives them an opportunity to develop character and personality. It gives them dignity, self-confidence and self respect as citizens and as human beings. The trade union movement gives them an aim and a philosophy. It formulates a constructive plan, and creates new economic and spiritual values not only for organized workers and their families, but for society as a whole.

On Labor Day, also, workers should appreciate the power of knowledge and the importance of accumulating as much of it as possible, to be better equipped to meet the responsibilities that are placed on us as organized workers. The Workers' Education Movement offers the opportunity to gain this knowledge to them. Its significance lies in the fact that the workers begin through it to study themselves. Until recently this study was done chiefly by others. Now more and more the worker wants to be the master of his own situation, and nothing will help him so much as an intelligent approach to his problem. Let us all on this day, then, pledge our active support to the Workers' Education Movement, and by taking advantage of it, help make it an instrument for social reconstruction in accordance with conditions of modern times, based on justice.

Organization and Education

By JOHN P. FREY

The principles of human liberty, the spirit of independence, are so imperishably connected with the Fourth of July that this great national holiday always serves to strengthen the love of freedom. The glorious Fourth presents an opportunity for thousands of speakers to review the heroic struggle which established American liberty, and to discuss the principles upon which our country's liberties are established.

On the first Monday in September we celebrate another great national holiday, a day set aside in honor of labor, a holiday on which thousands of speakers discuss the part which labor played in the building up of a nation, and expound the principles of human liberty and equality of rights and opportunities, which must be ap-

plied in industry if labor is to be truly free.

Labor Day is something more than an inspiration to those who toil. It is a day for education, a day upon which the workers, gathered together in mass meetings, can be given a more thorough knowledge concerning the trade union movement, its priceless accomplishments in the interest of labor, its principles, its policies, and its methods.

The Workers' Education Bureau is playing its part in making Labor Day of still greater importance to the workers. The knowledge which is acquired by those who have profited by the opportunities presented through workers' education, enables them to make Labor Day more effective, for it is adding education to organization. Without organization, labor would be helpless; without education labor could not make organization effective or constructive. The two must go hand in hand. The Workers' Education Bureau is uplifting the torch of education. The light which it sheds must make Labor Day a more effective holiday as each year rolls around.

conviction on the part of trade unionists, that there must be a great extension of educational work under the control of unions, in order that these organizations may fulfill their functions as great social institutions, and as necessary and constructive factors in the conduct of modern industry."

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

РЕОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ В НАШЕМ ЖИВНОМ.

Генеральный Исполнительный Комитет Интернационального Живного П. П. О. в Нью-Йоркский Дойнт Борд, после основательного, серьезного и всестороннего обсуждения сложившегося в нашем живном положении — единственного правильного плана мира в живном, который после его проведения, внесет в живное новое начало прогресса и гармонии.

Живное одержало окончательную победу над коммунистами, которые пробовали управлять им диктаторскими способами. Несмотря на усиленную кампанию против живного, огромное большинство живных осталось на стороне живного. Нет ни одной более или менее законченной мастерской во всем живном, которая бы подчинилась так называемому "Комитету Действ". Единственным результатом фабрикационной или оживленной работы является потеря работы жителями на рабочих, которых Дойнт старается по возможности восстановить в их мастерских.

Не смотря на это Г. П. К. и Дойнт Борд не может закрывать глаз на существующее недовольство среди широких рабочих масс системой администрации живного живного. Некоторые причины недовольства могут быть устранены только на Конференции живного живного. Большинство же могут быть устранены немедленно.

Во время этого конфликта много раз возникало желание, что живное не ведет борьбу против отсталых коммунистов в живном живном, каждый член имеет право принадлежать к любой политической партии. Борьба ведется исключительно против коммунистической партии, которая старается доминировать над живным и владеть диктаторской его работу. Эти же действия им ставят в оппозицию живного для рабочего движения и ставят живным живным долгом всячески противостоять им.

В последние два года Г. П. К. и живное в частую выполняла широко программу внутренних реформ в живном живном, и если до сих пор не было сдв-

жимо было, то только благодаря вмешательству коммунистической партии, которая старалась превратить наш живное в своей "живное". Теперь же, когда оживилось со стороны коммунистической партии оживленное устранение — Г. П. К. и Дойнт Борд предлагает оживить программу живного живного в администрации живного живного, дабы им являлся в живном смысле слова управленческим рабочими и для рабочих — живным.

План реконструкция живного на условиях большого равноправия и большой административной работоспособности является следующим:

1) Немедленно приступить к выборам Исполнительных Комитетов в официальных лиц во всех заводах, принадлежащих к Нью-Йоркскому Дойнт Борду. Выборы будут бесспорно под наблюдением Генерального Исполнительного Комитета при участии Комиссии из выдающихся представителей рабочего движения. Решено, что переизбранные члены Исполнительных Комитетов локалов 2, 9 и 22 в исключительные члены Иис. Комитетов этих локалов не будут кандидатами на эти выборы.

2) Главнуправляющий Дойнт Бордом будет избираться всеобщим голосованием членов живного, вместо избрания делегатами Дойнт Борда, что даст возможность членам избирать живное живное в Дойнт Борда.

3) Исполнительным членам Иис. Комитетов локалов 2, 9 и 22 дается право апелляции к Г. П. К. и 22 дается право исключительным членам этих локалов не объявлять Г. П. К. в пристрастия. Г. П. К. согласившись на работу из дела в присутствии выслушавшей Комиссии из выдающихся представителей рабочего движения, которые будут действовать как избиратели в отделе Комиссии при выборах во всех локалах. Если эти специальные Комиссии найдут, что Г. П. К. был несправедлив и аннулируют, Г. П. К. согласен передать ей право окончательного решения и заранее соглашались принять такое.

а) Те члены, которые будут оправданы будут восстановлены во всех их

правах и полном, за исключением права быть кандидатами на предстоящие выборы. Это не распространяется на заводских членов коммунистической партии, так как согласно решению Бостонской Комиссии коммунисты не могут быть официальными лицами в живном до тех пор, пока следующая Конференция не отменит этого решения.

б) Присуде член апелляции будет рассмотрен, исключительные члены Иис. Ком. локалов 2, 9 и 22 должны сдать в Интернациональный Живное все имущество, рекорды и документы из локалов.

в) Выступивший выборы должны быть произведены не позже, как через 4 недели со дня официального принятия этого плана.

г) Вопрос о пропорциональном представительстве локалов в Дойнт Борд может быть решен только на живном живном. Для того же, чтобы уладить существующее недовольство по поводу текущего представительства в Дойнт Борде предлагается, чтобы локалы 21, 45 и 64 не имели права голосовать в Дойнт Борде по вопросам, не касающимся их локалов.

5) Финансовая Комиссия Дойнт Борда будет состоять из одного представителя от каждого локала, что уравнивает недовольство локалов, которые до сих пор не имели своих представителей в финансовой комиссии.

б) Немедленно после введения нового Дойнт Борда будут сделаны новые изданные всего живного живных лиц Дойнт Борда и "бизнес агентов".

а) Все, желающие занять какую-бы то ни было должность, включая упомянутых официальных лиц, должны будут подать об этом заявление.

б) Все "агенты" должны будут явиться в апелляционную комиссию, которая будет состоять из главнуправляющего Дж. Борда, председателя Дж. Борда, одного делегата Дж. Борда от каждого локала, председателем всех локалов Дойнт Борда, комиссия Г. П. К. и специальная комиссия представителей рабочего движения. Эта комиссия сделает все заявления живных официальных лиц.

с) Если же локалы решат произвести выборы "бизнес агентов", то выборы будут произведены под наблюдением выслушавшей Комиссии.

7) Ввиду того, что договор в нашем

живном вступает в силу 1926 года, а также ввиду возмужавшего желания клоникеров сделать перемены в администрации Интернационального Живного, мы предлагаем созвать Конференцию Интернационального Живного в декабре 1925 года или в январе 1926 года.

Г. П. К. поэтому должен немедленно после принятия этой программ — приступить к созыву Конференции. Выборы на конференцию будут производиться под наблюдением выслушавшей составной Комиссии.

По нашему глубокому и искреннему убеждению выслушавшая программа будет принята всеми членами живного живного, которые честно заинтересованы благосостоянием нашего живного. Программа эта приведет к объединению всех живных членов, которые являются столь необходимыми для разрешения проблем нашей индустрии в общего благосостояния живного.

ВНИМАНИЮ КЛОУКМЕКЕРОВ И АРЭСМЕКЕРОВ.

Во вторник 8-го сентября в 7 ч. 30 м. вечера в помещении 315 Нст 10-й уз. состоится очередное собрание членов Р. П. О. В порядке для очень важных вопросов. Будут допущены только члены Р. П. О. Приходите с членскими книжками.

Секретарь М. Шевченко.

THE RECORD AND PUBLICATION 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 transfers 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, a 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.

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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 B. SHENKER

At the regular meeting of the organization which took place last Monday night, August 31st, in Arlington Hall, the members who filled to capacity the large assembly room of Arlington Hall heard Manager Dubinsky report and explain to them the plan on the present situation proposed by the General Executive Board and adopted by the Joint Board at its meeting on August 23th.

Cutters Always Mainstay Unity

It was largely due to the heat of the evening that the meeting adjourned before that part of the Executive Board's reports was read which deals with its peace plan. However, it was just as well that action on this plan was not taken at last Monday night's meeting.

In reporting the plan to the members Manager Dubinsky not only read the dry report but explained clearly each proposal and the reasons which prompted the General Executive Board and the Joint Board in making the plan.

The proposition as a whole was largely prompted by the conditions existing in the Joint Board and some of the locals affiliated with it. In so far as Local 10 is concerned, Dubinsky said, the dissatisfaction of the members against the cutters' organization and the administration in no manner reflects the need for radical changes.

An assurance in point towards proving this belief, Dubinsky recalled to the members, was the manner in which members of Local 10 reacted towards expulsions and suspensions of some members for certain violations and the manner in which expulsions and suspensions were received by the members of other locals, particularly of the locals whose officers are at present suspended.

When about a year and a half ago the Executive Board recommended and the members approved the suspension of some five members for violating an order of the General Executive Board, the members of Local 10 accepted the decision as a matter of course. For their decision in the first place was unquestionably clear. At the meeting at which the suspension of a year and a half ago was decided upon, only 26 members voted in the negative from a membership of about 1,000 present.

The loyalty of the cutters towards their parent body, and their affiliated organizations was unmistakable. As much cannot be said of other locals. Whatever the causes were, it did not require very much agitation for the members of these locals to organize into a following led by an opposition leadership.

Plan Purposes to Rectify Grievances

The preface makes it clear that the "Union has been completely the fight against the Communist attempt to dominate it by dictatorial methods." The preface continues in part that in spite of the fact that Communist attacks continue there is no shop of any importance in which the attempt for domination by the communistic "tool," the "Joint Action Committee," has succeeded.

As a result of the stoppage of August 29th, a number of workers were discharged for quitting their employment in violation of the agreement. These workers hurried off at once to the office of the discredited officers for the purpose of having their complaint taken up.

Finally who these workers could not be reinstated through the grace of the suspended officers they reported to the office of the Joint Board

were practically no difficulty was encountered in reinstating them in some cases.

Only Member Must Determine Union's Welfare

However, the General Executive Board and the Joint Board, when considering a plan for solidifying the organization, did not close their eyes to the dissatisfaction "which exists among large sections of our workers in New York."

"For the most part these grievances are not directed against individual leaders of the organization, but represent fundamentally discontent with the system and method of administration of the Joint Board, the representation system of the locals in the Joint Board, the administration of local and Joint Board finances. Some of these grievances are subjects with which only a convention may deal, but the majority of them may be rectified at once to make room for internal reforms that would be made the living practice and law of our organization without undue delay."

In explaining some of the things, Dubinsky made it clear to the members that the organization is not interested in warring against individual members who are members of the Communist Party or any other political organization. What the organization was interested in and against which it directed its fight was against Communist tactics and a desire on the part of a handful of these adherents for domination of the organization by outside groups.

Dubinsky made it clear that the organization would bend all its efforts as do a majority of the members towards preserving the right for control and domination of the Union by members only.

Plan is Utmost in Democracy

In his prefatory remarks, Dubinsky said that the plan was all that could be asked for in democratic control and administration of the Union. It is an opportunity for the entire rank to make the organization what the vast majority desires it to be.

However, the manager made it very clear when he said that it does not satisfy the Communists nor is it intended to satisfy them in their desire for communistic control of the Union. The program is the result of the General Executive Board's work for a plan of union "consolidation and efficiency calculated to meet the major grievances which have created deep-seated dissatisfaction in the ranks of our workers."

The plan in brief is:

(1) That election of executive boards and local officers in all local unions affiliated with the Joint Board to be proceeded with immediately. The plan proposes that the elections are to be conducted under the supervision of a committee of the General Executive Board in conjunction with a committee of outstanding labor representatives of the labor movement. It is also proposed "that neither the members of the newly-elected executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 22, nor the members of the suspended executive boards" shall be eligible as candidates for office in this election.

(2) Contrary to the previous method of electing a general manager of the Joint Board, the vast membership, under this plan, will be called upon to elect a general manager. Heretofore this officer was elected by the delegates of the Joint Board.

As respects (3), the suspension of the executive boards and the officers of the three locals, they are given a

special grant to appeal to the General Executive Board against the decision of the special trial committee of the Joint Board. The plan proposes furthermore that the representatives of the labor movement supervising the elections shall hear the appeal in conjunction with the General Executive Board. Should the special committee decide that there was bias or unfairness to the appellants the right is given the committee of labor representatives to act with full power as a final appeal committee.

Next Meeting to Discuss and Vote on Plan

The foregoing is only a part of the whole program. It is lengthy and in addition to the seven points it contains other details are interjected. It is a document worthy of careful consideration and is printed elsewhere in this issue. Members are not only asked to turn to the page on which the plan is printed in full but are urged to do so.

The fact that the peace plan was only reported by the manager and not acted upon by the members but is first to be discussed and acted upon at the next regular meeting affords an opportunity to digest it and for the forming of opinions.

Hence, when the members will gather at the next meeting and when the Executive Board will report its acceptance, the members will be in a position to exercise their own judgment in acting upon it.

Had the plan been taken up by the members at last Monday night's meeting for discussion and voting, there is little doubt but that some of them would have been influenced in their action by the impassioned speeches of one or two Communists.

The Communists no doubt would like to blind the members to the democratic aspect of the program because it does not contain anything which is giving the Union over to Communism.

Members Warned Against Participation in New Outside "League"

At the outset of his report Dubinsky took occasion to warn the members against being drawn into a new "league". He recalled to them the decision of the General Executive Board issued about two years ago and adopted by the members of little over a year and a half ago in which local unions and members were instructed against participation and membership in groups and leagues whose purpose was to dominate the Union by outside organizations.

The manager said that he received a complete report of the formation and attendance by a few members of Local 10 of a new "league", controlled and led by communists. This attendance and the formation of this outside organization took place on Saturday, August 29th.

According to the information which the manager received the few participants at this meeting had decided to attempt a filibuster of the regular meeting of the Union. An attempt at the meeting was made to carry a decision of that "league" into effect. However, the members had met for

the purpose of transacting the Union's affairs and insisted that the men confine themselves accordingly, which President Ansel accomplished with little difficulty.

Dubinsky read to the members the decision of the General Executive Board against "leagues" and also read extracts of the action of the members at the time, and warned the members against participation. In reading the various extracts to the members he said he did so because the memories of some may be short and perhaps need reminding.

Members Sustain Executive Board

A considerable part of the time spent by the members at Monday's meeting was taken up in their discussion of and action upon two cases which involved that many cutters who were fined for violations. The members took with considerable humor the attempt by these two men to make of their violations sacrifices for the cause of labor.

Neither of the cases contained within it the element which the members in question attempted to inject. One of these, William Zweibon, Ledger 4595a, was fined \$10 for refusing to carry out an order of a business agent who was in attendance at the time on a complaint that the boss was cutting.

The other, Ben Maso, Ledger 1571, was fined \$15 for having acted in a manner unbecoming a member of the Union when he unjustly accused an active member of having scabbed.

Zweibon spent the entire time consumed by him in a defense of his action, and in discussing the "stoppage" of August 29th, and other phases connected with this. He did not in any manner defend himself on the charge of which he was found guilty, and fined.

Maso's defense consisted of a eulogy of himself and of his burning ambition to serve the cause of the working class. This was very readily ridiculed by Brothers Shapiro and Barenblatt, both of who were employed, by the same firm, under the foremanship of Maso.

These men cited to the members actions by Maso which bordered on the brutal. The instance in question had occurred when Maso, attempted to throw a pair of shoes at the head of a cutter who was rather advanced in years. They also recalled to the members an instance which was an attempt by the foreman to cause the discharge of Barenblatt, who was the shop chairman, on the ground that he, the chairman, interfered with the cutters in their work.

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The attention of the readers of this page is called to a letter to the editor and a poem by Brother Julius Levine, member of Local 10, Ledger 7663, appearing on page 4, column 4 of this issue of "Justice".

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

REGULAR MEETING Monday, Sept. 14

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.