

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

—Job 27.4

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. 37.

NEW YORK, N. Y., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1925.

PRICE 3 CENTS

Sub-Manufacturers Order Stoppage Against Jobbers in New York Cloak Trade

Plan to Stop Making Garment for Members of Merchant Ladies' Garment Association Until Grievances Are Permanently Settled.—President Sigman Protests Move as Unwise and Inconsiderate of Workers' Interests.

An actual order to finish out all work in their shops and not to take in any more garments from any member of the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, the jobbers' organization in the New York cloak trade, was issued to its members a few days ago by the American Cloak and Suit Association, the association of the contractors and sub-manufacturers in the industry. This drastic order, which amounts to a real strike of the contractors against the jobbers and which may involve nearly nine hundred shops and at least fifteen thousand workers, came as a climax in a drawn out controversy between these two groups affecting payments to the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and several other no less important points at issue which the Governor's Commission had recently decided, as the contractors claim in their favor, but which the jobbers have until now failed to squarely live up to.

Coming at this time of the year, and in view of the very late and rather poor season, the workers in the New York cloak trade have been experiencing this threat of a stoppage on the part of the contractors has created a great stir among the cloak-makers. The holiday period is close at hand, and at this time, more than at any other time, the cloakmakers would not like to see their earnings disturbed and their "season" thrown out of gear, especially by a quarrel of one set of employers with another.

President Sigman, voicing the feelings of the cloakmakers in this matter, upon learning of the order issued by the American Association, made the following statement.

"The plan announced by the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association to stop receiving goods from the cloak jobbers and to cease production in all their shops, is a

(Continued on page 3)

Cleveland Workers Express Full Confidence in Leaders of I.L.G.W.U.

Cleveland Joint Board Votes to Support Fight Against Communists Financially and Morally—Active Organizing Work Carried On.

Bro. Charles Kreindler, secretary-treasurer of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Joint Board of Cleveland, O., forwarded this week an interesting report on conditions in that important Mid-Western cloak market. Among other things, Bro. Kreindler writes:

"On Thursday, Aug. 20th, our Joint Board had discussed the attempt of the Communists to wreck the I. L. G. W. U. A motion was made to assist the leadership of the International Union financially in this struggle and to give it all moral support. The motion was carried by an enthusiastic vote, only one delegate voting against it. The decision of the Joint Board was at once forwarded to the locals.

"On Saturday, August 22nd, we had a meeting of the Pressers' Local, No. 37, where the motion of the Joint Board was unanimously adopted. The Communists, however, made an at-

tempt on Friday, August 23th, at the meeting of the operators' locals, Nos. 28 and 27, to create some trouble, but their efforts were in vain against the solid support of the overwhelming majority of the members who voted for the motion of the Joint Board. One after another, the veterans of the Cleveland organization took the floor in support of the proposal to give the I. L. G. W. U. the full and unqualified cooperation of the Cleveland workers, and the assembled members adopted it by a big majority, only eleven voting in the negative."

Union Wages Organizing Campaign

The organization work started in Cleveland several months ago continues unbroken. Circulars among the unorganized workers, visits to their home and shop meetings are being utilized by the organizing committees in this drive to bring every garment

(Continued on Page 2)

Unemployment Fund Adopts Uniform Pay-Roll Books For All Shops

The Board of Trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund in the cloak and dress industries of New York adopted a plan for the introduction of a uniform pay-roll book to be used in all shops in the cloak and dress trades.

The new book will materially facilitate bookkeeping insofar as it affords the payments of unemployment insurance. Under the present system, the employers have been complaining that they were being unduly burdened with too much complicated detail. The new system will do away with these complaints.

According to the new method, the earnings of the workers will be entered in the pay-roll book in triplicate, two copies of which will be sent to the office of the Fund and one will remain with the firm. The Fund will supply these books to firms under agreement with the Union at cost.

Chairmen and chairwomen in all cloak and dress shops are requested to observe that this uniform system of pay-roll books is strictly carried out in all shops. In the event of a firm refusing to receive such books from the Fund, steps will be taken by the Union to compel it to live up to its obligations and to make the operation of unemployment insurance in the cloak and dress trades as effective and as equitable to the workers as it can possibly be made.

DRESSMAKERS, MEMBERS OF LOCAL 22

The Office of the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, is located, for the time being, in the Joint Board Building, 25th Street and Lexington Avenue, on the ground floor.

All union matters and complaints affecting dress and waist trade are being attended there. It is the only office where dressmakers may pay their dues, and where applications for membership will be received.

Second Shop Chairmen's Meeting Will Discuss Internal Union Reforms

Chairmen Will Discuss G. E. B. Plan to Bring Harmony and Order in Union—List of Last Week's Speakers to Have Floor First—Chairmen of Entire Industry Expected.

This Thursday, September, as we go to press, Cooper Union is witnessing another huge gathering of shop chairmen in the cloak and dress industry, summoned by the Joint Board in response to the unanimous demand made by the shop chairmen at their first meeting last Wednesday, Sept. 2nd, for the purpose of continuing the discussion of the program of internal organizational reforms proposed by the G. E. B. and read at that meeting by President Sigman.

The shop chairmen's meeting last Wednesday was marked by a very earnest spirit and was attended by more than two thousand chairmen despite the efforts of the Communists to sabotage it. The latter had some of their agents stationed all over the hall who attempted to create trouble and disrupt the meeting but without apparent success. It is expected that the second meeting, at which most of the speaking will be done by the chairmen themselves, will be as orderly and as well conducted, and that the provocateurs who might come to it with schemes to disrupt it will find their efforts frustrated by the shop chairmen.

Last Wednesday's Meeting
Only two speakers addressed the

shop chairmen at last week's meeting in Cooper Union. Vice-President David Dubinsky, who was chairman, and President Sigman.

Chairman Dubinsky explained the purpose of the meeting in a few well chosen remarks. He emphasized the campaign of calumny and misrepresentation waged by the Communists against the Union with the aim of bringing hate and dissension in the ranks of the workers, and dwelt upon the urgent necessity of bringing the rancor and the animosities aroused by their attacks to an end. He further pointed out that the program adopted by the General Executive Board and the Joint Board aims in the direction of peace and harmony and called upon President Sigman to read the program to the chairmen.

President Sigman spoke for over an hour and a half. He dwelt at length upon the conditions which led to the present turmoil within the I.L.G.W.U., charging the Communists with having

(Continued on Page 2)

WORKERS, HELP US WIN OUR STRIKE

Star Pleating Company
151 West 26th Street
ON STRIKE ON STRIKE

All workers of cloak and dress shops and all other workers in the needle industry are requested to demand that all picking, hemstitching, pleating and novelty works is made in union shops only.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

EXECUTIVE BOARD LOCAL 41.

Second Shop Chairmen's Meeting This Thursday

(Continued from Page 1)

conspired to destroy the trade unions in the cloak and dress industry of New York, an object which the workers in these trades must not allow them to attain.

"The Union," President Sigman stated among other things, "must be placed upon a wider democratic basis so that adventures and demagogues might never again threaten it in the future. To achieve this, the General Executive Board had prepared this comprehensive plan for internal reform which will unite and solidify our ranks and give us a better and a stronger union, one that will be in a position to take care in a more efficient way of the interests of our workers in the shops." He read to the chairmen, one after another, the clauses of the plan, and after he ended his talk was given a hearty ovation by the chairmen.

The Plan for "Peace"

The program of the G. E. B. was printed in last week's issue of "Justice" in full, and in the course of his remarks, President Sigman had proposed that it would be advisable that another shop chairmen's meeting be called to give the shop representatives an opportunity to discuss the program from the floor and voice their opinion regarding it. Chairman Dubinsky took up this proposal to a vote and later this suggestion was adopted unanimously.

Unfortunately, toward the very end of the meeting a misunderstanding arose which gave an opportunity to some of the Communists present at

the meeting to apply their gracious tactics of booby. While the meeting was in progress a large number of chairmen asked for the floor and their names were placed on a list. Later it was discovered that the hall could not be had for later than eight-thirty in the evening, and chairman Dubinsky therefore announced that the meeting would have to close and that the speakers on the list would be given the first opportunity at the meeting the following week. Some misunderstood these remarks to mean that discussion on the program was closed entirely and, under the leadership of the Communist group, began to boo as the audience was leaving the hall.

Nothing, however, of this sort was intended by either the chairman or the Joint Board committee. The meeting this Thursday will continue where the first meeting had left off, and the thirty-odd shop chairmen who asked for the floor at last week's meeting will be given the first chance to have their say upon each one of the recommendations adopted by the G. E. B. and the Joint Board. There is an old tradition in the Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions to call upon the shop chairmen in every critical situation facing the organization to help aid in carrying out its decisions among the large mass of the workers. It is to be hoped that in the present crisis in the life of the Union, the shop chairmen will rise to the height of their opportunity and will wholeheartedly cooperate with the General Executive Board and the Joint Board to put through the big program for peace and unity in our ranks.

In the Cooperative World

The Failure of That So-called "Co-operative Bank"

Two months ago, when the Producers & Consumers Bank of Philadelphia, supported by the labor unions of that city, was closed by order of the court, the receiver announced that he believed the depositors would get back 100 cents on the dollar. The most recent clippings from the Quaker City report him now as saying he "is sure that depositors will get at least 25 cents on a dollar."

The Co-operative League and leading labor and co-operative bankers of the country fought vigorously at the time this bank was organized, to get it properly protected; but the self-appointed trustees wanted neither democracy nor co-operation and refused to take advice. Unfortunately, the labor unions of the city thought as little of this advice as the officers of the bank. Today the condition of their bank testifies to their mistake.

How They Fight the Co-ops

The Yellowstone Cooperative Association of Livingston is one of the best little societies in Montana. But a couple of the big grocery houses have been after its scalp for years. Now their opportunity offers.

Recently an individual in Livingston sued the Co-operative for money due him. The directors felt he was not entitled to immediate consideration, for his action was plainly for the purpose of embarrassing the co-operative. The individual at once rushed into court and got an attachment on the co-operative property.

Then the private grocery houses came along and bought up the judgment held by this individual, intend-

ing to use it to force the workers' business into bankruptcy. Through some legal hocus pocus, they secured a ruling that the co-operative would have to pay \$4,000 within a month or lose \$4,000 of real estate. As the society had most of its funds tied up in property and merchandise, this was impossible.

The Co-operative is now appealing to the labor bank at Three Forks, for the private banks of Livingston will not lift a finger to help.

The discussion by representatives of American labor groups of labor conditions in China at the conference on American relations with China at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, September 17 to 20, furnishes further evidence of the interest being taken by labor throughout the world in the problems confronting the men, women and child workers of China.

Sponsors and speakers at the Conference include, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists, and Miss Mary E. Dreier of the Woman's Trade Union League.

What responsibility have the American people with respect to the difficulty of protecting unorganized labor in American owned industry in China? will be one of the subjects considered at the conference.

It was a labor dispute, it is to be remembered, which set the spark to the present disturbance in China. Although the movement in China immediately assumed a nationalistic character, the fact that the Shanghai incident originated in labor trouble has emphasized the importance of the industrial revolution in China. This revolution revealed itself as a powerful factor in the present and bound to become more important in the future.

William Green in his letter to President Coolidge of July 10 placed the American Federation of Labor on record as in favor of the United States taking the initiative in calling an international conference to make plans to abolish extraterritorial rights in China. He declared that there was every reason for belief that the fundamental cause for the present disturbance in China is due to the special privileges given foreign nations in treaty ports and that the abolition of extraterritorial rights to foreigners is necessary to China's administrative integrity and sovereignty. He urged the need of representatives of the wage earners participating in such an international conference because of the fact that the present political provocation has paralyzed

the coming of trade unions in China's industrial development and because the struggle of Chinese wage earners for industrial justice and civil rights is projected in the international problem. He pointed out that the ratification of the Washington treaty by France makes a strategic opportunity for such action.

The Women's Trade Union League a year ago formed a Committee on Women in the Orient and at a meeting called by the League in New York City for September 10, presided over by Mrs. Raymond Robins, plans were made to consider the position of women and child workers in China in connection with a discussion of the whole international situation.

The International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam in June pledged its sympathy and aid to Chinese workers and the British Trades Union Council which also met in June sent an encouraging message to Chinese workers. The International Congress on Social Policy which met in Prague in October, 1924, also considered the Chinese labor problem and passed resolutions pertaining to it. At the International Labor Conference in Washington in 1919, it was recognized that unequal conditions of labor in different parts of the world constitute a root cause of war.

Cleveland Workers Pledge Support to I.L.G.W.U. Leaders

(Continued from Page 1)

worker employed in a shop in Cleveland into the Union.

The Cleveland Joint Board recently appointed a committee to work out some amendments in the local agreement with the employers. Bro. Kriender is chairman of this committee and Bro. Silverman is its secretary.

This committee already had several sessions. The local organization is now eager for President Sigman to visit Cleveland in order to obtain his advice in the coming negotiations with the employers.

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American and Mexican Trade Unionists Reach Emigration Agreement

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and the Mexican Federation of Labor completed a conference on the question of how best to limit immigration from Mexico by the declaration of the following principles:

"Time and experience have demonstrated that the progress of mankind, ethically, spiritually and economically, is best achieved under the great principles of freedom, democracy and the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"History shows the constant tendency of man to congregate in groups and the beneficent results of such groupings are clearly discernible throughout the ages. Groups everywhere strive to create their own cultures, to cultivate their own lands, to create their own institutions and establish their own customs. Always they seek means of protecting their group integrity and the integrity of their boundaries.

"We hold that the ultimate condition of mankind should be such that all men should enjoy the freest possible right to travel freely to every part of the world in pursuit of happiness and well-being. But we assert that there is an obligation, universal in character, which makes it obligatory upon every person to refrain from so ordering his movements or his conduct as to endanger the standards and conditions of life and the progress achieved on the part of any group which he may seek to enter. And groups have the right to protect themselves against such intrusion.

"There is, we maintain, a further obligation upon every individual which makes it a duty to work within his own group for the safeguarding of the standards and conditions built up elsewhere; and instead of seeking improvement elsewhere at the expense of others it is his duty to work for improvement within his own group. The duty of his group is but an enlargement of his individual duty, identical in principle. Nationhood is but another term for group.

"Thus we have presented to us what we know as the problem of immigration and emigration, complex and difficult, but resting in its entirety upon the principles which we have just stated.

"Your committee considered both of these problems as joint phases of a single problem. Furthermore, the problem was considered in its relation to the economic organizations of the workers with their voluntary character and methods and in its relation to the state with its machinery for action in the political sphere.

"On the subject of immigration we feel deeply the necessity for careful consideration by every nation of the effect of incoming peoples on moral, physical, political and economic integrity.

"Hitherto nations throughout the world, including our own nations have sought only to exclude other peoples,

either partially or wholly, wisely or unwisely. Nations have acted solely on the defensive. They have failed to recognize their own obligations to restrain their own people from moving across boundaries in such a way as to menace the conditions of life and the institutions of other peoples. We believe we can now set up at least in the Western Hemisphere this great principle of self-restraint and we recommend to this conference the establishment of that principle. In this way there is brought into being an abandonment of the principle of compulsion and the adoption of the principle of voluntary action which underlies our labor movements and governs our action as trade unionists.

"We call upon the American Confederation of Labor and the Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana to press their respective governments for adoption and enforcement of this new principle of voluntary restraint.

"While we recognize clearly that at all times each nation must be the final judge of what constitutes a menace to its standards and its institutions, we are confident that the labor movements of our two nations, working in cooperation and with a common ideal in mind, can arrive at conclusions and agree upon measures that will meet the requirements of the time. Human progress is always best safeguarded by agreement and cooperation and we believe this field is a proper one for the exercise of these qualities.

"We appreciate fully the instructions of this conference which impose upon us the duty to prepare specific recommendations as a basis for legislative or executive action on the part of our respective nations. We are, however, of the opinion that definite recommendations cannot be set forth at this time. There are various reasons for this, chief among them being our lack of sufficient detailed information.

"We find another road to our goal and we ask for it the consideration of the conference. We recommend, therefore, the creation of a joint commission to represent the Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana and the American Federation of Labor for the continuous study of immigration and emigration, and problems arising therefrom, to work through the Pan American Federation of Labor, for the continuous study of the question and for the preparation of satisfactory detailed recommendations or measures for submission to the governments of the respective countries by the respective labor unions.

"As an immediate means of safeguarding and improving the moral, material and civic conditions of the workers of both countries we urge and recommend that workers crossing international boundaries immediately join the union of their trade in the country to which they go and abide faithfully by the laws and rules of the movement to which they go and we pledge our efforts to the full to

Sub-Manufacturers Order Stoppage Against Jobbers

(Continued from Page 1)

matter of great importance to the Union.

"The members of the American Association, the sub-manufacturers in the industry, have decided upon this extreme measure as a means of forcing the jobbers to live up to some arrangements made between them and also to abide by several vital recommendations of the Governor's Commission. This stoppage on the part of the sub-manufacturers will, however, mean idleness for additional thousands of our workers—in the face of an already very poor and belated season.

"The sub-manufacturers, no matter how just their claims against the jobber may be, cannot get the support of the Union and of the workers if they deem fit to dislocate the industry without first ascertaining the Union's attitude regarding the advisability of such an important move, which they have not done. Since the contractors have seen fit to take such

action without the Union, the workers may be obliged to utilize the situation brought about by the contractors' action for their own benefit."

At this writing, efforts for peace between the contractors and the jobbers are still being continued. The Governor's Commission, which met in the afternoon of Wednesday, September 9th, to discuss the situation, is expected to issue some announcement that might alter the state of affairs. The commission, or rather some of its members, have been once too fervently pleased with the course followed by the American Association. Neither have they been entirely pleased with the dilatory tactics of the jobbers. If the commissioners should choose to stand squarely on their recommendations and forthwith try to put through their ruling on the method of payment for the Unemployment Fund and on "net yardage", the situation might assume a different complexion and it might cause the sub-manufacturers to give up their stoppage plans.

bring about observance of this principle by our respective affiliated memberships. In that manner we can give a large measure of protection to the economic, social, civic and political institutions of both countries and assist in the development and advancement of our respective peoples in accordance with their own requirements and ideals. We shall by this means also promote mutual good will, respect, understanding and confidence.

"In conclusion we believe it appropriate to include in this report a renewal of our long-standing pledge of brotherhood, mutual good will and confidence and lasting friendship. As the years have passed we have witnessed the great mutual advantage of our faith in each other. We have learned to place in each other implicit faith and confidence and we have seen the great practical results which have had their genesis in this fraternal relation, as well as the great spiritual satisfaction which it has given to us. Upon each succeeding occasion we come together in better understanding and with fuller knowledge and we look to the future with confidence and supreme faith. It is with pride that we face the world in this harmony of

understanding and idealism, calling upon the workers of all countries to know each other and to give their energies to the promotion of human progress through a common idealism and mutual understanding and good will."

The above agreement was unanimously approved and signed by the following:

Representing the American Federation of Labor: William Green, Frank Morrison, Matthew Woll, Santiago Iglesias, Clements N. Idar.

Representing the Mexican Federation of Labor: Luis N. Morones, Eduardo Monedo, Alberto Mendes, Canuto Vargas, Roberto Haberman.

Step By Step

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

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

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JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Office, 3 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel: Chelsea 2145

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFSKY, Editor.
A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Business Manager.

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Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year.

Vol. VII. No. 37.

Friday, September 11, 1925.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 23, 1919.

Basic Industries in America

IV. THE WOOLEN INDUSTRY

A recent 10 per cent wage reduction has called attention to the manufacture of woolen goods—a highly "protected" industry.

This industry includes, technically, mills making materials entirely of wool, and also products which contain cotton as well. Its principal fabrics are classified as woolen goods, worsted goods—these two being distinguished by the nature of the weave—carpets and rugs, felt goods and wool-felt hats. It is, therefore, of importance chiefly for clothing and house furnishing purposes.

The products of the group sell for about a billion dollars a year, and it employs in the neighborhood of 200,000 wage earners, paying them in the neighborhood of \$200,000,000. The capital invested in the industry is about a billion dollars and there are altogether not more than 1,000 mills.

Location of industry
Although the products of the industry are consumed throughout the country, the plants are not widely distributed. Massachusetts accounts for about 30 per cent of the industry, Pennsylvania 15 per cent, and Rhode Island 12 or 13. It is interesting to see that nearly 60 per cent of this highly protected industry is thus localized in three Republican States which support the high tariff policy. No other state contains as much as 10 per cent of it, the remaining states, in the order of their importance, being New York, New Jersey, Maine, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Ohio and Vermont. Neither the West nor the South is appreciably represented. Considering the branches of the industry separately, Massachusetts leads in woolens and worsteds; New York in carpets and felt goods. Among single cities, Philadelphia leads in all important branches of the industry, followed by Providence, Worcester and Lowell.

Development of industry
In the old days when water power was the chief source of energy, and before the use of coal and the development of railroad trunk lines, there used to be many small mills scattered throughout the country wherever streams could be tapped. This partly accounts for the fact that the industry developed first on the North Atlantic seaboard. As coal began to be used, railroads were developed, and machinery was perfected, the industry became more centralized in a comparatively few large establishments. There were more than twice as many mills in 1879 as there are today, and the drop in their numbers has been evident at almost every census.

In the case of mills making the fabrics known in the trade as woolens rather than worsteds, the decrease was from 2,591 in 1869 to 493 in 1921. This large decline has been partly due to the growing use of worsteds which are harder and are supposed to wear better. Although worsted mills have increased in number, the capacity per mill has grown even more rapidly, with the tendency to large-scale production. Today about 90 per cent of the wage-earners on worsteds work in not more than 150 mills making an annual product worth \$1,000,000,000 and over. The strictly woolen mills average smaller, though even among these more than half the wage-earners work in the largest class of establishments. The carpet and rug factories are, like the worsteds, chiefly big ones.

In addition to the growth in the size of single mills, there has been a growth of financial combinations controlling numerous mills. The chief

of these is the American Woolen Company, the acknowledged leader of the clothing fabrics trade.

Textile machinery first started to develop early in the 19th century, and it has now become highly complex and efficient. The product per wage-earner has therefore been constantly increasing; the number of wage-earners has not grown nearly so rapidly as the capital invested or the capacity of the industry. There are probably not 200,000 wage-earners in the woolen industries today, although by 1879 there were 239,672. In the same period the horsepower utilized by the mills has at least quadrupled and the capital has increased in value about seven-fold.

Decrease in Output

One interesting fact brought out by the Census is that although the value of the woolen mills' product has increased since pre-war days, this is due entirely to higher prices and not at all to greater total output—at least in the case of woolens and worsteds. The output of these products has actually fallen off since 1911, whether measured in square yards or pounds. This is a curious fact in view of the increase in population. Whether the falling off is attributable to decreased consumption or to increased imports, it furnished an interesting comment on the protective tariff. If the first is true, the tariff, though effective in raising prices, seems to have limited the use of the product by the same means; if the second is true, the tariff, though very needs to have been ineffective in keeping out foreign competition. In either case, the workers have not benefited since on account of decreased production and consequent unemployment they have been forced to accept wage reductions.

Unions and Wages

Although there were almost a million wage-earners engaged in the textile industries in 1920, according to the Census of Occupations, only about 150,000, or 15 per cent, were members of the unions in the field. Owing to the "maladies" of an industry in which unemployment has been one of the most pronounced, union organization has never gained a very secure foothold, and during the recent depression the gains the

The Public and the Coal Strike

By NORMAN THOMAS

The great American public reminds us of that very old joke about the Irishman with a leaky roof. When it was raining he couldn't mend it and when it was dry he didn't need it. When there is no coal strike the public would rather read the comic supplements than think about the problem of coal. When there is a coal strike we boo-ha can't do anything about it except swallow the operators' propaganda. Two years ago we paid a lot of money for a Federal Coal Commission. It was a conservative body, but even so, it reported that there ought to be continuous publicity as to profits and other business of coal mining and power given to the President to act in an emergency. Nobody did anything about it. The report of the Commission was never even printed in full. Now another strike is on. The mine owners will not make public their books to support their contention that they cannot pay more wages without passing on the cost to the consumers. They issue misleading statements of miners' earnings and say to the public, in effect: What are you going to do about it?

Yet the newspaper headlines we have seen are quite optimistic about the present anthracite strike. One New York headline even suggests that out of it the consumers will get something. Unions had made during the war were greatly reduced, so that present estimates are that union membership is but one-quarter of what it was five years ago.

With a weak organization, we find wages low. Average earnings for workers in the woolen goods branch of the textile trades were only \$20.54 a week during June this year while "All Industries", according to the National Industrial Conference Board, averaged \$26.43. Only three of the twenty-six industries listed reported lower returns, cotton manufacturing in the North and the South and hosiery and knit goods workers. Magasin printers on the other hand earned \$37.56, iron and steel workers \$32.48 and even the unorganized automobile manufacturing crafts averaged \$31.06.

lower prices! This is improbable. Already the price of stove coal, before the suspension, has been jumped 50 cents in New York City. And that fact, a circumstance to what wholesalers and retailers will do to us if we don't watch out! Even now it is not too late to do something. Fortunately the immense reserve stores of coal mean that there is no immediate cause for panic or panic prices. If we keep our heads the coal dealers cannot stampede us. That gives us time to work for a Federal control of the coal industry. The very lowest requirements as to profitability, etc., were set forth by the Coal Commission. We doubt the efficacy of mere publication of costs and profits. Despite the publicity attending the Coal Commission's report on anthracite profits the operators were able to increase their margin per ton from 59 cents in 1922 to \$1.18 in the first quarter of 1923. All the figures we have go to show that the vicious ownership of anthracite which would squeeze the water out of capitalization, pool the mines good and bad, mine coal on a scientific calculation of need, and appropriate to the public the excessive profits that now go to operators and royalty holders, alone can give the miners a living wage and yet keep coal within reach of the pocketbooks of other city and country workers. We challenge any doubter to show any other way to bring about this end except nationalization with recognition of the union and democratic administration.

Some Facts About Hard Coal Mining

1. Danger to life.—Anthracite coal mining is one of the most hazardous industries in the world. Last year 538 anthracite miners were killed in the mines. There were 30,000 non-fatal accidents—one to every five men in the industry. Every man stands to lose over two days a month from accident. Every year over 2,000 men are unable to work because they have been injured. In the United States with all its industrial progress we kill our coal diggers three times as fast as they are killed in Great Britain.

2. Wages.—The operators' estimate that the average annual wage of the miners of over \$1,500 a year, is too high. Among other things they ignore the fact that 7 out of 10 inside men earn less than \$1,500. On the basis of days actually worked the average weekly earnings of the anthracite miners appear to be about 9 per cent less than the average for the country, although the average risk is far higher. These wages are to be compared with a living budget based on Pennsylvania prices which amounts to \$2,221.00. Prices in the hard coal district run even higher.

3. Profits.—The operators have resorted to every possible trick to conceal their profits—overvaluation, wash sales, division of profits between holding companies and selling companies, etc. Even so, one of the big companies in 1923 showed an income of \$9,411,000 as against the Coal Commission's net valuation of the mine at \$8,909,000. This is an income of over 100 per cent. The President who has recently been among those crying about the danger of bankruptcy if higher wages are paid told his stockholders on December 10, 1924, "Our business this winter should be the best since 1921." This company—the Glen Alden—may be peculiarly fortunate, but there are plenty of other "profitable ruins" in the anthracite region. Don't believe all the operators' press agents tell you.

THIS OLD GIRL IS GOOD ENOUGH FOR ME



Prison Labor for Private Profit

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

5.

The Prison Labor Trust, and all of the flock of human vultures who share their putrid spoils, justify the wrongs and abuses of prison labor for private profit by declaring that the exploitation of the convict is used to train him in industry and establish "habits of industry".

The whole theory that labor is a curse, and a suitable method of punishment is a falsehood, a vicious attitude of mind, and an insult to all who do useful and productive work. Labor is neither a curse nor a punishment. It is the very basic law of life. The man who creates lives physically, mentally and spiritually; grows into real manhood, and achieves genuine happiness to the extent he serves himself, his loved ones and the race. The idler, the parasite and the human leech who lives by robbing others is always undergoing a slow process of death and decay. His flabby body dies long before the undertaker removes it; his flaccid mind decays, and his soul is rotten long before the kindly earth hides his carcass away from the sight of men.

Normal, natural labor under sane and decent conditions is not punishment. It is life, but labor under prison conditions is death to the body, decay to the mind and damnation to the soul. Recent developments in modern psychology are demonstrating that there are three great urges whose normal expression and gratification makes possible all human progress, and whose unnatural repression and violation causes degeneracy. The first great urge is for food, which includes all physical comforts; the second is for mental expansion which embraces all we call education and culture, and the third is the urge for love which includes all of our emotional life from the most elemental sex attraction to the highest religious expression. There is another vitally important urge, but of which psychologists have said little, possibly because they have not suffered its repression, and that is the desire for freedom of action.

Our prisons violate all of these natural urges. Convicts are always hungry because they are chronically underfed; mentally starved because they are shut away from all normal human relations and denied opportunities for education or culture. Prisoners are not only always hungry, but they are prevented from earning their food by their labor, and they are robbed of the food for which the taxpayers pay by corrupt politicians. The state legislators of Missouri appropriated more per day to feed each prisoner than I have ever spent to feed my four growing children. Now all college students, yet my children have always been well nourished and the convicts in the Missouri state penitentiary are always in a state of semi-starvation. And no decent citizen can escape the responsibility for the fact that two hundred thousand human beings in the United States are being starved into a state of animal ferocity, while at the same time these hungry, brutalized convicts driven to inhuman labor as chattel slaves for the private profit of a few prisoner labor contractors and corrupt politicians.

Maxim Gorky in his story of Russian working class life, "Mother," draws a vivid picture of the moral effects of slavish labor and underfeeding which should be read by every judge before pronouncing the penalty of "hard labor," and by every citizen

when he is tempted to buy a prison made garment. He says:

"In the evening when the sun is setting and the red rays languidly glimmered upon the windows of the houses, the factory ejected its people like burned out ashes. . . . The servitude of hard toil was over for the day. The day had been swallowed up by the factory; the machines had sucked as much out of men's muscles, as much vigor as it needed. The day was blotted from life, not a trace was left. . . . The accumulated exhaustion of years robbed them of their appetites, and to be able to eat they drank long and deep, gauding on feeble, jaded stomachs with burning vodka. Exhausted with toil they drank deeply and swiftly, and in every heart there awoke and grew an incomprehensible, sickly irritation. It demanded an outlet. Clutching tenaciously at every pretext for unloading themselves of disgusting emotions, they fell upon each other for trifles with the spiteful ferocity of beasts, breaking into bloody quarrels which often led to serious injury, and even sometimes to murder. This lurking malice increased, inveterate as the incurable weariness of their bodies. They were born with this disease of the soul inherited from their fathers. Like a black shadow it had accompanied them from the cradle to the grave, spurting on their lives to hideous crimes soul sickening in their aimless cruelty and barbarity."

Our prison workshops are full of men and women sucked dry by the vampires of the "task" and underfed, and they cannot be trained in useful labor under such conditions, nor can they acquire habits of industry.

The work prisoners do in the prison workshops does not give them proper training for earning a living outside. When a prisoner has "pulled the task" for five years making garments he has not acquired training that is of the slightest use to him, for men do not make shirts, overalls nor women's house dresses in free factories, this is always women's work. The months of slavish labor presumed to train him for useful, law abiding life outside is worse than wasted for the criminal. The vicious "task" to which he has been driven by the most brutal punishments gives him no skill with which to earn a living. Driven and unpaid work never did, and never will, create self respect, or respect for law or labor. Slavery never made

The Channels of Waste

By STUART CHASE

Jules Verne once wrote a story which he called the "Mysterious Island." It was about four men abandoned on a desolate spot of land in the Pacific Ocean. Unlike Robinson Crusoe, they had access to no wrecked vessel from which supplies could be secured; they landed with their bare hands. But there were growing things upon the island; there were animals, minerals—the age long background of human life. And in the brain of the engineer who led the party there was science. With their bare hands they set to work. It was a desperate struggle but, step by step, they forced back cold, hunger and desolation, and in the end transformed their island into a pleasant home which yielded food, shelter, clothing, comforts.

Thus Verne has shown us, in a small way, the problem which all society faces in a big way; which it has always faced. In the complexity of modern civilization and the machine age, we tend to lose sight of those stark realities upon which our social life is founded, and failing which we could but sink to the level of the brute.

To meet the demands of the "Mysterious Island," every member of the shipwrecked crew put his shoulder to the wheel; as you or I or any other sane man would have done. On each man's labor the survival of the group depended. But suppose, just suppose, that one of the sailors had spent his days in sleeping on the beach; one had given all his energy to making mud pies; one had built a house on the shore by bringing stones from the top of a hill—when

an industrious man, no brutal exploitation an efficient worker.

Weakened by semi-starvation, sapped by confinement and bad air, bent by driven labor, broken by the lash and the dungeon contaminated by consumption and venereal diseases, dressed in prison shoddy, penniless, consumed by hates and social grudges the convict steps outside the prison gate to face the struggle for existence. Usually he is not strong enough to stand the test. He goes down in the struggle, drifts back into crime, and goes back to prison to be a perpetual expense to decent, law-abiding, taxpaying citizens, and a constant menace to free labor. And don't forget Mr. Union Man that all of this is a part of the price you pay when you buy a prison made garment.

there were plenty of stones nearer at hand; while the last in his line tried to clear a field, had carelessly buried off all the timber on the island.

Four madmen! Yes, mad indeed, when thus seen in miniature. But in our great society these are precisely the things which untold millions of us are constantly doing. Their mad acts illustrate the four great channels of industrial waste.

1. The sleeper on the beach represents the man-power which on any given working day is doing nothing—by virtue of unemployment, preventable accidents and diseases, strikes and lockouts—the idle rich, the Weary Willies. The great bulk, be it observed, are idle not because they want to be, but because they are forced to be. There are on the average about five million idle out of forty million potential workers in America.

2. The mud pie maker represents the man-power which goes into the production of harmful or useless things—patent medicines, opium, super luxuries, war preparations, adulterated goods, ferry building, the bulk of advertising, quackery of all kinds. There are between eight and ten million persons so engaged in America.

3. The stone house builder represents the excess man-power required to produce negligences and comforts because the technical arts—the best way of doing the job—are not made use of. Failure to use scientific management (with proper safeguards for labor like the Baltimore and Ohio shop plan), failure to match production against the real requirements of the consumer, excess plant capacity, cross hauling, the idiotic methods in milk distribution, too many retail stores, city congestion, locking up of new inventions—all combine to force the taking of two steps where one would suffice. The studies of Mr. Hoover's engineers and others give us ground for supposing that at least seven million workers count for nothing because the best methods of doing the job are not employed. Or in other words, if everybody kept at work, a great increase in the quantity of goods turned out could be achieved.

4. The field-clearer represents the waste of natural resources. In lumber, coal, oil, natural gas, soils, minerals, the North American continent has been gutted by methods so improvident, so careless, that for every ton reclaimed, a ton and more has gone to waste. Every year for 500 millions tons of soft coal dug, 750 million tons are wasted in the mine and in power utilization.

So what is folly and madness for four men on a desert island turns out to be normal business-as-usual in our great industrial society, considered as a whole. If society could be organized as the engineer organized his co-workers on the island, the present forty millions of us could turn out at least twice as much product, double the standard of living, utterly abolish poverty, slum dwelling, ugliness and crime, while using less raw coal and iron and lumber than we do at present, and working shorter hours. This is the challenge of waste. Amid the day by day struggle for higher wages and better working conditions—a struggle which must go on—it is well to remember, as President Green has pointed out, that in the last analysis labor as a whole can permanently better its condition, and make life more worthwhile, only by helping all sane plans to reduce the present vast margin of waste in the industrial structure.

Cooperative Doctors Ward Off Disease

Call the co-op doctor! Some of these days you'll be doing that when little Johnny is taken suddenly ill if you show the same regard for your family's welfare and the savings effected under cooperative service which folks in Edgerton, Alberta, do. How many trifling ailments and minor bruises are allowed to develop into serious and perhaps fatal maladies because the workman or farmer often feels unable to pay the high fees demanded by physicians.

Edgerton cooperators thought about that, too, and then decided to cooperate and hire a community doctor. Each family pays \$1.25 and is entitled to the ordinary services of the physician without further charge. In this way it reacts to the medical cooperative's benefit to keep members well, and so the doctor spends a good part

of his time in educating people against disease, acting on the wise Chinese principle that the doctor should be paid only as long as the patient is well. In China, however, the doctor receives no pay when the patient is ill, that being an indication, so the Chinese believe, that the medical adviser has been negligent in his duties.

Cooperative medical and hospital services have been supplied for decades by the large cooperative societies of Europe. In the Belgian city of Ghent, for instance, ten of the best doctors obtainable spend their full time keeping cooperators well. Even a small cooperative society can easily add medical service to its other activities, employing a physician part time if there should not be enough demand for full-time work.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel: Chelsea 2148

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Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year.

Vol. VII, No. 37.

Friday, September 11, 1925.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 23, 1919.

EDITORIALS

THE AGENDA AT THE SHOP-CHAIRMEN'S MEETING

We are sorry, indeed, that the cloak and dress shop chairmen, at their meeting last week in Cooper Union, had no opportunity to be heard in the discussion of the "peace" plan, the program for internal reform in our organization, adopted by the General Executive Board and the New York Joint Board. To reach a thorough and harmonious understanding in this very important matter, it is extremely necessary to have the voice and opinion of the chairmen, the Union's representatives in the shops.

Unfortunately, the time of the meeting was too limited to allow such a discussion last Wednesday. This will be done, we are quite certain, in a much better and a more impressive way this Thursday, at the second meeting of the shop chairmen, in the same assembly room. During last week, the shop chairmen have had time to consider the program submitted to them by President Sigman; they had the opportunity to acquaint themselves, through the columns of "Justice", with the real motives underlying it, and we have reason to hope therefore that they will come to that meeting prepared to talk in a relevant manner upon pertinent matters and lend clarity and constructiveness to the discussion.

We shall take the liberty to point out, in brief, our own opinion as to what may be relevant and what may be out of place in the present discussion. To begin with, we believe the shop chairmen should not waste any of their valuable time upon the question of proportional representation in joint boards. Mind you, we consider this to be a very important question, but it is a matter that can be decided only by the delegates of the next convention of the I. L. G. W. U. Such a convention, according to the program of the General Executive Board, is to take place very soon. Logic and justice, and the interests of the Union, demand therefore that it be left for the present out of discussion and until the next convention meets.

Equally irrelevant, in our opinion, would be for the shop chairmen to squander at this hour any of their time on the discussion of such matters as the amount of weekly dues to be paid by the members of the locals belonging to the Joint Board. The program calls for a new election of all officers in all these locals, i. e., for a change of the entire personnel of the Joint Board. This new Joint Board obviously will have to act in the matter of dues, as well as in all other matters that may come before it, in the spirit of the mandate that will be given it by the voters, and it would therefore be neither logical nor expedient for the shop chairmen to engage in heated argument over this subject at present.

There are, however, some very practical matters that ought not to fail to receive the attention of the shop chairmen this Thursday, and which we wish to mention here in brief.

According to the G. E. B.'s program, the coming local elections and the hearings of the appeal of the suspended executive members will be held under the auspices of a composite committee consisting of members of our own Union and of outstanding representatives of the Labor movement. This, beyond doubt, is a clear-cut innovation in the procedure of our International Union.

Heretofore, our Union has never permitted any outsiders, no matter what their reputation and standing in the movement may have been, to take part in the internal affairs of our organization. In our judgment, this has been a sound and rational trade union policy. What the Union itself could do for its own development and for the welfare of its members, it was in duty bound to do without the aid or counsel of any other outside group or agency. It was on this ground, indeed, that the Union has fought the Communists who had become obsessed with the idea that they knew better how to manage and lead our organization than its members themselves. It has always been our opinion that a trade union should rather manage itself even if it has to make errors and learn gradually how to avoid making them in the future than allow itself to be led by outside self-appointed wiseacres and menials.

By consenting to the participation of outside persons in the affairs of the Union, we are afraid, we may be opening the door to a new union policy, to a permanent precedent of conduct in our

Union. And the question arises: Is it advisable? Can not another method be devised which would place the purity and honesty of the forthcoming elections beyond the pale of any doubt without adopting the expedient of an outside committee?

For the moment, we admit, we cannot think of a better substitute. But in the course of the discussion a way might, perhaps, be found that would be satisfactory to all parties which would leave out the proposition of a composite committee, a proposition that may some day come back to plague us, or else affect our whole policy of self-determination which we have faithfully adhered to in the past. And let us state here again, what we had stated more than once on previous occasions: Our Union only began to grow and flourish after it had freed itself of dominating outside influences and commenced to live its own independent life.

Another relevant point on the shop chairmen's agenda would be the question of holding elections in all the locals affiliated with the Joint Board. The idea back of this decision, of course, was that, since the enemies of our organization have begun casting aspersions upon the honesty of the elections in these locals, as well as in the Joint Board, a clean sweep should be made so as to insure entirely new local boards as well as a new Joint Board. Just the same, a difference of opinion may arise, and not without logic entirely, in this matter. It may be argued that in such locals as 48 and 89, where there exists no trace of dissatisfaction with the existing executive boards, new elections might be quite a superfluous and irksome matter and will quite likely result in the reelection of the present boards.

That the three locals, 2, 9 and 22, must have new elections for officers, of course, goes without saying, and in this election neither the suspended nor the recently elected executive members should be eligible to appear on the ballot, for reasons given in these columns last week. It is important that in this election the question of "lefts" and "rights", of pro- or anti-administration candidates be entirely eliminated. As far as holding of elections in all the other locals of the Joint Board, however, debatable ground does exist and the shop chairmen may have their own opinion concerning it and they are entitled to voice it.

One more question, we believe, should not be left out of the discussion, namely, how to insure the same system of election to the coming convention not only in the New York locals but elsewhere in the country. We know, and we are convinced that our conventions in the past have never been "packed" or "machine" conventions as our detractors and enemies have recklessly, and without any ability to substantiate it, charged us with. We have been present to several of them, and invariably they have left upon us the incontestable impression of being truly representative of the rank and file of our organization. Since, however, the question of "honest" elections in our Union has been raised, and since the G. E. B. had already made a step in the direction of placing the elections in New York beyond even the trace of suspicion, steps should be taken to elevate the choice of delegates to as high a plane as possible in every locality where there are I. L. G. W. U. locals.

These, among others, should be the questions for the shop chairmen to discuss at their next meeting. Grievances, real and imaginary, against this or that officer or against this or that individual act of the Union, should be left out of this discussion, if it is to bring permanent and constructive results. The next convention will, no doubt, do everything in its power to eliminate whatever real ground there is for genuine grievances and dissatisfaction in our Union, and will at the same time expose the injustice of the many fantastic grievances and of the many undeserved charges heaped upon our organization.

This meeting of shop chairmen will be confronted with the big task of adding in carrying out the conscientiously prepared program for greater democracy in our Union—within every local of the Joint Board as speedily and as thoroughly as possible. This meeting, therefore, cannot afford to waste its time upon fantastic plans and chimeric suggestions manufactured by either fools or knaves. If the shop-chairmen act in this moment of emergency as true Union men, they can bring the organization out of the present morass and upon the road to further progress and advancement.

We hope that they will understand that such as attempt to swerve our Union from its right course at this hour are, consciously or unconsciously, its worst enemies. It is time, high time, to quit hammering away at the vitals of our organization; it is time for constructive work, and the next meeting of the shop chairmen should recognize that the program for internal reform submitted by the G. E. B., as a whole, is the best constructive plan ever proposed in our Union.

This program should be made part and parcel of the life of our Union at once. The scandalous behavior of a part of our membership must cease, and with its cessation peace and orderliness shall again be restored to our Union, so that it might once more proceed to do its most important work, the caring for the improvement of the workers' conditions in the shops. This, and only this, the shop chairmen should have in mind, if the next meeting is to bring the eagerly-looked for peace and progress in our midst.

The "Tent City" of Willimantic

Bedsides, baby carriages, kitchen chairs, clocks, and all other "narrative" family friends piled themselves up on the sidewalks of Willimantic, Connecticut, on a July day several weeks ago. That was in the eighth week of the American Thread Company operatives' strike, and some one hundred and fifty strikers' families were being evicted from the company-owned houses in which they had dwelt, some of them for forty years.

The evicted ones stood silently by, their feelings unexpressed even when such devastations occurred as in the case of the Chamberlain family's plane. It was dropped out of the front window of their former home at 341 Main Street, falling six feet to the ground. Not so good for planes! No key responded to the touch thereafter. So when the sheriff and his six assistants tackled the next plane, strikers asked permission to move it themselves, and in a way planes should be moved. The request was granted.

The reason for this long struggle, now in its twenty-fifth week, has no sign of an immediate agreement being reached, is that the American Thread Company put into effect a ten per cent wage reduction last January. Protests by the workers were unheeded, all attempts at negotiating the differences failed, and in March 2,500 operatives went on a strike which is attracting nation-wide attention. These workers have known the orderliness of trade union procedure because for seventeen years they have worked under an agreement between the mill owners and the United Textile Workers of America.

According to William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, this "reduction of 10 per cent imposed in the Willimantic district is regarded as one of the most uncalled for and indefensible reduction in wages ever offered or demanded by employers of labor."

All the textile manufacturers who have launched a wage-cutting campaign are in line for an attack through their most treasured privilege next congress—the tariff. President Green declares that if the tariff wall is built to protect special industries from competition by foreign manufacturers and then they reduce wages, "the government in all fairness should reduce the tariff schedules and tear down the tariff wall which has been so skillfully built."

These and many other salient points are brought out in his letter of August 15, to M. G. Pierce, President of the American Woolen Company. Certain of these details help give the background for the Willimantic picture—the evicted families, the long, long weeks of no pay envelope and no good thread manufactured.

"Notwithstanding this consideration (the tariff) accorded the textile manufacturers by the congress," states President Green, "no other industry in the United States has made such a record for wage reductions and strikes as that of the textile industry. Furthermore, no industry has paid higher dividends or issued more stock dividends than the companies and corporations engaged in the manufacture of textiles."

This same discussion brought out the exceptionally low cost of labor in the knitting of hose, one woman operator, running 25 machines knitting 15 dozen pairs of socks daily and receiving 2 cents per dozen pairs—and there are 24 socks in every dozen pair, it is well to bear in mind. These were the socks retailed in the ten cent stores at 10 cents per pair. The total cost of labor on such a pair of socks from raw material to

finished socks was 2 cents, the lowest price per pair for finished socks paid operators anywhere throughout the world.

It may further be brought out that a single operator running 20 to 30 of the newest type machines knitting women's silk hose, produced 80 to 100 dozen pairs daily, for which she received one third of one cent per pair. Testimony was also furnished demonstrating that with few exceptions the item of labor in the textile industry is from one-tenth to one-fifth the factory selling price of the product.

Quoting again from the letter referred to, "It is interesting to note the methods employed by the owners and managers of textile manufacturing plants. For instance, in the years 1919 a meeting was held in Boston and an agreement reached to close all factories. This agreement

In January, 1925, the American Thread Company, of Willimantic, Connecticut, imposed a wage reduction of ten per cent upon its employees.

In 1924 this same company declared a dividend of ten per cent to all stock holders, while \$1,380,000 was added to the reserve fund.

Together with others of the textile industry, this company enjoys the protection of a tariff.

was carried out and the manufacturing plants remained idle for several months. Following this, the same manufacturers met in Boston in 1920 at which time they voted to open the factories at a reduction in wages amounting to 25 per cent. The employees who had been starved into submission accepted this reduction and resumed work. In 1922 a further reduction amounting to 20 per cent was offered to the employees, but the manufacturers failed to enforce it. A recent reduction of 10 per cent is offered in the face of the fact that stock dividends ranging from 50 to 2,000 per cent had been voted by certain textile companies.

"The latest reduction of 10 per cent imposed in the Willimantic district is regarded as one of the most uncalled for and indefensible reductions in wages ever offered or demanded by employers of labor. In order to enforce these reductions many men, women and children have been evicted from company-owned houses and are being compelled to live in a tent colony while the company which demanded and is enforcing this reduction in wages operated six months during the year 1924 and declared a dividend of ten per cent payable to stock holders while \$1,380,000 was added to the reserve fund."

Wage Reduction Unjustified

"Laying aside humane considerations and considering the question of reduction in wages upon the facts herewith submitted, how can the textile manufacturers justify their demand for lower wages and how can they sustain their position in enforcing lower wages?"

"On July 25th when I learned of the arbitrary reduction of ten per cent which was being demanded and enforced by certain textile manufacturers, I stated that such reduction was not based upon reason, fairness or justice. I further charged that such reduction in wages was 'economically and morally wrong.' Consequently I was gratified when I learned that at a meeting held August 1st by twenty-five New England wool and worsted manufacturers most of

them operating mills in Worcester County, Massachusetts, it was agreed by all those present that the reduction of ten per cent ordered by the big companies was entirely unnecessary and that it would reduce the purchasing power of textile operators and therefore prove harmful to business in general. This group of manufacturers refused to reduce wages, and by this action proved that a reduction in wages was unnecessary and unjust."

Moving to "Tent City"

But going back to that July morning and furniture and folks that had no home. Where did they all go? To "Tent City!" And "Tent City" is five acres of land donated by a friend upon which the United Textile Workers of America have set up this tent community. It is organized on a military basis under a World War veteran, this strict plan having the strikers' own sanction. A mess kitchen was erected to feed the colony.

The United Textile Workers of America, under whose jurisdiction all these workers come, sent Mary Kelleher to Willimantic and there she has remained supervising the campaign, leaving only to carry the story of the strikers' courage and their needs to other cities.

A National Women's Trade Union League member, who is one of the strikers, writes that the material aid given by International Headquarters has been supplemented by "flower days" which have been held throughout the state and even in neighboring states. Scores of strikers have carried on these sales. Free transportation is given them on some bus lines; other sympathizers giving the use of automobiles. In addition to the flower sales, some of the operatives have gone into other cities, collecting money at the doors of various mills and shops.

Fraternity in Practice

Many people on strike have not accepted one cent of aid since the beginning of "vacation." It is impossible to give aid to all, so everyone sacrifices in order that those who are badly in need can be assisted.

In addition the dire need of the strikers and their families, all the other elements which enter into an industrial uprising are present—an unfriendly local press, strike breakers coming in, having been recruited from Lowell, Cambridge and Boston through employment agencies established there by the American Thread Company. The strike-breakers, all experienced workers, keep coming and going. This labor turn-over—so productive of waste—can be found repeated here, there and everywhere.

Strike Breakers—Poor Thread

In a mid-west factory a skilled button-hole maker complained of the quality of thread supplied, showing how it would become rough, knot and hinder the machine. The superintendent assured her it was the same brand and she was never used, but after much struggling with the poor quality, the thread company's representative was shown the recalcitrant spools. At first he was firm in his assurance that it was the same brand, same quality in every way, but when further pressed, he told of the strike in Willimantic and of the unskilled labor manning the machines.

The strikers at Willimantic have shown remarkable solidarity and a fine courage. One of the operatives, writing late in July, states that there had not yet been a desertion from the ranks, even though the mill owners have made many efforts to break the morale; and that, from the spirit displayed, there would probably be none.

Willimantic's Need

We have shown only the high lights in this picture of the spinners of our thread and their struggle to win a fair wage assuring a moderately good standard of living. Willimantic is not so far from many of us and the needs of the thread mill operatives is linked very closely with our own needs. An injustice to one group of valuable producers in our vast economic scheme touches an ever widening circle, for "labor's kinship is as wide as life."

What is your reaction? How many cents or dollars for food and what needed clothing can you spare for the families of "Tent City" and others of the 2,500 who are voicing their protest so courageously and effectively against a grave wrong? In all, there are 700 families whose immediate wants are our concern.

With the authorization of the United Textile Workers of America, the National Women's Trade Union League, at its headquarters, 311 So. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, offers itself as a forwarding agency for all that can be sent. Checks in any amount will be acknowledged and forwarded immediately to the strikers. As to clothing, shoes with good soles are most needed. Both car-cashier charges and time will be saved by sending all articles of wearing apparel direct to Miss Mary Kelleher, Hotel Hooker, Willimantic, Connecticut.

Save the Darlings

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

"Repeat the inheritance taxes" is the lusty advice of President Coolidge.

The Income Tax Reports just now published show that President Coolidge pays a 16,000-dollars income tax—even though his salary as a president is not taxable. It is thus evident that the President is a wealthy man. Now suppose he should die and this large fortune, much of it would fall to his son John. Son John would thus win the race of life without having to run any. He wouldn't need to "strike a tap" to get a high-grade living all the rest of his life. It would be passed into his lap month by month in dividends, rent and interest.

This would be dangerous for John; the President's policy of repealing the Inheritance Taxes is all wrong. The fact is that the state should absorb the great fortunes in inheritance taxes—to save the children of the rich against the great dangerous wrong of enabling them to win the race of life without running. If the state absorbed the great wealth of the rich the children of the rich would not thus miss the stimulus of struggling fiercely against poverty, in their enjoyment of the thrilling struggle with the wolves of want they would be able to develop properly; they would not become flabby in moral fiber. They would have become flabby in moral fiber. They would have the incentive, the glory, and the sweet-sweetened joy of sweat-stained toil.

These darlings of the rich must be protected. Preachers, teachers, educators and big business men are always singing the praises of the influence of necessity, the necessity of making a great struggle. Down with this special privilege of the children of the poor, the privilege of being poor. Run up the inheritance tax bill the children of the rich have so much chance to keep their money, self-interest, some chance to thrill with the wolfish hunt for jobs. "Equality is the stuff." All right. Let's have some equality in the amount of the necessary struggle for bread—and thus save the darlings of the rich.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Here There Is Life

By SYLVIA KOPALO

THE CREATIVE LIFE. By Ludwig Lewisohn. New York: Boni and Livright, 1932d.

For many years now Ludwig Lewisohn has passed in review the varied outpourings of modern art. Adventuring among masterpieces—and less than masterpieces—he has been so certain of what he wanted, so sure-fingered in spotting the true and the false, that his criticisms have become both the individual expression of a fine artist and the artistic standards of a maturing society. He has stood consistently for a view of the life of the mind that has set his work above the periodic regularity of journalistic criticism. The weekly estimates of current art that have appeared above his name have savored from the start of permanence. Ludwig Lewisohn is today a figure and a symbol.

There can be no finer indication of his place in the generation than the completeness with which his individual appraisals meet the artistic needs of the times. For all his distant personality, Mr. Lewisohn speaks with the accents that can be heard in Menckes and Van Wyck Brooks and Stark Young and Bourne and all the rest of that splendid band who were willing to break trails for true art through the Philistine tangles of present day America. Mr. Lewisohn asks from art and life what all malcontents of the spirit demand from our evolving land. And because they have had the courage to demand these things the way has been made easier for the O'Neills and the Andersons and the Lewises and the Lawsons and the Stallings and the rest. To read a Lewisohn criticism is to come spiritually home. There is in his every sentence a familiarity that ties it with the most deeply felt cravings of one's own mind and soul.

The expressions of his demands from life and art have multiplied steadily. We have heard from him on the needs and place of modern drama, on literature, poetry, the stage. Now finally he has brought together all these thoughts upon art and being into a way of life, "The Creative Life" is at once a philosophy and a creed. It offers to many a code for living as satisfying and enriching as a young religion. Some will find in science what Mr. Lewisohn finds in art; together science and art make the goals, the method and the daily stuff of true living. There is nothing else.

The philosophy that underlies Mr. Lewisohn's thinking soon reveals the wherefore of this hard exclusiveness. For, in the beginning, says Mr. Lewisohn's code, there was life. Life is no narrow, Grundled episode. It is heroic, cosmic adventure. Mrs. Grundy seeps from life into the arms of moral righteousness. But moral righteousness is a bundle of external compulsions, compulsions that serve their purpose in some far-off days, hand tenaciously on after their day of service has passed and nourish Mrs. Grundy through the deficiencies of her own life experience. External compulsions change and pass, morals vary with the age and intellectual forms crumble and decay even while their proponents are proclaiming their everlastingness. But life, life remains, proceeding, flowing forever. At its core lie seeds of unchanging experience, unchanging values. Man

himself, and the life he is permitted to lead is the final test of an age.

That is why Mr. Lewisohn so unceasingly counsels a great tolerance. "The world spirit," he quotes from Goethe, "is far more tolerant than people think." Yet Mr. Lewisohn's tolerance is all for the folk, for the blundering and self-inflicted pain of man. These things move him to an engulfing sadness, but he can understand them. For the knowings of men with pre-established ideas, or the other hand, for the corroding judgments of Philistine civilization and the easy silliness of professionally witty critics, Mr. Lewisohn has scant patience. Mr. Lewisohn is pursuing a way of life; his sincerity has long since marked its true obstacles and barriers.

Life is adventure; art is vision. It at once sees life in its single manifestations and projects these details into a whole. The greatest art makes the universal out of the special case, and in doing so it leaves that very life a little richer than it found it. Thus art becomes both a mirror and a creator of life. Indeed, there is in the development of the artistic life an evolving course that closely parallels the course of life itself. In that course, earlier thinkers lead to later, and there come from time to time great leaps—perhaps mutations—in which books are written that become models for later imaginations. These models are the great classics. And little wonder that the courses of art and life parallel each other. Art finds its materials in life and as the details of that living changes its artistic reproduction and enlargement must also change. Consequently art and life soon become so inextricably interwoven, so closely one that it is difficult to distinguish which is art and which life.

Thus it is that the creative life becomes so undeniably the highest way of life. For those who are privileged to know such living break new trails into which the stream of life can course. They free men from the grip of encrusted traditions and thus give them an opportunity for free living. They point the facts of experience with a vision that gives them both direction and the richness that comes from direction. They enthroned fearlessness by helping men see the whole truth of things; they become the lights errant of beauty and tolerance whenever they are beset by the villainies of stupidity and established righteousness. There is indeed a nobly stirring life; theirs is the work to affirm unendingly man's right to be himself. Thus they become in a last analysis life itself. Without the creative life there would be no life, no life but the stereotyped shells marked with the trappings of being but filled with the substance of hard timidity and forced conformities.

It is easy to understand, therefore, why Mr. Lewisohn sets the standards for admission into the creative brotherhood so high. One of our real social ideals should be, of course, the building of a society in which all men will be enabled to partake to some extent of the creative life. But the measure into which the creative ar-

tists or scientist must fit will always be large, too large to accommodate any but the finest and greatest. These must be able to see beyond the judgments of their day to the core of life itself. They must be able to pass the market untempted and to dispense with systems and wirework-craft. They must be too firmly grounded in man and life to be swept off their feet by the ultra artists of their day, such as the Virginia Woolfs and Waldo Franks and all the other new mediums of our own day. But they must also be agile enough to renounce mere photography in literature, and to see philosophy and understanding wherever it lies—whether in a major story like "The Way of All Flesh," or a neglected masterpiece like "Of Human Bondage," or a crude promise like "Rober Bloomer." They must be strong enough to brave the established righteousness of their age and weak enough to be ever moved to tears by folk suffering; they must be bellicose enough to strike down mere conformity and stupidity and domination wherever it may be found and pacific enough to tolerate all the human frailties of

man himself; they must be insistent enough to demand beauty and understanding in the web of life and patient enough to understand why the weaving is oftentimes so slow.

As is his wont, Mr. Lewisohn writes down this way of life in word music so lovely and so apt that it crystallizes as the expression of what he formulates for us. There is his usual sadness in this book and his usual understanding. So much has it grown out of his day to day thinking that it possesses a unity belonging rather to a singly articulated philosophy than a collection of time-paced essays. The creative life, as Mr. Lewisohn sees it, is measured here in and by all the media and interests of art and being—by games, experience, words, the novel, creative criticism, the theatre, literature and life. It is an artist's book written for a maturing society and a generation in which the artist's life is better understood and more venerated than ever before in these United States.

All workers should make it their business to read his book. For it, like they, point to the future which may yet be.

Review of August In Industry

Are we in a period of genuine prosperity? Judging by the boom in the prices of stocks in Wall Street, we are; judging by the wage reductions of textile workers, we are not. Judging by the volume of automobiles sold, we are; by the falling off in unfilled orders of the U. S. Steel Corporation, we are not. Judging by the unprecedented amount of building construction, we are; by the chaotic condition of the bituminous coal industry, we are not. All of which means that conditions are what is known as "spotty," or "uneven"—as indeed they always are except in times of extreme depression or of extreme prosperity. What you think of conditions today depends largely upon with what part of the economic structure you yourself are connected. If you are an owner of a bituminous coal mine, you are most likely showering your blessings on the G. O. P. and the high tariff. If instead of being a capitalist, you are a worker, and if you happen to be a building mechanic, you are probably reasonably well satisfied with things as they are; but if you are an employee of a textile mill and have just had 10 per cent deducted from your already emaciated pay envelope, then you undoubtedly are wondering what all the shouting is about. If you are one of those farmers whose winter wheat crop was spoiled by weather conditions, you will get little consolation from the fact that the purchasing power of the rural price is higher than it was a year ago; but if your crop was spared and you profit from the better prices brought about by the destruction of your neighbor's, why then all's well. If 10 years ago you had a little money saved up and decided to invest it in railroad stocks, you would have about one-tenth of your original investment left if you had chosen the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, while you would have about undragged your original investment, if you had the foresight to select Southern Railway.

Our answer to the question raised in the first sentence is now self-evident. Are we in a period of prosperity? Yes and no. It all depends. Still this is certainly begging the question for even in a country as large as ours and one whose resources and industries are as diversified as ours are, it is possible to arrive at some general conclusion as to conditions—to average up the North, the South, the East, the West, the bad, the good and the indifferent and to arrive at some composite picture.

If we do so, we can say that at present—

1. Employment conditions are fair for this time of the year but there is no real shortage of labor anywhere.
2. Wages are just about holding their own with the rising cost of living but are not buying many silk shirts after the butcher, baker and candlestick-maker have been paid.
3. The curve of production has commenced to turn upward, but the demand on the productive capacity of the country is well below the maximum potential load.
4. Wholesale buying, while large, is still "from hand to mouth." Retail distribution is very active.
5. Merchandise is not accumulating on either the wholesalers' or retailers' shelves. There is plenty to supply the demand, and promptly.
6. Credit is ample for all legitimate and a great many illegitimate needs.
7. The farmer is somewhat better off than he was last year.
8. The spring pessimism has been replaced by a general feeling of optimism. Everyone is predicting a good autumn business.

New Words! New Words!

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Air Council	askari	capital ship
blind gun	stiplo	mystery ship
Ruthless	acero	fridenets
persuasive	Wing Day	
mechano	Red Star	Knickerbocker
S. P. boat	overhead	Blus Cross
serial cascade		
camp-fire girl		

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

Labor Wants Justice in School Textbooks

THE A. F. of L. committee on education requests all central labor bodies to aid it in a survey of textbooks in history, civics, economics and sociology used in primary and secondary public schools.

The central bodies are asked to fill out a questionnaire, and appoint a committee to assist the A. F. of L. committee if this has not previously been done. The committee will later issue a statement to the unions on the merits and shortcomings, from the trade union standpoint, of the civic books used in their respective localities.

"If these texts," said Matthew Woll, chairman of the A. F. of L. committee, "are definitely poor in quality or distinctively hostile to labor movement, then you will be in a position to take up the question of a more suitable text with the proper school authorities."

Scientists Ridicule Ford's Phoney Milk

FORD's plan to manufacture artificial milk and put the cow out of business is ridiculed by scientists in the department of agriculture.

The chemists intimate that Henry can make a good imitation of an automobile, but he is outside his jurisdiction when he would make a substitute for the cow. They say that a number of patents have been taken out to produce a milk synthetically, but the silver king is the first to propose to manufacture it on a commercial scale. These scientists claim that the elements in cow's milk can not be reproduced artificially. The imitation milk idea has been taken from Germany, it is stated. Chemical reports show that a certain kind of milk has been produced there from soy beans. It has, according to these reports, "a yellowish white color and a sweetish taste." It is a failure for infant feeding purposes.

Labor's Picture Film Will Depict Progress

WHEN labor's moving picture is completed, trade unionists and sympathizers will be astonished at the workers' gains.

This is the verdict of President Green and officers of the A. F. of L. union label trades department, who have read the scenario as submitted by John J. Manning, secretary-treasurer of the department, and Douglas Rothacker, producer of the film.

The picture will be used in the forthcoming organization and union label educational campaign of the A. F. of L. and the union label trades department.

One of the film features depicts progress made since men and women were sold on the auction block, even before the Christian era. To emphasize work conditions in modern times, and before the A. F. of L. was formed, the home life of trade unionists is compared with non-union workers. The degradation of the sweatshop system is shown. This is followed by sanitary workshops and other results of collective bargaining. An interesting story will be interwoven through the picture, and the significance of the union label will be continually impressed.

Higher Rail Rates Offer No Solution

WITH the nation's larger railroads facing unparalleled prosperity, some financial observers question if increased rates will aid railroads that have failed to secure a net profit of 5% per cent.

Many transportation system are applying efficiency methods the last few years, and this has resulted in large figures on the credit side of the ledger. Other roads are staggering under heavy deficits. The defunct Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul must meet \$246,990,000 in maturities in the next 10 years.

The financial observers suggest that instead of insisting on higher rates, provisions of the transportation act should be enforced by the railroad managers. If present rates are increased, it is said, a large part of the additional revenue would go to more prosperous roads. The carriers in need of financial aid would have to have rate increases of from 30, 30 and 40 per cent.

Trade Union Opponent Would Advise Workers

FAILURE in "leadership" in organized labor is one of the causes for present-day industrial turmoil, according to L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware & Hudson railroad.

Mr. Loree's criticism of trade union officials recalls that he is one of the nation's most bitter opponents of collective bargaining. He led this group in the industrial conference at Washington, called by President Wilson.

Mr. Loree's idea of "leadership" in organized labor is to have no organized labor, but permit each worker to negotiate with corporations.

Union Watermelons Marketed in Chicago

THIRTY car loads of nearly 30,000 watermelons have been handled the last two weeks by the Farmer-Labor Exchange of Chicago. They were raised by the National Farm Labor Union and are marketed through their agency, the Farmer-Labor exchange. Officers of the exchange point to their success as indicative of the farmers' determination to get rid of the middle men. The exchange is handling coal from southern Illinois mine workers. The coal is marketed at a big saving to trade unionists, organized farmers and cooperatives.

Year Book Records Labor's Gains

GAINS in shorter hours of work, in more aggressive trade union tactics, in political strength, and in international unity, are all recorded for the labor movement in the American Labor Year Book, issued by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, New York. The book's survey of industrial conditions, trade union activity, labor in politics, labor

FOREIGN ITEMS

GREAT BRITAIN

More and More Unemployment

A REPORT just published by the British Ministry of Labor shows that the unemployment figures are going up by leaps and bounds. The number of persons registered at the Labor Exchanges on August 4th was 1,250,400—an increase of 62,769 on the previous week alone, and 180,166 more than on the same date in the previous year.

Already on June 1st this year there was an unusual increase of 60,778 in one week. This figure has now been exceeded by about 2000. In reality the position is even worse, for many of the unemployed have lately been deprived of unemployment benefit as a result of the economy campaign which has been introduced by the Government.

GERMANY

A Triple Alliance in Germany

AN alliance has just been formed between the organizations of State and Municipal Employees, the unions concerned being the Union of Municipal and State Workers, and the National Union of German Municipal Employees on the one hand, and the National Union of Railwaymen of Germany and the German Transport and Communications Federation on the other, the object being to secure effective joint representation of the various interests concerned. Cooperation is also to extend beyond the joint promotion of common interests to the promulgation of general principles respecting wages and salaries, and social labor law.

All actions for the raising of salaries and wages and for the shortening of working hours or shifts are to be conducted in close collaboration, and also all social-political measures.

A separate agreement lays down the general lines on which propaganda work is to be done, the object of this being to prevent demarcation disputes.

Disputes concerning the form of organization are thus settled in the only possible and practical way. The organizations of public and private transport and communications will certainly not close their doors against the other organizations. They will undoubtedly prefer to leave the way for amalgamation with these others, so that at some later period it may be possible to make some very comprehensive alliance of transport and communications organizations. The movement is in a state of flux, the way lies open, and the final object is clearly to be seen.

SWITZERLAND

Opium Traffic Grows; Nations Not Sincere

THE opium traffic can not be controlled because it is impossible to depend upon the honesty of some governments, said Sir John Campbell of India, before the league of nations' opium advisory committee.

It was stated that the traffic is larger than at any time since the commission was organized. Manufacturers and a well organized distribution syndicate have vast resources and nearly a score of factories exist in various countries, Sir John said.

League statistics show that approximately 4,000 chests of opium were shipped to the Orient the past year, although conditions in Europe and North America are improving. It is impossible for conditions in China to be worse, it is said.

Sir John Jordan, aged British anti-narcotic crusader, defended the American delegates, who recently withdrew from the opium conference. He said the only remedy for this evil was to stop production at its source instead of permitting manufacture and then seeking to control distribution.

BELGIUM

40 Years Jubilee of the Belgian Labor Party

ON August 15th the Belgian Labor Party celebrated the 40th Anniversary of its founding. In the morning, Camille Heymans, the Minister of Education opened an exhibition in the Trade Union Club and later on a memorial tablet was affixed on the house in which the Belgian Labor Party was founded.

In the afternoon there was a procession so arranged as to present the History of the Movement. Vandervelde, the secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Hertrard, another cabinet minister, and Anseele, Minister of Transport, all made speeches; there were also present at the jubilee numerous guests from abroad. L. Jouxhaux represented the international trade union movement in his capacity as vice-president of the I. F. T. U.

and the law, cooperation, and other topics, in America and abroad, is studied with encouraging facts. Other facts, not so rosy, are given and these should inspire to greater effort.

Freedom for Every Seaman

ANDREW FURUSETH, the chief with the vision of freedom for every seaman of the world, is in Europe undertaking the biggest task of his lifetime. America is the one country that treats her sailors like human beings, due to the seamen's act of 1915 which permits them the right held by every landsman, i. e., to leave his master and his job if he is dissatisfied. The rest of the nations persist in the slave clause which makes a sailor leaving his ship in safe harbor a deserter and a felon. "Andy" Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union, with the backing of that body, brought about this great good. Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, France and England will be visited by this champion of freedom in an effort to persuade these nations to write a new international statute in line with the La Follette law.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

"Clear Voices In English and American Literature"

By B. J. R. Stolper

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

Lesson 11.—"Byron and Shelly"—Revolt.

Byron—His Life.—Poseur, profligate, and genius; the most admired and imitated man in Europe; the most detested and admired man in England. His travels, his adventures, his heartless love affairs. His leap into fame, and sudden expulsion from his country. His death and the gesture for Greek freedom.

The Key to His Work.—Revolt! against man, against God, against power and convention of any and every sort. His heroes are all rebels and exiles: Cain, against all mankind, a murderer; Manfred, against God, man and the devil; Don Juan, against the moral law; Selim in the Bride of Abydos, a pirate of the seas; Childe Harold, a restless fugitive.

The Key to His Character.—An egotist, a maker of gestures, a melodramatic poseur, with one eye on the mirror and the other on the spectators. A genius for effect.

His Power.—Extraordinary ease, melody and swiftness in poetry, especially in vividness of description.

His Works.—"Childe Harold", a rhapsody of travel to the thrilling shrines of history. "Don Juan", witty, cynical, brilliant; the eternal and unscrupulous lover; "Cain", "Manfred", "The Corsair", "The Bride of Abydos", etc.

Shelly—His Life.—Shelly was everything in fact, that Byron played at being; a radical, a hater of hypocrisy, a willing martyr to high principle, a flame of poetry and genuine one. His young essay on atheism and expulsion from college. His elopement with Harriet Westbrook. The strange episode of Mary Godwin. His tragic, poignant death.

Note.—It is earnestly hoped that every student will read "Ariel" by Andre Maurois, one of the finest books of recent times, and quite the most vivid picture that can be given of Shelly, his life, death, surroundings and significance.

His Works.—"Prometheus Unbound", a poetic drama of the freeing of men; impassioned, powerful, vast—Milton with fire burning through it. "Adonais", an inexpressibly lovely lament for the death of the poet Keats. His matchless lyrics, "The Cloud", "To a Skylark", "Ode to the West Wind", "When the Lamp is Shattered", his sonnet, "Zyandandis".

Characteristics of His Work.—Unearthly beauty and melody. Spontaneous, never artificial, love and indignation, sympathy for men and nature. The purest voice in English literature. The firmest faith that there will some day be true freedom. Defiance of every tyranny; generosity, eagerness to suffer for right. And above all, and always, a thirst for beauty, beauty, and an incredible outpouring of loveliness.

The Contribution of Workers' Education to the Labor Movement

By FANNIA M. COHN

THE pioneers of the Workers' Education Movement have always emphasized the fact that the aims of the movement are two-fold: individual and collective. While it does offer the worker as an individual an opportunity to develop his personality and character and acquaint himself with the world he lives in, they feel that its particular aim lies rather in making him more effective in his group, thus strengthening the workers' organization. One of its important functions is to interest the worker in the industry in which he is engaged. This includes its productive processes, its technique of craftsmanship, its specific economic problems and the place it occupies in our economic and social structure. The movement should also, they felt, interest and inform the workers in the aims, purposes and policies of their trade unions.

These founders, who were trade unionists themselves, always emphasized in their literature that it is not only at the Workers' Study class but at the trade union assembly, whether shop meeting, general meeting or

convention that the workers get their real schooling. They held, further, that all the education given must be co-ordinated with the interests of the trade union. The scope of workers' education, indeed, goes far beyond the classroom.

The effect of the Workers' Education Movement is that the trade unions are becoming increasingly conscious of their importance in our industrial society, the workers as a group are becoming more and more interested in their own history and problems.

In this direction will be of great assistance the development of Summer Institutes with their week-end conferences that are attended by men and women prominent in the Labor Movement as well as by technicians in the rank and file.

Workers Education has stimulated an interest on the part of the unions in every problem. Organized labor is beginning to realize that it is far behind commerce and industry in capitalizing its experience. It is finding that if the new men and women leaders who are taking the place of

Our Unity Centers will reopen this Monday. As previously there will be classes in English and courses on economic and labor topics. Those of our members who wish to join the classes may register either at the office of our Educational Department, 3 W. 16 street, or at the following Public School:

P. S. 25, 326 E. 5th St., Manhattan.

P. S. No. 46, 320 E. 20th St., Manhattan.

P. S. 171, 103rd St. bet. Madison and Fifth Ave., Manhattan.

P. S. 61, Crotona Park E. and Charlotto St., Bronx.

P. S. 42, Brown Place and 135th St., Bronx.

P. S. 156, Christopher Ave. & Sacman St., Brooklyn.

Those registering will have to remember to tell the principal that they are members of the I. L. G. W. U. and further that they wish to join our Unity Centers. In accordance with our plan our Educational Department is arranging courses to be given in each Unity Center. Later in the season the topics will be announced. For further information our members may apply to our Educational Department.

Teachers' Function in the Labor Movement

So many members of the teaching profession complain that despite their interest in the Labor Movement they cannot function in it, because the American Labor Movement is too "narrow-minded" to admit intellectuals to its councils.

It is worth while to point out that the membership of the trade union movement as such, throughout the world leaves for itself the right to formulate its policies and tactics and the direction of the affairs of the organization. This is the only social institution through which workers function. In this respect, consequently, there is no difference between the action of the American Labor movement and that of the Labor movements of all other countries.

This does not mean, however, that the Labor Movement is really rejecting the assistance and co-operation of the honest and earnest college men who are in sympathy with the aims of organized labor. It is only a question of finding the place through which they can function in the Labor movement. This is afforded them by the movement for Workers' Education. Through the study classes they come in touch with the rank and file as well as with the leadership of trade unions. The teaching profession can be of great use to the Labor movement, and learn a great deal about it, and we hope they will take advantage of this opportunity and will offer their services to workers' colleges and study classes.

W. E. B.

International Summer Schools

The Summer School is quite popular in Europe, especially in England. The latest development there is the International Summer School which is carried on under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Several summer schools were held last year in Vienna and in Ruskin College, Oxford, England. This year schools are being held at the Swedish National Center, Helsingfors, Sweden, and in Prague.

The student body consists of representatives of many European countries, and the labor, economic, political and social problems of each country are discussed. The object of these

ventures is to establish a closer understanding among the various countries and better international relations between the workers. Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the W. E. B. is lecturing in these schools on the American Labor Movement.

The movement for international schools is most encouraging and we hope that it has a great future before it. More than anything else the world needs a better international understanding among the workers of the various countries, and Europe has learned that no one country can solve its economic problems without the assistance of the others.

the pioneers who laid the foundations of our labor movement are to be effective they must have the benefit of the experience accumulated by their predecessors. They need histories of trade unions—memories of trade union leaders, etc. The Workers' Education Movement is stimulating an interest in the writing of these necessary works so that the young workers who found the unions already in existence and were not engaged in the supreme struggle for their creation, shall be brought up in such an atmosphere as will strengthen their faith in the movement.

Through the influence of the movement, also, labor is discovering the necessity for formulating more clearly its theories so that in the future their contentions may be based on basic principles and these in turn on facts.

The labor movement finds itself branching out into many new fields. It is beginning to realize that it is

not enough to provide for workers' education for individuals, but that it must give training for collective expression. This movement must express the ideals, aims, and problems of the labor movement.

As a recognition of the importance of workers' Education to the Labor Movement, was the unanimous decision of the El Paso Convention of the American Federation of Labor to recommend to its affiliated unions that they affiliate with the Workers' Education Bureau on a per capita basis, by paying one-half cent per annum.

GRASP THIS OPPORTUNITY!

THE Office of the International, 3 West 46th 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.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

ВНИМАНИЮ КОМУНИКЕРОВ.

В понедельник, 14-го сентября, в 7 ч. 30 м. вечера, в помещении 315 Нст 3-ой ул., состоится истинное собрание членов Русско-Польского Отдела Коммунистов. Будет доложена программа организации нашего движения. Будут допущены только члены Г. П. О., имеющие достояние членства.

Секретари М. Шевченко.

ИЗ БЫТА ШВЕДНИКОВ В СОЛ. РОССИИ.

(Перепечатка из № 13 московского "Швейника", страница 265).

Журнал заводской.

Заводский журнал отдала швейная московского Губтеледа, хотя и получила сравнительно небольшой склад материалов — всего по одному катушечному, а второй по простому расходу — не имеет на продажу катушек; следовательно, катушки придется, заведя порознь своим. Любопытно знать, откуда на все это у него средства берутся.

"А союз про это знает, Стрелки мер не принимают. Обещали сотрудничать. Не боится ничего. И всегда кричит свое: Если будете роптать, Вам беда не видать."

А. Андреев.

Безобразия.

Есть у нас неслыханная мастерская при бюро труда, выполняющая работу от Центросоюза. Работают в мастерской безработные по денежке, — за работу деньги получают ¼ копейки. Хотя в настоящее, но все же при крайнем распределении труда, могли бы зарабатывать около рубля в день. Но в том то и беда, что зарабатывают гораздо меньше — не больше двухкопеечного. Почему так? Потому что в мастерской заведены старые рабочие. Обирают они себе деньги получе — воины с женой, и заработок хороший: до полутора рубля в день. "Швейник" же призывает чинить машин, которые забросить в урну.

Почему увольняют "швейника"?

Уже времени, а зарабатывает гроши. Но нельзя же увольнять трудя и наплеку союзу разоблачить в этих делах. Маросия.

Хулиганство.

При наемном складе нет прохода разбитым от некоторых мужиков-разбойников. Грошом шутки, деньги, приставляются. Так пару недель назад Г. заключил в обители работнику Г. в сорочку ее на призыв, попытка похитить. В заключение получил занозную шпатель.

К заводу электроламповому товаров работнику Н. похитил С. распродаст се на полу, давая тиснуть, морал чужим, попарил колено.

Хулиганству этому надб познать предела.

М. Гаспоров.

Удовлетворите законное требование.

Закрылась фабрика "Заря", а, отступившись в текстиль промышленности, работавшая обратилась с просьбой к фабричной администрации о выдаче им компенсации за невыплаченную в свое время спешающую. Но не торопится администрация удовлетворить это законное требование рабочих, поддерживаемое союзом. А право, но машина бы поспешит.

Разве должны рабочие без конца хо-

дить на полях администрации ради того, что им по закону полагаются, и возмущаются домой по поводу хлебавши?

НУЖНО ПРОУЧИТЬ.

Сезонно просит работы у завода нашей мастерской рабочий Стручкин. Сказался нав, посадила Стручкин к станку.

Работает Стручкин день, работает день... Вдруг — сказал. Ночевал из мастерской коммунальная тушурка, которую шил рабочий Серебряков. Ночевал, но не бесследно: вместо тушурки завод мастерской получил искорости от маляла заводскую расписку — тушурка, стало быть, а завод пошел.

Как это произошло? А очень просто: Стручкин с Серебряковым заводскими приятеля, решил испробовать новое место. Ну, а так как денег не было, заменил тушурку.

За такие проделки следует не проучить. Марс.

Не в дом отдала, а в санитарную комнату лечебную.

Начавшись отпуска, стали посматривать рабочие в дом отдала. Каждому хочется отдохнуть в Берману тоже. Полагает Берман в файлок выкапывание. Требуется, чтобы направил его в дом отдала обязательно и при том еще отсрочил. Файлок Берману отказывался в отказывался резать. Получает Берман в среднем не более 1000 рублей в месяц, зарабатывает еще и за дому, семья у него маляла. Берман, как сыр в масле катается: ежедневно с семьи на дому живет, ну, как не в чем не знает. Сие-

дуть ли таких в самом то дело в дом отдала посматривать?

Но Берман настойчив и решителен и мучится не любит. Устал от отказа, прыгает в файлок, стучит кулачками на стену:

Домаш отдала! Не то весь файлок разорву!

А в файлок за стеной Берман — живыми. Обидел, устал. Соглашается Берману в доме отдала место предоставляется.

Когда это стало известно рабочим в свои заявки по этому поводу протест, файлок ответил:

Что подвизает с срамщиками?!

Удивительный народ, право! Не знаю, что делать: очень престо, а санитарную лечебную отпирать: П до-скоре.

Возмущенный.

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 changed 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 finest 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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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 cash headquarters on 21st street and not allow any adventurers to swindle them out of their hard-earned pennies.

The Women's Garment Workers

A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

A Book of 640 Pages, Excellently Bound

by Dr. Louis Levine

Author of "The Syndicalist Movement in France," "Taxation in Montana," etc.

The Price of the Book Is Five Dollars

Members of the International may obtain it at half price, \$2.50, from the General Office directly, at

3 West 16th Street, New York City

Out-of-town members can secure it at half price through local secretaries.

The Book contains several excellent illustrations — from the early days of the organization to the last Boston Convention.

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

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

The most important event of the week's news in Local 10 as well as in practically all other local of the Joint Board was the shop-chairmen meeting of Wednesday, September 5, at which the reform program of the International and the Joint Board was made public to members of the Union.

Chairmen to Discuss Peace Program

The meeting, presided over by Manager Dubinsky and addressed by International President Morris Sigman who explained in detail the program and the reasons promoting its adoption by the General Executive Board, was a splendidly attended one which crowded to capacity the large auditorium of Cooper Union. The biggest feature of it was the orderliness which attended it, particularly considering the present situation, and the attention paid by the representative members of the Union to the program of order and peace in the Union.

The manner in which President Sigman was received and the order which prevailed under Dubinsky's chairmanship was eloquent proof of the Union's of repeated statement that the vast membership of the International was interested in its organization and has at heart all the time. By communist intrigue and machinations the membership is hampered and it is being blinded to the real issues which affect it.

For this reason neither Dubinsky nor Sigman were anxious to hurry the action on the program. Having confidence in the members' welfare of the Union they felt that the shop chairmen should be given time in digesting every phase of the program so that when they take final action intelligence should be their guide.

The meeting of chairmen of Wednesday, September 2 simply heard the report and the explanation and voted overwhelmingly for the calling of another meeting within a week at which the discussion on the report and voting should take place.

This meeting took place last Thursday, September 10. What the decision was and if final action was taken cannot be stated in these columns at the present time, as this issue of "Justice" was in the hands of the printer at the time.

Urges to Boycott Meeting Falls

The September 22nd meeting of the shop-chairmen will go down as the biggest blow which the communists received at the hands of the members of the Union and their declaration of war against the Union.

One of the first official commands by the communists as respects the attendance of the meeting was a cry in their Jewish official organ for a boycott of the meeting. How miserably they failed in this can be seen at once when the crowded Cooper Union meeting is pointed to. Moreover, the doors of the meeting were open to all chairmen, regardless as to whether or not they were known as active communist sympathizers.

The meeting, had the General Executive Board desired it, could have been an overwhelming meeting. But it was the desire on the part of the Joint Board to confine it to chairmen only. Hence, hundreds of active members had to be turned away. The committee stationed at the various entrances were careful to determine of those entering the auditorium whether they were accredited shop chairmen.

Plans for similar procedure were adopted for the meeting of Thursday, September 10. These plans also called for the examination of those desiring to enter with a view to making cer-

tain that they were members representing shops.

Cutters Called to Special Meeting

The next regular meeting of the members of Local 10, which is to take place on Monday evening, September 14, in Arlington Hall, was declared by the Executive Board to be also a special one. At this meeting the members will take up for action important reports of the Executive Board and will act upon the reform program of the General Executive Board and the Joint Board.

Members will no doubt remember that Manager Dubinsky had read and explained to them the program, but because of the warmth of the evening and other business which the members took up and which carried the meeting to nearly eleven o'clock that evening, action on the program was not taken. It was rather well that no action was taken then because the program was printed in full in last week's issue of "Justice" and was also mentioned at some length in these columns.

This gave the members ample opportunity to read carefully and digest carefully the program, so that when it comes up for action at the coming meeting the members will be in a position to act upon it intelligently.

This part of the order of business alone should call for a well-attended meeting. And when it is mentioned that the Executive Board will make other important reports, there is no reason why the meeting should not be well-attended.

Members are urged to bear the date of the meeting in mind and advise every member with whom they come every in contact to attend this meeting.

Organized Effort Not to Confess Falls

Four cutters of a Seventh Avenue cloak shop had their well-laid plans smashed when their determination not to confess to working on a Saturday afternoon broke under the questioning of the Executive Board. Were it not for the fact that each of them finally confessed, his name would have been made public here. However, the fine and the plea for leniency in the end saved them from further shame.

Another reason why the Executive Board exercised leniency in the case of these four men, none of whom was fined more than \$10, was that one of their number made a mistake and it took the four men to rectify it.

Under ordinary circumstances the Executive Board deals harshly with men who, being apprehended for a violation, and when every bit of evidence points conclusively to their guilt, make an organized attempt at a denial.

The trial of this case was accompanied by considerable humor. Were it not for this the case would not require mention in these columns.

When the four men faced the Executive Board at first they all denied their guilt, though Brother Jacob White, who had apprehended them, was positive in his identification and in his statement that the men had been working. Unfortunately, however, Brother White was alone against the organized denial of guilty on the part of the four men. It was therefore necessary for the Executive Board to draw the admission out of them.

When the Board saw that the men seemed determined to stand as one it was decided that they be taken in before the Board singly. After some questioning the first man before the Board finally confessed. He stated that he had worked but that it was

only because he wanted to correct a mistake that he had made, adding that it was the first Saturday afternoon on which he worked. He stubbornly refused to implicate anyone else though he did not deny it so many words that he was the only one who stayed in the Saturday afternoon in question.

A second man called in denied having worked. After some questioning he finally confessed that he worked until 1:45 P. M. Replying to a question he admitted that he left the three other men in the shop.

A third cutter was called, and the fourth man was called in both of whom strenuously denied their guilt. However, they were finally confronted with the cutter who had confessed, to staying in until 1:45 P. M. and seeing that "the game was up," they all confessed their guilt.

Expelled for Failing to Report Violation

The fact that Rubin Knecht No. 2901 failed to report the employment by his firm of a non-union boy who helped him in the cutting in a cloak shop and the fact that it was later brought out that he worked on Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and excessive hours of overtime, brought about his expulsion.

The Executive Board, however, did not expel him until he failed to carry out its decision, by quitting his place of employment in which the violation occurred.

It was rather interesting how this case came about. It began with the appearance of Moses Eder before Manager Dubinsky, of whom he requested permission to work in the shop in which the violation took place. Eder was suspended for non-payment of dues but pleaded that it was because of unemployment due to his advanced age that he fell into arrears.

It was then already that Dubinsky learned of the employment of the non-union boy in the cutting department of the firm in which Eder and Knecht were employed. Eder, however, denied this when he appeared before the Board for permission to work, upon orders of the manager. He is a man well advanced in years and the Executive Board gave him this permission and accepted his denial of the charge.

Later, however, Dubinsky came into possession of undeniable evidence, proving that the non-union boy was employed in the shop, not as a shipping clerk but as an assistant cutter.

This boy told the Executive Board when he appeared before it as a witness against Knecht and Eder, who were summoned. Both men were charged with failing to report the employment of a non-union boy and with the other violations. Eder was not charged with working on Saturday

afternoons because he abstains entirely from working on Saturdays.

Knecht, however, in spite of the overwhelming evidence, persisted in his denial of his guilt. The boy, however, faced both men and told in detail how he was employed by the firm to work as an assistant cutter at \$30 per week.

He said that there was no limit to the hours of work to which he was subjected. He stated that he could offer no resistance because it meant the loss of his employment.

The boy stated furthermore that the days were many when their hours of work did not end until 11 P. M. Saturday afternoons saw no quitting time until 5 o'clock and later. The work on Sundays, he said, lasted until 2 P. M.

The Executive Board felt when it discussed the case that a fine would not help matters; that the only manner in which union conditions could be obtained and preserved in the cutting department in question would be by the withdrawal of the working privileges of Knecht and Eder. This was finally its disposition.

Knecht, however, failed to carry out this decision and Manager Dubinsky recommended to the Executive Board that Knecht be expelled from the organization for his failure to comply with the decision.

Miscellaneous Cutters to Meet

The regular meeting of the members of the Miscellaneous Branch will take place on Monday evening, September 21st, in Arlington Hall. Some time has elapsed since the members of this division held their meeting. There were two reasons why a meeting was not held during the month of August.

First, there was a toll in all of the branches of the Miscellaneous Division and, secondly, the heat took many of the members away from their homes.

The next meeting is an important one, therefore. Between now and the date of the meeting Brother Philip Hessel will make a survey of the shops which will enable the officers to report on the situation in the trade.

The members are urged to attend the meeting. At the same time, as the season approaches in some of the lines some plans may have to be taken up.

This will be reported to the members in detail as well as respecting other conditions. It is hoped that those members of the Miscellaneous Branch who read these lines will urge upon others the importance of the next meeting and ask them to attend.

Members are urged to bear the date of the coming meeting, Sept. 14th, in mind, and advise every member with whom they come in contact to attend this meeting.

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CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

REGULAR AND SPECIAL MEETING... Monday, Sept. 14

Special Order of Business:
EXECUTIVE BOARD REPOITS

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