



JUSTICE



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION.

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Great Victory of Ladies' Tailors' Union Local 80

SETTLEMENT IS GREATEST TRIUMPH IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNION. — THE ENTIRE TRADE UNIONIZED. WEEK-WORK, 44 HOUR WEEK AND MINIMUM OF \$30 A WEEK ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT TRADE. STRIKER ELATED OVER VICTORY.

The Ladies Tailor strike is over and the workers have won all their demands. It may be stated without fear of exaggeration that this is the greatest victory in the history of the Ladies' Tailors' Union of New York.

The settlement is a brilliant one, and the strikers are overjoyed and enthusiastic for their union and the International, through whose power this great victory was won after the brief period of two weeks.

According to Brother Lefkowitz, vice president of the International and chief leader of the strike, the ladies tailoring trade in New York will now be 100 per cent organized, and the union will control all shops, the greatest and richest included.

This is the first general strike of local 80 that has ended in a settlement which amounts to a complete capitulation of the employers. The principal gains are:

1. Week work in the entire trade.
2. A 44 hour work week.
3. A minimum weekly wage of \$30.
4. Closed shop and the recognition of the union.

The minimum wage constitutes a very substantial material gain for the workers. It is from \$12 to \$16 a week higher than the average wage prevailing before the strike was called.

This \$30 minimum is, of course, not a fixed wage for all the workers of the trade. It is the minimum, below which no full-fledged ladies' tailor will work, but higher skill will continue to be at a premium. A definite understanding has been reached with the employers in this particular, by which the raise in wages for every given shop should be the same for all workers and equal to the difference between \$30 and the weekly wage of the lowest paid worker. To illustrate: if in a certain shop the lowest weekly wage was say, \$34, and the highest \$48 with gradations in these extremes, the wage increase for each worker will be \$16, that is, the lowest paid worker will get \$50 a week and the highest paid—\$48 plus \$16 or \$64.

This is an ideal arrangement as far as the union is concerned, for it satisfies all classes of workers. Those who were in the lower-paid class will surely be glad that the minimum has been made so high as to amount to a substantial increase for them. The better paid worker, on the other hand, whose wages were somewhere near the

present minimum will also gain by this arrangement and will have no cause to resent the equalization of wages.

The union may well congratulate itself upon this victory, and much credit is due Brother Lefkowitz, who so ably led the strikers to victory, and also to the officials of the Union Chazanov, Magnati and Hilfman; L. Soloviev the chairman of the Executive Board and to all the chairmen of the various sub-committees of the General Strike Committee.

According to all indications the present victory of the Ladies' Tailors' Union will prove lasting. The workers who had not been organized before the strike have learned to value the advantages of belonging to the Union, and local

80 may from now on count on a 100 per cent membership of the workers of the trade. The membership will, no doubt, co-operate with the officials and the Executive Board of local 80 in building up a formidable union, which will see to it that the standards gained in the recent strike are not impaired.

As we go to the press we learn that the firm of Hickson & Co. changed its mind about the settlement and the strike against this firm is continued: Hickson & Co. was one of the 90 firms that negotiated with the Union as a body. In the last minute, after a settlement with the group had been reached, this firm backed out. Both the workers and the employers were indignant against this breach of faith.

The union will, of course, do its utmost to teach Hickson & Co. a lesson that the management will never forget. It was not too much for local 80 to fight all the employers of the trade. It will be a "cinch" to tackle this one firm.

LADIES' TAILORS' STRIKE IN NEW HAVEN AND HARTFORD CONTINUES

Two weeks ago, the Ladies' Tailors' and Alteration Workers of New Haven and Hartford went out on a General Strike to enforce their demands of a 44 hour week and a 50 per cent increase in wages.

The strike is directed by Saul Seidman, organizer and one of the vice presidents of the International. Brother Seidman has been doing organization work in Connecticut State for the last few

months, and now he is trying to put the Ladies' Tailors' Trade on a sound basis.

The strikes of the Ladies' Tailors of New Haven and Hartford are backed by all the Labor Organizations of those cities. Public opinion is also with the strikers and prospects of victory are good.

It is quite possible that in a week or so, the strike will be completely won.

HILLQUIT IS ALL WELL AND IS AGAIN WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Morris Hillquit is back in New York after a year spent in a sanatorium to recover his health. At the Broadway Central he was greeted by many friends and comrades.

Comrade Hillquit looks well and is full of cheer and hope. He said he was all well and that he would plunge into the socialist and labor movements with renewed energy.

He is quite optimistic about the outlook for the Socialist Party. In his opinion, the split that recently took place in the Socialist Party will not affect the spread of the Socialist ideals.

"I don't agree with the communists," he said, "but I don't con-

sider them enemies of the Socialist movement. I hope the Communists will not carry their quarrels into the capitalist press as was the case with some members who left the party."

Comrade Hillquit is a favorite with our members both as the legal adviser of the International and as a towering figure in the socialist movement. It will surely be glad news to the readers of the Justice to learn that one of their best friends and advisers is again with them ready to give them counsel and guidance both as regards their organization and the future of the working class in general.

Welcome Schlesinger!

On Sept. 27, President Schlesinger will return to New York from his tour of the Pacific Coast. Schlesinger will surely bring us good news from his trip to the distant parts. He will probably tell the members of the International, through the medium of the Justice, of his experiences in the West and the conditions of the International locals.

The Justice extends Brother Schlesinger a hearty welcome and wishes of success in his renewed activities in the East, where there is still room for the application of his tireless energies.

With the arrival of President Schlesinger arrangements will at once be made for the regular quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board.

The meeting was scheduled for Sept. 15, but was postponed on account of Schlesinger's absence. The place and time of meeting will be announced in the next issue of the Justice.

In addition to President Schlesinger's report of the conditions of our locals throughout the country many vital questions will be discussed. As usual, the proceedings of the meetings will be fully reported in the Justice.

DR. FRIEDLAND TO GUIDE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF INTERNATIONAL

NOTED EDUCATOR TAKES POST OF EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR

PIONEER IN ADULT EDUCATION. WIDELY KNOWN AS LECTURER ON MODERN EUROPEAN LITERATURE AND WRITER ON CURRENT EVENTS.

Dr. Louis S. Friedland of the English Department of the College of the City of New York has been chosen Educational Director and will conduct the educational activities of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The announcement to this effect has been made at the office of the Educational Department, 31 Union Square.

Dr. Friedland is one of the veterans in the field of adult education. He was one of the prime movers of the Educational League, when that organization was started 15 years ago for the purpose of spreading enlightenment among the working masses.

At the City College Dr. Friedland has been connected with the English Department and has been supervisor of Social Service courses. To the public in New York he is known chiefly as a highly interesting lecturer on contemporary European literature

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

COUNT THE WEEK LOST in which Mayor Hylan does not leap into new notoriety or commit a new piece of vicious stupidity. Last week he again "distinguished" himself by putting his foot down on the union of city employees, which is still in its embryonic stages.

This is what happened: The one hundred thousand men and women employed by the city of New York decided to organize and thus force our city fathers to lend an ear to their demands of a living wage-beg pardon-salary and other improvements in their working conditions. The proposed union was to include the municipal employees of all the trades and professions from teachers to policemen, from street cleaners to bacteriologists. The purists of the labor movement may object to such a union on the ground that it is not a trade union in the strict sense of the word, and even the adherents of out and out industrial unionism may fail to see in the proposed organization a representative specimen of the One Big Union species; but the city employees were moved by less theoretical and more practical considerations. They saw in such a union the only hope of compelling our city administration to take note of the starvation conditions among the men and women who carry on the business of the largest city in the world and to do something and at once to relieve those conditions. That the union was not dominated by extreme revolutionary elements may be seen from the fact that the policemen and firemen joined it without pledging not to go on strike to enforce their demands. And that such a union was an imperative necessity may be judged from the single instance of the teachers, who are paid less than office boys. The school ma'ams must not only know how to teach everything from arithmetic to music, they must also know how to live comfortably and broaden out their education (every teacher is expected to attend some post graduate course) and pay for them on 18 to 20 dollars a week.

Our Mayor immortalized himself by his highly ingenious and effective solution of the problem in suggesting, as he did some time ago, that the teachers who cannot get along on their "salaries" get out of the school system and look for something better. It is but natural to infer that he would propose the same remedy in the case of all the city employees.

For some inexplicable reason our municipal workers failed to adopt the suggested remedy and decided rather to organize and force the city to pay them a living wage. This impudence exasperated our Mayor, and in his righteous indignation coupled with his commendable desire to emulate the illustrious authorities of Boston, he decided that there is to be none of that union stuff in his city. And to nip the poisonous weed of unionism in the bud the Mayor ordered the various city commissioners to take drastic steps in their respective departments against agitators and trouble makers. And if any commissioner cannot run his own department the Mayor is ready to accept his resignation.

Borough President Connolly of flats to run their own business.

Queens was the first to demonstrate the ability of our city of. When a certain Morton, representing a committee of the Technical Men's Union presented to Mr. Connolly demands for an increase in the salary of the members of that union, he was fired without further ado. Mind you, Morton was not in any way revolutionary or incendiary. He committed no offense against the law, nor a breach of any of the city ordinances.

Whether the Municipal Employees Association will pick up the gauntlet hurled at them by the city authorities remains to be seen. If they will the next few weeks may see an impressive match of strength between the one hundred thousand municipal slaves and the arch slave driver of City Hall.

If there has been factional strife at all at the convention of the United Mine Workers it has been between the radicals and ultra-radicals rather than between radicals and conservatives. The political resolutions adopted unanimously at the convention are eloquent in testifying to the social and political maturity of the American miners.

The most significant resolution adopted by the convention is the one demanding the nationalization of the mines on this country. The resolution outlines the general plan of action, which is not unlike the Plumb Plan for the nationalization of the railroads. Many delegates urged that it be specifically stated in the resolution that the workers retain the right of economic action in the event their demand for nationalization of the mines is not met.

The Espionage Act and the continued imprisonment of political offenders were flayed with particular severity. A resolution demanding the release of all political criminals and the repeal of the gag laws against free speech and assembly was adopted unanimously.

The body of delegates were mortified at the failure of unanimous adoption of the resolution demanding a retrial for Mooney and Billings. The resolution was adopted, however, with only one dissenting vote.

The United States Supreme Court was the target of bitter attacks by delegates. A resolution was recommended that a referendum be enacted enabling the people to vote upon laws which the Supreme Court has ruled as being unconstitutional. The Supreme Court was characterized as an "irresponsible body, which assumes the right of legislation for the people."

Heated debates were precipitated by a resolution penalizing members of the United Mine Workers' Union who joined the I. W. W. or any other organization advocating the One Big Union. By way of compromise the resolution was amended so as to include also members who joined a chamber of commerce or "company union." It was charged by some delegates that both officers and members of the Miners' Union were members of the various chambers of commerce in the state of Pennsylvania. The reverse is probably the case. The chamber of commerce and other

capitalistic agencies have probably succeeded in smuggling thru some of their trustees into the miners' union and even into the convention. Such at least was the charge made by the president of the convention, who advised the delegates to look around and see if there are not any suspicious strangers in their midst.

A UNIQUE STRIKE in the annals of working class history has just been brought to a close on the whole satisfactory to the strikers, after six weeks of war between a group of almost 400 families in Flatbush, a tenement district of Greater New York, and a realty company controlling these houses. Instead of the demanded increase of rent, aggregating \$2,000 for each of seventeen apartments, the company must content itself with a raise of \$750. This raise will be distributed proportionally by the Tenants' League in accordance with the size and location of each apartment.

Features of this rather sensational strike were the following: first, ever since the strike has been on, the tenants have declined to pay a cent of rent to the landlords, but have turned their rent money to a tenant acting as treasurer for the group, pending the outcome. Second, when the city marshal arrived with "schlepers" or movers, to evict the defaulting tenants, these "schlepers" were easily dissuaded from carrying out their mission when the tenants displayed their union cards. Third, when the city marshal tried to employ non-union movers to do the job, these men were met by the united mass of the tenants, who simply would not let the "schlepers" continue their work. Fourth, the strikers put signs in their windows declaring the world at large that everybody on the inside is on strike, and intended to stay just where they were until something or other froze over, or the landlord company came down in the rents and made repairs.

Furthermore, virtually all the women did picket duty on the side walks while their husbands were at work. They carried babies in their arms and toddling youngsters clung to their skirts as they marched back and forth intent on keeping folks looking for homes from taking possession of vacant apartments. In several cases in which a person had paid a month's rent in advance expecting to move in, the tenants' committee refunded the rent out of their own pockets and the landlord lost new tenants. Had it not been for the pickets the realty company would have been able in August to fill up fifty or more apartments remaining vacant during the strike.

Incidentally the strikers had a parade in which they carried banners bearing these legends: "We Want Justice," "We Are Being Robbed of Our Rights," "Hang the Landlord Thieves" and sundry other inscriptions.

A block party was held in celebration of the victory.

BREATHLESS, the nation has been following the development in the steel strike for the last few days, but so far nothing has occurred to warrant a definite prediction of the outcome of the titanic industrial struggle. The results of the strike during the first two days were a surprise to both sides, for neither the steel companies

nor the strike committee had expected so many of the workers to quit in response to the strike call. The steel operators admit that the industry is crippled, and the organizers maintain that it is well nigh paralyzed.

That thousands of men in the mills remained scabbing is freely admitted by the leaders of the strike, but with upward of 300,000 workers involved the number of scabs is rather small. Besides it will take a few days before the final count of the strikers will be made, and there is no doubt that many more thousands will rally to the unions.

And the productive capacities of the available "loyal" workers will be counteracted greatly if not totally by sympathy strikes of railroad workers, miners and mariners. Already several organizations of these workers voted in favor of discontinuing service for the steel strike. State troops the strikers will be hard pressed the sympathy strike movement will be greatly boosted up and will paralyze the steel industry by cutting off the supply of coal and ore.

On the score of men and materials the strikers, then, have the upper hand. But the steel corporation counts not only on the "loyalty" of its men. It places high hopes in the traditional methods of terror and mass slaughter and in the effectiveness of its press campaign. State troops are mobilized in all the strike districts ready to swoop down upon the strikers on the slightest pretence. Last Sunday, on the eve of the walkout, the strike cossacks of Pennsylvania dispersed meetings of steel workers, maiming many of them. During the first two days of the strike 3 strikers were killed and scores wounded by thugs in uniform or in plain clothes. That the authorities of the trust ridden towns and states are determined to ride rough shod over the rights of the strikers goes without saying, and the workers are surprised if at least of all. The reputation of the steel trust is well known; the Homestead atrocities have not yet been forgotten. But with all this the blood toll is comparatively small and promises to remain so, for the strikers know how eagerly the private and public-paid gunmen are awaiting "riots" where they can "make good" before their masters.

The press campaign is not likely to save the cause of Gary and Morgan. Even though most of the papers beginning with the reactionary New York Times and ending with the "liberal" Evening Post are sitting on their hind legs and carrying out the wishes of the evil geni of American industry—the Morgans, the Garys and the Schwabs; even though the strike leaders are slandered and maligned; even though the news items are colored in favor of the steel magnates,—the public knows what the issues of the strike are, and organized labor knows that the fate of the labor movement of the country is in the balance. The sinister forces of blind and stupid reaction and autocracy are massed against the noble, forward looking forces of unionism and labor solidarity. The struggle can end in only one way, unless we are to be thrown back to the days of *laissez faire*, unless the Garys are to be the undisputed masters of the land.

National Guilds In The Making

By JULIET S. POYNIZ

The differences between the modern trade union and the guilds of the Middle Ages have often been emphasized. But recently there has arisen a group which emphasizes their likeness. To this group the associations of producing craftsmen who controlled their trades hundreds of years ago are to be a model for the associations of wage workers of a younger day. Nothing less than the control of industry and the abolition of the wage system must be the policy of the trade union of today, say the "Guildsmen." The workers must seek through their organized struggle not the mere betterment of wages, of hours and working conditions, but only a raising of the standard of life, but rather a complete control over their industry beginning with the shop. Industrial democracy is to be realized only thru the national guild of workmen joining with the national guilds of other industries in a Guild Congress, or national organization of producers for the administration of industry. This Congress will combine with the national organization of consumers, which is the present political state in the democratic control of economic activity.

A large program, you say, for a little society of a few hundred called the National Guilds League which upholds the banner of the new idea in England! But the strength of the guild idea is not in the propaganda of little groups, but in the actual direction of the great labor movement today. The Guildmen have only crystallized in a few interesting phrases the great industrial processes which they saw in the work around them. The great trade unions of England and other countries are national in the making; not because they have been taught to be so, but because they are forced to be so. National responsibility and power are actually being thrust upon the organizations of labor almost before they are ready for it.

The report of the Coal Commission of Great Britain issued on June 8th last embodies the idea of democratic control in complete form. This report was drawn up after months of sensational testimony given, strangely enough, in the King's Raking Room in the House of Parliament before a joint commission of mine-owners, workers and outsiders. Robert Smillie, the miners' chief, drew from the witnesses the gruesome story of economic motives for the mine-owners' wrung from the life and comfort of the workers. While the men who went down into the mines were forced to live in one room hovels with their families, the mine-owners were living in luxury in Mayfair. Ancient writs, deeds of dissolute kings to favorites centuries ago were often the only title of the owners to this exploitation. In the face of such evidence the entire commission could not avoid recommending nationalization of the mines. The plan of administration was interesting. The control was to rest with a Minister of Mines responsible to Parliament assisted by an advisory committee of 18 members elected by a National Mining Council. This council was to be a central body composed of

representatives of 14 District Councils in the various mining regions which were to be the governing bodies for the mines in the district and exercise complete control over them, technical, industrial and commercial.

How then were the District Mining Councils to be chosen? For here lay the root of power. They were threefold in composition with workers, supervisors and consumers equally represented by four members. A chairman and vice-chairman appointed by the Minister of Mines were added making a total of fourteen members.

The report of the Coal Commission was not accepted by the Lloyd George cabinet but it is the storm-center around which are surging the waves of industrial unrest in England today. Nothing less will satisfy the miners backed by the whole force of the Trades Union Congress, which at its recent meeting decided to give the government one more chance to accept. Upon refusal the Congress will try again to decide upon a universal general strike of revolutionary character or upon political upheaval to unseat the present reactionary Parliament and place the political power in the hands of labor.

A similar plan for a national guild of railroad workers has the backing of J. H. Thomas and will be included in any program of action that critical labor may take in the near future. The whole plan for the nationalization of basic industries has the support of the powerful Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers who together hold the industrial life of a nation in their hands.

In America too the national guild idea is making headway. True enough the name guild is not used, but a ree by any other name could smell as sweet." Mr. Glen E. Plumb had never heard of national guilds when he prepared his now famous "Plan" but a good guild plan for industrial democracy it is nevertheless. The system tripartite control is fundamentally the same as that recommended by the English Coal Commission. The public, the technical superiors are all to be equally represented in the national directorship of the railroads according to the Plumb Plan. The roads are to be taken over and paid for on the basis of their real value rather than their stock value. Thus all the water will be turned out of their present capitalization, on which the present owners have been modestly paying themselves dividends for years. The State will retain the present control of freight and passenger rate which it exercises through the Interstate Commerce Commission. In addition to wages the employees are to share regularly in the profits up to 5 per cent of the gross income, the other half of the surplus going to the government.

The mine workers have not been slow to follow in the footsteps of the railwaymen. At their convention held this month they not only endorsed the Plumb Plan, but went on record for the extension of democratic nationalization to the mines. The mines as well as the railroads must be

owned by the people and operated jointly by the people and the workers. The miners went still farther. They instructed their representatives to approach the railwaymen and other workers in basic industries with the idea of amalgamating forces to push thru the scheme of nationalization. Thus has been born the American Triple Alliance.

The advent of Soviet rule in America! Thus has the conservative press greeted the new movement for nationalization. A natural outgrowth of American democracy! answer the workers. Strangely enough however the method of governing industry which has finally been adopted by Soviet Russia is the same system of tripartite control which is the present aim of the national guilds in England and America. The workers of Russia soon discovered that the industries could not be operated by them without the co-operation of supervisors, engineers, chemists and experts on the one hand, and on the other the great mass of the consumers.

The present system of management from the workshop up to the control bodies is therefore based on the threefold system of representation in which workers, experts and consumers have equal

part. Furthermore national guilds have been established for each industry which are centralizing in a National Economic Council—nothing more nor less than the Guild Congress of the English guildsmen.

The tendency of the present moment in the labor world is toward the Bigger Union, the union which reaches out beyond the small affairs of the shop and demands nothing less than world industrial control and power for its province. There is no other power in the world today strong enough to assume such vast responsibilities—not even that of organized Capitalism. As a recent writer in the London Nation declared:

"What is needed is a clear and full industrial policy compatible with the entire program around which the political adherents of Labor have rallied. Before this can be produced a strong lead will have to be given by the few prominent men in the trade union movement whose vision has not been narrowed down to the grooves of routine activity and preoccupation with questions of wages and hours. In many trades these broad and better problems have been almost the only conversation of trade union officials before the war. Questions of the ownership of the means of production, and of changes in the social state, were held to belong entirely to the political sphere, and many union officials were mildly tolerant of their Socialist members, so long as their agitation did not cause over-much worry."

Register at once for School

By ELLEN A. KENNAN

ATTENTION OF PHILADELPHIA WAIST MAKERS

The Waist and Dressmakers' Union of Philadelphia, Local 15 I. L. G. W. U., have two Unity Centers this school year, one in the Southern High School, corner of Broad and Jackson, the other in the William Penn High, corner of Wallace and 15th St. Practically the same courses will be given in both schools. We asked for the William Penn High this year in addition to the Southern High because it is more accessible to the girls who live in North Philadelphia and in some parts of West Philadelphia.

There will be courses in English, Economics and Labor Problems, Hygiene, Literature. Miss Merschman, Mrs. Gallagher and Mr. Maioriello will be in the English work again, and Miss Brown and Mr. Miller will have gymnasium classes. Several people are under consideration for the other courses, but as yet no definite decision has been reached. We can say, however, that we intend to have the very best people it is possible to secure for those courses.

Last year we had an enrollment of over three hundred and we want to double that number this year. Successful as the work was our first season, we want to make it still better this winter. Success depends upon the personal interest of each one. All of those who felt that the work was worth while last winter should tell their friends and the other girls in the shop about it and urge them to take part. It is not only the formal class work that is valuable, but also the feeling of good fellowship that comes from associ-

ation in the class room and gymnasium.

Registration begins in both schools Monday, the 22nd, and class work begins Monday, the 29th. Go down on Monday night and register—do not put it off. Cards of registration will be found at 38 N. 11th St. which you should fill out in advance and take to school with you. Also a dollar must be deposited with the school the night you register. Register at once!

Indiana Starts Labor

Party

Indianapolis — At its recent annual convention, the Indiana State Federation of Labor by a vote of more than ten to one voted to start a Labor Party in Indiana. The question is now being submitted to the locals affiliated with the federation by referendum.

The federation also went on record as favoring self-determination for small nations, the two platform system for firemen, the six-hour work day, the six-day week for interurban and electric railways employees, and endorsed the World War Veterans' Association.

Governor Goodrich was denounced for sending state troops to Linton at the time of the telephone girls' strike. Federal inquiry was asked concerning the sending of troops to Hammond and concerning the conditions at the plant of the Standard Steel Car Company, where the strike occurred.

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EDITORIALS

WEEK-WORK FOR THE CLOAKMAKERS OF PHILADELPHIA

At last also Philadelphia awoke, but not this is the surprising thing, for we are not at all of the opinion that Philadelphia is a sleepy town. Persons familiar with the history of the Jewish labor movement know that Philadelphia always distinguished herself with her strikes and her labor movement. It is certain at least that she was never trailing behind but was rather in the front ranks. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Philadelphia Cloakmakers Union finally awoke to the necessity of establishing the system of week-work. The surprising thing, on the contrary, is that it has not done it sooner.

We can explain this by the fact that ideas have their queer ways. An idea will arise in a certain locality or country and spread with the rapidity of lightning into distant lands, skipping the adjoining territories. And while the distant countries will have caught up the idea and have become revolutionized, as the result of it, the less distant parts will be steeped in their old somnolence. Something similar happened to the cloakmakers of Philadelphia, who are only at a stone's throw from New York. When the revolution in the cloak industry in New York took place, it was generally thought it would rapidly spread to other industries, and indeed it did not take very long before week-work and a 44-hour week became the common places of the labor movement in New York. This movement has quickly spread to other cloak centers, reaching as far as the Pacific, and everywhere it has been as successful as in New York. And yet Philadelphia for a time remained unaffected by this tide, and the system of piece work continued, as if nothing had happened.

The awakening has at last come also to Philadelphia, but even after the week-work system had proved so successful in New York, there were at the meeting in the Arch Street Theatre a number of doubting Thomases who questioned the new system and made all kinds of impossible conditions of its acceptance.

The present writer was one of those invited to address the meeting called by the Joint Board of the Philadelphia Union and he was really surprised at the suggestions and demands advanced by the opponents of week-work.

The chief demand of most of those who spoke against the week-work system was that the employers guarantee them a certain number of weeks in the year, otherwise they would refuse to agree to the new system.

The real meaning of this demand was that since it is insisted that the workers give up their

highly advantageous system of piece-work and accept instead the hateful and slaving system of week-work, it is only proper that a substantial compensation be given to the workers upon whom this new system is foisted.

It seems that these devotees of the bundle system were not at all impressed by the fact that under this system half of the cloakmakers in the very heart of the season were out of work and suffering actual starvation, while the other half were devouring the bundles with great appetite. Nor were they impressed with the arguments that most of the employers, far from being benevolent millionaires, cannot take upon themselves such obligations, and if they would take them they could never carry them out. Deaf to these and similar arguments the opponents of week-work were clamouring for a time guarantee as a condition of their acceptance of the new system.

This absurd attitude has produced a painful impression especially upon after the week-work system has stood the test everywhere and stood it so brilliantly, in spite of the fact that many of the workers have not yet completely freed themselves from the bundle psychology.

And when we left the meeting we were tormented by the painful question: How long will it take before the workers begin to understand their own interests!

Of course, we realize that it was the old conservative spirit of these workers that spoke in them, the spirit fearing everything new and pointing in a new direction; but the painful thing is that among those who made these demands and suggestions there were persons who would resent being called conservatives or reactionaries. They consider themselves highly progressive, but when it came to the question of week-work one could see plainly that their arguments were rooted in their instinct of fear of the new and the unknown.

As we said, we felt greatly dejected, until we received the glad news communicated "by friend Amdur, that two thirds of these present at the meeting had voted for the new system of week-work.

We congratulated the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union upon this decision. It is really a decision based on common sense and true insight into the actual situation, and it shows that the majority of the cloakmakers will not be misled by empty phrases and fantastic, impossible demands.

We congratulate the Joint Board upon its correct estimate of the sentiment of the masses in proposing the change without making promises that could not be carried out.

The hardest part of the work, the crystallization of the cloak-

makers' sentiment into a concrete decision, has been accomplished. And now comes the remaining portion of the work, perhaps less dramatic but certainly quite as important as the first, and that is the working out of scales of wages, hours and other conditions that go with week-work.

The last thing, of course, is to secure the consent of the cloak-manufacturers. Will they agree to the demands of the workers? It is common sense to suppose that they will. If they have at all been following the cloak situation throughout the country, they must know that with week-work established in all the cloak centers of the country, Philadelphia cannot remain an exception. The International cannot permit such a thing. The manufacturers must also know that, the cloakmakers of Philadelphia are 100 per cent organized, and it is not likely that they will oppose the new demands.

It is quite possible that this revolution in the cloak industry in Philadelphia will be even more quiet than that of New York. But if the manufacturers will take leave of their sound judgment and insist on an open clash, the cloakmakers will fight tooth and nail for the new system. The old system, under which it was possible for one half of the cloakmakers to go idle in the heat of the season, is condemned to die. It must and it will die. It is, therefore, only a question of a few weeks when also the cloak industry of Philadelphia will be placed on the sound basis of week-work.

OUR CONGRATULATIONS TO THE LADIES' TAILORS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 80

It was a great struggle and a great victory of which the Ladies' Tailors' may justly be proud. This quick victory and the fact that the Ladies' Tailors' Union has won every one of the conditions advanced—a \$50 minimum weekly wage, a 44-hour week and week work, as well as other demands which give the union controlling power in the shops, all this is proof enough that the Ladies' Tailors' did not go out on strike on the impulse of the moment, but were well prepared and well organized, so that the manufacturers could not help but yield.

The quick victory is also a testimonial to the leadership in the strike, but on this score there was no uneasiness on the part of the Ladies' Tailors' and of those who knew brother Lefkowitz, vice president of the International and the director of the strike.

It is now obvious that the staff of officers and leaders under brother Lefkowitz were of a kind with their chief, for throughout the strike not a single mis-step was made by any of them, and the strike machinery was working in a most perfect precision.

The early victory shows that the entire Ladies' Tailors' Union was animated by one wish and thought—to win.

All this is obvious. But there is another reason why the victory came so quickly, and this is the fact that the demands of the Union, though quite substantial, were not extravagant. The Ladies' Tailors' did not demand the impossible, they demanded what they were entitled to.

We deem it necessary to emphasize this for there may be some among the Ladies' Tailors who are sorry because they advanced such "moderate" demands. They may think that if the employers agreed to those demands

without much bickering, they would have also agreed to a still higher minimum wage, and to a still shorter work week. If there really are some among the Ladies' Tailors who think so, they are greatly mistaken. The only way to make the greatest mistake by making such demands, even if it could have forced the employers for the moment to agree to them; for there is no doubt that the employers, would have sought every opportunity to cast off the heavy burden, and this circumstance would create a situation not at all to the liking of the union.

The minimum of \$50 per week for a 44-hour week is one of which the Ladies' Tailors need not be ashamed. Few are the workers in the various industries of the country who can boast of such a minimum wage and such short hours. The Ladies' Tailors' need not only not regret the fact that they did not obtain a higher wage but they ought to be proud that theirs is the first local in the International that has won such a wage.

We do not mean to say, of course, that the Ladies' Tailors have reached the outer limit of possible gains and improvements. As time goes on they will demand more and will get it, too. But for the time being their gains are quite satisfactory, and all that remains to do for them now is to celebrate their great victory and see that their union remains as strong in time of peace as it was in the short period of the war.

If they neglect this, their victory is insecure. Without the vigilance of the union all their gains may be lost. The Ladies' Tailors have some sad experience on this score in the past. Many of them probably remember how sadly their victories ended because of their neglect of the union.

We hope that this time the membership of local 80 will not repeat the costly errors of the past. They will not rely too much on the fact that they are highly skilled workers and that their places in the shops cannot be filled by scabs. By this time they ought to know that this is very little to rely upon; that their only power is in their solidarity and in the strength of their organization; that without their union they are as helpless as unskilled workers.

Convinced that the Ladies' Tailors will guard their Union as their only hope and reliance, we congratulate them upon their great and quick victory.

White Terror in Greece

Raguz. — Resolution on Greece taken by International Socialist conference at Lucerne: The conference calls the attention of the working classes of all countries to the present situation of Greek proletariat. Greece is still in state of siege. Foreign troops occupy the country and all liberties of the people are suppressed. Trade union leaders have been deported. In Attica all meetings are forbidden, even within the doors. It is a white terror, organized against workers with the support of the occupation armies. The conference demands the instant liberation of the deportees, the immediate cessation of the state of siege, and the return to a normal political life throughout Greece.

The Forces of Disorder

(Reprinted from The Nation)

In a week marked by the Boston police strike, the convention of the United Mine Workers, the meeting of the British Trades Union Congress, the gathering of the Confederation Generale de Travail, and the announcement of fresh victories for the armies of Soviet Russia, it is easy to understand the terror of those who believe that society is held together by external constraint — the army, the police, economic mastery, compulsion in any and every form. Everywhere the old restraints are breaking down. Not only do we hear the crash of thrones; what is more important, all about we see economic and social systems tumbling in irrevocable ruin. Russia is a communist republic, and a communist government in Hungary has been overturned only by foreign bayonets. Over enormous areas of eastern Europe, the people have simply seized the land, and in Italy the king resorts to the patent device of making the state a present of the crown domains. Paul Scott Mowrer returns from France to report almost the entire life of that country rapidly organizing itself along syndicalist lines. In Great Britain the Trades Union Congress votes well-nigh unanimously for nationalization of the mines, and follows up its action by a further resolution to "compel" acceptance of its programme — a resolution declared by *The Daily Telegraph* to be equivalent to a declaration of war upon constitutional government. In Mexico, the Constitutional Government, in face of the most powerful and determined opposition, steadily adheres to the policy already written into its fundamental law — the recovery for the Mexican people of control of their natural resources.

In our own country the hitherto conservative railroad Brotherhoods demand nationalization of the roads and operation at night, on a basis absolutely new, by the men who actually make up the industry. The convention of the American Federation of Labor is swept off its feet by the plan as by a flood, and conservative labor leaders are left panting on the bank as the stream rushes by. The United Mine Workers not only back the railroad men, but vote with only a single dissenting voice for the nationalization of the mines and other subversive policies. And now even our trusty bluecoats turn: Boston's police go on strike. But Boston's situation is not unique. Throughout the country we face the same problem: organization of civil servants, with conflicting loyalties to occupational groups as opposed to political organizations. Will the Boston answer prove typical? When laborers refuse to work and policemen strike and soldiers mutiny, is not society itself about to crumble down in universal dissolution? Are not the forces of disorder everywhere on the verge of success? Are they not threatening with utter destruction those principles of private property and political organization on which rests our hope for order and political stability? Let the riot act be read and the machine gun made ready!

It is in some such terms, we are persuaded, that the psychology of our rulers must be read, and yet

—are these the true forces of disorder? Who has made war on Russia and strangled Hungary? Not the plain people of the United States — or, we venture to add, of Great Britain and France and Italy. Who has shaped at Paris a League of Nations deftly fashioned to "insure peace" among all the questioning peoples gathered about the throne of the great god of things as they are? Not the plain people. Who is striving with might and main to involve us in war with Mexico and to snatch away from the Mexicans the precious fruits of nine years of bloody revolutionary struggle? Not the plain people. Who is demanding huge armies and unmatchable navies and eighteen-inch guns and shrapnel and poison gas? Not the plain people. Who is clamoring for universal military service? Not the plain people. Who is insisting on repressive laws, on jailings and deportations? Not the plain people. Who has taken the initiative in the systematic campaign of hatred that now for years has filled our press and pulpits and universities, turning its poisoned darts first against the Germans, then against the Bolsheviks, the Nonpartisans, and finally against everyone whose ideas hold aught of menace for the privileges embalmied in the existing order? Not the plain people. We do not blame the men who do these things. Conceiving society to be held together only by the bond of external compulsion, they are bound to fight with all their might the men and the movements that appear to be breaking that bond before their eyes. We do not blame them; we only ask, which are actually the forces of disorder? Is society really held together by hate or love, by compulsion or attraction?

If we look more keenly, we shall see, not an old society crumbling, but a new society coming into being. It comes indeed with travail and strong crying, and where the old order resists, and where the old order is violently disturbed, with violence and bloodshed. The old order was political, military, exploitative; the new is economic, industrial, productive. Wherever it comes to birth, be it in Siberia, London, or Rock Island, there we find the people struggling to organize themselves into self-governing producing groups from which exploitation shall be absent. This is the spirit of life, not death; of order, not disorder. This is the spirit that the fat, comfortable, the unthinking today find so profoundly disturbing and dangerous. This is the spirit that gives its deeper meaning to the turmoil in Russia and the convulsive struggles in Hungary, to the deep-going movement for decentralization in France, to the profound industrial and political revolution in Great Britain, to the steadily gathering unrest in our own country — an unrest scarcely articulate as yet, but none the less already beyond the control of the politician and the old-line "leader." This spirit cannot be slain by shrapnel; it cannot be exorcised by the incantations of political medicine men chanting the old formulas of political democracy and urging the sufferers from this strange new disease to scourge themselves more violently with the whip of hard work. This spirit is indeed profoundly

subversive — of much that ought to be subverted; but it is the spirit of order and not disorder — the order that shall be. Civilization stands today at its dawn, not its sunset; though we shutter the eastern windows, yet will the sunlight flood the earth. At this hour, despite the darkness,

Swat the Injunction!

By W. B. RUBIN

The American Federation of Labor, at its Atlantic City convention, took a home run rag at injunctions.

Hooray! Bully! Go to it again!

Labor's greatest enemy, the nation's biggest curse, the weapon of unscrupulous employers, the shield of grafters and profiteers, the dividing wall that keeps Capital from understanding Labor, and the two from serving in harmony the advance thought of life! Service, not dividends, is the sustaining force of a people.

Our boys, in fighting for democracy "over there," encountered all the shrapnel and gas, the Zeppelins and U-boats, but it is authoritatively stated that the toll by them exacted is not to be compared with the roll call of those who have "gone west" because of the infesting cootie.

Tiny vermin though they are, they attack the human body, and in numerous ways, carry disease; and many were the boys who never even had a chance to fire a shot because the cootie had enoined them from health.

Imagine an army about to enter an engagement, fully equipped in material and spirit for conquest and glory, finding itself annoyed and harassed, infected and quarantined through vermin which, like the locust, delight in ravaging and laying waste.

Some were fortunate enough to hold the troublesome insects in contempt. Others, in direct violation of vermin jurisdiction, delivered themselves from the pest.

Now, comparisons are often odious, and similes and metaphors sometimes misapplied, but the above facts furnish a text which mankind would do well to ponder — that Labor, all powerful, all united in its effort toward a higher and better life for all those who toil, is ever halted in its forward march by the pest injunctions. Many are the organizations which have been laid low by this means, and the members who have suffered jail in the trail of the injunction's contempt, are legion.

It is fortunate for humanity that there are many brave enough in spirit to disregard the injunction and go on fighting for progress, building for posterity.

The fight "over there" is over. The fight for democracy is here, begun anew. Labor fought and worked for victory, and no profiteer shall be permitted on back in luxury while Labor is obliged to sweat for its very right to existence, its permission to live.

The injunction is a natural menace — the insect that infests and disrupts the whole industrial scheme of justice and happiness. Away with it!

Monarchs and despots, tyrants

thoughtful and reasonable men may well thank God and take courage, making ready against the labors of the day that is to come. For "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are."

and anarchists, all have been banished from European soil. Our shores form a haven for refugees, but not for those who would implant their despotism here.

The injunction is a judicial usurpation. The judge who, either through precedent or his own initiative, urged by expediency or his own desire, grants the same, practices usurpation.

The injunction must go; sweat it!

The injunction judge must go; sweat him!

There is an organized way of doing this. Proceed by impeachment against every injunction judge; defeat him at elections if you can.

Have Congress and the Legislatures take away the writ of injunction in labor cases.

Capture the courts!

Don't forget — the sweat way, the best way, the only way, is to

Important Decree Affects Labor

Berne. — An important decree has been passed by the Swiss parliament, making specific provisions for compensation to the workers in the event of restriction of production. Following are clauses:

1. If it is found necessary to restrict the production, the employer must, if possible, reduce the length of the day or reorganize the work so as not to discharge any employees.

2. If reduction takes place, and does not exceed 5 hours weekly or 10 per cent of the normal working hours, the employer does not pay for loss.

3. If reduction takes place between the above lines and 60 per cent of normal length, the employer reimburses the employee to the extent of an addition to wages earned a sum equal to 50 per cent of wages for time lost.

4. If reduction takes place to less than 60 per cent of normal, or the factory is closed down, the employer reimburses the employee up to 60 per cent of the normal full wages.

If the employee is maimed and has not received any public relief, he receives 70 per cent.

The decree further provides that the costs of compensation as outlined shall be paid in three parts, one third by the employer, one-third by the Canton in which the worker resides and one-third by the Federal government.

Concerts in Time of Strikes

By FANNIA M. COHEN

That music is becoming an important factor in time of strikes has been shown during the recent strikes of our New York locals, particularly in the cloakmaker strike.

Already in the second week of the strike requests were made by some hall chairmen to arrange concerts in their halls, and these requests were fulfilled as promptly as it was practicable.

The first few concerts were arranged in some of the largest halls such as Webster Hall, Manhattan Lyceum, Progress Casino, etc. This was done because each of these larger halls has a stage fit for concerts and theatrical performances, and the singers and players prefer to appear on a regular rather than on improvised stages.

The news that the Entertainment and Speakers' Committee was arranging concerts for the strikers with first class talent spread with the rapidity of lightning. Since the large halls where the concerts were being arranged were few, the smaller halls serving as district strike headquarters, many "kicks" began coming in from the chairmen of the "neglected" halls. There was many a stormy conversation over the telephone between the chairman of the Entertainment and Speakers' Committee and the indignant hall chairmen, who protested that the strikers in their halls are just as loyal to the union and pay just as large dues as those of the big concert halls, and that there is no justification for the "discrimination" against the small halls. Some went even as far as threatening that they would not be responsible for what might happen if regular concerts would not be arranged in their halls.

The Speakers and Entertainment Committee were impressed with these requests, protests and threats, and before long a concert machinery was set up and every hall reached.

The concert day was a holiday for the strikers and they came to the halls earlier than usual and in their Sunday best. The hall chairmen would look and feel both proud and important, and the speakers as well as the performers would be greeted with generous applause.

There were interesting things to see as well as to hear at these concerts. A singer accompanied by violin and piano would be pouring forth the strains of the new Russian hymn or of the Marseillaise, and the audience would rise to their feet and join in. Hats would be removed by all the strikers save the few old men who have religious scruples about baring their heads. These would waver a while, place their fingers on their heads, vascillating between respect to their creed and homage to the ideal of revolution, and would, as a rule, end by removing their hats. Then performers, gentiles many of them, could not help noticing the embarrassment of the older strikers and would address them in kind words absolving them from what they considered a breach of honored tradition.

I witnessed a concert in the Brownville Labor Lyceum, at which the Russian hymn was played. Two old men jumped up at the first strains of the tune, removed their hat and remained

in their skull caps. One of them said to me: "I love to hear Russian songs. They remind me of the old home. But we are Jews, and it would be only proper if they play something Jewish, something that grasps at your heart." I was at a loss how to comply with his wish. The singer happened to be an American young lady who, it was natural to suppose, knew nothing of Jewish melodies that "grasp at your heart." But to my greatest surprise she began singing the "Halkivo," the hymn of regenerated Zion. The audience, with the exception of a few, rose to their feet.

The programs of the concerts were generally arranged so as to meet the tastes and inclinations of the audiences. Yiddish folk songs were greatly in vogue and were greeted with bursts of applause. The Russian hymn and the Marseillaise were immensely popular.

The violin was the favorite instrument with the strikers. And the violinists could not help yielding to the insistent demands of the audience for popular encores.

Our friends among the artists had occasion in that strike to contribute their share to the cause of labor. I want to take this opportunity on behalf of the Speakers' and Entertainment Committee, to express our thanks and appreciation to the persons who made the most valuable contribution to the strike, namely, good cheer and holiday spirits.

Among the very first I wish to mention the name of Miss Temma Committa, who, as chairlady of a committee organized by the Rand School to co-operate with our Speakers' and Entertainment Committee, helped us a great deal in arranging concerts. Also Mrs. Laura Elilio helped our committee considerably.

It is superfluous to say that Miss Vida Miholand, who sang mostly revolutionary pieces, was the pet of all our audiences.

The following artists took part in our concerts:

Singers: Miss Vida Miholand, Miss Posnolsky, Miss Louise Vermont, Miss Gertrude Sipiro, Miss Roberts, Miss Bella Finkel and Miss Lucy Finkel.

Violinists: Mr. John Gorig-hano, Mr. Louis Goldberg, Mr. Grainin, Mr. Emanuel Edelstein, Mr. Emanuel Berg, Mr. Lazor Elkin, Mr. Walter Cohost, Miss Goldenthau.

Pianists: Miss Heifetz, Miss Moore, Miss Midget Gould, Miss Harriet Salant, Miss Ruth Garland, Miss Berman, Mr. Jacobson and Mr. Gindin.

The appreciation shown by the cloakmakers was the best reward of the artists. But they also have the boundless gratitude of the Speakers' and Entertainment Committee as well as of the entire union. The alliance of Art and Labor was an inspiration to us all and is, we hope, a harbinger of a better future.

Organized Labor Says No!

UPWARDS OF FOUR MILLION TRADE UNIONISTS OPPOSE RESTRICTIONS OF FREE SPEECH AND FREE PRESS

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY ANNUAL CONVENTION, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., JUNE, 1919.

Resolved: That the convention instruct the Executive Council to oppose any and all attempts on the part of the present Congress, State Legislatures, City councils or law-making bodies to enact legislation of a character denounced by the Executive Council, abridging or restricting the constitutional rights of American citizens and be it further

Resolved: That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, both houses of Congress and the Governors and Legislatures of the several states.

The pronouncement of the Executive Council referred to in the foregoing resolution is as follows:

"The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner."

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY SEVENTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE, 1919

Whereas: Throughout the war the people of this country were heartened to bear their burdens of sacrifice and anxiety by the oft-repeated assurance of their Government that the object of the war was to make the world safe for democracy; and

Whereas: Tens of thousands of American boys freely gave their lives and tens of thousands more have been maimed and broken in the struggle to make democracy a reality; and

Whereas, The right of the people of the United States to freedom of speech is expressly guaranteed by the Constitution; and

Whereas, In contradiction to accepted historical precedent, these rights of the people have been suppressed and violated in the pursuance of a successful war, so that men have been imprisoned for merely stating what they earnestly and sincerely believed to be the truth, so that meetings have been forbidden for no more just reason than their apprehended effect on the public sentiment, so that over one thousand newspapers have been suppressed for printing opinions contrary to the desires of some representatives of the Government; therefore be it

Resolved: That we, the delegates of the National Woman's Trade Union League, in convention assembled, believing as we do, in the ability of the American citizen to be his own guardian and judge when the plain facts are presented to him, urge that all restraints be removed at once so that the rights of the American people to free speech, free press and free assembly, be restored to them.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY WORKERS DEFENSE UNION, NEW YORK, MAY, 1919.

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted by Executive Committee of the Workers' Defense Union, at its regular meeting on Monday evening, May 26, 1919, in Room 405, 7 East 15th St., New York City:

Whereas, The exigency of war — which was led to an unprecedented restriction of the fundamental constitutional rights of free speech, free press, and free assemblage — is now over, and every pretext for further interference with these rights has been removed by the termination of the war, be it

Resolved, That we, the Workers' Defense Union of New York, representing labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, independent labor organizations, Socialist Party branches, Workmen's Circle branches, and other working class bodies, with a total membership of 800,000 working men and women, demand the immediate and complete repeal of the Espionage Act, and of all other war measures aimed at the limitation of basic political and economic rights and be it further

Resolved, That we condemn unqualifiedly the efforts being made by the reactionary forces in America to rivet upon the people of the country so-called "peace time sedition" acts, which would prevent the complete restoration of civil liberties and would inevitably hamper the peaceful solution of the labor problems.

Strikes in Austria

Vienna. — Strikes prevail in all trades, even professions. The physicians of the Public Health Department threaten to go on strike, complaining that they pay amount to 6,000 crowns a year, while lampglimmers receive 11,000 and street car conductors 14,000.

Into the already tangled political and economic situation a new element has just been injected by the formation of the so-called Citizens' Committee as an offshoot to the Workmen's Council. It is composed largely of employers of labor, shopkeepers and the mercantile element generally. The programme of the committee, as announced, is practically in opposition to the aims of the socialists and other groups allied thereto. It seeks to abolish food control and remove the embargo on imports.

An expression of the general uncertainty is given in the orgy of speculation on the Vienna Exchange. Stocks of every kind are bought and sold in enormous quantities at the widest fluctuation. The people apparently feel that the crown is becoming almost worthless and that any kind of security is of more value.

How Nice of Him!

Senator McNary, of Oregon, has introduced an old-age pension bill in Congress similar to one urged by his predecessor, the late Senator Lane. To be eligible for a pension the person must be 65 years of age, must have been a citizen 20 years, and must not have an income that average \$6 a week for the 12 months next preceding his application.

British Policy in Russia

Dealing with what it terms European anarchy, the Manchester Guardian has the following to say in connection with the policy of Great Britain and France in Russia. The outstanding feature of the editorial is the frankness and its contrast from the piffle that is written as editorials in this country.

The present situation in Budapest is a dramatic judgment on the statesmanship of the Peace Conference. One of the smaller Powers is openly defying the decrees of the Conference and claiming the right to treat Hungary as a free power. One might suppose that there had been a war between Hungary and Rumania, that Rumania had emerged victorious, and that there was no such body in existence as the Peace Conference. This spectacle of indiscipline is humiliating and ominous. But nobody can be surprised by it. The Peace Conference lost long ago the respect of Europe. It allowed its authority to be flouted, it encouraged the smaller Powers to force decisions, and it has neither imposed nor obeyed any consistent principle of public policy. The fate of the Karolyi Government was brought about by a confusion which was either wilful or stupid on the part of the agents of the Conference. That incident, which has brought many troubles in its train, was characteristic. If the Conference had by the simple desire to reconstruct Europe on the lines of reasonable national principles, their task would have been immensely difficult, but it would have been incomparably easier than the task they attempted. For two complexes—to borrow a term from the fashionable science of the hour—disturbed and confused their prosecution of this aim. The French, under the influence of shell shock, have always been asking at every turn, "What re-arrangement of Europe is the most likely to prevent Germany from building up a dangerous political power?" Their fears are natural and intelligible, and it is only right that England, less exposed to danger, should make allowance for those fears. But fear is a bad counsellor, and the attempt to adapt Wilson's principles to the statecraft of a Richelieu or a Mazarin is fatal. For the other and even more dangerous aberration the responsibility is common to all the Allies. Indeed, at the moment it is England that is the chief offender, for we, more conspicuously than anybody else, are spending blood and treasure in the attempt to suppress revolution. This was no part of the business of the Conference. No people had asked its government to undertake it. No soldier had consciously given his life for it. In an evil hour for the world the Paris statesmen, defying the best traditions of their history, forgetting the lesson learnt at such cost by England and France in the French Revolution, and unlearning the generous wisdom of a school as old as Fox, resolved to repeat the experiment of the Holy Alliance. What have been the consequences? Mr. Churchill himself, the chief exponent of this revival of the doctrine of Metetrich, has to admit that all the

poison gas, all the shells, all the tanks, all the bombs we have sent to Kolchak and Denikin have brought us no success. No war more inglorious has even been waged than this war of fomenting civil war. Then look at Hungary. There this principle has resulted in the restoration of the very regime that we told the world we were fighting to destroy. It would be amusing—if the consequences were something less than death and famine to millions of men and women who are as much to blame for the war as for the Flood—to watch this dramatic climax. Our rulers' hatred and terror of revolution is driving them everywhere to the restoration of the old regime, the Romanoffs in Russia and the Hapsburgs in Hungary. We are all ready helping deliberately to produce this result in Russia. In time we may see our rulers welcoming back the Hohenzollerns in Germany and sending the Kaiser to Potsdam from the Tower. This would have seemed fantastic not long ago, but our rulers are so afraid of revolution that they would certainly prefer a Hohenzollern to the government of the Independent Socialists in Germany. That would undoubtedly be the choice of Mr. Churchill and M. Pichon, who apparently decide the policy of England and France. This is the alternative to leaving nations to work out their own institutions and live their own lives.

In this way the Peace Conference made its task of insuperable difficulty. You cannot pacify Europe by the policy of spreading civil war. You cannot reconstruct the life and power of a society whose fortunes depend on a network of delicate relationships by using the weapons of famine and chaos. So long as the governments of the Allied proscribers the Bolshevik Government, Europe cannot be tranquilized. So long as the Conference attempts all kinds of fancy political schemes as a counterpoise to Germany, Europe will remain in a state of anarchy. And this state of anarchy, be it remembered, is full of peril. At the best the launching of the new Europe will be a difficult and dangerous enterprise. But it looks at the moment doubtful whether the Peace Conference has enough statesmanship to launch it at all. One of the most distinguished members of the Conference is reported to have said that he sometimes feared that Europe would never be delivered from this state of chaos; that there was not enough energy or wisdom left to do it. That deliverance never will be accomplished unless the Conference, and the Western Governments change their policy; perhaps not until the peoples have changed their governments and a new Conference has been assembled.

LABOR ITEMS

NEWS WRITERS ON STRIKE

New Haven, Conn. — Again the white collar slaves are besmirching themselves. This time it is the news writers employed on the papers of New Haven, Conn., who have become conscious that they belong to the working class, and have formed the New Haven News Writers' Equity Association, the first act of which was on September 14 to call a strike of its fifty-five members. This strike follows the refusal of the publishers to grant the demands for a new wage scale proposed by the union.

The organization, which includes practically all the reporters and reportorial workers on the four New Haven dailies, is publishing a newspaper of its own, called "The Reporter."

The publishers are getting their editors out as best they can by drafting the services of advertising solicitors and other office help, and by swapping their "local" proofs.

The Chamber of Commerce has prevailed upon the publishers to hold a conference with a view to suggestion that the controversy be referred to arbitration.

CIGAR MAKERS IN LIFE-AND-DEATH STRUGGLE

Chicago. — A rare example of solidarity is being given by the cigar makers in their life and death struggle to win recognition of the right to organize and to establish shop committees elected by the workers in a given shop to take up any grievance that may arise between employer and employee.

Not a single desertion from the ranks has taken place ever since the American Tobacco Company, the big trust of cigar manufacturers, on December 21, 1918 threw down the gauntlet to the workers by decreeing that in the Chicago shops the foremen must no longer permit the collection of dues for the union.

From the Chicago shops the strike spread to New York, where the cigar makers went out in sympathy with the demands of their Chicago fellow workers. Later the strike became a general one, involving shops in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana. Not only the factories within the Cigar Trust, but also numerous independent shops went on strike to settle once and for all the question of the right of the workers to their due.

Altogether, about 120,000 cigar makers, 80 per cent of them unorganized, are fighting this battle for the right to be organized, for a standardized scale of wages, for human and sanitary conditions. They are appealing to organized labor to support them in their struggle.

BRITISH LABOR FOR NATIONALIZATION

The British Trade Union Congress, in session in Glasgow by almost unanimous vote, adopted a resolution demanding that the government proceed at once with the work of nationalizing the mines along the lines proposed in the Sankey report. There were over 3,000,000 members represented in the Glasgow congress, and there were rumors that on the nationalization question a possible split might come between those who favor using direct action and those who stand for political action, but nothing of the kind occurred or will happen. Most of those who champion direct action are also in favor of political action. The point of difference is on which method should receive precedence. The conference also demanded that conscription be abolished, that no further assistance be given to the Kolchak faction in Russia, and that the government establish a fair electoral system so that the Labor party can secure the representation to which it is entitled.

Waiters' 14 Points

1. Abolition of the tipping system.
2. A living wage.
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(Continued from page 1)

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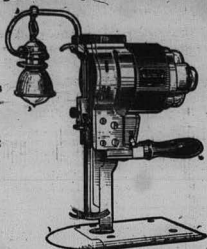
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