

"My righteous-
ness I hold
fast, and will
not let it go."
— Job. 27.6.)

JUSTICE

"We ought to
be just even to
our enemies."
— Pres. Wilson.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION.

VOL. I. No. 40.

New York, Saturday, October 25, 1919.

Price 2 Cents

INTERNATIONAL LOCALS HOLD CONFERENCE TO AID STEEL STRIKERS

EVERY NEW YORK LOCAL REPRESENTED AT GATHERING.

One Third of Sum Pledged by General Executive Board To Be Raised at Once.

VIGOROUS RESOLUTION ADOPTED CONDEMNING THE STEEL TRUST AND PLEDGING SUPPORT TO STRIKERS.

OUT OF TOWN LOCALS WILL HELP RAISE THE FUND.

Delegates representing every New York local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union met at the People's House, 7 E. 15th St., on Thursday night to discuss ways and means of raising the quarter of a million dollars pledged by the General Executive Board at its last meeting in Buffalo to aid the steel strikers in their great struggle against industrial absolutism.

The meeting was called by the New York members of the General Executive Board—Secretary Treasurer Ab. Baroff, Vice-Presidents M. Sigmund, J. Halperin, H. Wander, S. Ninfo, and others.

The gathering was an unusually enthusiastic one, and every one of the delegates present was eager to do his utmost to aid the steel workers win their fight for elementary human rights.

The conference decided to raise the sum pledged by the General Executive Board within a few weeks and one third of that sum within a few days. The delegates agreed, on behalf of the locals they represented, to raise their quotas within the three or four weeks and to make the initial contributions within the next few days. A resolution to this effect introduced by Philip Kaplowitz, financial secretary of the New York Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union was adopted unanimously and with great enthusiasm. The resolution which is also an indictment of the steel magnates, reads:

"Whereas the workers in the steel industries of this country are engaged in a bitter struggle against their employers, who have refused to confer, deal or in any way negotiate with the workers, prior to the calling of this strike, and

"Whereas the employing classes of this country are united to defeat the efforts of the strikers in the steel industry, by persecuting them in every possible manner, and by discouraging them with arrests, prison sentences and denying them the right to peacefully assemble to discuss their affairs in a manner provided by the Constitution of this country. And since this is the prevalent condition, organized labor should do their utmost to assist the strikers in the steel industry to the very last of their efforts until a final victory is achieved.

"And in accordance with the decision of the last meeting of the

general executive board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, held in Buffalo

in October, 1919, it was decided to raise a quarter of a million dollars for the support of the deserving steel strikers.

"Therefore, those executive members of the locals of New York, affiliated with this International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, assembled on October 23, 1919, at the People's House, 7 E. 15th Street, unanimously decide to raise the above sum within the next several weeks and recommends that this quarter of a mil-

lion dollars be proportionally raised by the locals affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

"And, those assembled tonight pledge to deliver to the International within the next several days the sum of at least one-third of the amount decided upon in order to have this at the disposal of the strikers, as soon as possible."

It is expected that the individual locals will raise their quotas by leaving an assessment of from \$1 to \$2 each on their members.

Though few locals outside of New York were represented at the conference it is certain that all the International local unions in the country will do their share, as quickly and as eagerly as their New York sister organizations.

CLASSES STARTED AT ALL UNITY CENTERS

REGISTRATION STILL GOING ON

CLASSES IN ENGLISH AND ANY OTHER SUBJECT MAY BE ATTENDED ON SAME EVENING.

DR. OLGIN TO VISIT THEATRES WITH UNITY STUDENTS AND ANALYZE PLAYS.

Classes in Economics and Labor Problems

BULLETIN ANNOUNCING EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES FOR CURRENT WEEK.

In all of the 4 Unity Centres classes in English and in other subjects were started last Monday, but it will take some time before all arrangements will be completed and the full programs developed. The Educational Department of the International is very careful in selecting instructors for the various classes. This and the fact that registration is still going on accounts for the somewhat slow progress made during the first few days at the various Unity Centres.

Most of the instructors have been busy preparing synopses or more or less detailed outlines of their respective courses. Copies of these outlines will be distributed among the students and will serve both as summaries and reference sources.

The courses organized so far include elementary, intermediate and advanced English, the modern drama, the labor movement, political economy and others. The schedules will be announced as soon as registration and enrollment of students is completed.

The two hour periods at the Unity Centres will be subdivided into two parts. In each case one hour will be devoted to English and the other to subjects that the students themselves will be free to choose.

The Educational Department expects all members, who appreciate the value of labor education to co-operate in securing the largest classes. Members of the International may register with their local secretaries or at any of the Unity Centres. It may again be emphasized here that the range of subjects that will be taught at

the Unity Centres is very wide and it can minister to the intellectual and artistic needs of the illiterate as well as the cultured elements among our members.

As an instance of the higher courses offered by the Educational Department the courses on the modern drama by Miss Allan A. Kennan may be pointed out. The course will consist of 4 lectures, or, as the lecturer chooses to call them, talks on the trend of modern drama, its literary as well as social aspects, and will cover the works of the leading dramatists of all countries.

Parallel with this course and supplementing it will be what one may call a field work course on the drama conducted by the eminent critic and writer Dr. Moissei Olgin. The students in this course will "take in shows" as part of their "home work." Dr. Olgin will suggest leading plays on the Yiddish and English stage and after the students will have seen those plays he will analyze each of them and teach the students how to tell art from stagecraft and sensation from drama.

The classes in economics and the history and form of the labor movement in the United States and abroad will be of a less imaginative and more matter-of-fact character. But this does not mean to say that they will not be made as interesting as possible. The Educational Department, with Dr. Friedland at the head, is making every effort to render these courses as popular and accessible to the students as it is consistent with the subjects to be taught and this method is pursued not only with regard to classes at

the Unity Centres but also at the lectures and courses of lectures arranged by the individual locals. A list of 40 suggestions for single lectures and lecture courses has been prepared at the office of the Educational Department with detailed outlines for each lecture as drawn up by the lecturers. The lectures will be given in Yiddish or English, depending upon the choice of the individual locals. Several of our local unions have already availed themselves of these suggestions and other are requested to do so as soon as they are ready to start their educational activities. In each case the Educational Department will take upon itself all the arrangements in connection with procuring the lecturers, artists and meeting halls.

The permanent conference of the local educational committees will meet shortly at the office of the International and act on vital problems in connection with the activities of the Educational Department. At the meeting a permanent sec'y of the conference will be elected. Members of the local educational committees are urged to visit the Unity Centres and assist in developing fellowship among the students. These visits will be of much value to the department by way of obtaining first hand information about the less tangible aspects of the work—the spirit and atmosphere in which the classes are conducted.

Opening celebration at all the centres will be held as soon as registration is completed.

BULLETIN FOR WEEK BEGINNING MONDAY, OCT. 27.

East side unity centre, 4th St. near 1st Ave:

Classes in English—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. Classes in Economics will be announced.

First lecture on the modern drama by Miss Allan A. Kennan.—Thursday.

Waistmakers' Unity Centre, P. S. 40, 220 E. 20th St.

Opens Monday with interesting program.

Bronx Unity Centre, P. S. 54, Intervale Ave. & Freeman St.

English—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday.

(Continued on Page 2)

Topics of the Week

THE United States government is in danger. Enemies of society of all brands are lurking over our democratic institutions. The strikes that are now going on are nothing more or less than revolutionary uprisings, — these are all undeniable facts, for they are corroborated by most of our dailies and weeklies. And not only the press — as high a dignitary as Senator Poin- dexter says the same thing. And if you still doubt it, just take a look at what is doing at Gary, the town that bears the name of the great champion of sacred principles. There a conspiracy has been discovered, a minister plot against all government. The discovery was made not by a pack of Pinkertons but by intelligence men of the U. S. army. One thousand soldiers were sent to Gary to "establish order." Well, they came and "established order." Strikers' meetings were suppressed and every effort was exerted to protect the scabs in the performance of their patriotic duties — to work for the steel trust and break the strike. But our soldiers, when led by such illustrious generals as Leonard Wood, who earned his fame not in the battlefields of Europe but on the home grounds, — when led by such a hero our soldiers can do more than establish law and order; proof — they unhesitatingly "Red" news at Gary, a pack of Reds who would have turned everything bottom side up if not for the intelligence officers and men.

And since the Red conspiracy was hatched in the very storm centre of the steel strike it is not conclusive proof that the steel strikers are anarchists and the entire strike was called with the object of destroying our democratic institutions? Our press, which is noted for its conscientious devotion to the truth, does not differentiate between the Reds and the strikers, between the strike and the "conspiracy."

Senator Poin- dexter wants to save the country from the great peril and he urges the government of the United States to get after the Reds and the strikers. For "I am convinced," said this great statesman, "that the increasing number of strikes is based on a desire to overthrow our Government, destroy all authority, and establish communism. The question is whether this element has sufficient numbers to constitute such a menace to the country as to make cognizance by the Government necessary. I know there is a disposition to ignore it. I think the Government should take vigorous steps to stamp out anarchy and lawlessness. There is grave danger that a Government will be overthrown when it ceases to defend itself. This is no time for sensitiveness on the part of public officials."

Not everybody, of course, is of the opinion that the strikes have been called by the Reds for revolutionary purposes. The strikers maintain that Gary and his press are doing a nasty piece of work to damage the strike. Fitzpatrick demands that the names of the Reds discovered at Gary be made public and that their connection with the strike be proved. He says that the sensation about the Gary Reds consists of mere assertions, that no facts have been made public and those that have — have proved nothing. He protests against the use made by the trust and the

press of the reputation of American troops to incite the public against the strikers and thus to break the strike morally.

And not only Fitzpatrick does not believe the fish stories about the Gary conspiracy. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, a man who knows all that secret service men know about all kinds of radicals and radical movements, from deep red to pale pink, — this head of all the government secret service men and women says that the Reds are not nearly as much of a menace as the papers want them to be.

"The peril from the Reds in America," said Palmer, "is greatly exaggerated. There are very few of them here and those few are under surveillance. They are not to be feared as the organizers and directors of the strikes. The strike is an American institution and has been one. Conditions which mark strikes have existed here for a long time. The radicals and Reds of whom we hear so much are simply a noisy few who inject themselves into an already existing condition.

"Because of their noise they come to be regarded as the leaders of strikers, whereas they are most frequently merely outsiders who choose such opportunity to mouth their doctrine at an end. Several

Harring the few "compliments" the Attorney-General pays the Reds he substantially agrees with Fitzpatrick and the rest of the leaders of the steel strike. But neither Palmer nor a dozen like him will convince the press that there is no Red menace in the country, if Gary wants such a menace to appear to be.

LAST week it looked as if the strike of the longshoremen was at an end. Several thousand of the strikers returned to work and the rest, according to newspaper reports were to follow suit. But quite the opposite took place. The men who had gone back to work struck again and those who were reported about to return to the piers remained at the strike headquarters.

Now the situation is more critical than ever. From 400 to 500 ships are lying in the harbor either waiting to be loaded or unloaded. The press is furious. It is pointed out that thousands of tons of sugar lies in the steamer holds with no one to unload them while the population is suffering from a sugar famine. A million dollar's worth of fruit alone lies rotting on the piers. Thousands of tons of perishable food stuffs consigned to the starving countries in Europe are piled up on the piers and are decaying while the longshoremen are idling their time away.

Steps were taken by the Washington government on one hand to settle the strike and on the other — to break it, at least so far as the government docks and ships are concerned. Five hundred soldiers were landed at Hoboken to take the places of the strikers as spread by the papers that the soldiers were coming with machine guns to overawe the strikers and frustrate every attempt on their part to interfere with the longshoremen willing to work. After the troops landed, General Shanks denied these reports and said that the soldiers would not be used to break the strike, that they would

be employed only on government ships and that they would have nothing to do with the private docks. On the other hand an officer of the Port of Embarkation said that the soldiers would do just what they would be told to. If they will be ordered to do guard duty they will do guard duty; if they would be needed to load and unload ships, they would load and unload ships, and if it should be found necessary to use some of them to shoot some people, they would do that too. So far they were not there to do any shooting, but there is no telling what may happen if the strike continues much longer.

Secretary of Labor Wilson made an attempt to bring about a settlement of the strike. He appointed a commission with mayor Hylan at the head to seek to effect such a settlement. One of the commissioners appointed by the Secretary of Labor was certain Vaccarelli, president of the Harbor Boatmen's Union, and his appointment precipitated a great deal of strife. The official leaders of the longshoremen, T. V. O'Connor and John F. Riley refuse to have any dealings with Vaccarelli, maintaining that he had a hand in the strike and is in accord with the views and methods of the strikers, which these officials so strenuously oppose. The strikers again have from the very start repudiated O'Connor and his associates and give favor Vaccarelli's appointment.

It would be the most logical thing, one would think, to deal with the representatives of the strikers and not with the discredited leaders, but he arbitrators have chosen another course — they are negotiating with the officials of the International Longshoremen's Ass'n, who are dead set against the strikers. Of what value such negotiations can be it is indeed hard to understand. O'Connor wants to break the strike because in his opinion the men have no right and no business to strike. The longshoremen struck because they were not satisfied with the award of the government Adjustment Commission, but O'Connor insists that they must abide by that award. If Secretary Wilson's Commission really seeks to settle the strike, taking into account the grievances of the strikers, it is difficult to see how they can gain their end with the aid of leaders who have no following.

Without going into the question of the right of workers to break agreements made on their behalf by their accredited representatives, it must be said, however, that no official of any union has a moral right to represent the rank and file and negotiate their affairs if the rank and file repudiate his leadership. It undermines the prestige of the American Federation of Labor and of the entire labor movement when individual unions violate agreements with employers. This is the position Gompers takes. But there can be no greater detriment to the labor movement than to tolerate leaders who ignore the will of those that vested them with power and who work with might and main against the outspoken will of the men they pretend to represent. O'Connor and his associates could, with honor, do but one thing — resign. They have not done. They have chosen instead to hold on to their jobs even if they are condemned by the men in whose name they speak and act. This is the most disgraceful aspect of the situation.

THE Bolshevik armies are engaged now in a series of battles the outcome of which may decide the life or death of the Soviet government in Russia. Petrograd is practically surrounded, and it is reported that the city is about to fall. Even if the anti-Bolshevik press exaggerates the victories of General Yudenich on the Petrograd front, it is certain that the Soviet army in that sector is in a desperate plight.

Also Denikine's armies are conducting a successful offensive with Moscow as the ultimate objective. Kolchak, too, recovered from his defeat and is now engaged in lively fighting with Soviet forces.

And in the United States the reactionaries are reveling over the reverses of the Soviet armies. The papers are rejoicing at what they consider the emancipation of Russia from the yoke of Bolshevism and her return to "democratic" rule.

In a special American edition of the *Struggling Russia* a weekly published by Kolchak's bureau in this city) the black ravens are crowing in weird accents over the defeats of the Bolsheviks and the victories of the monarchists. The great "democrat" Eliu Root assures us that Kolchak is a rare man, and that Russia will be happy under his rule. The arch-reactionary of Columbia University, President Nicholas Murray Butler, the second time once said that if Kaiser Wilhelm were a citizen of the United States he would be the ideal man to be chosen president of our country, beside himself with joy that at last "democracy" is about to be introduced in Russia. And in the special edition of *Struggling Russia* we also find an article by Samuel Gompers, who assures us that American labor is happy that the "Russian people" will at last free itself from the tyranny of the Bolsheviks.

THE success of the anti-Bolshevik armies in Russia are a direct result of the co-operation of the Allies in the various anti-Bolshevik movements both military and civil. Without the support of the Allies, America included, Kolchak and his aides could not last two months. The war in Russia is conducted by the whole world against the Bolsheviks. The governments of the capitalist countries cast aside all niceties and through the Allied Supreme Council announced that the Bolsheviks must be strangled by a blockade in order to save the present order of things and to prevent Bolshevist propaganda from spreading outside of Russia.

It is the first time that the Allies made so frank a statement about their Russian policy. The note of the Supreme Council has declared open war against Bolshevism. The note urges the continuation of the blockade and the participation of all the countries of the world in the crusade against Bolshevism. May such a course cost millions of lives of innocent women and children, may the non-ruling world condemn the blood-blooded, brutal destruction of innocent human beings — Bolshevism must be combatted, for it is a menace to the existing governments. Should it spread to the rest of the countries in Europe the rule of those who are now strangling Russia is as good as over.

"During the last few days the situation has changed greatly to the advantage of the Bolsheviks.

Steps Toward the Cooperative Commonwealth

By JULIET S. POYNITZ

*Old King Coal was a merry old soul,
And a merry old soul was he!*

But soon the kingdom of coal will be overthrown and a democratic republic will be established in its stead. Gradually in every country of Europe the coal mines are being taken over by the people to be administered for the general good. And when this has been accomplished one of the greatest steps will have been taken toward the co-operative commonwealth of which the workers have dreamed. For coal is not only the material which gives light and warmth. It is the very life-blood of industry. Through it the factories are kept running. Without it transportation and production cease. Unemployment and starvation ensue. It is therefore natural that one of the first acts of the socialized state is to secure control over the coal supply.

The English miners have struggled for the last year to bring about nationalization of the mines in England, and they have behind them the entire British labor movement. Furthermore, they have at their head two leaders of energy and determination, Robert Smillie and Frank Hodges, who have faith in the industrial power of the workers and are determined to use it without reserve. After nine months of negotiations, inquiries, commissions, congresses, conferences and every other device of delay that the terrified mineowners can bring to play against their manifest destiny, the workers have finally forced them to the wall, and with them the Lloyd George government. When a committee from the Trades Union Congress recently asked Mr. George whether he intended to nationalize the mines, they received a polite negative. "The government did not see its way clear, etc., etc." This coming year, however, which is expected to bring \$20 million dollars a day in the wild military extravagance. But the miners are not discouraged. They realize, in Shelley's words, "We are many, they are few."

The struggle over the mines which has brought Great Britain to its present crisis has been interesting and dramatic. The miners who demanded their due immediately on the close of the war were dragged on from one commission to another in the hope that they would reach a compromise to the surprise of all, they struck fast. The first Coal Commission included, in addition to the employers' representatives, several very strong men for the workers. In addition to Smillie and Hodges, the president and secretary of the Miners' Federation there were four 'intellectuals' of the first standing including the well-known socialists Sidney Webb and Chiozza Money. For labor needed every resource of wit and intellect that it could command in this revolution by delirium.

Chairman Sankey's report of March 20th which avoided the crucial issue of nationalization was adopted by the government. It distributed an additional 150 million dollars per year in wages and made provisions for an 8 hour

day with a possible 6 hour day in 1921. As to nationalization "the colliery worker shall in the future have an effective voice in the direction of the mines in the interests of the country. Even upon the evidence already given the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it, either nationalization or a method of unification by national purchase or by joint control."

In spite of the reduction of hours and the considerable sop thrown to them in the way of wage increases, the workers were not to be turned aside from the issue of nationalization. Again they threatened to strike. Tens of thousands did strike. And the government instructed the coal commission to report at its earliest opportunity on nationalization. Then followed the dramatic hearings in the "King's Robing Room" where Robert Smillie pilloried one coal-owning lord after another and asked him what return he was making to the community for the values he received. This direct challenge to the right of property earned for the miners' leader the title of chief bold bad Bolshevik of Britain. When the same Smillie began to fight conscription and the intervention in Russia, conviction increased that he was a tool of the wizard of Moscow. Smillie went on his way serenely and brought forth damning evidence against the private ownership of mines. In the reports of the Commission which were finally submitted in June even the chairman Gankey had been completely won over to nationalization. His statement is a convincing argument for socialism coming from a bourgeois judge. "A great change in outlook," he says, "has come over the workers in the coal fields, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to carry on the industry on the old accustomed lines."

Many of the workers think they are working for the capitalist and a strike becomes a contest between labor and capital. This is much less likely to apply with the state as owner, and there is fair reason to expect that the relationship between labor and the community will be an improvement upon the relationship between labor and capital in the coal fields." Smillie's words mean increased output and greater efficiency. "Coal mining is our national key industry upon which nearly all other industries depend. . . . The other industries and consumers generally are entitled to have a voice in deciding the amount of coal to be produced and the price at which it is to be sold, which they have not had in the past." Provision is made for the administration of the industry by a National Mining Commission with District Councils composed of representatives of the state, the workers, consumers and experts.

The general plan is approved by the labor members but they ask for fuller representation on the councils and they "do not agree that any compensation whatever should be paid to the present mineral owners. The coal owners' representatives with the conservative politician, Arthur

Balfour, in the forefront believe that "Neither past experience of state enterprise nor any evidence submitted to the Commission gives any reasonable ground for belief that the coal industry could or would be as efficiently conducted by the State in the future as by private enterprise in the past." Then follows a plan for some co-operation among the mine operators for the sake of efficiency. State ownership of the coal and private operation of the mines is their solution.

A great victory has been won for the miners in the reports of the Commission. Thus far every step toward the goal has been successful. The Trades Union Congress and the Triple Alliance are pledged to back them up. Lloyd George's refusal to consider nationalization only postpones the evil day. A new session of the Trades Union Congress will soon be called which will decide how to force the issue whether by political or industrial action. Robert Smillie is the silent leader who is forcing the way step by step toward the public ownership and workers' control of the "national key industry" of Great Britain.

The nationalization of coal mines was undertaken in Germany and Austria a few months after the armistice. Necessity was here the driving force. The hard conditions of the peace had turned over a great amount of the German coal fields to France, while Bohemia, Poland and the Jugoslavia quarrelled over a portion of the Austrian fields. Factories shut down, workers were thrown out of employment, even food could not be hauled to the starving cities for lack of coal to run the locomotives. The greatly reduced coal-supply must be distributed with the greatest care to prevent social disaster.

Provision was made for the socialization of coal and electricity in Austria by regulations which went into effect in June. Two boards were established, one for supervising the mining of the coal and one for its distribution. Of the 23 members of the Coal-Mining Corporation there were five each for the state, the provinces and the workers. The distributing corporation has 3, and the other 5 are divided among the managing and financial powers. These figures give us an idea of the distribution of power in socialization as being established.

Of the profits of the Austrian mines, one fifth goes to the workers with hand and brain, three-fifths to the state, and the other fifth for keeping the industry healthy by providing a reserve fund and finding new mines. The distributing Board which controls prices and sales, export and import, includes representatives of the state, the workers, the consumers, in homes and factories, and the general manufacturing interests. Thus the needs of all can be watched and met. Similar provisions are made for a publicly owned supply of electricity at the lowest price.

In Germany the socialization of coal was brought about by the creation of a National Council for the Coal Industry. This council was made up of representatives of

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL 15, PHILADELPHIA

By CORNELIA W. CLEVELAND

Local 15 has opened the new year in a good Unity Spirit. Last Tuesday night we had a concert and educational meeting to invite all our members to school. In spite of the holidays and the bad weather, the members who came out made a pretty good showing. They were well rewarded for their trouble in coming by an inspiring talk on education by Miss Fannia Cohn, whose untiring energy and ambition have helped make the Unity School.

After Miss Cohn's talk there were several excellent violin and soprano solos. There is nothing like music to bring us together in real Unity feeling.

After Herbert Bernstein gave a spirited talk on the school and urged in uncertain terms upon every member the importance of seizing the opportunities offered in the educational work.

At the close of the meeting the chairman, Miss Ada Rosenfelt introduced the new director of Educational Work, Miss Cleveland, who talked on the value of self-education for self-mastery.

Although this meeting was to open the registration for the school, there has already been a good beginning of registration in the two Unity Centres. In spite of the holidays, two fair sized classes have already begun their English and Gymnasium work in the Southern High School and in the William Penn High School.

The girls are very happy to have an old friend, Miss Hirschman, with them again in Southern High. Her enthusiasm for the work has made her a good friend of the Unity girls.

In William Penn the girls are pluming with their new English teacher, Miss Copeland, who bids fair to be a friendly rival of Miss Hirschman in popularity.

Mr. Harry E. Wildes, lecturing in the William Penn in Industrial History, has quite won the admiration of the students there by his friendly spirit and informal method of discussion. We feel sure that with such lecturers as Mr. Wildes and Dr. Raymond Bye, of the University of Pennsylvania High School, the Labor Problems classes ought to be great successes.

The Director of Education, Miss Cleveland, is beginning a course of lectures on Woman in Literature and Life this week. This course will cover the history of woman's development as a conscious social being and will include the study of many dramas and novels which present the fascinating theme of the awakening of woman.

the state, the workers, the consumers, the dealers and the mining experts, with district associations to control production, consumption and sale under the supervision of the National Council. The National Council is to be assisted by a committee of experts representing every group in the community interested in the production or use of coal. Two other committees consider methods of using the fuel and the political aspects of the coal question, which may be very important in the Germany of today which is suffering such a drain in its coal supply at the hands of the Allies.

Thus each nation advances step by step in its own way toward the Co-operative Commonwealth.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

LABOR UNIONS AND UNION REPRESENTATIVES

We are not inclined to make prophecies concerning the outcome of the National Industrial Conference meeting in Washington. It is quite possible that a compromise between capital and labor will be agreed upon, but it will be a compromise on paper and nothing more. In reality the nature of relations between capital and labor will not be altered by whatever resolutions are adopted by the Conference.

Gary, technically a representative of the public but in reality the spokesman of capital, has raised his attitude toward organized labor to the level of a sacred moral principle. Whether he is sincere or not is beside the question. Even if he is sincere, his principles are dictated by his own interests. It is human nature to motivate selfish actions and material interests by lofty moral principles, the violation of which may undermine the very existence of society. This is possibly also the case with the representatives of the other side. Perhaps also their profession of principles is actuated by their desire to gain better conditions of existence.

And it is for the same reason that we see many workers advancing demands, which sound highly radical and give the impression that their proponents are radical men defending radical principles, whereas in reality they know nothing of such principles and care nothing about them. Their demands and actions are prompted by material interests.

We are convinced, for instance, that in the strike of the printers and pressmen, or in the strike of the longshoremen there is not a ghost of conscious rebellion against their leaders, and it would be erroneous to conclude, on the basis of these strikes, that the rank and file, both in their visions and their immediate interests, have outgrown their present leaders and are rebelling against them. It is only a case of configuration of circumstances which made the leaders apparent partners of capital, so that the strikers must wage a struggle both against their leaders and their employers.

The remarkable thing about these strikes is that it is the rebellious strikers who adhere to practically the same "principle" as that enunciated by Judge Gary, even though they may think that an impassable gulf separates them from Gary's views and philosophy.

For what is Gary's principal contention? It is this: the men who ask him to negotiate with

them are outsiders, whose assertions, that they represent his employees, are entirely unfounded. And even if they do represent a certain minority of the steel workers, the overwhelming majority want to have nothing to do with these uncalled for representatives. For this reason he cannot negotiate with them. He is willing to deal with his own employees individually or collectively, but he will not treat with strangers and outsiders.

Now examine the stand taken by the striking longshoremen and the printers and you will see that it is similar to that taken by Gary. The strikers maintain that the international officers do not represent them, that the demands they advance and the stand they take are diametrically opposite to those taken by the officers. Hence they want to deprive the latter of the right to negotiate with the employers the affairs of the rank and file, and make demands and fight for them as they, the men, see fit.

We do not wish to take sides in the struggles between the longshoremen and their leaders or between the pressmen and their representatives. But it seems to us that both of these strikes and internal strikes are clear cases of repudiation of the principle of collective bargaining.

For what is collective bargaining, which is the central issue at the National Industrial Conference? It is the recognition of the obligation on the part of the employer to negotiate all the arising labor difficulties with the union representing his employees. And when we say union we mean the elected representatives and officials of the union. The principle of collective bargaining makes the agreements reached by the union officials with the employers binding on both sides. Just as the employer, who recognized the principle of collective bargaining, cannot in an individual case balk and say that this time he would rather treat with his employees individually, so cannot the workers who believe in the principle of collective bargaining declare in any given case that they would rather deal with their employer directly, because they cannot trust their leaders.

The principle of collective bargaining empowers the leaders of the workers to conclude agreements with the employers on behalf of the workers they represent. Otherwise collective bargaining has no meaning. But when the workers come out against their leaders and say that the latter have no right to make contracts on behalf of the entire membership of the union and bind the membership to

these contracts, they repudiate the very principle which is so tenaciously fought for by the labor representatives at the Washington conference. Such a stand on the part of the Workers means that their standpoint is represented best by the Steel King Gary and not at all by the president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers. Gary can use the strike of the printers and the longshoremen as a very strong and very effective argument against the labor group and its plea for the recognition of the principle of collective bargaining. And when we take into consideration the assertions, true to some extent, that most of the recent strikes were called over the heads of the leaders, we see that the principle of collective bargaining, the basic tenet of trade unionism, is being repudiated by the rank and file. The question arises, therefore, whether this principle, which has been the mainstay of organized labor in America, should be declared void and be discarded as no longer of any use, or whether the principle is still valid and effective in the struggle of labor for a better life, and the recent revolts against it are merely a result of misunderstanding.

In our opinion the principle of collective bargaining between employees and employers is as sound and important as ever. Take away this principle and the labor movement will become chaotic and will be of no value to the workers. The worker as an individual is defenseless. Every step forward has been gained by the aid of collective bargaining, through the power of the organized union represented by the properly elected union officials. Not only an attempt—the very idea of depriving the union of its great function is a dangerous one and may do immeasurable harm to the labor movement. On the other hand, however, we see that quite a number of representatives of capital are in favor of collective bargaining. Most of the employers in the printing trades, for instance, are now going hand in hand with the union leaders who demand the upholding of the principle of collective bargaining. On the surface it looks, then, that the principle of collective bargainings is of greater advantage to the employers than to their employees. How can we explain this?

The explanation is a simple one. The principle is as sound as ever, but it seems that it has been greatly misused in several branches of the labor movement. It looks that many a union representative has forgotten that he is but the servant of his union, one elected to execute the will of those who elected him, and he is behaving like a Czar in his union, demanding of it obedience and only obedience. It seems that in the midst of the labor movement there has arisen a sort of bureaucracy parading under the guise of trade unionism and collective bargaining, but in reality pursuing its own petty interests. It is quite natural that the employers are in sympathy with such kind of labor unionism, just as it is natural that the workers rebel against this kind of collective bargaining of which they often get the worst end.

If such rebellions against au-

thoratic leaders had not assumed wide proportions, it would not, perhaps, be worth dwelling on them, though even a single such instance should be sufficient to serve as a warning. But this spirit of rebellion has now affected practically the entire labor movement. Remember that the shopmen's strike, too, was called over the heads of the leaders, whose prestige and authority President Wilson took it upon himself to uphold. And the shopmen's is not the only instance of such unauthorized strikes in the recent past. The strikes in Winnipeg and Seattle were of the same nature. These recent uprising of the rank and file and the strikes of the longshoremen and the printers, in which the "official" leaders of the workers are with the employers and against their own men, show clearly that we have before us not an isolated case of rebellion against an autocracy within the unions but a deep-rooted disease, a cancer which has eaten into the very organism of the labor movement and threatens its total destruction. The plea of unity and organization cannot apply in this case. Nor is the principle of collective bargaining compelling enough now that those who negotiate with the employers on behalf of the workers are under the very grave suspicion of pursuing their own interests rather than those of the men they represent. There is no doubt that the charges made against the president of the Pressmen's Union and of the International Typographical Union are based on very serious evidence, even if we admit that in the heat of strife exaggerations have been made.

Under these circumstances, if the labor group at the Washington conference will succeed in effecting a compromise on the question of collective bargaining, it will be of little use to the masses of labor, who, driven by the blindness and selfishness of their so-called leaders, are forced to repudiate this very principle.

It is obvious that the principle of collective bargaining will gain little or the least fight at the Industrial Conference even if the principle will be admitted in theory. The principle of collective bargaining will become fully operative and fully effective when the schism, nay, the gulf between the leaders and the masses will disappear. If a contract concluded between an employer and representatives of his employees is to be regarded as sacred it must express and embody the wishes and demands of the rank and file and not of the leaders alone.

It is certainly no credit to the present leaders when the employers say, as did also President Wilson, that they will negotiate only with the accredited representatives of the unions. Such statements on the part of employers arouse the suspicion that these representatives serve the interests of the employers rather than of the men the ostensibly represent.

We deem it worth emphasizing that this disease has affected the so-called conservative labor movement in America. It is fortunate indeed that in our radical labor movement, in the labor movement of the so-called "foreigners" there is not a trace of this malady. In our movement the leaders are true rep-

At the Meeting of the General Executive Board

By S. YANOFSKY

I. We cannot, of course, dwell on every question raised and discussed at the conferences of the General Executive Board at Buffalo two weeks ago. To do this we would have to fill the pages of the Justice for several weeks with nothing but the proceedings of those conferences. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to a general review of the proceedings.

Profound earnest marked the discussion that arose at the conferences. The members of the Board stated their views frankly and openly irrespective of whether they concurred in the views and opinions of the president or went counter to them. On this score there was a total absence of polite or deferential restraint. Not that President Schlesinger was a mere figure head at the conferences. Quite the contrary. His opinions carried with them not only the weight of his office but also, and mainly the weight of his personality and competency. The delegates listened to Schlesinger not with perfunctory attention—they were deeply interested in everything he said. When he spoke there was complete silence in the room. The vice-presidents were eager to hear the president's opinion on every question that came up, and if the decisions in most cases went Schlesinger's way it was not because of machine politics but because of valid argument and able presentation.

But every question was argued out thoroughly and exhaustively, and every decision arrived at was the result of an all-sided illumination of the subject involved.

To point out an instance: President Schlesinger, as a result of his trip to the Pacific Coast, ex-

representatives of the workers. In our movement the principle of collective bargaining is not a curse but a genuine blessing, and no contract is made unless the majority of the workers involved ratifies it. And for this reason the possibility of a rebellion in our ranks such as we see in the strikes of the longshoremen and the printers, is entirely excluded.

GIVE IMMEDIATE AID TO THE STEEL STRIKERS

We again wish to remind our International to make good the pledge of the General Executive Board of \$250,000 aid to the steel strikers. The morale of the strikers is excellent. Their numbers are increasing. The only hope of the steel trust is to starve the workers into submission, and this hope, too, must be shattered. It is the duty of every one in the labor movement to come to the rescue of the steel strikers and to do it at once. Fitzpatrick, one of the leaders of the strike, has already issued an appeal for aid. Our International had volunteered aid before this appeal was made, and it must be the first to come forth with aid in cash, not in mere promises. We again urge all our locals and the individual members to raise the required sum at once. We hope to be in a position in our next issue to report the completion or near-completion of the great task.

pressed the opinion that there is much room for activity of the International in the Western cities and that the International ought to detail its best organizers for the work. None of the vice-presidents, naturally, disputed Schlesinger's opinion as to the possibilities at the Pacific Coast. But the question was raised whether the International could afford at this time to send any of its organizers West.

Amdur and Elmer Rosenberg pointed out the fact that many competent and efficient leaders had left the International and that few new ones had arisen. Under such circumstances, urgent as the work on the Pacific Coast may be, it was impossible, they argued, to spare any organizer of the International, not to speak of the best.

These two vice-presidents made very clever use of a statement made by President Schlesinger in his report to the effect that even in New York City there are tens of thousands of workers properly belonging to the Ladies' Garment Industry as yet unorganized. It sounded like a very plausible argument against extending the activities in the Far West and neglecting urgent work in the greatest center of the industry.

As a result of this debate the General Executive Board decided to leave the matter to the General Office. The important thing, however, is not the decision, but the debate, itself, which showed clearly that the Board consists of men of independent thinking, who are not afraid to voice their opinions even if they do not coincide with those of the President.

Another interesting debate arose about Local 25. It was the general opinion that "something is rotten in Denmark," that something thorough and substantial must be done to make Local 25 worthy of its affiliation with the International. Earnest and well thought-out speeches on the subject were made by President Schlesinger and Vice-Presidents Rosenberg, Amdur, Halperin, Perlstein, Seidman, and others. They all agreed that Local 25, as now constituted, is too large and unwieldy, including as it does workers of different industries who get in each other's way. The local, for its own good, must be reorganized—on this too the vice-presidents agreed. But sharp debates arose on the method to be adopted to this end. Some were of the opinion that a re-organization must be accomplished at once, that the International must act with firmness and determination. Others again urged caution and tact, so as not to give the professional demagogues an opportunity to brew more trouble.

The vice-presidents wanted to leave the whole matter in the hands of Schlesinger, but he could not very well take this task upon himself, for he is not in the best of health, and his impaired state of health is due mostly to the very strike of Local 25 early in the year. Schlesinger needs a few weeks complete rest, to regain his health, and he cannot undertake the strenuous task.

This question also remained as yet undecided, but it illuminated every phase of the situation, and this is an accomplishment in itself. The fact was brought out

The French-teachers' congress has voted for the affiliation of a new teachers' union with the general confederation of labor.

The Scandinavian unions have decided to lend German workmen \$2,680,000, four-tenths from Sweden, three-tenths from Denmark and Norway each, to buy victuals in Scandinavian countries without loss from the rate of German money.

Following the example set by actors and actresses in New York and other cities in the United States, chorus girls and boys and musicians of the Spanish capital have organized a labor union. They will at an early date present demands for more favorable contracts, according to report.

The joint standing industrial council plan of representation has now been extended in the United Kingdom until it includes 2,438,500 work people. Joint industrial councils have been organized in forty-one industries, raising from asbestos manufacturing, with 3,000, to building, with 533,000.

The doctors of Dundalk, Ireland, went on strike to enforce demands for a minimum salary of seven guineas (about \$35) weekly for all public services. Their present salaries average 275 pounds a year. A number of patients applying for treatment at dispensaries have been refused.

The Socialist and Syndicalist Parties within what were hitherto the separate countries incorporated within the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes have united into two great parties pledged to co-operate in political and industrial action with each other. The Socialist Party of Yugoslavia has refused to be represented in the Belgrade Parliament, as it believes that the body was constituted arbitrarily. Slovenia, as a result of the breaking down of the communications and transport facilities, is the only district where the influence of the two new parties has been little felt.

The alertness of the Japanese in attacking new world problems is shown in the quick formation of the "Capital and Labor Co-operative Society," which is designed to forestall and arrange labor troubles which have sprung up in mushroom fashion in Japan. The leaders of the organizations include the most prominent men in the country. They say it is the duty of wise men to keep the interests of the consumer in sight, and this can best be accomplished in Japan by the creation of a body that will step in with its good offices at periods of strikes and lockouts.

Representatives of all the European co-operative wholesale societies have met at the invitation of the British Wholesale Societies for the purpose of establishing an International Wholesale Society to

that though there are a number of trouble-makers in Local 25, the majority of the members are loyal to the International and are doing their duty by it; it was also pointed out, that we are passing through times of mental confusion and that it is but natural to expect new ideas and tendencies in a union of girls, emotional and impulsive by nature.

LABOR IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

perfect an organization whereby an extensive international trade is to be initiated. This will mean that the factories of the British wholesale societies will be many times expanded, so that other countries may be supplied with British co-operatively manufactured goods, while these will pay for goods with raw materials and food products. Co-operative organizations in Russia, Canada, and even certain districts in the United States have hitherto done business with the English societies.

Despite their intense suffering, the Belgian workers have had a hard fight to gain concessions during the past year. In order to gain recognition the Trade Union Commission organized in 28 of the most important localities in the country demonstrations in favor of a legal eight-hour day, a minimum wage, the abolition of military rules and against the new law on rents. These demonstrations met with great success. By tens of thousands the workers showed the employers and the government their determination to gain at whatever cost a more humane life. In all quarters of the country the workers joined the unions en masse, so that the number of members actually mounted to about 450,000 from a total of 130,000 before the war. The employers are forced to take account of this, and in many factories where it has been possible to resume work, partially or in greater degree, reasonable wages have been paid and an eight-hour day worked. The nine-hour day still prevails in a few places, but strong efforts are being made to abolish it.

The British Labor organizations are now practically a unit regarding their views and demands on the Russian situation, without necessarily endorsing the Bolshevik policies. They possess no illusions about the alleged patriotic and unselfish desires of the Lloyd George government to restore peace and order in Russia. All these fair tales have vanished long ago, and now the cold-blooded, calculating financial vultures are also becoming quite frank about the British adventure in the East. Russia, the magazine of Anglo-Russian finance, asserts that "what we are witnessing now in Russia is the opening of a great struggle for her immeasurable raw materials." Financial News, another leading organ of the exploiters, has the following to say: "In the city (London) it is realized that events are shaping more and more towards an international sovereignty over Russia modeled on the British surveillance of Egypt. Such an event would transform Russian bonds into the cream of the international market."

In France the four agricultural workers' federations have ended their long internal dispute and have established unity by the organization of one federation affiliated with the French Federation of Labor. These unions charge that the French Senate has refused to pass the agricultural workers' compensation bill and the bill that would bring agricultural workers under the general law relative to industrial accidents; that the French Parliament has refused to enact into law the bill compelling the farmers to

equip agricultural machinery with safety appliances. The workers declare that Parliament takes a lively interest in legislation designed to improve the financial conditions of the land owners, but is deaf, dumb and blind to the less-than-living wages and long hours of labor of the agricultural workers.

Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, Oct. 11.—Australian seamen suspended work in defiance of the federal compulsory arbitration law and forced vessel owners to confer with them on the question of wages, hours, working conditions and insurance while at sea.

The government and the vessel owners insisted that the matter be referred to the arbitration court, according to law, but the men refused. Thomas Walsh, general secretary of the Federated Seamen's union, was arrested on the charge of violating the arbitration law. He pleaded guilty and was fined \$500 and costs. He was placed in jail and then the seamen announced that there would be no conference of any description until he was released. The trade union official urged the men to adjust the strike and his matter could be taken up later.

The settlement provides that the main points will go to conference between the employers and employed.

At the same time that Congress is clearing for railroad action with the firm intention of turning the railroads back to private owners, and saddle the nation with all the taxation which financial operation entails, France also is dealing with a transportation problem in another way. France is tired of bickerings and industrial turmoil; tired of the exploitation of a nation for the benefit of the few.

The termination of military control of the railroads in France, according to a news dispatch, marks the beginning of participation in control by the workers. Delegates from all the different classes of railway workers and heads of departments will share with boards of directors in operating the transportation system.

The plan of M. Clavelle, Minister of Public Works of France, bears startling resemblance to the Plumb Plan, advocated by railroad workers of America. It is a recognition not only of the right of workers to participate in management, but of the imperative necessity of using the knowledge of labor and of the technical officials in an industry which is vital to the life of the nation.

The general press in France, which is conditioned similarly to American newspapers, is of course looking askance at the undertaking. But shippers and merchants, whose customers have rebelled at ever-increasing costs, are welcoming the movement as the only remedy for conditions now unbearable.

In the Kingdom of Gary

By Mary Heaton Vorse

The other day a man came in to Foster's office. He had been on strike three weeks, and now he had about 9 cents left. He had some chickens, he had good neighbors, who had given him vegetables and things from their gardens. The man was a foreigner, a young married man, and what he had come for was not to ask strike benefits. He wanted advice and the moral support of encouragement.

He wanted to know how he was going to get along. He came rather deprecatingly, smiling in an embarrassed sort of fashion over his difficulties. Then he went away, still his smile, his only assets his friends, his 9 cents and his indomitable will to stick it out.

The strike is based on people like this; people full of faith; people full of endurance; people full of sacrifice—thousands and thousands of them. Thousands of them looking upward and forward to a better life for themselves and their children—for these people are considered as a right to be considered as men. They are striking for the right of a little leisure. They want an end put to this de-humanizing double shift.

The other day in Braddock a mill superintendent stopped an old timer on the street. "Aren't you working?" he asked.

"No, I am not working. I'm taking a holiday. I am paying myself back those twenty cents masses I worked for the company," said the man.

That has been the situation with the mill workers. No Sundays, no Christmas. Work that took it out of a man so that he was old at forty. Work that left him so tired at the end of the day that he wasn't a human being any more. And now these people are willing to sacrifice to change this sort of thing, for themselves, for their children, and for the workers of all time.

So when the history of this strike is written it is going to be a history of the faith and courage and endurance of men and women living in wretched slums, their windows looking on filthy court yards—living in desolate mill towns in sheds around the great mills; living in bleak houses on steep hillsides where the roads turn to roaring torrents during each rain.

Allegheny County is a fair, sweet place. There are large, fat farms; oil bubbles underneath the earth, and all around are beautiful towns full of comfortable American homes. At each turn of the road the ravines and burnt hills make a new picture. Smoke shuts out all of this when you get to the towns where the mill workers live. Their landscape is the rows and rows of great chimneys and the smoke pouring out of them. Their music is the din of the shop and the roar of the whistle.

They have no life and now because they have asked for a few hours in which to live, every form of suppression and terror is being used against them.

Why has the strike not already been smothered out of existence. Only because of the dogged endurance and the dogged faith of the men. The strike is not kept together by the ordinary strike discipline. It goes on by its own momentum through the faith and courage of the rank and file.

There is no one who reads this who does not know how the morals of a strike is kept up. There is no one who has seen strikes where there were not meetings, entertainments, processions, the coming together of men working for a common purpose—there is nothing like this in the steel towns. It isn't allowed. If more than half a dozen strikers stop on the street to talk over their affairs, they are arrested for "blocking traffic," "inciting to riot," etc.

No strike poster can be stuck up in a steel town—no leaflet passed on the street to tell the news. No meeting can be held without a permit of police. Many towns do not allow any meetings at all. In other towns where meetings are grudgingly allowed, the halls are so little that they can hold only a very small fraction of the men on strike.

So a smothering silence shuts down over the men. Every day they get up to read lying reports in the papers. Every day they meet on the street, mill employees who try to bribe them to go back. I know a young fellow who was discharged because he was getting men to join the union, and he was one of many in his town. I have a list of their names, though Mr. Gary states that men are never discharged for union activities. This man recently met the foreman of his shop who offered him back his old job at an increased wage. He didn't go, for they are not going back because they have settled down to a long grim fight in spite of every force of the community against them, including uncertainty and suspense; in spite of all the rumors of strike breakers and that their jobs are gone forever, in spite of the terror of the "Cossacks," the beatings, and the continual menace of arrest.

We must remember that in the steel towns people have been arrested wholesale because they have committed the crime of striking. There are charges such as obstructing traffic, unlawful assembly, etc., which make it possible to run a striker in without his having committed any real offense.

Suppression and oppression have been the Father and Mother of this strike and terror is god-father. But, when the company used terror. They forgot the old saying that the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church.

There hasn't been a home searched or an illegal arrest made that hasn't helped the strike. There hasn't been a club that has come down on a defenseless mill-worker that hasn't sent men hurrying to get out their union cards.

Take the case of Clairton for instance. This was the town where the Union had got no foot-hold—the watchful authorities had kept the "agitators" out. ("Agitator" is the company's name for all members of the A. F. of L. who try to get their fellow workers to join a union.)

There were no halls in Clairton that could be rented. All permits were denied and street meetings were broken up. That is to say, the fundamental rights of Americans were sweepingly denied. There is no right of free speech and free assembly in the steel towns. When the people in Farrell want to go to a meeting they have to go over the Ohio state line into America—and the other even-

ing four thousand of them walked over to hear Foster speak.

There are plenty of steel towns not in America and Clairton is one of them.

After a time the organizer hired a vacant lot from one of the mill-workers. But a man in Clairton can't ask a few friends on a lawn party on his own property—the Cossacks rode down the strikers and broke up the meeting. The mill-workers didn't know it was un-American to strike and they had put up an American flag—the Cossacks tore down and the flag was trampled under the horses' hoofs. This started trouble for there were some ex-service men there as there are in all workmen's crowds. The affidavits sent to the Senate abound in statements like:

"The state troopers rushed on the lot and the people started to run away but when said state troopers rushed to the platform and tore down our flag, the men became incensed and some ex-soldiers, seeing of flag being incited and defiled, rushed at said troopers in defense of our flag and started the excitement and almost caused a riot, and loyal citizens were greatly incensed. There was no provocation for said interference and riding over women and children." (Signed) Milton Terzhich.

Before this happened the organization made no headway in Clairton but the Constabulary had made an irresistible argument—men rushed away from the riot to get their union cards.

The State Constabulary had a splendid looking body of men in their smart dark grey uniforms and helmets but with their riot clubs three feet long they are terror incarnate to the workers—they are in the steel towns in many cases not because the town authorities asked them but at the request of the company. So brutal have they been that one can explain their acts only on the theory that they were acting under orders "to throw a scare into the workers" from the first, or else that they were openly trying to induce riot. How else can one account for the tearing down of the flag or the incident at Braddock? There was a mission in Braddock in the Slovak Church and the men were coming out from instruction at about nine—the Cossacks rode them down—not only that but they rode their horses up the narrow church steps. The men controlled themselves—they didn't attack the Cossacks, and they did nothing in anger or reprisal when the Cossacks rode down a crowd of babies of the first grade who were going home from church.

No assembling in crowds is allowed in Braddock.

There is a narrow street in Braddock along which runs the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. A tall fence separates the street from the tracks and children play here, for nothing on wheels is allowed here by city ordinance. Since the strike one of the mill owners drove his car down this street, scattering the children in front of him. Behind him for his protection rode two of the steel gray troopers, but they weren't needed any more than they have been any time. The men are out to win the strike by peaceable means in spite of thugs, gunmen and State Constabulary.

THE UNION
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THE WEEK'S NEWS IN CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

By Sam B. Shenker

BONUS DEPRIVES MEN OF INCREASE

The acceptance on the part of a few cutters employed by a waist firm of a bonus in lieu of an increase in wages led the Executive Board to hold liable to fine any man who in the future accepts a bonus for an increase. The cutters involved failed to consult the union before accepting the bonus, and now that the busy season is over their wages were reduced to the minimum.

That the action of the firm is a contemptible one, that the bonus was given the men with the intention of withdrawing it at the first opportunity is apparent. The men found themselves, a few months ago, confronted with low earnings and high living costs. Added to that, the fact that all other firms were increasing the wages of their cutters from four to twelve dollars above the minimum, the cutters in the house in question felt that they, too, were justified in securing an increase.

The best they could get was \$40 a week, or an increase of \$2. That they could have secured more elsewhere at the particular time was certain. But they did not leave on the supposition that since the increase was so small the firm would not be so brazen as to attempt a reduction.

But they discovered that they had been sadly mistaken. They once more learned the bitter lesson of depending on the good nature of an employer, and some two weeks ago two of the men appeared and filed a complaint that their wages were reduced. The matter was immediately taken up with the Association, of which the firm was a member.

The Union was powerless. The firm was careful enough not to leave any loopholes for complaint. They decided upon an elaborate plan. They would place the regular minimum of \$38 in one envelope and the \$2 increase in another, telling the shop chairman at the same time that the additional \$2 was a weekly bonus. When the union's representative heard of this magnanimity he argued that bonuses as a rule were given at the end of the season or of the year; that never yet has the union heard of a bonus being given weekly.

The failure on the part of the shop-chairman to object to the firm's weekly bonus weakened the case for the union; it could do nothing but drop the case.

It is hoped that this will be a warning to the cutters. In the future they are to remember that weekly bonuses can only mean an increase and the firm should be so informed. If the employers are so benevolent as to give their cutters a bonus for good work they should give it at the end of the year or at the end of the season. Bonuses as a rule have a string attached. A bonus means as much as a request by the employer that the man desert the union. Or, as in the case here cited, a means of depriving the men of something to which they are entitled. We repeat: **LET THIS CASE ACT AS A WARNING TO THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP.**

IN THE MISCELLANEOUS BRANCH

Nomination of officers for the ensuing term of one year will take place at the Cloak and Suit meeting, which will be held Monday, November 3, at Arlington Hall,

3rd Street, St. Marks Place. Prospective nominees must be in good standing on the night of nomination. They must also be members of the Union for at least two years.

A conference was recently held with the Cloakmakers' Union and the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, where a number of questions were taken up, among which were the questions as to the increased earnings of the workers and methods of enforcing decisions.

First and foremost was the ever trying question of wages. Employers somehow or other do not recognize the present living costs when it effects the worker. Prices of necessities are constantly increasing. Yet there are many firms anxious to reduce earnings.

Manager Gorenstein reports stoppage because of attempts at wage reductions. He took the matter up at the conference and the Association was forced to admit that an employer had no right under the agreement to reduce wages. Hence the Union will, as was decided, strain all its efforts to prevent reductions.

As to the methods of enforcing decisions it was found to be a fact that certain heads of the association were ignorant of the clause in the agreement in reference to enforcing decisions. The clause states, in effect, that firms failing to comply with a decision within 7 hours are to be deprived of the benefits and the protection accorded them under the pact. This was pointed out by the union's conferees and again the association had to admit that the union was right. Gorenstein states that now, since there can be no two ways of interpreting this clause, he will proceed with calling strikes wherever and whenever decisions are not lived up to in strict accordance with the agreement.

IN THE CLOAK AND SUIT BRANCH

Brother Perlmuter, handling the Children's Dress trade, reports that since the union is dealing individually with the employers in this trade the results attained are quite satisfactory.

It will be recalled that sometime ago the Association broke off its relations with the union, having attempted first to put the blame on the Union. The situation now prevailing dates back to a decision handed down by an impartial chairman, in which it was alleged that the agreement was abrogated as a result of a certain action of the Union. The Union informed the employers' organization that no impartial chairman could declare an agreement off. The failure on the part of the Association to deal with the Union has led to the independent action.

Perlmutter also reports that the mass meetings of the workers in the Children's Dress trade, which are held frequently in Cooper Union and in halls in Brownsville and other sections of Brooklyn are well attended and have strengthened the Union considerably. The Union fires cutters on failure to attend.

Reports of the conditions in the Wrapper and Kimono trade are gratifying. The trade is busy and the earnings of the men are ranging from \$35 to \$45 per week. The same is true of the Underwear line. Brother Fleisher has control of this branch of Local 1.

Seasonal Over Production

By FRANK LOHMAN, Local 30, Cincinnati.

"Yes, but why should she get more than I?"

This reply of a young girl to your organizer — after the explanation "That is not the aim of the Union to prevent any worker from getting all that she can" — has actuated me to open a discussion on this question.

I have noticed, in your late issue that all our troubles are caused by over production in the season. Tailors want bundles — the same old jealousy and hatred-inspiring competition, as in the days of piece-work.

Cutters are trying to solve the problem — to keep cutters from accepting a reduction in wages during the slack season. You are looking for the cure, when you should be looking for the cause and the little girl has found it: "But why should she get more than I?" This question was discussed at a meeting of cutters. I attended. It was suggested that no cutter receive more than the scale. So much work for so much money in so many hours.

It has always been shown that the cutter who received a dollar more did \$5 more work. Very often he was crooked with the organization and helped the boss to defeat the organization. I understand that in Chicago Clothing shops, cutters who finish their day's work early, help the slower members. Cutters became friendly and helpful and realized that the Union of the future must stand for the welfare of all.

Every cutter realizes now that he is shortening the season by competing for maximum production and cannot help being jealous, envious and hateful to brothers who are allowed by their Union to accept a bribe. This competition has brought on piece-work — a system you tried to abolish.

It also shortens the season. Is there any industry other than the cloak business that has such long slack season? In men's clothing last deliveries of overcoats are made in February and cloak cutters are out of work in October. Why can we not control production as well as other things? It is not up to the buyer, that he must have the goods. The consumer must wear clothes and we cannot make them for everybody at one time.

This production question has been taken up by different organizations and some have established grades, according to piece-work figures. A day's work (established by the Union) full scale. Less work, by less competent and old men — at reduced scale. But no man is allowed to go to his boss and make a secret agreement (that nobody knows anything about) and then put the shop in a sweat to keep up the pace. Nobody but the shop delegate should have any dealings with a boss.

I would like to see a contributor's column opened for members. I know that any cutter in the country could write on this subject. I would like somebody to answer the young girl's question to my satisfaction.

WOULD END STRIKES BY CONTRACT LABOR

A plan intended to end strikes in public utilities by means of enlisting workers for a prescribed terms of service has been suggested by the Merchants' Association to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. It is the idea of Henry R. Towne, head of the Yale & Towne Manufacturing Co.

The idea is based on the assumption that since the functions of public utilities are exercised by public authority, delegated to corporations, one great need is continuous and unimpeded operation. This cannot be attained unless employees can be held to their jobs.

The employees would be enlisted for a specified term, during which they could not leave the employer and the employer could not discharge them, except as provided by terms of a contract. Violation of the contract by either side would be punishable by law.

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15 West 26th St.
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136 Madison Ave.
M. Stern,
33 East 33rd St.
Max Cohen,
105 Madison Ave.
Julian Waist Co.,
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(Continued from Page 1)

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CUTTERS' UNION OF LOCAL 10, ATTENTION.

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS:
GENERAL MEETING:

Monday, October 27th.

NOTICE OF MEETINGS AND NOMINATION OF OFFICERS:

CLOAK AND SUIT BRANCH:

Monday, November 3rd.

DRESS AND WAIST BRANCH:

Monday, November 10th.

MISCELLANEOUS BRANCH:

Monday, November 17th.

GENERAL OFFICERS:

Monday, November 24th.

Meetings begin at 7.30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place
ELIGIBILITY:

Practical Ladies' Garment Cutters who have worked in the trade 4 months within the year. 2 of the 4 months must have been put in within the 6 months preceding the election.

Prospective nominees must be in good standing; they should not owe more than 12 weeks dues on the night of nomination. All assessments and other obligations must be settled. Only those who have been members of the union for at least 2 years can run.

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