

"My righteousness
ness I hold
fast, and will
not let it go."
—Job. 27A.)

JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTER NATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION.

VOL. II. No. 28.

New York, Friday, July 9, 1920.

Price: 2 Cents

Big Scranton Cloak Firm Locks 'Out Its Workers

M. & M. stands for the name of one of the largest cloak firms in Scranton, Pennsylvania, where a lockout-strike is going on.

Last April this firm reached an understanding with the Union of Scranton to the effect that by July 1st the workers would receive a wage increase of 15 to 20 per cent and a 44-hour working week. When July 1st came the heads of the firm seemed to have undergone a marked change, and have refused to have anything to do with the Union.

The M. & M. firm employed, about 125 workers, 90 of whom are women. The wages were always miserably low. Girls earned between 10 and 16 dollars a week and men between 25 and 35 dollars. The working hours were never less than 47 a week.

The workers of that firm realized that the only way to better their conditions was to be organized, and present their demands collectively. They soon organized and joined the ranks of the International Union.

When the workers first presented their demands for an increase in wages and shorter hours, the firm requested that a responsible Union leader represent them in the negotiations. Vice President Samuel Lefkowitz then came to Scranton and after many conferences the firm promised that by July 1 the demands of the workers, for a 44 hour week and a 15 to 20 per cent increase in wages, would be granted. These conferences took place last April. When the time of the change in the working conditions of the shop was to be effected, Vice President Lefkowitz returned to Scranton. But the heads of the M. & M. firm brazenly told Lefkowitz that they don't want to deal with an outsider. What is more they locked out the workers on the flimsy pretense that the workers left the shop one day at 4 o'clock in order to have a meeting with Brother Lefkowitz.

Bro. Lefkowitz has done everything in his power to prevent a clash in the industry. He proposed that the workers return to work pending an agreement. He proposed arbitration. But the firm is stubborn in its insistence that the workers had grievously sinned against the foreman of the shop and are therefore to be punished. The workers, it appears, had left the shop for the meeting with Brother Lefkowitz, without the permission of the foreman. The firm gives this as the reason for the lockout.

This firm now openly declares that it is out for an open shop. It cannot deny of course that it pledged to raise the wages and

shorten the working hours of the workers. All the Scranton newspapers carried stories to this effect. The firm tried to soften the effect of the broken promise by stating that conditions have changed since last April when the understanding with the workers was reached. The profits are somewhat limited, and the firm simply cannot afford to pay a living to its workers, even if it has to break its promise. In fact the firm is ready to go further than that, it is now trying to break the Union. The workers of this firm were

compelled to take up the challenge. The lockout was transformed into a strike of workers who are determined to fight for their demands and win them. The firm will soon discover that it has ridiculously underrated the strength of the workers. The strike is conducted by one of the most experienced labor leaders, Vice-President S. Lefkowitz. It may also be that President Schlesinger will pay a visit to Scranton. The International is back of the strike, and will use everything in its power to win this fight.

Koldofsky Chosen Delegate to Relief Congress

S. Koldofsky, Vice President of the International Union and Manager of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of Toronto, Canada, left last Saturday for Europe as one of the delegates to the international relief congress at Karlsbad.

The People's Relief has decided to have among its delegates to the congress a representative of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union which has contributed liberally to help the war sufferers. The People's Relief has therefore requested our General Executive Board to appoint a delegate to the international congress at Karlsbad.

The General Executive Board has decided that Vice President Koldofsky is most qualified for this mission. He was the chairman of the committee on relief at our last convention in Chicago, and has a deep knowledge as well as interest in the relief work. In selecting Koldofsky as delegate to the relief congress the International will be represented by one of the most devoted workers. There is no doubt that he will be of immense service at the congress in devise plans for the better distribution of the moneys coming from the organized workers of this country.

Vice President Koldofsky could not at first leave his duties in Toronto and undertake his mission in Europe. There was always plenty of work for him in Toronto, and the prospect of going away for a few months seemed forbidding at first. Arrangements were finally made and Brother Koldofsky was able to leave for Europe.

Before his departure a beautiful banquet was arranged in his honor, and last Saturday morn-

ing, July 3, Brother Koldofsky sailed for Europe. President Schlesinger, General Secretary-Treasurer Baroff, Max D. Danish and many other friends gave him a warm send-off.

There is not the slightest doubt that S. Koldofsky is the most suitable person to undertake this great mission. He will be of great service in devising means to help the suffering people of Europe. And when he will return to this country he will bring a clear report of the actual state of affairs there, as well as his recommendation as to what could be done here to relieve the sufferings of our brothers and sisters on the other side.

Brother Koldofsky promised to write occasionally for Justice and share his impressions with the members of our Organization.

Election in the Ladies Tailors' Union, Local 80

Election of officers of the Ladies Tailors' Union, Local 80, followed one of the most active campaigns in the history of the Union. The large number of members who participated in the elections demonstrated the intense interests of our membership in the organization.

The following are the re-elected business agents: Frank Magnavita, Nathan Wilkes and B. Chazanow. Harry Hillman, was re-elected as secretary-treasurer. The following members constitute the new Executive Board: Nathan Abramowitz, Boris Drasin, Frank Rosenfarb, Ludwig Bolz, Henry Gardner, Nathan Becker, Abraham Jenin, William Fink, Max Marquis, William Schmetterer, Benny Skolnick, Samuel Garber, Sam Press, Domenick Gerracitano, Mack Milkovich, Joe Cavacini, Alexandro D'Agnillo and Gaetano DeMarinina. Local Chairman, G. Schuchman and recording secretary Sam Dresinsky.

Last Thursday, July 1st, installation of the new elected officers took place. Frank Rosenfarb was elected Executive Chairman and Max Marquis Executive Recording Secretary. All standing committees, as that of Finance, Organization, Grievance and Membership were also elected. On this occasion members expressed themselves on the future work of our organization.

The new administration was confronted with a member stricken with paralysis who could not support himself and his family. The Executive Board elected a committee to find ways and means to collect a fund for said brother.

The members are requested to take notice that our regular local meetings are being held every first and third Tuesday of the month at Laurel Garden, 75 East 116th Street.

Our Union to Celebrate 50th Birthday of Sec'y Baroff

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will celebrate the fiftieth birthday of General Secretary Treasurer Abraham Baroff next Friday, July 16, at 6 P. M. in Brighton Casino, Brighton Beach and Ocean Parkway. A banquet has been arranged on that occasion at which many prominent leaders of the American labor movement will be present. Our Union will thus have an opportunity to express its appreciation to the veteran labor leader

who has dedicated thirty years of his life to the labor movement.

The next issue of Justice will be a Baroff jubilee issue. Among other things it will contain a sketch of the life and activities of our General Secretary. All those sending communications of greeting to Secretary Baroff through the columns of Justice are requested to do so at the earliest opportunity. Communications coming later than Tuesday, July 13, will not be printed in the jubilee issue of Justice.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

The Democratic Convention

IT was a simple matter for the Democratic Convention at San Francisco to frame a platform. In fact some cynics say that the platform was ready many days before the opening of the convention. But the nomination of a candidate for president was the single tremendous task. Everything else, including the question of prohibition, sunk into insignificance. Forty-four ballots were cast, and finally James M. Cox, three times Governor of Ohio, was nominated for the Presidency. It was not until the thirty-eight ballot, when Attorney General Palmer withdrew from the race, that the roll calls showed any definite trend in the turn-out of the Palmer delegates Cox gained the advantage over William G. McAdoo.

The nomination of Governor Cox is a victory of the Tammany forces at the convention. The Evening Post correspondent says this regarding the Democratic nominee: "Cox had become unescapably identified with Tammany and the vets. New Jersey, which was not to a man, kept voting unanimously for him; Murphy kept delivering more than seventy out of New York's ninety votes," etc.

The Democratic and Republican nominees for president come from the same state—Ohio. But they have other characteristics in common. Both Cox and Harding distinguished themselves in their long political career in expressing the will of the machines of their respective parties. They have sufficiently demonstrated to have no will of their own, and therefore the two political parties will save themselves the trouble of disciplining their standard bearers.

But Governor Cox has some positive endowments. He is "robust and stockily built," he was a janitor in a church, a newspaper seller, and he "earned his own living from childhood."

The platform of the Democratic party does not in any way differ from the Republican platform, if one discounts those sections given over to attack each other. The Democratic platform of course is savagely attacking the Republican party, and is attributing to the Republican Senate all the evils, beginning with the high cost of living and ending with the League of Nations.

Take the plank on labor. Both platforms, the Democratic and the Republican, commend collective bargaining, deplore strikes, deny right to strike against government, and declare against compulsory arbitration in private industries. The rights of the "public" is declared supreme. "With respect to comprehensive service," reads the Democratic platform, "we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike." "Resort to strikes and lockouts which endanger the health or lives of the people is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes," is the discovery of the Democratic party. And the "Democratic party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature." Pledges again! The railroad workers and the miners know the meaning of these pledges.

No mention is made of the

strike breaking activities of Palmer. Not a word is said about the injunctions served against the workers. No apologies are made for the evident crimes committed by Palmer, Burleson and Baker. Nothing is said about the war on Russia. In fact the Democrats "resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic Administration for alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech." About two weeks ago President Wilson shocked the American people by defying "the Republicans to prove . . . that a single citizen has been unvarnishedly punished for any act of aggression or disloyalty against the nation; that any man has been punished for expressing his opinion." Now the entire party repeats this shocking challenge.

Brazen hypocrisy marks the spirit of the Democratic platform. It bears the inscription of the composite spirit of Woodrow Wilson, Palmer and Burleson.

The New York State Socialist Convention

THE New York State Socialist Convention held last Saturday and Sunday in People's House adopted a platform and nominated candidates for the state ticket.

The state ticket is as follows: For Governor—Joseph D. Cannon.

Lieutenant Governor—Jessie Wallace Hughban.

Attorney General—Darwin J. Meserole.

Secretary of State—Charles W. Noonan.

Controller—A. Philips Randolph.

Treasurer—Hattie F. Kruger. State Engineer and Surveyor—Vladimir Karpetoff.

Justices of the Court of Appeals—H. Wilcox and Leon Malkin. United States Senator—Judge Panken.

A minority platform containing a provision for the dictatorship of the proletariat during the transition period from capitalism to Socialism was defeated by a vote of 47 to 14. The working program of the majority platform adopted by the convention is as follows:

1. Legislation which will enable municipalities to acquire land, construct dwellings on public account, and lease them at rents calculated to cover cost of upkeep and replacement, but without profit, thus solving the now growingly acute housing problem.

2. Establishment of a comprehensive system by which the State in conjunction with municipalities and co-operative societies shall deal on a large scale in food and other necessities of life, buying directly from the producers and selling directly to the consumers at cost, thus eliminating the capitalist middlemen, stimulating production and diminishing the cost of living.

3. The rapid extension of State and municipal ownership and operation of transportation and storage plants, of lighting and other so-called public utilities and of industrial establishments beginning with those which are already most largely monopolized and those which have to do with the production of the prime necessities of life.

4. The conservation by the State of the forests, mineral de-

posits and sources of water power which it still owns, the reclamation of such as have been voted away, and the exploitation of these resources by the State, not for profit, but for the production of raw materials and power to be sold at cost.

5. Legislation which will clearly exempt labor unions and farmer associations from prosecution under the so-called anti-trust laws, and will assure them of the right of collective bargaining in the sale of their labor power and farm products respectively.

6. Legislation guaranteeing labor the right to organize and strike, free from interference by the courts through the power of injunctions.

7. Repeal of the war emergency laws concerning military service and military training in the schools, and repeal of the so-called criminal anarchy law, which has been demonstrated to be in practice a law for the suppression of free speech and for the promotion of spies and provocateurs.

8. Amendment of the State Constitution and of the laws governing municipalities in such manner as to introduce the principle of occupational as well as geographical representation in legislative bodies and administrative boards; to introduce the referendum and the power of recall, and to take away from the courts the power to declare laws unconstitutional.

New York Central Labor Bodies Unite

ALL central labor unions of the Bronx, Manhattan, Brooklyn, Richmond and Queens merged into one great central body consisting of 300 locals and 750,000 workers.

The first step toward the amalgamation was made at a conference between Gompers and a committee of the Central Federated Union in New York February 2.

The conference then reported its decision in a formal resolution which outlined the plans for the merger, and which read as follows:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that an amalgamation of the New York Central Federated Union and the Brooklyn and Queens Central Labor Union is desirable and should be consummated, and

"Resolved, That the central bodies of the Bronx and of Staten Island should be revived and become parts of the amalgamated body, and

"Resolved, That a committee from these central bodies should meet with a committee from the executive council of the American Federation of Labor within 60 days from date for the purpose of endeavoring to accomplish the above expressed desire and result, and

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the above mentioned central bodies and to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and be it

"Further Resolved, That the purpose of this amalgamation shall be for the more thorough organization of the working people within the jurisdiction of Greater New York and for the unification of the organized wage-earners, so that the rights and the interests of the working people may be the better protected and promoted.

This resolution has now been translated into an actual fact, according to a statement issued by Edward J. Hannah, president of

the Central Federated Union. It is highly significant that this forward-looking step has been taken at a time when the fever of the national campaign is at its height. It may very well be that the greater facility with which the workers could be mobilized in the campaign was one of the most compelling motives for this step. But whatever the motive for the amalgamation of the labor bodies was the fact is of utmost importance.

There is also a movement toward the creation of a United Labor Council composed of independent labor unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. So far the more important organizations connected with the proposed new central labor body are the following: Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Amalgamated Textile Workers, Amalgamated Metal Workers, Hotel Workers' Federation, Journeymen Bakers' International Union, International Carpenters' Union, International Furniture Workers' Union, and the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers.

The following is part of an official statement of the purposes of the United Labor Council:

"The U. L. C. is a delegated body elected from the rank and file of the various independent unions. Its aim and principle is to concentrate the efforts of all unions forming the council in order to exert the maximum power of the working class against organized capital, thereby shortening the industrial conflict.

"No union can be affiliated with the United Labor Council unless it indorses these two cardinal facts: (1) that there is a conflict of interests between the employers and the workers, and (2) that the policies of the A. F. of L. are unprogressive and harmful to the best interests of the working class."

British Labor Delegation Reports on Russia

KRASSIN'S return to Russia only emphasized the fact that the relations between the Allies and Soviet Russia have not undergone any change as yet. Russia is still unrecognized and blockaded and conspired against. Poland with the help of the Allies is still waging a war of aggression. There seems to be no disposition as yet on the part of the Allied Governments to begin relations with Soviet Russia.

Hope for peace between the Allies and Russia will be a fact when the labor movement will gain control over the governments of Western Europe, or at least exert greater pressure on their governments than they had hitherto done.

The British labor movement is now in possession of the actual facts of the workers' republic of Russia. The report of the British labor delegation to Russia shows, with what remarkable success and courage the Bolshevik Government has met the various problems.

A statement issued by Ben Turner, Chairman of the British Labor Delegation to Russia, explodes the lies circulated by the Allied governments about Russia. The statement is in part as follows:

"We visited the headquarters of the Russian trade unions. They are housed in substantial offices, with good equipment and large staffs. There are typewriters, telephones and all the other requi-

sites that go to make up efficient office work. They take great pains in the preparation of statistics, diagrams, and in recording what has been done and planning what should be done.

"The trade unions have a bigger purpose to fulfill under the Soviet system than here. They take part in the actual government of Russia as well as in the government of their respective industries.

"The trade unions, separately and collectively, fix the hours of labor, the amount of overtime, and in consultation with other departments, the wage scale. A part of the wage is the ration of bread and other foodstuffs, which are distributed through the machinery of the trade unions. Further, as food is difficult to get from the country districts to the towns, the trade unions organize co-operative buying for such goods as are not rationed. The trade unions also fix the physical productivity possible in the trade. They recognize that after five years of warfare and hunger, with worn-out machinery and lack of the best materials, only one-half or one-third of the normal productivity is possible.

"In addition to all these things the trade unions are responsible for the organization of education and recreation. The great opera houses and theatres are now open to the people and the trade unions allocate the tickets to their members at reasonable rates. By this means the workers have an opportunity to enjoy art and music and drama to a degree not thought possible in the old days.

"In co-operation with other departments, the trade unions are responsible for the housing of the workers. A very large number of the old wooden shacks in which the work people previously lived have been pulled down, and the large houses which formerly belonged to the well-to-do have been converted into workers' dwellings. Every worker now has a home. This housing scheme has been developed from the double point of view of health and home-sacredness.

"The Russians have found that by rationing housing in this way there is ample room for all. In the large houses each family has separate rooms, but there is a communal dining room. Some of the homes into which we went were exceedingly beautiful and well kept. Constantly on Soviet property, such as the commandeered houses, one found these words displayed: "This is your own property. Look after it well." The injunction seems to be obeyed."

Would Outlaw Strikes

The Merchants' Association of New York has unanimously adopted a resolution presented by the chamber of commerce of the United States which would outlaw strikes and establish compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes between workers and "all public service corporations performing public service essential to the lives, health, security and comfort and well being of the people."

A tribunal to settle disputes would be set up, and awards made binding upon both parties.

The Merchants' Association also favors the other portions of a resolution submitted by the chamber of commerce of the United States which includes a declaration for the non-union shop.

Fourth of July Celebration at Unity House

By ETHEL NELSON

"Jolly Unity" was the keynote of the Fourth of July house party at Unity House, the summer home of Waist and Dress Makers' Union, Local 25, J. L. G. W. U. Never was there so huge a house party. Not even one of the dual castles of England, famous for their house parties, the chateau of a French autocrat, nor the palace of an emperor could accommodate 450 guests.

But the workers of Local 25, with their big hotel and roomy cottages set on the tip-top of a mountain and surrounded by 700 acres of forest and field, have ample space to play and rest. They are in a little world of their own.

The wood sprites must derive much amusement from tracing the contrasts between the present occupants of Forest Park and its former patrons. The big hotel used to be a favorite summer resort of wealthy and fashionable persons, and in strolling about the grounds the waist makers frequently find the names of some of their employers carved on bench backs and tree trunks. Now it is a private club — of working people. "Thus the whirling of time brings in its revenges."

This gentle, beneficent expropriation has brought many radical changes in customs and behavior. In the old days there was not the atmosphere of freedom and comradeship that now prevails. Arriving and departing guests were never saluted by the watching crowd on the porch with the "Jolly Unity" song that begins, "We are Comrades, one and all." The huge dining room did not resound with picknick merriment, and the waiters, bearing big trays piled with food, were never greeted with cheers and hand-clapping.

In the old days, a sudden shortage of bread due to the arrival of more guests on Saturday evening than had been expected would have called forth frowns, pouts and grumbling. This time it occasioned merriment and an equal dividing up of the available supply. At one table a laughing girl "counted out" with the old rhyme, "Eenie, meenie, minee mo," and the lot fell upon the International's dignified secretary-treasurer, Abraham Baroff, who proved himself a good sport and obediently rose to beg, borrow or steal a plate of delicious Unity-made bread from a neighboring table amid shouts of laughter.

The air is full of singing at Unity House. Everywhere about the grounds one meets groups of people singing; they sing in the boats out on the forest-framed lake; they shout witty Yiddish songs in the big motor-buses spinning along the mountain roads; they croon themselves into the comfortable beds late at night, hum and whistle while dressing in the morning, and at all sorts of times and seasons they break out into "Jolly Unity."

There was fun a-plenty outdoors and in for the 450 garment workers. Athletic events and a lively ball game threw the spectators into ecstasies.

The canons and rowboats were in constant demand, and bathing in the sunny water of the lake aroused an enormous appetite for the excellent dinner. Some hardy spirit hiked to Bushkill, the near-

est town, while others crammed into the motor-buses and went to view magnificent Bushkill Falls. Still others danced in the casino, or sat on the porches and in the lounge, listening to the viols.

In the evening, everybody crowded into the casino for the day's big event, the concert. Remarkably artistic programs were provided for both evenings. The casino had been decorated with greenery gathered by a party of hikers. Walls and columns were banked with green or twined with maidenhair fern; mirrors were framed in ferns, festoons of maidenhair swung between pillars, and the soft lights from Japanese lanterns were reflected in the polished surface of the hardwood ceiling. Rows of chairs were drawn up close around the space roped off for the performers, and many who could not find seats sat Turk fashion on the floor, making a most picturesque scene.

In this club-house atmosphere Paul Verthapman, the violinist, played superbly Raff, Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninoff and Schubert, with delightfully sympathetic accompaniments by his wife, and Hedwig Reicher thrilled her hearers with her splendid readings. On Sunday night she recited several of Heine's dramatic poems and a tremendously moving old Scotch ballad; and on Monday evening she stirred her audience to great enthusiasm by her reading of the third act of Romain Rolland's play of the French Revolution, "July Fourteenth."

Folk dances, full of fire and action, by Minnie Mazo and Ada Perkas, and graceful interpretative dances by Beatrice Morton and Miss Mazo were much enjoyed the first evening, and the second night a group of young men and women members, in costume, who had spent a considerable part of their week-end rehearsing under the direction of Miss Cohn, the recreational director, made a decided hit with their old English and Russian dances.

"Grandpa," Morris Winchinsky, former secretary-treasurer of the I. L. G. W. U., made a witty little speech Monday night, and Abraham Baroff, the present secretary-treasurer, said a few words of appreciation of Unity House and encouragement to those who are making it a success. He said the possession of this splendid estate by the union was a fulfillment of a long cherished hope, and it afforded the means of realizing a dream which had long been in his mind, that the union might some day have a big farm where members could live and work, build up their strength and eke out their incomes during slack seasons in their trade.

He made a strong appeal to the members present, and through them to all members of the union to patronize the house and work diligently toward paying off the big mortgage that still hangs over their home.

One of the chief hits Monday evening was made by two of the waiters, who sang and acted a comic Yiddish song and threw the audience into rales of laughter with a clever skit in which they read a supposed newspaper filled with humorous hits on various guests present and incidents of the week-end gathering.

After the program each night there was general dancing, winding up with vigorous Russian folk dances.

It was an unusual and thoroughly enjoyable party, a holiday both restful and stimulating. The tremendous surplus, energy and vivacity of the people, after their week's work at the machines in the shop were electrifying. The exquisite beauty of the woods and lake and mountains smoothed out mental wrinkles and soothed jangled nerves. Sitting in a fragrant grove of pines, gazing out across the green lake to the distant blue mountain tops, one caught a glorious vision of the possibilities of Unity House. Here is ample space for great enlargement of the hotel, for big tent and bungalow colonies, for many small farms. There is room for a splendid development of the co-operative idea, with stores, factories, schools, theatres and all of the activities of a whole town of union members, all under their own management.

If the far-seeing members of Local 25 can achieve this splendid enterprise, they can do anything that can be done by combined labor power and purchasing power, concerted thought and action and loyal co-operation. It is so practical, so desirable in every way, that one longs to see fulfilled the union's plan of conducting similar clubs or hotels in the city for its members to live in.

Since this work is being so well done by one union, one wonders why the whole body of organized workers does not immediately open its own hotel, apartment houses and vacation homes. Why do workers go on paying money to Grab-It-All for any commodity that they use when they could by united, efficient effort, supply their needs themselves at much less cost and with much more satisfaction.

One wishes that every worker could visit Forest Park and absorb the glorious spirit of Jolly Unity.

Farmers Offer Plan

A reconstruction program which, it is asserted, will save American farmers \$3,000,000,000 annually has been made public by the farmers' national council. The program includes:

Government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad for service and not for profit.

Government ownership and democratic operation of the people's ships for service and not for profit.

Thorough going federal control of meat packers, with the object of eliminating uncontrolled profits.

According to the statement, if this program were carried into full effect, it would save \$75 annually for every man, woman and child of the 40,000,000 farmer population. The statement adds:

"This program will save the other workers fully as much as it will save the farmers, and it is to the common interest of at least 95 per cent of the American people to have the program carried into effect at once."

The council estimated that government ownership of railroads would save the farmers \$1,900,000 annually.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly.

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EDITORIALS

ALLIANCE OF THE NEEDLE TRADES' UNIONS IN NEW YORK

The first step toward the alliance of all the unions in the needle industry has already been taken. Readers of Justice have doubtless read the letter sent out by President Schlesinger to the executive boards of all the internationals in the needle trades. We must emphasize the word "all!", because the name of the United Garment Workers was somehow omitted. Whatever differences of opinion there might be between us, the United Garment Workers' Union was not excluded from our alliance plan. In the report of the General Executive Board to our last convention the United Garment Workers is specifically included in the proposed alliance. It is self-evident that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in initiating this plan could not begin by excluding this or that union. The same letter that was sent to the Amalgamated, to the Capmakers, to the Furriers, etc. was also sent to the United Garment Workers.

The letter, it appears to us, is luminously clear and leaves nothing unsaid. If some thought that the alliance meant the founding of one big union, this was not the thought of the initiators. If some had imagined that the proposed alliance tended to rob each union of its autonomy, the letter of President Schlesinger clearly showed that this is not the case. Each union will maintain its independence, and no union has any right to interfere in the affairs of another union. The alliance is of an exclusively industrial nature founded with the view to assist each other when conditions will demand.

The clear statement of aims contained in President Schlesinger's letter will save a great deal of superfluous discussion at the conference. We hope that the conference will devote less time to a discussion of principles of the alliance and more to the technical details of the machinery of the alliance. The conditions for the birth of such an alliance are ripe, and all efforts must be directed to facilitate it.

The time and place for this conference are not yet determined. The suggestion of the International is that this conference be held during the latter part of October. It is now the duty of the different executive boards of the invited unions to elect delegates and specify the date and place agreeable to them. The International is looking forward to the conference as one of the most significant events in the needle industry of this country.

ONE BIG CENTRAL LABOR UNION FOR GREATER NEW YORK

The alliance of all the forces in the labor movement seems to be the order of the day. The different central labor bodies of Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Richmond and Queens are now all merged in one great central union. It means that about three quarters of a million of workers in New York will be better organized than even before. The present Central Labor Union, consisting of 750,000 organized workers, is a formidable power. Its possibilities for achieving great things are boundless. Justice in the name of the International Union greets the new central body.

But in order to keep up the progressive spirit of the new body which marked the C. F. U. of New York during the last time, the delegates of our unions must assume a more active interest in the affairs of that body. The notorious coup engineered a few months ago at a meeting of the Central Federation Union must serve as a warning to the workers. The progressive forces must be on their watch lest this new body moves backward instead of forward. It will be the duty of our delegates to lend all their powers to the continued progress of the new central labor body.

THE INTERNATIONAL TAILORS' CONGRESS

Some very "practical" persons may look upon the plan of reconstructing a tailors' international as a futile undertaking. They perhaps argue in this way: "Let the workers be first organized in every country a hundred per cent, then we will think of a world federation of all the garment workers." To our mind, however, this world federation will furnish a stimulus to the organization work in every country. We must have in mind that the first Socialist and labor International that was founded in the sixties of the last century had a tremendous effect in furthering the organization work in every country. Only shortsighted trade unionists can persuade themselves that there is no other organization work than their own. But the truth is that the diffusion of Socialist ideas and the call of "workers of the world unite" had an electric effect in hastening the organization of the workers.

That is why the proposed federation of all the garment unions of the different countries will have

a great effect on the tailor organization of every country. One thing is clear, that the garment workers of Europe are heartily in favor of this plan. This is to be seen from the work of the temporary committee of the International Federation of the Clothing Workers. It would be well if every union of the needle industry in America could send delegates to the congress. The greater the number of representatives at the congress the greater would be the influence. Then the expenses connected with such a large undertaking could be more easily covered when the cost is distributed.

The needle trades' unions of America must be the first to build the tailors' international.

THE LABOR PLANK IN THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

At this writing the official representatives of the American Federation of Labor have not yet issued their statement on the labor plank of the Democratic platform. They are apparently waiting for the complete outcome of the San Francisco Convention. They failed however to observe this reserve and diplomacy with regard to the Republican Convention. As soon as the Republican platform was made public Samuel Gompers roundly denounced it. This is a striking case of inconsistency on the part of those who profess to follow the non-partisan policy in politics.

The labor plank of the Democratic platform is not one bit more radical than the Republican. The difference is only verbal. In essence the Democratic platform denies the rights of the workers. Like the Republican platform, the Democrats explicitly deny the right to strike when it is directed against the so-called public. If the Republicans were denounced as hostile to the interests of the workers, the Democratic platform must be denounced on the same ground.

The same holds true with the plank on the freedom of speech and press. Both the Republicans and Democrats seemingly declare themselves for this right but with qualifications which actually annuls it.

If the A. F. of L. is really pursuing a policy of non-partisanship, it will denounce the Democratic party just as bitterly as it did the Republican. It will be compelled to look for assistance elsewhere. It will either have to abandon political activity altogether and concentrate all its powers on the economic field, or it will have to create a political party of its own and frame its own platform and put its own candidates in the field just as the workers of England are doing.

This result may be expected for there cannot be the feeblest hope that the Democratic politicians who swear by Wilson should have repudiated the injunctions against the miners and slap themselves in

the face. Then these politicians are not very sure that the A. F. of L. leaders can deliver the goods. The missions of Samuel Gompers to both conventions proved themselves to be a miserable failure from the start. It now remains to be seen what effect this utter failure of the non-partisan policy will have on the A. F. of L.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REEFER MAKERS' UNION

Although the Reefer Makers' Union, Local 17, is not one of the largest locals of our International, it is certainly one of the most successful. The members of Local 17 are known as class conscious workers, always ready to fight for their rights. They had the courage of their convictions, even if they were in opposition to those of the heads of the International. Under all conditions they have expressed a wholehearted loyalty and devotion to the organization. In the campaign for week work, for instance, the views of the International differed from those of Local 17. But when the fight was actually taken up the Reefer Makers' Union was in the front ranks.

It is fifteen years since the birth of Local 17. The record of these years is full of examples of great courage and idealism. It has achieved for its members many things in spite of the tremendous odds it had to contend. Today the reefer makers work under the same conditions with the most skilled cloakmakers. During the span of fifteen years Local 17 has effected far reaching changes in the conditions and lives of its members. Because of the unskilled nature of the reefer trade the members of Local 17 have keenly realized the need for a strong organization.

But the conditions under which Local 17 was founded have undergone a marked change. Most of the reefer makers of today could just as well belong to the cloakmakers' Local 1. The line of demarcation between the two locals has disappeared. The chief motive for holding Local 17 intact is the memory of common effort and common struggles that marked the history of that body. The members have for a long time resisted any tendency for absorption of their local by a larger body. They struggled to maintain its individuality.

We raise this point here because the merging of Locals 1 and 17 is regarded by most of the leaders of the International and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union as a forward looking step which will prove a mutual benefit to both locals. This fusion would unquestionably prove to be the culminating point of fifteen years of steady progress.

We heartily congratulate the Reefer Makers' Union and all its leaders and active members on the fifteenth anniversary of its birth.

A Sound Basis for the Waistmakers' Union

By B. SCHLESINGER

It is nearly a year since the general officers of the International, together with many active members of Local 25 have undertaken to place the Waistmakers' Union on a sound foundation. This question was thoroughly discussed at our last Convention and several resolutions were adopted to that effect. The same question was entered into again at our last General Executive Board meeting, and the plan I propose now is the result of long and careful deliberation.

I submit this plan to the members of Local 25 and give the reasons why this plan is bound to bring the desired results for the organization.

We came to the conclusion that one of the basic reasons for the failure of the plan is the fact which brought the Waistmakers' Union to its present condition is that it is not organized along practical lines. The Union embraces the waist and dress makers, and all their branches — the operators, finishers, examiners, cleaners, and so forth — are merged into one big local of about thirty thousand members. A single local of such gigantic size is obviously reared upon an unsound basis. But it is still more unsound when such a single local is made up of two distinctly different trades with all their various branches.

I wish to point out right here that I am speaking exclusively from the standpoint of practical organization. Members must not confuse this question with the principle of industrial unionism. Industrial unionism is a form of organization where all the workers of a certain industry are united and deal jointly with their employers. The International has adopted this principle in all of its trades. This principle is functioning, for instance, in the Cloakmakers' Union, where the cutters, operators, finishers, sample makers, pressers, buttonhole makers, etc., belong to separate locals, but are united in one Joint Board which is conducting all negotiations with the employers for all the workers.

It is beyond the range of possibility to find, the cloakmakers, say, on strike and the pressers or finishers at work. It is impossible to find one trade in the shop — the pressers or finishers, for example — conducting negotiations with the employer as a separate group. The workers in the cloak factory constitute an industrial unit. The entire cloak industry is organized into one union which conducts its negotiations with the employers as one organization.

In speaking of the faulty organization construction of the Waist and Dress Makers' Union because it embraces so many workers in one local, I wish to emphasize that it has no relation to the question of industrial unionism. Whatever the new plan for reorganization may be, the question of industrialism is not in the least involved. The workers in the waist and dress trades will remain just as united in their negotiations with their employers, their ranks will remain just as unbroken as they were until now. It is only a question of reconstruction within the organization in order to create better and more effective means for conducting the affairs

of the Union in organizing the trade and securing better results for all members.

This is a practical union question, pure and simple, and all those who have earned the confidence of our vast membership through actual service rendered and loyalty to the organization, have wholeheartedly endorsed this plan for the reorganization of the local.

A labor union derives its strength from the devotion of its members and the ability and loyalty of its leaders. That union is invincible in which every member feels that his personal interests are closely knit with those of the organization, and which offers opportunities to all its members for self-expression and for occupying a place to which they are justly entitled.

It is difficult to realize these conditions in an organization like Local 25. It is quite natural that within such a big local, comprising so many different trades, big and small, that the interests of the smaller groups should become subordinated and submerged. It is also to be expected that the interests of the fifteen thousand operators, for instance, who are members of the local, should receive greater attention from the organization than would the interests of the several thousand finishers, cleaners or pressers. It is sufficient to recall the fact that while every branch of the cloak industry has made, during the last years, steady progress, the same cannot be said about the Waistmakers' Union. The special machine operators, finishers and cleaners, all members of the Waistmakers' Union, are still receiving a miserably low wage. This state of affairs is simply due to the fact that these workers representing minority groups within the Union, could not present their claims with the same force as the operators who constitute a big majority.

I am convinced that had not the finishers or pressers of the cloakmakers' had their own locals, they could not have attained such an advantageous position. They could not have raised their wages to the present standard. They could not have, in time of strikes, brought such pressure on the employers to grant their demands. The comparison between the conditions of the finishers in the waist trade and the conditions of the finishers in the cloak trade, constitutes the most compelling and irrefutable argument in favor of the plan worked out by the International.

Take the point of leadership. Although it is a delicate subject, one which cannot be easily discussed in public, we believe, nevertheless, that this is a moment when the entire situation must be candidly presented to the general membership. It is a deplorable fact that the Waistmakers' Union, during the long years of its existence, has failed to develop competent leadership to serve the interests of the Union. In this respect, the Waistmakers' Union has proven backward when compared with other unions of the International. I am firmly of the belief that this is the chief cause of its present awkward situation.

Why is this the case? The Waistmakers' Union is big enough and old enough to have developed a

legion of able representatives. The answer is: The abnormal size of the local, the illogical merging of the various branches of the trade into one huge organization, offer no opportunities for the individual to express himself.

If the thirty thousand members would have been subdivided into several locals, each conducting its affairs under its own leadership, the more able members in each local would have eventually risen to leadership and true service. Each local would have had executive and other committees on which its able members would serve. Under the present system, however, where one committee, consisting of a small group of people, is doing all the work of the organization, the chances for advancement for a great many of the promising elements within the big local are scarce, indeed.

The present state of affairs then is faulty from every point of view. It is disadvantageous for the members, particularly for the weaker groups in the trade, and it is detrimental for the organization which cannot mobilize the best elements for its leadership.

What is then the plan by which we hope to overcome these shortcomings, and place the organization on a sound foundation?

The plan of the General Executive Board of the International, endorsed by the Convention, is as follows: First, the two trades — waists and dresses — should be separated into two separate organizations. Second, every branch of such trade should be organized into a separate local. There should be a local of operators, of finishers, of examiners, cleaners and pressers (the cutters have a separate local). All these locals should be bound together a joint board, and the business of the Union should be conducted through the joint board just as it is done in the Cloakmakers' Union.

The opposition to this plan is coming from a group within the Union who are of the opinion that this system is contrary to the spirit of industrial unionism. We have already referred to this point. But as this argument, obviously, constitutes the chief contention against the plan, we shall go into it more carefully.

The waist and dress trades are different today from what they were once. The two industries were originally organized together because at that time the waist and dress industries were one. The same manufacturer produced waists and dresses, and the workers had no other alternative than to join one union. Now the situation has changed completely. With a few exceptions, the manufacture of waists is separated from the manufacture of dresses. The complete separation between the two industries is an unmistakable fact.

And what is significant is the fact that together with the division of the two industries there has taken place a development in the division of the work. In the waist industry the work is now subdivided into sections. This is not the case in the dress industry. The kind of workers employed in the dress industry is markedly different from that employed in the waist industry. Different con-

ditions arise in the two trades, and in the case of negotiations with the manufacturers, the position of waistmakers is often altogether unlike that of the dressmakers.

The class of workers engaged in the waist industry is wholly distinct from those in the dress industry. Many of the waist factories, for instance, have been moved to the country towns which fact has had a decisive effect on the situation of the waistmakers in the cities. This was not the case, however, with the dress factories. They remained entirely in New York City. I bring these facts to your attention to show that it is not necessary any more to hold these two trades in one local.

The binding of these two different trades with distinctly different conditions, in one organization is harmful to both. Each group is fettered by the other. This is not industrial unionism. It is just the opposite. Under industrial unionism, all the workers employed in one industry act as a unit. But it is to undermine the very principle of industrial unionism for workers of distinct and separate trades to be forced to belong to one local. The workers of such trades can and must act together on certain special occasions, under the pressure of special circumstances, as in the case of a general strike. But it is ridiculous for them to be compelled to be bound together when the conditions in the trades do not call for it.

This is simple and obvious enough. The group which is opposing this plan for reconstructing the local have proposed the organization of shop councils. This proposal means that each shop or factory should administer its own business and that it should act as a unit. Why? Because those holding this view believe that when the shop will have a greater measure of autonomy and will be unfettered and unhampered by other shops, the workers could more freely and efficiently fight their battles. Naturally, all the shops are, according to this theory, to be united through the "councils" in one organization. The basic idea is that each must be given the freedom to act for itself. If this be the case, then there is certainly no reason for different trades to be fettered through involuntary union.

The same may be said regarding the second point of the plan — the subdivision of the different trades in separate locals. It would be a violation of the principle of industrial unionism if these locals were given the right to conduct their negotiations with the employers as separate locals. It would vitiate the principle of industrial unionism if one local were given the slightest possibility of acting against the interests of another local, or of placing its own interests above those of another. It would undermine the principles of industrial unionism. It would offer the slightest opportunity to the employer to divide the workers and use one group against the other.

But this is impossible under our plan. We say that it is impossible, advisedly. This plan is not a purely theoretical scheme. It is a result of long years of experience and

observation in other unions where this system prevails. Has it ever occurred during the entire history of the Cloakmakers' Union that the finishers' local, for instance, should have worked against the interests of the operators' local? Has it ever happened that one local should in any way hamper the work of another local? On the contrary, our whole range of experience demonstrates that each local helped and strengthened the other, that the Cloakmakers' Union, for instance, consisting of twelve different locals, has been infinitely strengthened through its Joint Board, and for the following reason:

Each local, consisting as it is of members bound together by similar interests, will naturally endeavor to make big strides toward more perfect organization. The workers in such locals are interested to attract all those who are employed at their particular work. It tends to develop leaders and representatives. It becomes a source of inspiration and activity. This phenomenon has, as a matter of fact, taken place in every one of the twelve cloak locals. And when these locals unite, they wield together twelve springs of action which constitute a greater source of strength to the entire organization.

This, to my mind, is the ideal system under this system every group of workers is working jointly with other groups acting together and expressing their individuality with the view of helping the entire organization.

The same will be true with the Dress and Waist Makers' Union when they are organized on the new plan. The Union will be strengthened as many times as there will be separate locals within this new Joint Board. I am convinced that when instead of one Local 25, there will be created five locals of the different branches, the Union will be strengthened five-fold. All the work of the organization will be done as before, by united and mutual effort, by one big Joint Board, which will unite all locals and present to the employers a force single and undivided.

But within the organization every group will work to strengthen its ranks and will encourage the able members to rise to leadership. Every group will be pervaded by high pride and inspiration.

There will be born among the locals that healthy rivalry where each local will strive to outdo the other in loyalty and devotion to the entire labor family of the trade.

We do not seek to make any experiments in the Waistmakers' Union. We do not propose novel plans. We are confronted with the necessity of putting the organization on a solid basis. We cannot leave it in the situation in which it finds itself at present.

The members of Local 25 know that the present situation is unfavorable. The reason for this we find, lies in the defective system of organization. We point to its flourishing sister organizations in the International, and we say:

Take those unions as a model. Adopt their system which has proved so successful. Organize along the lines of the Cloakmakers' Union, and we are certain that you will meet with the same success, that within a short time you will not only make the existence of your Organization secure, but you will make it grow and thrive into a great and inspiring Union.

THE WEEK'S NEWS IN CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

By I. LEWIN

With the passing of the Fourth of July and with the beginning of the new season, we wish to urge upon our members not to permit their employers to reduce the wages this season. In every instance of this sort, they are immediately to report to the office, and the cases will be taken up. Should any cutter permit a reduction in his wages without informing the office about it, it will be considered as if he had agreed to work below the scale even though he may be receiving more than the present minimum of \$44 per week, and will be summoned before the Executive Board on the above charge.

A communication was received from the office of the International to the effect that in accordance with the decision of the last convention of the I. L. G. W. U., held at Chicago, our dues stamps will be raised from five to ten cents, beginning with the 15th of July, 1920, which means, in other words, that every stamp sold on and after the fifteenth of July to any of our members will be charged to us at the rate of ten cents per stamp. Since our local is the only one which has not as yet increased its dues, it would be a great hardship upon us. We therefore request and urge all our members who are in arrears to proceed at once to pay up their dues before July 15th. It is also probable that they will save money thereby, for it may be necessary, even without the decision of a special meeting called for the purpose, to increase the dues in order to be able to pay the increased rate of the per capita to the International.

Of course, the question of increasing the dues in our local will be taken up by the Executive Board, as per decision of the General Meeting of June 28, 1920, and we expect to be in a position to inform our members in the next issue of "Justice," as to when and where a special meeting to decide on this matter, will be held.

The Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association last week advertised in all the trade papers a campaign for a fund of between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000. They tried to create the impression that a meeting of the members of the Association called in the Hotel McAlpin, was a very enthusiastic one and that without a dissenting vote they decided to begin a drive immediately, drives being in vogue now. But, it seems that the "mountain has given birth to a mouse," for on top of this piece of news came the report that the Association decided to leave the amount to be collected open, and to depend upon what the few remaining members of the Association will see fit to contribute. We rather believe that some of those to whom they appeal for funds, could themselves make very good use of a contribution, if one were offered them.

The Waist and Dress Division will hold its regular monthly meeting on Monday, July 12th, 1920, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, where the work of the Division, Brother Sam B. Shonker, will render a report on the doings and accomplishments in

the Dress and Waist Branch for the last six months.

The writer of these lines spent his week-end vacation at the Unity House of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 25, and he was glad to find among the guests a considerable number of the members of Local No. 10. Everyone of them felt happy and satisfied. The Unity House is getting to be more popular with our members from year to year; so much so, that soon there will be very few of our members going to other places for their vacations. The price, under present conditions is very, very reasonable, being only \$18 per week. The accommodations are such that cannot be found anywhere in the ordinary country places. The beauty and picturesqueness of the place cannot be described by an ordinary mortal. One must be a poet to do justice to this, most beautiful workers' home. We would therefore advise those of our members who intend to take a vacation to try the Unity House first.

The following are extracts from the Executive Board minutes of the past week:

Ben Levine, No. 8803, appeared on summons, charged by Business Agent Scharp with failing to receive the increase of \$5 per week, as per the decision of the Governor's Commission, in the house of Malefaki & Shapiro, 163 W. 23rd St. A collection of \$40 was made in this case. Brother Levine states that he expected to get his increase and when he found that the firm did not grant it to him he complained to the Union, which statement was corroborated by Business Agent Scharp, and that upon his complaint the collection was made. Taking into consideration the age of Brother Levine, the Executive Board censured him severely and dismissed the case.

Sam Gross, No. 7913, appeared on summons, charged by Business Agent Stoller with having worked on Saturday afternoon at Adler & Gross, 158 W. 26th St. This brother was charged some time ago before the Executive Board with being a member of the above concern, which he then denied. After cross-examining him on the charge of working on Saturday afternoon, it was admitted that he has an interest in the concern. On motion Brother Gross was fined \$25 and was ordered to either quit the shop or resign from the union by Saturday, July 3, 1920. Failing to pursue either of the two courses, he will stand expelled from the union.

Hyman Goldberg, No. 4081A appeared on summons, charged by Business Agent Settle with working for two houses at the same time. Brother Settle states that Brother Goldberg, who is working for the Parfait Dress Co., 35 East 20th St., is in the habit of going down to the Elwell Garment Co., 38 West 22nd St., to supervise the work of a cutter who was recently hired. The Elwell Garment Co. is a non-union house. Brother Goldberg claims that he did go down to the Elwell Garment Co. on only one occasion when he was requested to look over the mark of a

cutter and was not aware of the fact that he was committing any wrong. In his opinion he was not holding on to two jobs as long as a cutter was employed for the above concern. Brother Goldberg was instructed to attend only to the cutting of the firm for which he is working in the future, and the case was dismissed.

Benj. Koppelman, No. 4009A, appeared on summons, charged by Business Agent Wilder with failing to receive pay for overtime at the Legion Waist Co., 447 Greene St. A collection of \$100 was made in this case. Brother Koppelman admits to the charge and pleads guilty. Upon motion a fine was imposed upon Brother Koppelman and the office was instructed to withdraw his working card for the above house.

Women's Wage Law Proves Ineffective

Trade unionists in the state of Washington who have urged working women to organize and depend upon themselves to raise wages rather than on some office holder, are pointing to the state industrial welfare commission's refusal to sustain the recommendation of an \$18 minimum wage for women workers.

President Short of the state federation of labor denounces Governor Hart. The trade unionist says "there is only one way out for the women workers and that is organization in the trade union movement, where their interests can be permanently conserved without being subject to the fickleness and trickery of politics."

"The cards are at last face up on the table. The women of our state now know the political jugglery that has been practiced to pervert the state industrial welfare commission and make it subservient to the interests of the employers against the interests of the women wage workers of our state. Some time ago I issued a public statement in which I charged that the governor, at the behest of the employers, planned to change the entire personnel of the commission so that the \$18 minimum that had been established for our women workers could be discarded."

President Short charged that one woman was removed from the commission "because of her human sympathy and desire for justice."

The vote of the commission was a tie. President Short says the governor is having difficulty "finding one other woman in the state who will betray the interests of the women wage workers, but he will eventually find one."

Support Cigar Makers

The trade union movement of this country is responding to the plea of several thousand striking cigar makers of Tampa, Florida, for financial help. Cigar makers of Cuba are also aiding. The strike was forced on those workers by the victimizing policy of employers, who discharged nearly 200 committee men. Among the strikers are large numbers of unorganized. The Cigar Makers' International Union's appeal for aid has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and unionists and sympathizers are urged to assist in financing this righteous struggle of the workers.

ALCATRAZ

By WINTHROP D. LANE

In the majestic harbor of San Francisco a small island raises its rocky sides above the water. Its high crest and jagged slopes are surrounded by white buildings, which gleam in the sunlight and afford a brilliant contrast to the purple shadows and blue distance of the bay. To the traveler from another country the island as seen from an incoming steamer may well recall the glistening palace of Scheherazade's tale, or one of those abodes of emperors that he has left behind in the old world; or it may suggest some practical embodiment of the civilization that he is approaching—a great university, perhaps, or a museum or an observatory.

In truth, it is none of these things. It is a prison. To this place men are sent for punishment. The United States has here built the Pacific branch of its Disciplinary Barracks, its place for confining military offenders. Behind the outward brilliance of those walls, shining from the most imposing site on the Pacific coast, men live in the grip of a severe discipline. Their days are spent in a monotony of labor and their life creeps forward under an autocracy of petty rule. The regulations to which they are subjected leave them little opportunity for initiative, choice, judgment or responsibility. From the moment they arise in the morning until they go to bed at night they have little control over their own lives. They are automatons. The island is a death-house for the hopes and ambitions of many whose mistakes or misconduct have sent them there.

The purpose of the Disciplinary Barracks is to restore to the colors men who have committed serious military offenses. It is a place of both punishment and opportunity. A system of military education and probation in the prison makes the restoration of some of the men there possible. This system seeks the release of men by placing selected individuals in a disciplinary battalion, which enjoys certain privileges and military instruction. At Alcatraz Island this system is not as intelligently run as at Fort Leavenworth, because there the administrative staff is more bound by routine and because until recently the prison has not been interested in men's differences and in their individual personalities and traits. There are also the forms of general education and vocational training. These, too, suffer from administrative sloth and ineffectiveness. Nevertheless, some men do regain their military status by "good conduct" and adherence to rule. Others undoubtedly leave the prison for civil life without any noticeable injury from their confinement.

Here I shall limit myself to a single but important aspect of conditions at the Alcatraz barracks. I shall discuss the nature and effect of the rules that govern life there. This has the advantage of dealing with a condition that is general in our prisons. We build prisons in this country upon the notion that all criminals come to their cell doors equal, or at least that they require the same kind of disciplinary control. We regard the ideal treatment of the offender to be to coerce or fright-

en him into virtue. Consequently, we establish what may be called reformation through misery. We make the prisoner as uncomfortable as possible, and then we try to make every prisoner uncomfortable in the same way. We enforce a mass suffering. Of course, there are wardens of prisons who do not accept this view, but too often their efforts are set at naught by the conditions under which they work.

A new commandant—Col. J. B. McDonald—has been assigned to the Alcatraz prison since my visit there some months ago and some changes for the better have been made. The matters of which I shall write, however, are little altered. Minor improvements come and go in prison discipline, but the underlying spirit and purpose do not greatly change.

The rules governing conduct at Alcatraz are fairly minute. They are numerous and rigid enough to cause constant annoyance and irritation. They define not only the acts that may be engaged in, but the manner in which those acts must be performed. For example, they prohibit talking during working hours or from cell to cell—indeed at any time excepting during meals, a concession recently granted. They prohibit smoking except during brief intermissions twice a day. They limit the number of letters that a prisoner may write. They carefully prescribe the manner in which men shall accost officers and guards, compelling them to stand a stated distance away and never to talk hurriedly. They define the manner in which the prisoner shall enter the dining room and what he may and may not do while there, even down to the amount of food he may leave upon his plate and the arrangement of his utensils upon leaving. They describe the position in which his bed-clothing must be left in the morning. They bar lead pencils from the cells, though many prisoners would be glad to use pencils in study.

The following rule was promi-

ently posted on the bulletin board at the time of my visit:

"Beginning this date, the practice of leaning against walls in barracks will not be tolerated. Severe punishment will be inflicted on anyone so offending."

I asked a guard why leaning against the wall was so serious. "Well, you see," he said, "it's this way. When a man leans against the wall like this"—the guard suited action to the word—"he's likely to life his foot up and put the sole of his shoe against the wall this way. That makes the wall dirty. So we cut it out."

When this order was issued the walls were white. The fact that since then the walls had been painted green, and that there was no longer the same danger of the smudge made by the foot showing, had made no difference. Nor was this all. Prisoners standing in line to see the doctor had apparently not thought that the order was intended for them, and they had continued to lean against the wall each morning while waiting their turn. Four days later, therefore, this order was issued:

"Beginning this date, the practice of leaning against walls while going on sick report and while at hospital is strictly prohibited. Severe punishment will be dealt out to those offending."

Now, of course, no one would contend that a prison, or any other place where people are kept so closely together, can be conducted without rules. The question, however, is whether the rules laid down serve a useful or harmful purpose. So long as our prisons are conducted with the idea that men who have broken the laws are dangerous animals and must be held in virtual subjection, lest they mingle too freely together and conspire to overthrow authority, many rules that would be otherwise quite useless will doubtless have to be enforced. But that is not the question that I am considering. I am considering what effect these rules have upon the men. Do they make the men better or do they not?

No body of prisoners ever lived up to such a strict regime as I have described. They violate the rules all the time. Sometimes they violate them openly, sometimes se-

cretly. The important thing to bear in mind, however, is that the rules may be enforced at any time. One of the worst effects of such regulations as these is that they may be used at any moment by the guards as a powerful weapon of abuse. With these rules to fall back on, the guard can make life tolerable or miserable for a prisoner at pleasure. If he acquires a dislike for a particular man, he can hale that man before the executive officer for every petty offense. If he wants to make a record for vigilance in the eyes of his superior officers, he can insist upon obedience to the letter. All of this is so well understood by both prisoners and guards that the familiar practice of "riding" a prisoner, by which is meant persistently finding fault with him and bringing him to trial, passes almost without comment in our prisons.

(To be continued in next issue)

"Laborers" Ask Relief

The National Federation of Federal Employees asks the president to remedy wage conditions of openers and packers employed in the United States customs service. In their letter to the chief executive the trade unionists show the bungling manner in which congress handles the so-called "labor question."

Ten years ago congress ordered that the pay of laborers employed in the customs service should be \$840 a year. Since then the term "laborer" has become obsolete because of its general misapplication. Employees doing skilled and semi-skilled work are now classed as "laborers", with congress oblivious to changed conditions.

The last congress voted \$500,000 for increases to customs service employees, but because the openers and packers are classified as "laborers" they must stay under the 1909 limit of \$840 a year, and will receive no part of this increase.

The National Federation of Federal Employees urges the president to issue an executive order "borers" from the statutory class transferring these customs "laborers" to some appropriate classification on a lump sum payroll, thereby bringing them financial relief.

LADIES' WAIST AND DRESS MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 25

Hereby informs all its members that the

WEEKLY DUES

will be increased to

35 CENTS PER WEEK, BEGINNING JULY 17, 1920

INITIATION FEE FOR NEW MEMBERS WILL BE \$15.50

Members, become in good standing prior to July 17, before the new decision will go into effect. Those who will not become members in good standing by the date mentioned above will have to pay all their arrears in accordance with the new decision, which is 35 cents per stamp.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LADIES' WAIST AND DRESS MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 25.

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Our home is in one of the choicest spots in the Blue Ridge Mountains. It has 700 acres of forest—A large lake surrounded by beautiful hills and ridges.

Twelve attractive cottages, exquisitely furnished and fully equipped with the most modern conveniences, private baths, electricity and telephone.

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MEMBERS OF OTHER LOCALS WELCOME

Register at: 16 WEST 21st STREET, ROOM A, AND ALL BRANCH OFFICES.

RAND SCHOOL SUMMER SEASON

First Term—JULY 5 TO JULY 16

Second Term—JULY 19 TO JULY 30

If you have a vacation or are out of work, you can combine study and pleasure at the school.

COURSES IN:

The Co-operative Movement, Economics, Socialism, Physical Education, Literature, Music, Drama, Evolution of the State, etc.

INSTRUCTORS:

ALGERNON LEE, D. P. BERENBERG, NORMAN THOMAS, BENJAMIN GLASSBERG, JOSEPH JABLONOWER, CLEMENT WOOD, LUCY RETTING, HERMAN EPSTEIN, ARTHUR CALHOUN, GREGORY ZILBOORG.

Most of the courses are in the forenoon, some in the evening. Students may register for the complete term, or for single courses.

Register on or before Monday, July 5, in the office at
BERTHA MAILLY, 7 E. 15th St., New York.

CO-OPERATION COURSES IN RAND SCHOOL

The Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th St., New York City, has established a department dealing with the Co-operative Movement and intends to offer hereafter a complete line of courses covering the entire field of Co-operation.

The work in Co-operation is in charge of Professor A. W. Calhoun, who, in addition to long experience as a teacher has spent many months in the Co-operative Movement as an employee of the

Tri-State Co-operative Association at Pittsburg and is in touch with the co-operative movement in various regions. The work will consist of lectures, discussions, and trips, supplemented by extensive reading and study. During the term from July 19 to July 31 the following courses will be offered: Co-operation as a World Movement; Scientific Foundations of Co-operation; Management of Co-operative Stores.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10, ATTENTION.

NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

WAIST AND DRESS: Monday, July 12th.
MISCELLANEOUS: Monday, July 19th.
GENERAL: Monday, July 26th.
CLOAK AND SUIT: Monday, August 2nd.

Meetings begin at 7.30 P. M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

Cutters of All Branches

should secure a card when going in to work and return it when laid off. They must also change their cards when securing an increase.

The Dress and Waist Branch will issue new working cards beginning with July 15, 1920. The color of the cards will be green. All cutters who are employed at the present time, or those who will be employed on and after July 16, should not fail to exchange their cards for new ones.

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MEMBERS ARE WARNED AGAINST
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105 Madison Ave.
Son & Ash,
105 Madison Ave.
Solomon & Metzler,
33 East 33rd St.
Clairmont Waist Co.,
15 West 36th St.
Mack Kanner & Milins,
136 Madison Ave.
M. Stern,
33 East 33rd St.
Max Cohen,
105 Madison Ave.
Julian Waist Co.,
15 East 32nd St.
Drexwell Dress Co.,
14 East 32nd St.
Regina Kobler,
352 Fourth Ave.
Deutz & Ortenberg,
2-16 West 35rd St.
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6-10 E. 32nd Street.

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