

In spite of the monster difficulties which we encountered, we did not become discouraged in the least by the attitude of the reformists. Determinedly we set ourselves at the head of the movement, giving it voice and expression. In one gigantic meeting of 12,000 factory councils of greater Berlin, of which at last one-half were Social-Democrats, the spontaneous movement was organized and placed under the control of a central strike committee. The bureaucracy were so overwhelmed by the growth of the movement and by the submission of the fighting masses of workers to the direction of this central strike committee, that they abandoned the effort to save the Cuno government. They sought to save what they could. Cuno fell, and with him the Minister of Transport, General Groener, the man who in the great January strike of 1918 called the striking workers "dog food," and whom not even the storm waves of the revolution could drive from his office. The economic demands of the workers were no longer repudiated with contempt, but great concessions were made. This first success of the mass movement made it possible once again for the bureaucracy to pull the most backward elements of the workers away from the fighting front. Seeing the danger, and in order to preserve the unity of the workers for future struggles, and to make it impossible for the reformist bureaucracy to bring about further division in the ranks of the workers, the central strike committee called off the strike. In this respect must be noted the great confidence which the revolutionary functionaries of the Ger-

man proletariat have won in the struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Again 13,000 factory councils gathered. Raging with anger, they condemned the new treason of the trade union bureaucracy. But they endorsed unanimously the proposals of the strike committee. Only a few votes were cast against its dissolution. In earlier movements, each time the betrayed workers answered by tearing up their trade union books and by deserting their organizations, because the deceived workers, after such struggles, lent willing ears to the promises of dual organizations, which finally got the blame for the destroyed trade unions. In this movement, nothing of the kind took place. The preachers of dual unions were this time simply silenced and the slogan of the strike commission, to save the trade unions from the hands of the reformist bureaucracy and to strengthen them for better struggles against the employing class, was adopted without opposition.

Already in many parts of the country, in which the workers carried on the fight, the news comes that a big increase in the trade union membership has taken place. In this, however, the reformist bureaucracy finds no pleasure, for out of millions of throats comes the cry, "Clean the trades unions of all treasonable functionaries." The German workers are determined to win their trade unions for the revolutionary struggle. And they will prove that the way which the Red International of Labor Unions recommends to its followers is not only possible but leads quicker to the end sought than the boldest dared believe.

Join the "Daily Worker Boosters"

THE proposed publication of THE DAILY WORKER in Chicago, pledged to fight for the program of the Trade Union Educational League, was greeted by a resolution at the Second General Conference, Sept. 1-2, which pledged our "undivided support of the Daily Worker Campaign Committee in its efforts to raise a \$100,000. fund to establish THE DAILY WORKER."

It is now the task of all members and sympathizers of the League to put this resolution into effect. This can best be done through the following methods.

(1) Each member of the League should subscribe to at least one share of stock.

(2) Each local general group and indus-

trial group of the League should send delegates to the City Committee in each center which has charge of the campaign.

(3) League delegates to DAILY WORKER city committees should assist in forming a trade union sub-committee, the duty of which shall be to make a survey of the trade unions in their locality, to organize an intensive campaign to sell stock to all sympathizers, and to prepare a general campaign to sell stock to the unions themselves.

We issue this statement in the full confidence that every member of the League will work with unceasing energy and determination to make the DAILY WORKER campaign a complete success and, especially to develop the full support of friendly trade unions.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Reactionaries Smashing Ladies Garment Workers

By Earl R. Browder

CYNICALLY and cold-bloodedly, the reactionary officialdom of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have engaged in a campaign of expulsions, disfranchisements, and czaristic dictatorship, which threatens the very life of that great organization. Under the direct leadership of Abe Cahan, of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, and in close co-operation with Gompers, this conspiracy has reached its height in the expulsion of 11 old-time members of the Chicago unions, the forcible removal of 19 out of 25 officers of Local 22, New York, expulsions and suspensions in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and other places, the use of thugs and gunmen, the breaking up of local union meetings, denial of the right to talk, to read, to think, and even to work. Along with this has gone the most vicious newspaper campaign of lies, slander, intimidation, and intellectual prostitution that has ever been witnessed in the American labor movement.

Beginning the Expulsions

The reactionaries felt around in New York and Philadelphia to find the most favorable place to start their expulsions. But the workers in those cities were on their guard, owing to previous attacks by the right-wing elements. So Mayer Perlstein, vice-president, was sent to Chicago to begin the war. There he found the Unions running along in comparative harmony, organizational work being carried on, and the left-wing militants taking a most active part in the work of the union, devoting their efforts outside of shop-hours to the union without pay. Perlstein is on record himself to this effect. He is also on record that he came to Chicago for the specific purpose of starting expulsions of these same workers. He called an organization campaign, and the left-wing elements immediately took him at his word and intensified the campaign to bring the unorganized into the union. But this manoeuvre of Perlstein's was only a means of putting the workers off their guard.

In the midst of the organization campaign, elections occurred. The left-wing advocates of amalgamation and the labor party, were elected in a majority of the offices, all of them members of years' standing and trusted in the work of the union. Perlstein immediately began his disruption. He brought charges against I. L. Davidson and Alex Kanevsky, and had a trial committee appointed. In the proceedings that followed, Perlstein violated every safeguard thrown up for protection of the membership by the Laws

of the Union. In spite of his threats and violations of the law, the Committee returned a verdict in favor of the left-wing militants by a vote of 5 to 1. But by disfranchising 16 out of 35 members of the Joint Board, Perlstein succeeded, through coercion and corruption, in getting 11 of the remaining 19 to overthrow the decision of the trial committee. Then he expelled the members by executive order. Immediately after he expelled 9 more, including Dora Lipshutz, I. Litvinsky, J. Terry, J. Goldman, Jennie Schwartz, Clara Gabin, Sam Cohen, Nathan Bosen, and Hymen Fogel, all of them without trial or even pretence of trial.

This opening gun in the war against progress was quickly followed by a general letter from the International Executive Board, signed by Sigman and Baroff, president and secretary, calling upon all locals to expel members of the Trade Union Educational League. But everywhere the rank and file refused to follow the reactionaries. In not a single instance did any local union take action against the left-wingers—and a logical thing that is, because in the local unions the left wing is respected and trusted. So the bureaucracy swung into action again. In New York they arbitrarily removed Rose Wolkowitz from the Joint Board. In Boston, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, they rushed about cooking up charges to place against the advocates of amalgamation. The whole union was thrown into a turmoil of protest.

Carmen's Hall Shooting

The expelled members in Chicago appealed to their local unions to enter protest against Perlstein's strong-arm methods. His answer was the appointment of a "Committee of Ten" to prevent all discussion of his czarist rule. His agents broke up the local union meetings to prevent motions of protest from being adopted. As a final recourse to bring their case before the membership, the expelled members called a mass meeting in Ashland Auditorium, also known as Carmen's Hall.

The meeting in Carmen's Hall was an historic one. Those in charge had not expected more than 400 or 500 members, about the number of regular attendants at local meetings. Instead of that, and in spite of an exceedingly stormy night, fully half the membership of Chicago appeared, and the committee had to hastily arrange to open the great Auditorium to accommodate the crowd. The officials had their "Committee of Ten" on hand, together with a collection of Chicago's

notorious gunmen. These endeavored to break up the meeting by interruptions and disturbances, and kept matters in a turmoil of noise and confusion for over an hour, until the manager of the hall threatened to call the police if they were not quiet. The meeting proceeded under difficulties, with great demonstrations from the 2,000 people present.

Late in the evening Wm. Z. Foster was called upon to speak, inasmuch as the reactionaries had publicly connected his name with the expulsions. Foster had just named Abe Cahan as the "man behind" the expulsions, when a door at the side of the hall was thrown open and three shots were fired at the platform in rapid succession. The gunmen instantly fled. The committee and Foster upon the platform, and the floor committee, by presence of mind and quick action, averted a stampede which would surely have resulted in the loss of many lives. It was a criminal act beyond the expectations of anyone. It betrayed the desperation with which the reactionaries had determined to go any length to crush the left-wing.

But if Sigman, Perlstein & Co. expected to intimidate the amalgamationists by their rough-stuff, they were sorely disappointed. Great mass meetings of protests were held in every needle

trades center. The one in New York City, held in Rutgers Square, Sept. 8, was attended by 10,000 workers. The reactionaries had overplayed their hand, and the rank and file were united into a great demonstration against the Fascist-like tactics and against the expulsions. The officialdom was immediately placed on the defensive. They disavowed the shooting. They got Ed. Nockels of the Chicago Federation, who was sore over the formation of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, to say the shots were blanks, although Nockels never made an investigation and refused an offer to present him with the evidence in the case. Then, when they could not stick to that story in the face of statements from the Chicago police, they said that Foster had arranged for the shots to be fired at himself for publicity purposes.

In *Justice*, official organ of the I. L. G. W. U. administration, appeared a 3,000 word editorial on Sept. 7, by S. Yanovsky, editor, making this charge, and asking Foster a list of questions. The first and chief question was a charge that Foster had given the I. L. G. W. U. a testimonial for \$65,000 donation to the Steel Strike in 1919 when but \$60,000 had been given, indicating that Foster's accounts had been irregular. The truth of the matter was, that the donation had been made



Great protest mass meeting of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union members, Rutgers Square, New York City, Sept. 8, addressed by Wm. Z. Foster

through the A. F. of L. and Foster, as secretary-treasurer of the Strike Committee, in making out the testimonial, in 1920, had been forced to write to Baroff, of the I. L. G. W. U., asking him the amount of their donation, to which Baroff had replied that it was \$65,000. These facts were well known to the I. L. G. W. U. officials, and the error on their part in 1920 had never been corrected by them in spite of Foster's requests. Now they thought they could use it to cast doubt upon Foster.

Luckily, Foster is a foresighted person, and he had taken care to preserve Baroff's original letter, especially as the "error" had been of a nature not easily explained. A photograph of the letter was published in the *Freiheit* and the *Worker*, together with Foster's complete answer to Yanovsky challenging the officials to (1) participate in a committee to investigate the shooting, (2) acknowledge the truth about the \$65,000 testimonial, and (3) accept a mutual investigation of the financial accounts of the organizations.

Yanovsky Confesses

Four weeks later, Oct. 5, *Justice* carried a "personal statement" from Yanovsky about the challenge. The first point is ignored entirely—they want to forget the shooting. On the second, he makes a cringing confession, forced by the reproduction of the letter from Baroff, that "I admit that on this point I was under an entirely wrong impression," and pleading that he had depended upon ex-President Schlesinger's word in the matter. On the third point, he says, "even if he had not placed that condition (a mutual investigation) we would have now declined to look into his books." It is a complete confession of bad faith and gross dishonesty in the entire attack, and the membership of the I. L. G. W. U. has understood it as such.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the growing storm of resentment in the membership and their own public discredit, the bureaucrats continue the war against the militant rank and file. The local unions have stood solid against the wrecking tactics, and refused to approve them. Meeting after meeting has been broken up by the officials to prevent the passage of motions of protest. In Local 22, New York, the president Sigman, himself attending to obtain approval for his course, the membership voted him down overwhelmingly. In Philadelphia the dressmakers voted 3 to 1 to repudiate his demands. In Cleveland the Joint Board laid his communication on the table.

But with arbitrary ruling, disregarding all constitutional limitations on their power, the administration continues to lay charges against members, deprive them of office, rule them off the

union floor, place fines of \$25 to \$100 against them, and terrorize them in every conceivable way. In Local 18 of Chicago, J. Gerber was fined \$50 by ruling of Perlstein for signing a petition for reinstatement of the expelled, and M. Kreindell was fined \$25 for handing out a circular. Both were deprived of the floor and privilege of holding office for 2 years. This is but a sample of a thousand happenings of a similar nature, unexampled in their audacity and cynicism, occurring throughout the I. L. G. W. U. In Local 22, New York, 19 out of 25 members of the Joint Board recently elected, have been removed by executive order.

Out-Czaring the Czar

Probably the most outrageous proceeding of all, however, has been the suppression of the right to petition the General Executive Board. Even the Czar of Russia allowed his miserable serfs to petition for redress of grievances. But not so Sigman, Perlstein & Co. When friends of the expelled members in Chicago, denied all democratic procedure in the unions, began to circulate petitions for their re-instatement, the first move to stop it was the publication in the *Forward*, reactionary Jewish daily, a "warning" that agents of the manufacturers were endeavoring to procure an injunction by getting signatures from the shops and that no one should sign anything as it would probably be for that purpose but disguised as a petition for the expelled members. Next Perlstein published an advertisement over his name, ordering all shop-chairmen to prevent the circulation of petitions, leaflets, etc., and sale of tickets or solicitation of subscriptions for the *Freiheit*, and to stop from work any one violating the order. He also prohibited all members from reading, talking, or in any way acting in regard to the expulsions, on pain of dismissal from the shops. He backed this order up by placing fines against some members who disobeyed the instructions.

From the local unions the fight is now being carried into the shops. The union officials declare that they are going to push through their arbitrary policy even if it is necessary to smash the union in so doing. All shop meetings are now broken up if the officials are questioned in any way or called to account on their wild issuance of "orders" and "rulings." Threats are freely strewn about that soon will begin wholesale discharges from employment unless the orders are obeyed unquestioningly. An open alliance with the employers is in preparation for the purpose of carrying out this disgraceful program.

On Oct. 2, the G. E. B. removed 19 members of the executive board of Local 22, New York.

Those removed were Bessie Berlin, Jennie Davis, Mrs. Giterman, Lena Klein, Jos Weisberg, D. Marasov, Ida Padger, Mile Rosen, Sam Warens, Rose Wolkowitz, Sam Weiner, Aaron Steinberg, Bella Ratford, Harry Osofsky, Sarah Derner, and Sonia Scheikin. One of the six who were not expelled, Sonia Blum, immediately resigned, refusing to serve on the board which was appointed by the G. E. B., which was not elected and did not have the confidence of the membership.

The 19 expelled executive board members called a meeting of the rank and file in Webster Hall. The membership responded *en masse* and filled every available space in the large hall. The meeting was a great demonstration against the reactionaries, and unanimously adopted a resolution protesting against the expulsions and calling for the reinstatement of the expelled executive board members.

Two members have been driven from their jobs by the officials. Harry Brevin in New York was thrown out by a business agent, because he took up a collection for the *Freiheit*. J. Gerber in Chicago was forced out of the shop because he

signed a petition for the reinstatement of the expelled.

In this crisis in the I. L. G. W. U., the honest workers are joining hands together in a great movement under the slogan, "For the Unity of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union." Against expulsions and disruption, and for defeat of the union-wrecking officialdom, there is arising a powerful movement of the rank and file. Soon no man or woman will be able to be elected to any position of trust in the I. L. G. W. U. until he or she has repudiated the policy of expulsions and disfranchisements. The union-wreckers will be swept into oblivion by the righteous wrath and overwhelming votes of an outraged rank and file. The officers of the I. L. G. W. U. will be brought down from their high seats of Czarist rulership, and will either be made again the servants of the garment workers and not their masters, or will be sent to join their aristocratic prototypes who once arrogantly ruled over the workers of Europe as Sigman, Perlstein, Baroff & Co. now seek to rule over the I. L. G. W. U.

Lewis "Settles"

By Thomas Myerscough

WHEN the Tri-District Convention, comprising Districts 1, 7, and 9, was reconvened at Scranton, September 17th, to pass upon the negotiations that had been carried on with the mine operators, and the agreement reached through the mediation of Governor Pinchot, the United Mine Workers of America was faced with another betrayal. In spite of the smoke-screens thrown out by Lewis and his cohorts, in spite of their efforts to sugarcoat the bitter pill, and in spite of their success in befuddling the minds of a majority of the delegates at Scranton, still the big facts of the settlement stand out so that every miner is beginning to see that, instead of a victory, they were handed a settlement which meant defeat.

The terms of the settlement are clear only on the major points decided against the miners. It is definitely decided that the anthracite miners do not establish the check-off. There is no doubt that the demand for \$2. per day flat increase for day workers was lost. It is glaringly apparent that the splitting up of the forces of the hard and soft coal miners, through the signing of contracts for different periods, has been again continued. Lewis told the Scranton Convention that this was the best agreement ever obtained in that field. Under the influence of his representations it was

approved, but hardly were the men back in the mines before local strikes began against the application of the "best" agreement. The settlement did not even gain for the miners those things that it promised them; Lewis had fooled the men.

Lewis told the miners that the Union has been "recognized through collective bargaining," although the check-off had been lost. What that recognition means, a recognition for the purpose of getting the men back to work but giving them nothing in return, is seen in the inability of the Union to enforce a uniform application of the settlement. Each company is giving its own interpretation to the contract and the result is chaos.

In the matter of the wage increase, again Lewis compromised for less than the demands and the men get less than the settlement promised them. Instead of \$2. per day flat increase for day men, the settlement calls for 10% or 25c to 50c per day. In the application of this increase it is reported that some of the companies are, first, reducing the former wage for 12 hours by one-third, to pro rate for the new 8 hour schedule, and then adding the 10% only to that reduced wage, so that some of the day men have actually had their earnings reduced. This is the great wage "victory," which Lewis put over on the anthracite miners.

The 8-hour day was supposed to have been won. But in many instances reports show that the 8-hour day is being applied on the split-shift basis, four hours work, four hours lay-off, and then four hours work again, forcing the miner to actually spend the same 12-hours as he formerly did. The "best" settlement was so unclear on this point that strikes are still reported in the endeavors of the local unions to get what they "won."

The 1922 strike found the hard and soft coal miners standing together for the first time, as their contracts had expired together. It was the solidarity brought about by this situation that enabled the U. M. W. A. to wage such a magnificent battle and force a truce upon the mine operators. But the settlements which were made then, under the direction of John L. Lewis, allowed this solidarity to be broken up by overlapping the time of the contracts for the anthracite and bituminous fields. This defeat for the solidarity of the miners was continued in this newest "best" settlement made by John L. Lewis.

One of the crying evils in the anthracite fields has been the irregular conditions and wage scales. There has never been a serious effort at equalization of conditions in this branch of the industry, and the consequences have been very detrimental to the miners. The new settlement does nothing to remedy this. There is such irregularity that practically every company has its own scale of wages. In the district from Pittston to Schickshinny, for example, particularly in the mines of the Pennsylvania Coal Co., the men are getting about \$2. per ton besides having check-weighmen on the tipples to guarantee honest weights; but in the other sections the scale runs from \$1.90 to \$2.25 for 3-ton cars.

This lack of equalization is most demoralizing. Rinaldo Capellini, president of District 1, knows this problem well, and he should have been the very last man in the world to agree to a settlement which did not even tackle this problem. Capellini spoke out strongly against this evil, during the period when the Lewis administration was calling him a "disgruntled, deposed organizer." He surely could not have forgotten it during the negotiations with the operators in which he took part. And while many anthracite miners believe that the compromises made at their expense were delayed by opposition from Capellini, and that he went along with Lewis under protest, yet on this question of the equalization of conditions they see that nothing whatever was done. Capellini was compromised by going with Lewis, and by abandoning this issue he doubly compromised himself.

There was not the slightest reason for the United Mine Workers of America to thus give in to the coal operators on these most vital issues. The anthracite miners could have won all their demands if their leadership had been determined. John L. Lewis has admitted this himself. He brazenly stated, when invited by Governor Pinchot to supplement the latter's announcement of the settlement, that he had sacrificed the demands of the coal miners in order to gain the good will of the mythical "public."

The anthracite settlement is in line with the settled policy of the Lewis administration, which is to form a united front with the employers and with the capitalist Government against the rank and file of the United Mine Workers of America. Because the progressive forces within the Union are fighting against this policy of betrayal, the Lewis administration is engaged in war against the Progressive International Committee. It fights the progressives for the same reason that it abandoned the anthracite miners' justified and reasonable demands—for the reason that it has entered into a definite and open alliance with the employing class and against the working class.

A united front of the "labor leaders" with the employers and Government, against the rank and file of labor and to destroy the effectiveness of the labor unions, that is what has now come into existence openly and boldly. That is the meaning of the persecution of Alex Howat, of the betrayal of the Coke Region and Somerset County miners, of the overlapping contracts for anthracite and bituminous fields, of the alliance between Lewis and Farrington, of the suspension of Dist. 26, of the "Red Scare" series of articles by Searles, and of the thousand and one other outrages perpetrated by Lewis and his henchmen, and which now finds expression in the anthracite settlement.

The progressive miners must fight against this unholy alliance of union officialdom with Civic Federation, capitalist press, "open shop" forces, and capitalist Government. We must stir ever wider ranks of the U. M. W. A. to revolt against this miserable coalition. We must elect men from the rank and file to overthrow this oligarchy, based upon the "pay roll" vote, and install an administration at the head of our Union that will fight, fearlessly and continuously, for the improved conditions demanded by the members of the U. M. W. A., for the nationalization of the mines, for the Labor Party, and for the power of the working class against all the predatory interests of the capitalist mine owners and exploiters.