



JOURNAL



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LADIES' TAILORS ON ESPIONAGE OF A GENERAL STRIKE

The agreement between the New York Ladies' Tailors and Alteration Workers' Union, local 80 and the employers of the trade expired on Monday, September 1, and on this occasion the Union advanced new demands. The principal demands as we reported last week are week work, a 44-hour week and a minimum wage of \$50 per week.

The employers of the ladies tailoring trade have no association at present, and the agreement with the new demands was therefore sent to the individual firms throughout Greater New York.

On Monday, September 8, the Union will hold a mass meeting at Mannerchor Hall, 203 East 59th St. The meeting will start at 6 P. M. promptly and the replies of the various firms will be announced. If the replies in the majority will not be favorable, the membership will undoubtedly decide to call a general strike to force the employers to yield to their demands.

The meeting will be addressed by prominent speakers, among them S. Yanofsky, editor of the

Justice; Ab. Baroff, secretary and treasurer of the International; Judge Jacob Panken, Max Mine, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Vice President Elmer Rosenberg and the well-known Italian speaker, Arturo Giovannitti, Vice President Samuel Lefkowitz will preside.

The Ladies' Tailors' Union is now making strenuous efforts to organize the Alteration tailors of the Ladies Tailors of the Brooklyn shops. The Ladies' Tailors' Union is determined to deliver the Alteration workers of the department stores from their present state of slavery. These workers though quite as skilled as the Ladies' tailors work under much lower standards. The Union is bent upon equalizing conditions for all workers in the industry whether they are employed in the shops or in department stores, in New York or Brooklyn. It is to be hoped that the workers of the trade will take advantage of the opportunity the Union now offers them. It is to be hoped that they will all join the Union and help fight for and win the common victory.

TO ALL CLOAK MAKERS AND WAIST MAKERS

The Cloakmakers and Waistmakers' Unions of New York have undertaken to help the Socialist Movement and its institutions raise the fund of \$100,000, with which to fight the dark forces of reaction which are attacking the Socialist Party, the Rand School, the Call and have already begun their campaign in the newspapers of the nation to discredit all labor organizations which have advanced from the stage of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," and are demanding a greater share in the control of the industries in which they work and produce the things society must have in order to survive.

The Lusk Committee and the other hirelings of the Capitalist Class have made no distinction between the Socialist movement and the Trade Unions. The moment an organization threatens their huge profits, they proceed to use all forces at their command to crush it.

All intelligent and class-conscious labor must take these facts into consideration in their attitude toward the Socialist Movement. There is today more reason for a closer co-operation between the Socialists and the Laborites than there ever was before, and the Cloakmakers and the Waistmakers, recognizing this have decided to do their share, along with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and all other radical organizations, and make the \$100,000 fund a success.

The Cloakmakers and Waist-

makers cannot afford to fall behind in this work. We do not want it to be said that our organizations, which have always fought reactionaries failed in the greatest crisis in the History of Labor and Socialist Movement. Just as on many occasions, in our strikes and lockouts, we looked to the Socialist Movement and their speakers for help, so now, when all the forces of Capitalist Reaction are hammering at the Socialist Movement and attempting to destroy its institutions — they look to us for aid. WE MUST NOT FAIL THEM. To do so at this time would be the greatest betrayal possible, not only of the Socialist Party as such, but the entire Labor Movement.

Therefore, all shop chairmen and workers are appealed to to see that the subscription lists which have been mailed to all shop chairmen are filled in by the workers, in the shops, and are returned to the office of their unions. Uptown shops of the Cloak and Suit industry are responsible to Phillip Kaplowitz at 40 East 23rd Street. Downtown shop chairmen or committees must report to Fried, 35 Second Street. All Waist and Dress shops are responsible to the General Office, I. Sheinoltz, 16 West 23rd St. WORKERS, YOU MUST DO YOUR DUTY!

PHILIP KAPLOWITZ
B. FRIED
I. SHEINOLTZ

VIGOROUS ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN BY INTERNATIONAL IN NEW YORK

In spite of the fact that the ladies garment industry is, in general, the best organized in the city and the International locals the strongest among labor unions, there still remain a few branches of the industry that are as yet unorganized. Several thousand workers, men and women, are employed in these unorganized trades.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has decided to organize the remaining few thousand workers that properly belong under its protecting wing, and to this end a vigorous organization campaign has been set on foot, and the campaign will go on without abatement until all ladies garment workers in the city are 100 per cent organized.

The recent victories won by the various locals of the International had a telling effect also on the unorganized branches of the industry. Wages have been raised and working conditions materially improved. But the standards of work in these branches are still considerably below those of the organized branches of the ladies' garment industry, and the present campaign has as its objects to organize the workers and to raise their working conditions to the same level as prevails in the organized trades.

Several special organizers have been assigned by the International to carry on the work of organization, and substantial results have already been obtained. Thus the Ladies' Neckwear Makers and Cutters have been organized as a separate local with the charter number 108. The new born union has arranged for a mass meeting on Sept. 8 and sent out the following appeal to all the workers of the trade:

To all Ladies' Neckwear, Novelty Cutters and Makers of New York City
Sisters and Brothers:

THE CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE IN TORONTO

Last week Secretary Ab. Baroff visited Toronto, Can. where he addressed the striking cloakmakers. Brother Baroff told a reporter of the Justice that the Toronto Cloakmakers are just as brave and undaunted as during the first days of the strike. There are no scabs in any of the shops, and the strikers are confident of their ultimate victory, even tho' the employers are putting up a stiff fight.

The strike situation has crystallized into one principal issue, the recognition of the Union. The Cloak Manufacturers of Toronto say that they are not opposed to the unions in principle, but they are against the Union in the Cloak industry.

They are magnanimous enough to negotiate with separate shop committees. They do not see why

The workers in every ladies' garment trade in New York city, cloakmakers, waistmakers, dressmakers, white goods workers, and all others have gained a 44-hour work-week, decent wages and standard Union conditions. They have acquired these gains not thru the kindness of their employers, but through the power of their Union.

The only trade that has remained unorganized is your trade, the Ladies' Neckwear Novelty Cutters and Makers. In the Ladies' Neckwear Novelty Cutters and Makers shops they still work all sorts of hours, for poor wages, and in these shops the employer and the foreman are the supreme lords. The reason is quite simple indeed: the Ladies' Neckwear Cutters and Makers are not organized, the Ladies' Neckwear

(Continued on page 7)

CLEVELAND WAISTMAKERS ARE ORGANIZING

(Special Despatch to the Justice)

Cleveland, O., Sept. 5, 1919. — The campaign to organize the waistmakers of Cleveland has begun. The firm Wertheimer discharged two girls for joining the Union, and all the workers of the shop, 100 in number, were called out. The firm of L. M. Gross employing over 500 workers also discharged several of its employees for the same reason, and a strike will be called against the firm in a few days.

It is the first time that the waist makers of Cleveland have responded so enthusiastically to the call of our organizers. The chances are bright that the campaign will prove highly successful.

M. PERLSTEIN.

the Cloak Makers want one big Union. In other words, they would rather deal with shop councils, than with the Cloak Makers' Union. The shop councils, though revolutionary in name, are much less dangerous to them than an organization comprising all the cloak makers of the industry.

The strikers, of course, are quite undecisive as to the intentions of the manufacturers in dealing with the shop councils and they flatly refuse to consider the offer.

It may be stated here that Brother Baroff's visit was of great moral aid to the strikers. His visit was featured in all the newspapers of the city and the cause of the Cloakmakers was made even more popular than it had been before.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. B.

LABOR DAY was a gloomy day for American Labor, a day of mourning rather than celebration. Never during the past decade has the labor-situation been so critical and the prospects so discouraging. On the first Labor Day after the war the workers of America have found themselves face to face with a situation that justifies the worst expectations of the gloomiest pessimists.

Not only has there been no headway made in the efforts to reduce the high cost of living, which saps the vital forces of the toiling men and women and threatens to upset the very foundations of our economic and industrial structure, but an organized campaign has been set on foot to place the bulk of the burden on the shoulders of Labor, to deny the workers a wage that would enable them to make ends meet under the present prohibitive prices of necessities of life. The specious argument, given a semblance of weight and dignity by the President of the United States that increases in wages, if granted now, would nullify all efforts to reduce the cost of essential commodities, was caught up by the servile press, that lack of the freedom of the press heralded far and wide with sinister flourishes and in endless variations. And even the recognized spokesmen of Labor yielded to this new wave of terrorism and intimidation set in motion by Mr. Wilson in his appeal to the betrayed shopmen to continue making sacrifices, to refrain from strikes, to put up with existing wages, however inadequate they may be, lest disaster befall the nation. The shopmen, acting on the advice of the heads of the American labor movement, yielded to the President's appeal and decided to forgive and forget the broken promise of the Administration and to go back to their shops.

THE N. Y. Central Federated Union caught up Wilson's tune and made Labor Day the occasion for an appeal to refrain from strikes for higher wages. Insofar as the leaders of American Labor can exert an effective influence on individual labor unions the tide of higher-wages strikes has been stemmed. But if the forces of discontent among the toiling masses, thus chained up, are not to break loose and play havoc with the entire structure of society, the pressure of the high cost of living will have to be relieved, and this without delay. The workers are as patriotic as any class of citizens, and their patriotism counts vastly more than that of all other elements of our population, the dollar-an-hour industrial classes included. But the "patriotism" plea has been worked to death. Workers cannot make sacrifices detrimental to their very lives to this idol patriotism when they are pushed, pulled and hammered by the profiteers, large and small. If there is menace of national disaster it is in impairing the standard of living of the wage-earners, in denying them the chance to earn a fight for a decent living. The plea is for increased production, which will be in the opinion of the President will prevent breakdown of our economic structure and avert a calamity. But

Labor is the most essential piece of machinery in the processes of production, and there is to be no tempering with it, no subjecting it to breaking strains. This may as well be borne in mind by all those who really want to avert national disaster.

NOT only has the Plumb plan been ignored by the railway bill, which has the undivided support of the Senate sub-committee on railways, but even the heads of the American Federation of Labor put a damper on it. The boast of Mr. Plumb that American Labor is behind his plan, that it is in fact "Labor's solution of the railway problem" is evidently unfounded, at least as far as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is concerned.

The sworn critics of the American Federation of Labor have been willing of late to forgive it much of its conservatism because of its advocacy of the Plumb plan. The idea somehow gained currency that the A. F. of L. went on record as favoring this radical experiment of government ownership plus labor control. As a matter of fact the Federation never endorsed the plan, even though Mr. Plumb was given a great ovation when he presented it at the A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City.

The caution, if not timidity, with which the Executive Council of the Federation speaks about the Plumb plan is highly significant in view of the threat made by a representative of the Brotherhoods that if the plan would be rejected the railroads would be put up "so tight they will never run again." Mr. Gompers who, if we are not mistaken, is honorary chairman of the Plumb Plan League, and whose voice, no doubt, has a determining effect upon the decisions of the Executive Council of the Federation, is evidently reluctant in pledging the support of the A. F. of L. on behalf of the Plumb plan. His recent conference with the President may have something to do with this lukewarm attitude toward "Labor's solution of the railway problem." Mr. Wilson is known to oppose the Plumb plan, and Mr. Gompers is reputed to be on intimate terms with Mr. Wilson. For those in the habit of putting two and two together there is room for conjecture.

THE President's tour on behalf of the Treaty and the League will have achieved miracles if it will result in the Senate's ratification of the treaty in its present form. Whatever the motives of the Treaty and League opponents may be, they have rendered a great service by shedding light on the dark spots of the peace pact. And these spots are not few. In the light of the recent discussions in the Senate and at the White House Conference of the various "hoity" provisions in the treaty it is becoming exceedingly awkward even for the friends of Mr. Wilson to defend what is obviously indefensible in the Versailles pact. The President's tour, which began the other day, will be watched with great interest, no doubt, but with hardly much concern by the opponents and hardly more hope by the friends of the Treaty as it stands.

Two Messages from British to American Labor

(By Cable to The Liberator)

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH RAILROAD WORKERS

I desire to extend you hearty greetings from the Atlantic. I understand that you are well organized in strong but sectional trade unions, that you have power to enforce comparatively good conditions of labor, but do not officially use the power of your unions to safeguard your civil liberties. I do not know of the circumstances surrounding your movement, but would like to give you the point of view of the National Railwaymen's Union of the United Kingdom.

We believe in the industrial form of organization.

We organize men on the engine, on the track, in workshops and in the factory departments of the industrial service. We believe our industrial power should be used to advance and protect our interests wherever they may be threatened, whether in our industrial or civil life. Liberty really means more to us than bread.

At this moment we are taking the opinion of our members whether they intend to take industrial action in order to recover the liberties they have lost during the war. In conjunction with the Triple Alliance we are balloting our members to determine whether they will strike in order to compel the Government to cease making war on Russia, abolish conscription, and abandon the use of the military in labor disputes. We are not taking this step without grave thought. But in our dealings with the Government, it has again in a dozen proved false to its promises and false to the people.

We believe that direct industrial action is our only recourse.

We hope that you will approve our position, and that further, you will find some way of acting through your unions according to your own usages, to uphold us. As the needs of labor become international, more and more we must pursue the same roads to freedom, peace and economic equality.

C. T. CRAMP,
President of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain and Ireland.

II.

FROM THE BRITISH TRANSPORT WORKERS

We in Great Britain, despite our conservative outlook, have fashioned an industrial organization which is probably the most potent ever created — the Triple Alliance. In this body we, 300,000 Transport Workers, have allied ourselves for defensive and aggressive purposes with 500,000 railroad workers, and 800,000 miners. We believe it is our duty to use every means in our power to challenge the institution of capitalism and its domination of the working people.

Hitherto we have devoted ourselves to matters of an exclusively economic and industrial nature, but compelling circumstances arising out of the world war and its aftermath require us more to envisage our work in its entirety, political as well as industrial: Every

class-conscious act of the working people tends more and more to become a political act, and only fools would draw a clear dividing line between industrial and political action.

To-day, we of the Triple Alliance are challenging the Government's policy in maintaining conscription, military intervention in Russia, and military intervention in Trade Union disputes. We see in the fight against the workers of Russia an attempt to safeguard the interests of English bondholders, and we realize, perhaps more by instinct than by reason, that the fight of the Russian and Hungarian proletariat is in fact our own fight. We know, moreover, through experience that conscription means the possibility of breaking strikes by means of the intervention of armed soldiers and sailors.

Therefore we are taking the only means at our disposal to compel the Government to abandon conscription and get out of Russia.

We earnestly hope that America will not be the stronghold of capitalism during this world-proletarian crisis which is at hand. America with its international origin should be in the van of the world movement for working-class liberty. May we therefore urge upon American trade-unions the duty of assisting struggling Europe in what is not a make-believe but a real fight for freedom!

ROBERT WILLIAMS,

General Secretary of the National Transport Workers' Federation of Great Britain

"High" Wages Not High

Indianapolis. — "It is quite interesting to hear some persons talk about the 'high' wages of the coalminers of the country," says the Official Mine Workers' Journal, official magazine of the United Mine Workers of America.

"Did you ever hear of the man who wrote a letter home from the hot lands of Arizona to tell the folks about the terribly high temperature of that region? He said: 'It is 120 in the shade and no shade.'

"And now about the miner's wages. He gets \$5 a day, when he works. But what does that amount to when he has no work?"

"It is easy enough to talk about 'high wages' for the miner and thus mislead the public into believing that miners are making money hand over fist. But when these people talk about 'high wages' for the miners they should be fair enough to tell the public, also, that the miners have been working only from one to three days a week and that in many places the mines have been closed down entirely for weeks or months.

"It is merely another case of 120 in the shade and no shade."

CHAIRLADY HONORED

Miss Josephine Dady, chairlady of Horowitz & Levy, was presented by her shopmates with a handsome pin, an ivory toilet set and a box of candy, in recognition of her good work in the shop and the Union.

Are We Bolsheviks?

By BERNARD SHAW



Well, of course we are. What else are we, pray!

Why do we hesitate to call ourselves Bolsheviks?

Party funk, no doubt. But there are other reasons. The name is ambiguous. Under one definition of the word or another, the whole of Commons is Bolshevik; and no gentleman can afford to be mixed up with the heroes of the late general election.

There are two definitions of Bolshevism.

In the mouths of the supporters of the existing order (if you can now call it an order) Bolshevism means simply Socialism. I am a Socialist, and, as such, a Bolshevik.

In the mouths of the doctrinaire democrats a Bolshevik is one who, having given up democracy as hopeless in view of such events as the aforesaid election and the war which primed it, faces the fact that the masses are governable only by a mixture of cajolery and coercion dressed up in fine phrases, and applied, by an energetic minority which knows what it wants and means to have it, to the majority; that is, to Carlyle's "forty millions of people, mostly fools," formerly known in English as John Bull, Uncle Sam, or Brother Jonathan, and now rechristened by the more expressive name of Henry Dubb. This definition ropes in all our governing classes and their supporters. So we are all Bolsheviks now. Three cheers for Bolshevism!

Why then does the British Bolshevik of this second variety think so unnaturally for the gore of his brother in Russia? They both have the same opinion of Henry Dubb, and act on it in the same way.

True; but their aims are different. Lenin coerces and cajoles in the interests of those whom he coerces and cajoles, and in the name of Marx. Our British Bolsheviks (like Fanny I name no names and say, "Let them as the cap fits wear it") coerce and cajole in the interests of property, without bothering about prophets. Profits are good enough for them.

I cannot deny that I am a bit of a Bolshevik myself under the second definition, though I have called myself a democrat often enough. One cannot always avoid it when there is a meeting of Dubbs to be humbugged.

When you tell Henry that his voice is the voice of God, he always cries: "Hear, hear, govern or! Tell us what to say." Then you tell him; and he says it. Henry is no more capable of making his own laws than he is of writing his own plays. You give him a vote because cajolery is less trouble than coercion, just as you give performing right to a musician so that he may have something to sell cheaply to the Gramophone Trust.

When you argue the democratic question out fairly with anyone over the age of twenty who has any practical experience of electorology, it always comes down from government by the people to "government by consent of the people."

Now the moment you try to govern by the consent of the people you discover that the people will not consent to be governed. Not a man of them will pay his rates and taxes unless he knows

that he will be imprisoned for life if he refuses. My tailor cannot take my body in execution for his bill if I do not pay it. Even my landlord cannot, though he can take my furniture if I have not prudently removed it by moonlight. But the King can. This is a very necessary reservation.

Henry Dubb has some conscience about his tailor and his landlord. But he has none about his King, whose vicar the tax collector is. In State affairs Henry wants to do as he likes, and have everything for nothing; hence his deep sympathy with the landed gentry and the peerage, who carry the same millennial aspiration into private life also. Henry calls Socialism the Servile State, and public account-keeping Red Tape. The private employer who exploits him as long as it pays, and throws him into the gutter to starve when it does not, is his worshipful benefactor; the public official who gives him permanent employment in his own service, with a pension, is a bureaucrat.

Conferring the benefits of Socialism on Henry will be very like forcibly feeding a ferocious dog with a bad sore throat. No doubt Lenin and Trotsky have found that out. But if they let Henry (or Ivan) alone, some other energetic representative of a minority will come along and hang and coerce him, not for his good and for the world's good,

but for his destruction, and the perdition of his posterity. Since Henry, until he learns the necessity of Government, must be bullied into submitting to it by someone, he had better be bullied into submitting to honest than dishonest government.

That is the reply to all the assurances we receive that the Russian people object strongly to Lenin's Government. Of course they do. All peoples object to all governments.

I wish our own Government could be induced to take the present situation seriously. If we persist in making war on Russia to force Ivan to restore the Czarism we shall produce a political crisis compared to which that produced by the late war is a joke.

During the war we had Englishwomen who wanted the war to stop. We had Englishmen who thought it should never have begun. We had Englishmen who hoped it would end in a draw, leaving no bitterness worse than the bitterness of those who cursed their own folly for ever entering on such a monstrous attempt at European murder and suicide. But no Englishman wanted the Germans to win and to impose the Prussian system on England. Pro Germanism was a myth, a mere excuse for thieves who wanted to loot bakers' shops, and political and intellectual rioters who wanted to loot Parliament and the uni-

versities.

But if we continue our royalist war on the Russian revolution there will be genuine pro-Russianism in England. There will be millions of Englishmen, including all the best Englishmen, who, far from wanting Generals Koltchak and Denikin to win, will most ardently pray that they may be knocked into a cocked hat by the Bolshevik troops, even if, to our eternal disgrace, some of their soldiers may be English soldiers. The schism will not be an easy matter of giving a Quaker two years' hard labor for refusing to put on a khaki tunic; it will be a matter of passive resistance to the tax-collector on an unprecedented scale, and possibly of active resistance pushed to the point of civil war. For the war in the East is a reflection of the social struggle here.

If the Government is mad enough to play with that fire, it will not be able to extinguish it with its silly penny dreadful White Papers. No atrocity that it can publish could approach in horror the atrocity of a restoration of the Czarism by British arms.

I am sorry I cannot credit our present rulers with knowledge enough, brains enough, or political conscience enough to appreciate the gravity of this warning. But at least they can appreciate the result of Central Hull. For the moment they probably regard it as merely a throw back to obtain Liberalism. They have not yet made the acquaintance of Commander Kenworthy. I have. Lenin will seem to them the mildest of morals by contrast when they know the Commander a little better.

Our Recent Strikes and Victories

By AB. BAROFF

II.

The "bloodless revolution" which was carried out in the cloak industry by the recent general strike is worth dwelling on at some length. It will not be amiss to review briefly the recent history of the cloak industry and see how the new system of work, which has revolutionized the entire industry, came into vogue.

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York, has ever since 1910, been seeking means of strengthening the organization of the Cloakmakers' Union and making secure the gains that the workers obtained from time to time.

Both the "Protocol of Peace," the agreement of the "Council of Conciliation" and the agreement signed after the lockout of 1916 were hailed loudly as victories for the Union. Every time representatives of the International and of the Joint Board met in conference with representatives of the manufacturers, whether it was during a strike or an interval of peace, to discuss improvement in the working conditions of the cloakmakers, the representatives of the workers always came out the victors. And after each conference it seemed that the agreement reached would at last solve all the vexing problems of the industry. But before many weeks were over the union would discover that something was loose somewhere, and that the gains obtained by the workers were really nothing more than so many empty clauses in the "victorious" agreements, copies of which were kept in the archives of the International and the Joint Board,

The many discriminations against active members, the many discharges, the disappearing of the work from the inside shops, etc., gave no rest to the International, the Joint Board, as well as to the rank and file. These vexing problems constantly engaged the attention of the officers of the Joint Board and of the International, and as time went on all came to realize that something radical must be undertaken and carried out if these constant annoyances and worryments, these leaks and squeaks in the adjustment machinery are to be done away with. It became clear that a change must be brought about in the system of work, or rather in the basis of remuneration: for with every agreement the workers would gain increases in the form of higher "price lists", but the work would disappear from the inside shops, so that the workers of those shops would have high price lists but no work. The sub-contracting shops would be in a position to turn out the same work much cheaper, for the sweating system there was rampant.

There was no concrete, definite basis for settling the prices for making up certain garments, for there was no way of standardizing the work required to make up a garment. The sub-contractor would always manage to turn out the work at cheaper rates, and an increase in rates per garment was followed, as a rule, by a disappearing of the work from the shop.

The constant bargaining and bickering about prices made the manufacturers regard the mem-

bers of the price committees as their personal enemies, and these workers would be discriminated against in every way and discharged on the slightest pretext or no pretext at all.

The leaders of the International and the Joint Board, therefore, decided that the abolition of the piece work system would be the only effective remedy in curing these chronic evils. A lively agitation was launched on behalf of the week work system. The International published two pamphlets, written by President Schlesinger, in which the question of week work and piece were discussed from all angles. Many articles were printed in our periodicals about the advantages of week work. The more ardent followers of this system, among them Siegman, Halpern, Wander and others did all in their power to popularize the idea of week work in the cloak industry.

Much ink has been used up to prove to the cloakmakers that the week work system would be of greater advantage to them than piece work. But it was a hard job. The cloakmakers who had been working on the piece basis for years were afraid to part with this system, were afraid to venture on a new untried arrangement. But little by little the ice was broken, the adherents of week work grew in number, and at the last convention of the International held in Boston a resolution favoring the introduction of week work in the cloak industry was carried by a majority of the delegates.

This resolution gave no im-

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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

WILSON ON HIGHER WAGES

The President's "labor policy" is clear and concise; he wa its the American workers in general and the railway shophen in particular for the present to suspend their struggles and campaigns for higher wages. He contends that if the workers will continue demanding higher wages and if the employers will grant their demands the efforts exerted by the government to reduce the high cost of living must prove futile. The profiteers will have an additional pretext for increasing the prices of essential commodities still further.

The first step in the campaign against the high cost of living is, then, to keep down wages. If the workers will stop striking for higher wages or if they will be "patriotic" enough to permit a reduction in their wages, the campaign against the high living cost will undoubtedly bear fruit.

In justice to the President, it must be said here that neither in his statement to the shophen nor in his appeal to public does he urge a reduction of the existing wages. But what he does urge and demand is that the workers discontinue their strikes for higher wages. He wants an industrial truce to be concluded between the workers and employers so that the present high prices may be sooner brought down to a reasonable level. But if this demand is valid, if it is well for the workers to cease demanding higher wages, it carries the implication that it would be well that the workers also give up voluntarily their former gains in wages. The profiteers and the press which represents their side so well, argue that labor is the only profiteering element of the country, that high wages are responsible, more than anything else for high prices, and the President indirectly upholds the contention.

In his statements to the public and to the shophen the President makes use of the Brotherhood's own contention that there is no use in raising wages if higher wages lead to higher prices, so that after some brief period the higher wages again become inadequate to meet the higher prices.

The argument is a valid one. But the Brotherhoods also proposed a plan which would enable the railway workers to earn a decent living without resorting to strikes and at the same time would be of great use to the public at large.

Whether the plan is feasible or not is beside the question. The important thing is that they proposed a remedy to the high price evil. The President, however, while making use of their argument, does not propose any such remedy. All he has to advise the workers is to refrain from strikes and to wait and see if this would not bring down the living costs

It seems to us that however patriotic labor may be it cannot comply with this request. Naturally, if the workers demanded higher wages only in a spirit of caprice and spitefulness it would not be out of the way to lecture them that now is no time for caprices, that the present times are as grave, as critical as the months of war, when we had to strain every nerve to combat the enemy; that it is folly to demand higher wages out of mere caprice when the country is in danger, etc. But such is not the case. The workers, when they demand higher wages, do so because the existing wages are insufficient to keep them in health, comfort, and decency. How, then, can one advise the workers to wait in the dim hope that the high cost of living would come down! As well might one say to a hungry man not to clamor for bread in the hope that he may get something to eat in the more or less distant future.

The President appeals to the shophen and to labor in general on the ground of patriotism. He gives labor credit for their conduct during the war and demands of them the same degree of patriotism and self sacrifice also in the present crisis, for "should we fail it will mean national disaster." And to avert national disaster the workers must again make sacrifices. But is there not a limit even to sacrifices! During the trying months of the war the greatest sacrifices were made by labor. It was from among the workers that hundreds of thousands were taken to the camps, were shipped across France to fight and die, were subjected to the greatest strains in the munition factories, while a handful from among the employing class were making colossal fortunes out of the universal calamity. The workers did their utmost to help bring the war to a successful close. They worked under unbearable conditions in the mills and factories, they refrained from strikes in most cases, they agreed to a truce between capital and labor, they accepted uncompensatingly the awards of the various government boards. They did all this out of patriotism, and they hoped that after the enemy would be defeated they, too, would share in the benefits of victory.

Now, thanks to the efforts and supreme sacrifices of labor, the enemy lies prostrate in defeat. Labor, however, does not demand a reward of their loyal and devoted service during the war. All they demand is a decent living. But instead of a decent living they are given the same admonition: in the name of the country refrain from strikes, make sacrifices, go on making sacrifices, never stop making sacrifices, till the time will come (if it will) when your sacrifices will no longer be needed for the good of the country. Can this appeal be heeded

by the workers! Hardly! For if they are to act in the spirit of this appeal it means that they are to refrain from strikes all the time, that they are to be satisfied with the crumbs that fall to their share as a reward for doing the work of the world; for the class that is not labor always maintained that strikes lead to national disaster.

Of course President Wilson himself realizes that his arguments and his appeal to the shophen can't exercise a lasting influence upon the workers, because the realities of life are stronger than all such arguments and appeals, however eloquent. He therefore, promises the workers an adjustment of wages in accordance with the living costs, if the present campaign the gov't is conducting against high prices will prove a failure and the high cost of living will be accepted as a permanent fact. But will the arguments about saving the country, about self-sacrifice, etc. be any less valid at that time? Will it not be argued also then that higher wages must lead to higher prices? One of the President's arguments may, indeed, be well taken. Mr. Wilson says that the standard of wages cannot be fixed now when the high cost of living is at its peak, but the thing is that this is only the personal opinion of the President. It is really a bit daring to say that the prices of essential commodities will not go up any more. No one believed that when the war would come to an end the prices would soar to such heights, but it is a fact not the less, and this fact is sufficient to guard us against predictions that the cost of living will rise no more.

And besides, why should not the workers demand highest wages at a time when the prices of commodities are at their highest. Is it not a fact that the employers demand a reduction of wages as soon as there is the least tendency of prices to go down! And must not the workers yield to this demand if they cannot fight effectively to retain their old wages? Why, then should the workers refrain from demanding higher wages when the high cost of living is at its peak? Is there any warrant for such behavior on the part of Labor at the time when the manufacturer, the middle man and other parasites, large and small, are amassing fortunes! Would not such an attitude on the part of Labor be tantamount to a premium of unconscionable profiteering!

If, for instance, the shophen demanded inordinately high wages, there would be a basis for accusing them of unreasonableness, but the demands of the shophen are quite moderate, if we take into account the present living costs.

The tool makers demand 90c an hour, which means \$7.20 a day. Is this an exorbitant wage for a highly skilled worker? Most of the shophen demand from 80 to 85 cents an hour, which means from \$6 to \$7 a day. Is this asking too much when the buying power of the dollar has dropped 50 or 60 per cent? It is true that compared with their present wages ranging between 50 and 60 cents an hour, the demands increase seems large, but this means that the present wages are all too small and not that the wages they demand are exorbitant.

For all these reasons it is difficult to believe that Labor in general and the shophen in particu-

lar will act in the spirit of the President's request, and even if they will, due to pressure brought about from various sides, decide not to strike for the present, their decision will not bind them for a long time. The argument of patriotism for some time exerted a great influence upon Labor but if you stretch it beyond its limits it is bound to snap and lose its effectiveness entirely.

THE ACTORS' STRIKE

For the last few weeks the big theatres in New York, Philadelphia and other large cities of the country have been closed, and there seems to be no immediate prospect of their re-opening. The actor's strike laid bare before the public the system of slavery, in which most of the actors and employes of the stage have to work, and as a result of these disclosures public opinion is overwhelmingly with the strikers.

The managers were quick to realize that public opinion is against them and they announced their willingness to grant all the demands of the Equity Association but one, and this one is the recognition of the Equity Association — the Actors' Union. George M. Cohan, himself a manager and an actor offered the actors one hundred thousand dollars or two hundred thousand dollars if necessary, if the latter abandon the union. For a moment there was really danger that the striking actors would be lured by Mr. Cohan's offer, but the actors, it seems, are not easy to bamboozle, for the offer was emphatically and indignantly rejected and the strike continued. The public, whose sympathies at first were entirely with the strikers, now wonder why the strike continues now that the managers give in to all the demands of the strikers and offer even more. Even if the union is not recognized by the managers the average theatre-goer may not see in it a sufficient reason for prolonging the strike.

But the more intelligent theatre-goer may on the other hand wonder why the managers are so stubborn about the recognition of the union, if it is of small consequence. If they lose tens of thousands of dollars every night it means that the recognition of the union is more than a trifle to the managers.

The matter indeed is very simple to those at all familiar with relations between employes and employers. All the gains of the actors are worth nothing if they have no union to back them. Should the actors give in on the point of recognizing the union it would not take very long and the more active of the strikers would be thrown out of the theatres and would be effectively blacklisted, so that they could get no engagements elsewhere. This terrorism on the part of the managers would be sufficient to whip the remaining actors into the former state of slavery.

The managers understand this as well as the actors, and for this reason the recognition of the union is so fiercely contested. To the actors it is the only guarantee of their demands and gains, but to the managers it means that the gains of the actors would be more than empty promises, that they, the managers, would really have to live up to the agreement.

The deadlock, however, is not likely to continue very long, for the theatrical season has begun and the managers can not afford to go on losing indefinitely.

The American Federation of Labor

ITS SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND ITS POLICIES AS REFLECTED AT ITS LAST CONVENTION.

By S. YANOFSKY

IV.

One who was not present at the sessions of the second and third days of the last A. F. of L. convention can hardly imagine the stormy ovations with which Mr. E. Plumb's speech urging the socialization of our railways system and the speeches of the British delegates recounting the achievements of British Labor, were received. Judging by the enthusiasm which these speeches, truly socialistic in their spirit, aroused, one might have thought that all of the delegates assembled were socialists. But, as we showed in our previous articles, this is by no means the case. The A. F. of L. is stoutly opposed to the socialist party in America. How are we to reconcile this apparent contradiction? Wherein is the Plumb plan unsocialistic enough to gain the approval of the A. F. of L. and wherein does socialistic differ so much in principle from the Plumb plan as to incur the disapproval of the same body?

The basic principle of the Plumb plan is that private ownership of railways is incompatible with the nature of the railways as public utilities; that as such they must be public property. Is this not one of the basic tenets of the socialist doctrine? Then again the plan calls for the abolition of competition in the railway industry. For competition has as its goal not efficiency but profits, and the degree of efficiency that exists in a competitive industry is a mere incidental. This view militates emphatically against the accepted bourgeois contention that competition is the soul of efficiency; and yet no part of Mr. Plumb's speech was applauded so lustily as the one in which he rapped the accepted methods and philosophy of competition. This, in itself, is remarkable: an one and the convention applauds the Governor of New Jersey when he says that so long as the A. F. of L. is in favor of the existing order in the U. S. all the forces of destruction that seek to upset this order constitute no real menace; on the other hand the same convention, on the very next day, applauds vigorously a "destructive" plan, which, if put into operation, would alter the existing system down to its very foundation.

One may think, of course, that the plan of the Brotherhoods found favor with the convention because it provides for monetary compensation to the owners of the railways. But this provision does not render the plan the less socialistic, for there are also many among socialists who are opposed to confiscation of public utilities, who believe that the government should pay the private owners for their property in form of bonds. Before the war no socialist party in any country demanded complete confiscation of public utilities. Why then is socialism taboo and the Plumb plan acceptable so that even Gompers himself is not ashamed to be honorary president of the Plumb Plan League?

If we had to do with persons who are not deliberate in their actions and utterances, we could ex-

plain the contradiction by the fact that the body of delegates consists of so many hot-heads and fickle minds who would approve of one thing now and of quite the opposite thing the very next day. But the charge of fickleness cannot be made against the delegates of the convention, especially the leaders of the Federation. One who witnessed the Convention and who listened to the speeches of the conservative leaders must admit—whether one agrees with them or not—that they are level-headed minds against whose hard logic many of the phrases of our "radicals" were dashed to pieces. But it may be said the Plumb plan was presented so cleverly that the delegates to the convention in their "saint simplicity" did not notice the socialist flavor. However, also this explanation does not apply. Barring the omission of the word socialism, the plan was presented clearly and definitely and there could be no mistaking its final goal.

We deem it worth while to give here the meaty portion of Mr. Plumb's speech. Mr. Plumb said:

"Now, there is the short mechanical outline of this device, with every tendency seeking to establish lower levels of cost and with the wage earner secured in that share of the profits which he produces that he is entitled to receive. But if this were all there were in the plan I don't believe I would be interested in it. It is because there is a spirit back of it, there is a soul in this plan; there is the spirit of the day which restores to every individual his opportunity for development.

They say we cannot have efficiency without competition. Why, you men know that under the old condition competition existed only to increase profits, not to increase efficiency. The public benefit resulting from competition was a mere by-product of this play for profits. It was not the purpose of the system, it was a waste product. And you know that the cost of competition undoubtedly exceeded the benefit. Competition is merely an attempt of one party engaged in a transaction to get more profit away from another party, and for every private benefit resting from public competition there is a corresponding private loss.

Who was interested in competition? The man who benefited by it, the man who received a little greater compensation because he carried on this system of grabbing from another. Now, you know that only a few men at the top of this system got any more money because of the drive of the competitive system. They were actuated by the hope of increasing their gains, but all men below these few were driven into competition by fear, fear that they would lose their jobs if they did not produce profit for another, or fear that their position the next day would be worse than it was then. Why, then, fear is the poorest incentive on earth upon which you may build efficiency. The man who fears conceals the defects; he does not seek to overcome them. Hope is the inspiration of free men; fear is the in-

centive of slaves. We would have this inspiration, this glorious hope of free men, extended to every man in the employ from the president of the humblest office boy; we would have them, all know that they shared in the profits of their own efficiency and in the efficiency of all. We would have every employe know that the road was open to him clear to the top if he could earn it, and that there was no power in existence that could stay his progress if his service was worthy of that reward.

Why, with such an incentive what efficiencies could we accomplish, what economies could we make, what services could we render!

We hope you will study this plan. There will be some five thousand copies of the plan here for distribution before you leave. We hope that it will meet with your approval, because it applies not only to the railroads—though it may be applied there first—but it applies to every industry based on a grant, monopoly, or privilege and I believe it embodies a step in industrial development in advance of anything that has been heretofore suggested."

We see that the delegates could hardly have mistaken the true character of the Plumb plan. Mr. Plumb did not in any way disguise it. And if the plan was received with so much enthusiasm does not this testify to the social sentiment pervading the A. F. of L.? But on the other hand it can hardly be denied that the Federation shows many symptoms of unmistakable hostility to socialism. Wherein then is the explanation of this contradiction?

The explanation, in my opinion, is to be found in the attitude of the head of the Federation toward socialism. With him the opposition to socialism is more of a personal feeling than a principled stand. It is a well-known fact that Samuel Gompers and his activities were always the target of attacks, often entirely unwarranted, by socialists. It is remarkable that the same persons who believe that a person does not create a movement, but, on the contrary, a movement gives rise to its leaders, continually attacked Gompers as the one person responsible for the conservative character of the American Labor movement. Ardent devotees of the theory of economic determinism, these critics of Gompers, nevertheless, failed, or simply refused, to take into account the peculiar economic conditions of America, and branded Gompers as the sole and controlling reactionary forces of our Labor Movement. The entire socialist press from the days of Dr. Lee to our own day bears testimony to this attitude of the socialists to Gompers. Even in recent years, when the policy of "burrowing from within" has been adopted toward the Federation not only has this spirit of personal animosity toward Gompers been kept alive, but every movement that has been launched against the Federation has been hailed by socialists as the coming formidable foe of the A. F. of L. that will deal a death blow to this

"seat of reaction." Need we then be surprised that the spirit of personal resentment has profoundly affected also the convictions of Mr. Gompers!

But this circumstance does not wholly account for the antagonism of the A. F. of L. toward socialism and socialists. Opposing principles have played a large part in generating and keeping alive this antagonism. While socialism places its hopes in the state and its laws, the Federation emphasizing independent action by the workers. The Federation is loath to permit government interference in matters that can be adjusted by a direct struggle of the workers against their employers. Of course, the A. F. of L. is in favor of labor legislation but only to the extent that such legislation does not impair or threaten the unity of labor, only to the extent that it does not rob them of their initiative. From the standpoint of the Federation it is for instance much better for the workers to secure an eight-hour labor day through their own efforts than through congressional legislation.

But the cardinal difference between the philosophy of the A. F. of L. and that of revolutionary socialism is furnished by the theory of the class struggle, which is the corner stone of the socialist doctrine. The A. F. of L. does not consider the working class as a distinct social class that has no common interests with the rest of society; and for this reason the Federation is not *a priori* antagonistic to the existing political parties. From the standpoint of the A. F. of L. a workman can be a good democrat, a good republican or a good socialist. Politics, with the Federation, is a private matter, just as religion is with some socialists, and for this reason a man like Gompers or Mitchell will join in social classes or in Carriages in a cause they consider common to all, and will form an organization like the Civic Federation. This difference of opinion as to the class struggle also explains the different attitude toward the war. While the socialists view war from the standpoint of class-struggle and sees in it nothing but the struggle of the master class for greater advantages, the Federation views war from the standpoint of the general citizen.

But these differences do not preclude the possibility of a socialist mode of thinking on the part of Federation adherents. Their socialism, it is true, may not be identical with the so-called scientific socialism or Marxism. But Marxism holds no monopoly over socialistic modes of thinking or feeling. There were good socialists before Marx and there are good socialists now who do not subscribe to all the tenets of the Marxian creed.

This, it seems to me, is the explanation of the glaring contradiction in the policies and philosophy of the A. F. of L. But it is also possible that the heads of the Federation have come to realize that in the present social upheaval it would be suicidal for the A. F. of L. to bar out every socialist thought; and they tolerate and even support theories and

By SAM. R. SHENKER

By H. GREENBERG, Mgr.

BANQUET PROMISES TO BE SUCCESS

The Banquet of the Cutters' Union, Local 10, which is but a few weeks off, promises to be an affair of great success, according to all indications. As stated in the last report, Secretary Rosenberg found it necessary to order the printing of five hundred additional tickets, which are selling as fast as the first batch.

The Ball Committee states definitely that only members who purchase their tickets at least two weeks in advance can hope to attend the dinner. Those buying their tickets later will be disappointed.

The Banquet takes place Saturday evening, September 27th, at the Central Opera House, 67th Street and Third Avenue. Tickets are to be had at the office or of any officer or of members of the committee.

PAY AT HOLIDAY RATE

A holiday, for which cutters receive pay, does not pass without misunderstandings on the part of the membership as to the rate of pay. Hence their attention is called to the rules governing this question.

At the outset it must be understood that every cutter must receive a full week's pay for the holiday week, provided he has worked the week previous. Again, if he secured a job on the day following the holiday, he still must get a full week's pay. If, however, a cutter is laid off on the Saturday preceding the holiday and if he is called back to work in the middle of the week, say on Wednesday, he must receive pay on the basis of \$38 per week for 36 hours work.

This provision is applicable to all branches of the Cutters' Union. Members who fail to receive pay as provided, should immediately file a complaint.

AN APPEAL TO SHOP-CHAIRMAN AND CHAIRLADIES

The creation of an International organ, one that reaches the entire membership, has made nearer relationship possible. The cutters, above all other members of the International feel gratified at this. Through this organ, it is hoped to call the attention of the International members of this city to an evil that has been prevailing in the industry for a long time—one that with the co-operation of the affiliated local could be eradicated: That is the failure on the part of some firms to employ union cutters.

One form of co-operation that the Cutters' Union seeks of its sister locals is that the chairmen and chairladies, finding an employer doing cutting, at once notify the Cutters' Union. In such cases a Business Agent will immediately be assigned to the case and steps will be taken towards compelling the particular employer to hire a cutter. In re-

plans, which, upon close analysis, could be shown to militate against what has been considered the basic philosophy of the A. F. of L. This means that the Federation is not stationary or stagnant; that it not only yields to the pressure of the new but takes up the new as its own cause and champions it as warmly as if it were always in the van of radical thought.

porting such cases, no hardship is involved for the complainant, but the spending of fifteen minutes or so, which is worth while considering the benefit to the cutters.

Max Finkelstein, Manager of the Association Department of Local 25, stated that a meeting of all shop chairladies will be called shortly, and has promised the writer to call their attention to this problem and will urge them to properly co-operate with the cutters.

IN THE CLOAK AND SUIT BRANCH

Max Gorenstein, Manager of this division, calls the attention of all cutters, who are members of this Branch, to an important ruling handed down by the Joint Board. The Executive Board of Local 10 has also authorized its publication. This is with reference to the manner of arranging the 44-hour week.

Members have taken it upon themselves to arrange the hours of work so as to nullify the shorter work-day. Some work 9 hours a day and work Saturday morning overtime. Others work until 6 P. M. and work overtime until as late as 8:30 P. M. Thus the benefits of the 8-hour day are lost.

The union-in-demanding the 44-hour week had primarily in mind the rest and recreation that would result to the workers therefrom. And the double-time for overtime was not intended as a means of earning more, but as punitive measure; a measure that would rather act in a prohibitive sense, so that the workers can be assured of sufficient rest after a day's work.

Hence the Joint Board of Cloakmakers, with endorsement by the Executive Board of Local 10, decided that the agreement with the cloak manufacturers is to be strictly lived up to: 44-hours a week; 8 hours a day for the first five days of the week and 4 hours on Saturday. Members of the Cloak Branch violating this will be dealt with accordingly. Manager Gorenstein intends to see to it that the 44-hour week is lived up to in strict accordance with the agreement.

Overtime will be allowed not later than 7:30 P. M. for the first four days of one week, or from 5 to 7 P. M. on the first 5 days. This makes it 10 hours per week. In no case are members allowed to work more than 10 hours overtime or after 7:30 P. M.

IN THE MISCELLANEOUS BRANCH

The Executive Board has finally appointed the full staff in this Branch. The appointment of Jacob Fleisher has been ratified at a meeting held recently. At the last Board meeting Samuel Perlmutter was appointed, subject to ratification by the membership.

Israel Lewin, who is managing this division for the present, states that Brother Perlmutter will devote his time to the Children's Dress and Wrapper and Kimono trades, while Fleisher will give all his time to the White Goods trade. In this wise it is expected that this branch will be on a par with the rest of the branches in a short time. Members are advised to attend the next meeting when the full office staff will be present and plans for future activity will be laid before them.

With the election of a new Executive Board, new activities are begun in the Children's Dressmakers' Union, especially since the present agreement between the Association and the Union was abrogated by the association on June 18 and the Union is dealing with the Manufacturers individually.

The agreement was abrogated by the members of the Association because of alleged wrongs committed by the officials of the Union. The wrongs that the officials of the Union are charged with consist in their assisting the individual workers of certain shops to procure new positions. The officials did this in a number of cases only after ascertaining that the manufacturers in question were indifferent as to the intention of some of the workers to quit the shop.

For the last 9 weeks there has been no direct dealing with the Association, and we will surely not deal with them until a definite understanding will be reached that the association must be responsible for conditions agreed upon—and that all the members of the Association must have Union shops. At present the President and a few Executive members of the association are the very ones who have no union shops, they at one time lived up to the fundamental principles of the agreement as far as the preferential Union Clause is concerned. The manufacturers never co-operated with the union in good faith, but, on the contrary did all they could to prevent non-union shops from organizing and to disorganize the existing union shops.

It is therefore understood that at the conference which is to be held between the International and our Local 50, 51 and 52, Association on the other, no agreement will be concluded between the Union and the Association unless all the members of the Association will have union shops. For a long time there has been a foundation for agreement between two organizations and the foundation in this case is—first, Union shops and second, co-operation on both sides. If this is not lived up to, the agreement is not worth the paper it is written on. The second demand that will be made is for a general increase in wages to all our members. This demand will be made in order to meet the present cost of living. The results of the conference cannot be foretold at present, but will be reported to our members in the time upon the insistent request of the pressers of our industry for a Pressers' Branch, the Executive Board, after careful analysis has granted their request, and a pressers' branch in our industry has been installed. The activity of the Pressers' Branch could best be judged by a meeting held on Thursday night, August 21, 1919 where at least 90 per cent of the pressers were present.

The recommendation of the Advisory Committee of the branch that all pressers must register with the union and give full information concerning their conditions of employment was unanimously adopted. The pressers once more pledged all their support and co-operation to the organization.

The work of the new Executive

Board members will begin at the coming meeting, with the election of the various committees in accordance with the recommendation of the Rules and Regulation Committee.

I hope that each committee that will be elected will try its utmost to accomplish the best results for our local. I have every reason to believe that my hopes are well founded. The Executive Board has decided that we again start an organization campaign in order to organize the remaining non-union shops. As a first step the Executive Board has assigned Brother Bizutto as organizer and will very shortly assign as many additional organizers as may be needed. It is understood, however, that in order to accomplish the results we are aiming for, we will again ask the co-operation of our General Membership and I expect them to answer the call as they did in the past.

Our Recent Strikes and Victories

(Continued from page 3)

petus to the propaganda on behalf of the work. So successful has the propaganda proved that at the last quarterly meeting of the General Executive of the International the Joint Board of the New York Cloakmakers Union formally requested the indorsement by the General Executive of a general strike in the cloak industry with week work, a 44-hour week, and a minimum scale as the principal issues.

The General Executive Board, of course, indorsed the proposed strike, and the Joint Board at once set about making the necessary preparations.

A long and bitter struggle was expected. It was thought unlikely that the cloak manufacturers would agree to change the system of work without first putting up the stiffest resistance. The preparations were made accordingly.

But the cloak manufacturers evidently knew from past experience that it would be futile and ruinous to fight the Cloakmakers' Union, and they agreed to meet the workers' representatives in conference. The conference lasted some two weeks. The manufacturers fought like Trojans, but the representatives of the workers were unbending. Though a strike was called it was now realized by both sides that it would be of short duration. And indeed, the strike was hardly a week old before the manufacturers capitulated.

It is as yet too early to sum up the advantages of the new system introduced in the cloak industry. But it is clear that it will have a profound revolutionizing effect both upon the actual working conditions of the cloakmakers and upon their mode of thinking and living.

The extent of the victory won by the cloakmakers in the recent strike is enormous. But winning the victory is only half the thing. The next step is to make it secure. And to this end strict observance of the union rules by the workers, undivided loyalty to the union and its paramount importance. In this regard we may, however, trust to the mental caliber of our brave cloakmakers.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE LADIES' WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS' UNION, LOC. 25

Labor Items

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 25, was held on Tuesday evening, August 19th, at Beethoven Hall, 910 East 5th Street. Sister Mollie Friedman as chairlady.

Brother Arthur Peer sent his resignation in to the Board stating he can no longer work in the office as he feels that he can not give the best that is in him to his work. He asked that his resignation become effective not later than August 30th, 1919. The Executive Board rejected his resignation.

Brother M. Finkelstein, Chief Clerk of the Association, sent in a report in which he touched upon many important questions in our industry. Action on same was postponed until the next meeting.

Another meeting of the Board was held on Tuesday evening, August 26th, at Beethoven Hall, 910 East 5th Street. Sister Jennie Matyas as chairlady.

The report of the Chief Clerk of the Association Department was taken up and the following was discussed: Registration and Unionization of Shops; Interpretation of the preferential clause. After a lengthy discussion, the managers' report was unanimously approved.

A communication was received from the Pressers' Branch stating that some time ago the Executive Board elected a committee to work out a plan of establishing separate locals in our union. They therefore want to be informed as to what was accomplished in this question. The Executive Board decided to instruct the committee to bring in a detailed report to the next meeting of the Executive Board.

A communication was received from Brother Arthur Peer stating that though his resignation was rejected at the last Executive Board meeting, he feels nevertheless, that he can no longer continue to work in the office and insists that his resignation be accepted. Same was accepted.

A communication was received from the Committee to Combat Reaction requesting financial aid stating that money is desperately needed. Referred to the Finance Committee for action.

A Communication was received from the Friends of Freedom for India requesting that we go on record protesting against the deportation of the Hindus to their native land from which they have fled to seek refuge in America. They further state that these men are wanted by the British Government and their deportation is being instigated by British agents. If these deportations are carried out it will mean that America will sacrifice the noblest of her traditions. American labor which has always stood for the cause of democracy and progress, should take immediate and effective action against these deportations. A resolution was adopted to that effect.

Brother Luigi Antonini sent in a communication inquiring of the Exec. Board as to the functions of the manager of the Italian department. He also called the attention of the Board to the fact that there is no Italian member on the Board of Directors. Elections for an Italian member for the Board of Directors were taken

up and Brother Luigi Antonini was elected as a member of that Board. His communication was referred to the Board of Directors for action.

The reports of the Office Committee of meetings held on June 14, 21st, 28th and August 23rd, 1919 were approved as read.

Brother Hyman reported that the committee elected sometime ago to work out plans for the Labor Bureau in our organization has its plans ready and asked the permission of the Executive Board to make final arrangements for installing the system. Same was referred to the Board of Directors for action.

The Finance Committee called the attention of the Executive Board to the fact that the Call is to publish Souvenir editions. Since it has always championed the cause of labor, it was decided to buy \$25 worth of Calls and distribute them among our members gratis.

Another meeting of the Board was held on Tuesday evening, September 2, at Beethoven Hall. Sister Rose Perr as chairlady.

Upon an invitation from the National Co-operative Association, Sisters Jennie Matyas and Esther Silberman were elected as delegates to represent our organization at a conference of union committees which will be held on Sunday, September 7, 1919 at 2:30 P. M. at the offices of the Co-Operative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City. Room 721.

Upon a communication from the Friends of Soviet Russia League, Sister Rose Perr and Brother J. Yasilevsky were elected as delegates to represent our organization at a labor conference called by the Friends of Soviet Russia for Wednesday, September 10th at 8 P. M. at Beethoven Hall, 1010 East 5th Street, for the purpose of arranging ways and means for the delegation to go to Washington and make a protest against the blockade and intervention in Russia.

Brother L. Schoenholtz, Secretary, sent in a financial report covering a period of five weeks.

Elections for delegates to various central bodies were taken up and the following were elected:

Central Federated Union: Mollie Friedman, M. Finkelstein; Central Labor Union: Nathan Schechter, Nora Levine, Antonio Crivello; United Hebrew Trades: Max Essenfeld, Hyman Davidson, H. Silberman.

Elections for a new sick benefit fund committee were taken up and the following were elected:

Mr. Guzman, chairman, M. Essenfeld, H. Davidson, J. Matyas, I. Wasilevsky, H. Silberman, F. Liberti, I. Horowitz and M. Finkelstein.

They were instructed to use their efforts toward bringing the plan of establishing a Sick Benefit Fund for our members into practical life.

WHAT'S WHAT

Editor Frey of the International Molders' Journal has tackled a tough job by insisting that proper terms be used in the discussion of economic questions.

"It is sometimes easy," he says, "to get terms mixed." Recently I listened to an employer who did not seem to recognize any difference between a minimum wage, a living wage and a fair wage.

"For his benefit, and that of a few others, let us say that a minimum wage is a wage below which no one is to be paid.

"A living wage is a wage which, so far as the theory is concerned, is intended to enable the workmen receiving it to purchase the necessities of life. It is based somewhat upon the price of necessities, the cost of living.

"A fair wage is a wage which is intended to give the worker a fair share of the wealth which he assists in producing. It is but seldom that a minimum wage, or a living wage, is a 'fair' wage."

20,000 WORKERS INJURED

Charleston, W. Va. — The records of the state workmen's compensation commission for the last fiscal year show that 20,266 injuries to West Virginia workers were reported. Included in this number were 928 fatalities.

Claims for compensation or medical expenses were made in 19,574 cases. Of the non-fatal injuries, 7,109 occurred in the coal mining industry; 5,591 in metal working plants; 1,177 in lumber camps and mills, and 1,151 in clay products plants. Of the 528 fatal injuries, 424 occurred in the coal mining industry.

With approximately 100,000 employees protected by the operation of the workmen's compensation fund, the ratio of casualties for the year was about 1 to 9, while the ratio of fatalities was 1 to 350.

ITS TRUE COLOR

The New Majority, organ of the Chicago Labor Party, declares that the American Legion is already throwing off its mask and showing what it really stands for. "Its first public service is to send speakers to all parts of the country to speak against the Reds, against 'bolshivism' and for 'Americanism.' The real target at which the leaders in the American Legion are aiming is not the criminals. They are to attack all progressive organizations. The speakers will attempt to discourage trade unionism, government ownership and industrial democracy."

"WE WANT THE SHOP"

The story is told that recently an employer of labor asked one of the leaders of the union, who had called many strikes, what he really wanted, anyway. "What do we want?" replied the leader. "We want the shop."

The story was told as a joke, but it is something more than that. It voices the real aspiration of the worker. Every man desires, above all other things, freedom. Especially in this true in America, where all men have political freedom, and the women are rapidly attaining it. Formerly there was industrial freedom as well. The employe felt that he was in all respects the equal of his boss, and served him in the same spirit that a merchant serves his customers.

But that ended with the closing of the factory system. Freedom has gone. There is a wide gulf between the employer and the employe, not alone as to wealth and social standing, but in the degree of freedom enjoyed. The employe has become a real master, who gives orders which the employe is under the same necessity of obeying as the slave. The slave obeyed because the law required him to, the employe because of economic pressure.

Employers are complaining of the excess profits and war profits taxes because they remove the incentive to produce, and therefore, they say, production will lag. Yet they complain of listlessness and inefficiency on the part of the employes, never understanding that the present system offers no incentive to him. He has no stake in the business, no voice in its control, and no share in its profits.

But he desires those things. That is what the labor leader meant when he said the strikers wanted the shop. And that is what he must have if there is to be peace and prosperity in this land. —Life & Labor.

Vigorous Organization Campaign by International in New York

(Continued from page 1)
Novelty Cutters and Makers have no strong Union.

We believe that in these days of unusually high cost of living it is hardly necessary to waste too much time in persuading workers that their only and their salvation lies in organization in a strong, one hundred per cent Union. Every person with common sense understands this truth nowadays without much effort.

Your Union, Local 108, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is calling upon all of you to come to a Great Mass Meeting in Beethoven Hall, 21st Street, September 8th, 1919, at 8 P. M.

The following speakers will address the meeting: Abraham Baroff, General Secretary; Treasurer of the International; Samuel Lefkowitz, Fannia M. Cohn, Elmer Rosenberg, Vice Presidents of International; Alfred La Porta, General Organizer, and M. Weinstein, General Organizer.

Ladies' Neckwear Novelty and Makers! Make this meeting a glorious success! Help to build your Union and to lay the foundation for a brighter future.

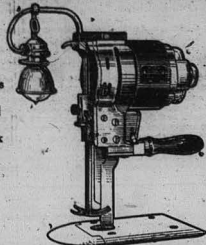
LADIES' NECKWEAR NOVELTY CUTTERS AND MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL 108, I. L. G. W. U.

Strenuous efforts are also being exerted to revive and strengthen the Petticoat Makers' Union, Local 46, which is in a rather deplorable condition. Also this Union has arranged for a meeting the day following the rally of the Neckwear workers. A circular, printed in English, Yiddish and Italian, announcing the meeting, has been sent out to all the Petticoat Makers in the city.

The Organization Committee of the International, which includes all the speakers mentioned in both circulars, expect to "clean up" New York City within a few weeks and announce to the labor world a record of 100 per cent unionization in the ladies garment industry of the Metropolis.

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MONSTER MASS-MEETING

(preceding the general strike)
ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th—6 P. M.
—AT—
MANNERCHOR HALL, 203-7 E. 56th Street

The reply of the employers to our demands of a 44-hour week, and a \$50 minimum wage will be announced at the meeting.

THE FOLLOWING PROMINENT SPEAKERS WILL ADDRESS THE MEETING:

- Ab. Baroff, Secretary, I. L. G. W. U.
- Hon. Judge Jacob Panken
- Max Pine, Sec'y United Hebrew Trades
- Elmer Rosenberg, Vice-President, I. L. G. W. U.
- S. Yanofsky, Editor of "Justice"
- A. Giovannitti, Sec'y Italian Chamber of Labor
- Samuel Lefkowitz, International Vice-President who has led all our campaigns will preside at this historic meeting.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, Local 80
H. Hilfman, Secretary.

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MEETINGS OF CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10.

- DRESS AND WAIST—
Monday, September 15th
 - MISCELLANEOUS—
Monday, September 22nd
 - ALL BRANCHES (Special General)—
Monday, September 29th
 - CLOAK AND SUIT—
Monday, October 6th
- Meetings begin at 7.30 P. M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL,
23 St. Marks Place

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- Son & Ash,
105 Madison Ave.
- Solomon & Metzler,
33 East 33rd St.
- Clairmont Waist Co.,
15 West 36th St.
- Mack Kanner & Milius,
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.
- Deitz & Ottenberg,
2-16 West 33rd St.

Cutters' Banquet

LOCAL 10, I. L. G. W. U.

Celebrate the Recent Victories

SATURDAY EVENING, SEPT. 27TH, 1919.

at the

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