

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 30.

New York, Friday, July 20, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

COMMITTEE ON JOBBERS' PROBLEM READY TO PUBLISH REPORT

Visits Cleveland

As these lines are being written, the investigation committee on the jobber problem appointed at the last meeting of the General Executive Board, which consists of President Sigman and Vice-presidents Ninfo, Feinberg, Wander, Breslaw, Perstein and Heller, has not yet returned to New York from its investigation tour.

We cannot, therefore, definitely report on the results of this investigation, and will make it known to our readers in one of the next issues of this journal. It can only be stated that the investigation was a very

through one of the committee has overlooked at would aid it in forming a comprehensive opinion and familiarize it with all paramount conditions in the cloak industry in its various centers.

Brother Charles Kreindler of Cleveland writes us among other things on the work of this subcommittee as follows: "This week we had visitors in Cleveland in the persons of President Sigman and the members of the jobber investigation committee. The committee went into the shops, watched how the work is being done, talked

PROBLEM REPORT

with the workers of various crafts and obtained their opinion of all details concerning the processes and methods of local production. They have looked over all the records of the union and of the Joint Board and they also had a meeting of the active members of the union. They conferred also with a number of manufacturers."

From Cleveland the committee went to Chicago, where they stayed a few days, and, after that, visited Philadelphia. They are expected to be back in New York by the end of the week.

Charter Granted to International Labor Bank

Mr. Morris Hillquit, the legal adviser of our International Union, informs us that the charter for the International Labor Bank, the project launched recently by the locals of our Union in New York City in conjunction with other labor organizations, has already been granted by the New York State Superintendent of Banks.

The opening of this bank has been somewhat delayed owing to the fact that Mr. Hillquit, in whose hands the organizing committee of the bank has left the initial steps for the formation of the bank, has left for Europe two months ago to attend the Socialist and Labor Congress at Hamburg. When he returned the Superintendent of Banks was absent on vacation, which delayed the issuance of the charter.

It is quite certain that not later than October our bank will be opened for business. The most important thing, the money, is already here—a half million dollars which constitutes the capital stock. A place has already been found for the bank, and the fifteen directors who will be entrusted with its administration have been selected.

CHICAGO DRESS INJUNCTION MADE PERMANENT

Federal Judge Grants Demand of Mitchell Bros.

As we go to press, we received a telegram from Chicago in which it is stated that the Federal Court for the southern district of Illinois, to which the firm of Mitchell Brothers, dress manufacturers, had applied for an injunction against the International Union and its officers forbidding it to engage in organizing activity among their workers, has granted it a sweeping, restraining order which meets all the demands of this firm.

Our readers will recall that in our last issue we reported that, upon his arrival in Chicago, some ten days ago, President Sigman was greeted at the station with a summons to show cause why the temporary injunction granted to the Mitchell firm in a Chicago Federal court should not be made permanent. Our Chicago attorney, Sisman and Darrow, appeared in court and argued against the specious claims of the firm that

the International be enjoined from its legitimate activities among the dressmakers employed by that firm, who, the firm claims, had entered with them into an agreement not to belong to the union and not to strike. Nevertheless, it would seem that a judge accepted this plea and granted the injunction. The International will no doubt appeal the decision at once.

Campaign Against Jersey Sweatshops Begins in Earnest

Sweating Affects Largely Men's Clothing Trade and Hand-Embroidery

According to a reliable report submitted to our general office, the official investigation of sweat shop conditions in New Jersey which has just started has already brought out the fact that 1500 small sweatshops exist in Jersey City alone and over 500 shops in Newark. From all signs, it would appear that there is an abundance of such petty shops in many other cities and towns in New Jersey.

What may interest our readers most is the fact that the majority of these sweatshops are garment shops, where largely men's clothing is being made. Only a few of these places make leather goods and artificial flowers. The investigation also brought out the fact that in a number of these shops hand-embroidery and underwear are being made, which can also be included among the needle-trades.

In Newark, it is stated, a large percentage of this work, principally men's clothing, is made actually in bedrooms. The sweatshops in Bayonne, Hoboken, Union Hill and West Hoboken manufacture principally embroidery and men's garments. The investigation, however, has so far only scratched the surface and the volume of sweating that might be disclosed after a more thorough search can only be imagined.

The health officer of Jersey City, Mr. Hagen, declares that not a single

shop manufacturing embroidery in that city conforms with the health laws. It would be curious to learn why, until now, when the political feud in Jersey broke loose and brought these discoveries up to the surface, nothing has been heard or done by the authorities to check this evil.

The unions in the needle trades must not forget that this sudden outburst of sympathy with the sweated women and children in the shops of New Jersey on the part of the authorities is likely to blow over as soon as the differences between the quarrelling politicians are composed. They have to bear in mind that, without the aid of organized labor, these sweatshop conditions cannot be eliminated. A strong educational and press campaign should be undertaken to strike a blow at this pest which, if permitted to grow, will swamp our industries as it did many years ago in New York City and elsewhere.

White Goods Workers' Union Begins New Organization Drive

To Make Trade 100 Per Cent Union

The White Goods Workers' Union, Local 62, are starting a lively organization drive among the unorganized workers in this trade to strengthen their ranks.

This local recently had a very successful strike which put it back into fighting trim after several years of passive resistance. The report of Sister Mary Goff, the new organizer of the union, which will be printed in the next issue of this journal, and which covers fully the conditions and prospects of the local, tends to show that the union is not satisfied with its accomplishments up to date and is determined to go ahead without delay.

The field for organization in the white goods industry is very large. It is safe to say that the largest number of workers in the trade are not organized. In the majority of the non-union shops the owners behave as they please with regard to labor conditions.

The local is determined to make the white goods industry one hundred per cent organized. It is conscious of the difficulties in the way

The trade consists largely of girls who rightly or wrongly consider their positions in the shops as only temporary. The workers belong to as many races and nationalities as the metropolitan district possesses. In addition, general conditions in the white goods trade are none too good and Local 62 knows pretty well that it is up against a serious problem in its endeavor to complete the organization of the trade. Nevertheless, they are not daunted by these difficulties. A comprehensive organization plan has been prepared by the union which will doubtless be adopted by the next general member-meeting of the local. At this meeting, the active interest of the more enlightened members of the local will be enlisted to form a strong organization committee which will tackle the work outlined by the executive board of Local 62.

A Trip on The Hudson River

The Students' Council of the Workers' University and Unity Center, encouraged by the success of its outings and hikes, decided to arrange a trip over the Hudson River for Sunday, August 5th. For this purpose, a private yacht was chartered by them. It is only regrettable that the yacht cannot accommodate more than seventy persons, which means that so many of our members who are de-

sirous of joining in this pleasant trip on the Hudson in the most inspiring company will be unable to do so.

Reservations are restricted to the members of the I. L. G. W. U. only, and they can be made at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street. The charge is \$1.50 per person. Details will be announced in the next issue of JUSTICE and in "The Call."

CLEVELANDERS, ATTENTION!

This Saturday is the excursion arranged by the Sick Benefit Committees of all the locals. The steamer leaves at 8:30 in the morning for Sader Point where a fine program of entertainment has been provided for. Don't fail to be on time.

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

SHOPMEN INJUNCTION MADE PERMANENT

JUDGE WILKERSON of Chicago last week made permanent the temporary injunction issued by him a year ago against the striking railway shopmen.

This decree, drastic and sweeping in its ramifications, forbids the unions to send representatives to talk over things with those who may now be working for the railroads, from issuing public statements—with reference to the railway shop strike, from using their funds to further it, and aims to seal completely the mouth of labor on the ground that the "railway strike atmosphere makes for violence."

There is no law in this country prohibiting strikes affecting interstate commerce and probably no such law could be pushed through Congress. Mr. Daugherty knows that, and so, at his request, a Federal court has created such a law in effect, a law at variance with the written and unwritten tradition of the land, in conflict with majority opinion and utterly impossible to enforce.

The case will undoubtedly go to the highest court for a test. A great issue is involved in which the right of workers to strike in any industry affecting interstate commerce is at stake. Whatever the final court decision, it will not break the will to win and the power of resistance of organized labor. Let us keep in mind that railroad cars cannot be repaired with injunctions and that the railroads which came to a peaceful settlement with the shopmen's unions are prospering while those who have stubbornly refused to come to terms are not.

THE TURK REMAINS

AFTER months of parleying at Lausanne, during which it seemed more than once that in the electrical atmosphere which permeated the conference negotiations would at any moment collapse, the Allies and the Turks reached an agreement early this week.

The agreement is a sweeping victory for the Turks. What they could not achieve through their alliance with the Kaiser they have won at the peace table, five years after the World War, after they had severely beaten the Greeks with the surreptitious aid of the French. The Turks got back Constantinople, Eastern Thrace and other territorial concessions, the Turkish debt is beautifully ignored, the Allied fleet is "for the white" recalled from the Straits, and the entente troops are to evacuate Turkish territory.

What has won for Turkey was perhaps not so much their traditional ability to play on the rival ambitions of the European powers—though that has certainly played a big part—as the fact that it was a new Turkey that Europe was dealing with now. The Angora Republic driven to bay and fighting with its back to the wall for its very existence as a people has shown a willingness to fight and an indomitable spirit which was bound to win.

From now Turkey will fast become a "modern" state. Mosul oil which has played such a conspicuous part in the peace negotiations will blaze the way for widespread incursions by international capital. Industry will grow by leaps and bounds and together with the beginnings of a labor and a radical movement will grow apace.

THE STRIKES THAT LAST

LAST we report.

In the kaleidoscope of front page events a number of important labor battles that have been in progress for weeks have all but been lost in the shuffle, crowded out by such paramount occurrences as the Willard-Firpo fight or the publicity antics of the Anti-Social League in New York.

Several thousand telephone girls, organized as a department of the Electrical Workers' Union, have been on strike in the bigger cities of New England for a month and a half. They asked for an increased wage and for a shorter workday. Today, this strike as yet shows no signs of abatement. The telephone trust, all-powerful and the king of all it surveys, would listen to no proposal of the girl strikers. And at the conference of all the New England mayors which took place this week in the hope of bringing about a settlement of this strike, when the workers offered to waive their claims for a wage raise and shorter hours but reserved the right to file a claim later for arbitration of certain matters in dispute, they met with the solid rejection of the telephone autocrats.

In Schenectady, New York, the strike of the trolleyman is still on as bitterly as before. True, Vanderbilt, a director in the trolley system, spoke a friendly word on behalf of the union during a hearing recently held at Albany on the strike. The iron-fisted gentry who are the actual rulers of the street railway system, however, swallowed these gentle remarks with a smile and went on with strikebreaking as before.

And in Bricketown, where the majority of the shoe workers have gone on strike to compel the local shoe employers to recognize them as a separate and independent boot workers' union as against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with which they were formerly affiliated, the strife is yet at its height. Without entering into the merits or demerits of this deplorable conflict, it is interesting to note that the local legal authorities have taken it upon themselves to abolish the right of legal picketing and have been heard hundreds of men and women in jail for having been found near the shoe factories.

Last we report.

RUSHING EIGHT-HOURS IN STEEL

THE last few days have seen marked progress in the movement for an eight-hour day in the steel industry of America.

Less than ten days ago, President Compton of the American Federation of Labor made the announcement that the organizing committee of the steel industry has again started its activities on a large scale and that a host of organizers have been sent into the steel territory to begin a concerted drive for the unionization of the mills. The officials of the leading steel companies thereupon responded that they were not afraid of the efforts of the unions and that their "American" workmen will not let the unions interfere with their affairs. But, they added, the labor leaders have

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come too late anyway, as the companies were going to eliminate the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week on their own initiative.

And lastly, Judge Gary himself, the boss of the whole works, made an official statement on Monday last that the "eight-hour day in steel will begin in six weeks." Only a short week ago the selfsame Gary made the rather vague promise that the three-shift system in the steel mills will be introduced some time in the future when there will be the needed sixty thousand additional men in the industry which would permit the change. As if ever night, these tens of thousands came "from the South, from Mexico, from Canada, and from various countries abroad," and now this erstwhile insurmountable obstacle seems to have been overcome. So it looks like an actual race between the elderly Mr. Gary and the organizing forces of the Federation as to who might claim the credit for the coming of the eight-hour day in steel. The more intelligent and more conscious of the workers in the steel mills who vividly remember the days of the great strike of 1919 which was crucified by the Steel Trust will know where their salvation has come from. No matter who wins the race, the hundreds of thousands of workers in the steel industry, who for the first time will begin to live the lives of normal human beings, will surely be the gainers—and so will the labor movement to which they eventually will have to turn as the sponsor and inspirer of all those forces that have finally won for them this great victory.

THE SOCIALIST DEBATE IN COMMONS

THE much-heralded debate on the motion introduced several months ago by Philip Snowden on Socialism came off this week in the House of Commons and was "defeated," as the column heads in the capitalist press announced it, by a vote of 368 to 121. The motion denounced the capitalist system as a failure and proposed that legislation be directed toward its gradual supplanting by a social order based on public ownership and democratic control of the tools of production and distribution.

Of course, no one is surprised at the failure of this motion to pass Parliament as no one in his wits could have expected a majority of Tories to vote in favor of Socialism in no matter how mild form. The interesting outcome of the debate, however, is that not a single speaker in the debate, as Ramsay MacDonald has stated, has dared to come out as a defender of capitalism. Lloyd George in opposing the Snowden motion argued, for instance, that a small country like England, almost entirely dependent upon foreign trade, was the worst possible country in which to try the experiment of Socialism. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Amery, after having stated that Socialism would destroy all initiative, etc., admitted that "capitalism was not perfect and needed restraining."

The House adopted the proposal that a committee be appointed to investigate the present discontent in England and to report the results to Parliament. This committee will have a great deal to investigate. There are still two million men and women out of work in England and whoever is only able to "rush out of the country in quest of a job and a better living." The English working masses are turning to independent political action because Sir MacDonald in his speech has said, "the great problem of the day was to increase production; and that was impossible until the seal of the worker was effaced which capitalism could not do."

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

In Local 66

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

By MAX M. ESSENFELD

WAIST AND DRESS

The shop of Sandman & Pinkerton, 736 Washington Street, closed on June 29th for two weeks. In explanation of this shut-down, the firm claimed that, because of lack of space for its stock-room, it was found necessary to cut off eight machines, and that it would take about two weeks to fix things. This explanation sounded reasonable enough, but when the employer added that there are certain operators in his employ whom he does not want, and among the latter he included the shop chairlady, it altered the entire situation. The employer was informed by the union, that unless an adjustment is reached that would be satisfactory to the union and to the entire shop, the shop would be called on strike. Another pending complaint against the firm was its failure to pay its piece-workers for Memorial Day. The representatives of the union insisted that the workers be paid for the holiday before they return to work; after a great deal of wrangling and arguing the firm sent to the office of the union a check for the sum of \$116.30 as payment to the piece-workers for Memorial Day. It further agreed to reemploy the chairlady and the active union girls. The entire matter was discussed thoroughly at the executive board meeting on Thursday, July 12, and it was decided to call a special meeting of the entire shop for Monday morning, July 16th, at the office of the union where a committee from the executive board will be present, to help bring about a satisfactory adjustment.

Preparations for our all-day excursion to Provincetown on Saturday, July 28, are now in full swing. Tickets, which are \$1.25 each, are being sold rapidly. Invitations were sent to the Joint Board of Cloakmakers and to the executive board of the Raincoat Makers' Union, Local 7. We would advise those of our members who wish to participate in the excursion to reserve tickets at once for themselves and their friends at the office of our union or from members of the excursion committee, for the supply of tickets is limited.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS, LOCAL 7

It is quite some time since we had news pertaining to Local 7 in these columns. This was due mainly to the fact that Vice-president Monosson, who is the manager of the Raincoat Makers' Union, was very busy for the last two months in Worcester, where he conducted the general strike of the dressmakers. And so it was impossible for us to get first-hand information regarding the activities of the union. But now that the general strike in Worcester is almost over and Brother Monosson is again in our midst, we can assure our readers that the news from the local will be given regularly in JUSTICE.

Our agreement with the employers expires on August 15th of this year. While we do not expect any serious trouble in renewing the agreement, still the executive board and the active members want to be on the safe side and are therefore making preparations. A special meeting of the executive board was held on Monday, July 9, at which the entire situation was gone over thoroughly. A number of changes in the new agreement were decided upon. Among the new

demands are week-work, six legal holidays with pay, and a number of minor changes. Most of our shops are working under the week-work system and there are only a few piece-work shops. It is to be expected that since the majority of the employers are satisfied with week-work, that the few piece-work shops will not resist the demand. We ask for a minimum scale of \$45.00 per week for operators and \$25.00 per week for finishers. The demand for six legal holidays with pay will equalize our industry with that of the cloak and suit and waist and dress trades, with which we are so closely allied. Under the present agreement our members receive pay for only three and a half legal holidays. All these recommendations were brought before a special meeting of the members on Wednesday, July 11th, where after a lengthy discussion they were approved by the members unanimously. The meeting in spite of the terrible heat was a tremendous success. The hall was crowded to its capacity, and many members had to stay in the outer room for lack of space. Interest was added to this meeting through a certain controversy that developed recently between the office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and our local. The shop of Shapiro & Bickelman has an agreement with our local in accordance with which the firm is obliged to call upon our office whenever it requires additional workers. About two weeks ago the firm needed a finisher and, instead of calling upon our office to send him one, it applied to the office of the Amalgamated. The latter, without referring the employer to our union, sent him a finisher. The chairman of the shop remonstrated with the employer, calling his attention to the breach of the agreement, to which the employer replied in a very abusive manner. Our union, therefore, called the shop on strike.

We wish it understood that at no time did we object to Amalgamated members working in our shops, just so long as they behave like union men and we do not object to them now. But when an agreement is signed with our office, we expect the employer to live up to it in every respect.

The story would have ended right here, were it not for the fact that the Amalgamated officers entered upon the scene. They requested Brother Monosson that, since some of their members are also employed at the above firm and since they are also out on strike, all be sent back to work and that the entire matter be adjusted after the people will have returned to work. To this Brother Monosson refused to accede, stating that there is no quarrel between the Amalgamated and our union. It is simply a fight between the union and the firm and, just as soon as the employer is ready to pay a fine for his abusive language to our chairman and deposits a cash security with us for the observance of the agreement in the future, we will send the people back to work. The members at the special meeting were very indignant at the action of the firm as well as the attitude assumed by the Boston office of the Amalgamated. The conditions in our shops are by far superior to those obtaining in the Amalgamated shops, and this is one of the reasons why some of the employers are anxious to engage Amalgamated members. Our members realize this,

There has been little work in our trade in the last few months. But our local is alive and fairly bustling with activity, and meetings are much better attended. The apathy which has for a time prevailed among our members can partly be explained by the fact that, after a day's work and several hours of overtime quite frequently, one cannot expect men to devote much time to union matters. The coming of slack times, however, gives the men and women in our organization a better chance to attend meetings and to come to the office.

A few weeks ago our local had an election for officers. The following were elected to head the organization: S. L. Friedman, president; S. Chayin, vice-president; Nathan Riesel, secretary-treasurer; Carl Alonchies, recording secretary; Max M. Essensfeld, manager; L. Huttub, business agent; Joanna Menken and K. Walsh, trustees; S. Hefel, sergeant-at-arms. An executive board of thirteen members was also elected.

The readers of JUSTICE know already of the splendid victory which we scored a couple of weeks ago in having concluded a new agreement with the new association in our trade. It might be of interest to others to learn how it came about that a new employers' association was formed in the bonnaz embroidery trade. Last August, after a four-weeks' strike we signed an agreement with the then existing Bonnaz Embroidery Protective Association. After six months this association liquidated business on the ground that they could not properly work together. We forthwith signed individual agreements with the former members of this association. Later, however, we learned that the association came to life under a different name, the board of trade in the embroidery industry in New York. At the head of this board of trade was a well-known union labor-baiter and we of course at once appreciated the fact that we had to be on guard against a possible attack. Meanwhile a group of manufacturers, more than

sixty in number, applied to the union for a collective agreement. We negotiated with them and, after a number of sessions, the newly formed employers' association agreed to retain all union conditions intact and to grant all their workers a 40-hour week beginning November 1, 1923.

It stands to reason that the remaining shops in the trade will follow suit and the 40-hour week will become prevalent throughout the trade. Local 66 will quite likely achieve the unique honor of having won the 40-hour week for its members without a strike.

In addition to machine embroiderers, we also have hand-embroiderers in our trade. There are in New York City today at least 10,000 workers in this line alone. Several attempts have been made to organize them but as yet without success. Of late the hand-embroidery trade is developing very rapidly and is competing strongly with the bonnaz work. If the hand-embroiderers are to remain unorganized, they will very soon become a menace to our local. The Cleveland convention adopted a resolution to start an organizing campaign in this industry but as yet nothing has been done in this respect. Our executive board will have to begin taking an active hand in this matter as it is certainly a life and death question for the trade. The last decision of the General Executive Board to unite the dressmakers of New York in one local under the control of the Cloak Joint Board Local 66, entirely out of consideration. We regret it not only because Local 66 was one of the founders of the Dress Joint Board and was affiliated with it for several years, but because we deemed it of material importance that all the workers who are engaged in the making of dresses and cloaks be united in one union.

Our executive will take up this question with the persons under whose auspices the consolidation of the various locals of the Joint Board will be carried out and will insist that Local 66 become part of the united cloak and dress joint board. We believe that it is more over than the part of the General Executive Board and that, when our union draws the attention of the general officers to the subject, they will help us to affiliates with the consolidated joint board.

and are determined to see to it that our hard-won conditions do not deteriorate. At this meeting it was unanimously decided that all members of the Amalgamated working in our shops and enjoying our conditions will have to transfer to our local, as we cannot afford to have divided forces in the factories. No new initiation fee will be charged to these workers. They will only be required

to begin paying dues to our local. A number of these workers have already applied for admittance to our union. We are willing to negotiate with the office of the Amalgamated, but we will not concede to them the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the shops with which we have agreements. Further developments in this situation will be reported to our members in the next issue of the JUSTICE.

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"L. S. D."

By Z. W.

In the last weeks of June, when commencement exercises rage from one end of the country to the other as schools, colleges and universities are releasing their annual output upon a sweltering competitive world, the savant, the person of learning, and the philosopher occupy the center of the stage.... They nobly shove the politician and the businessman into the background and crowd the front pages of the newspapers.... It is the season of the intellect; the holiday period of the mind.

Let us in perfect earnestness offer some thanks for that. During such days the world to us appears a wee bit more spiritually festive. We might shudder as we contemplate the huge crop of bedimmed papers which the seats of learning are casting out upon the community, but we are in part compensated for it by the thought of the volume of genuine joy and gloe which this deluge is causing in myriads of homes the country over.... Let the morrow take care of itself.... Today our boy or girl is back home big, grown and enthusiastic with a piece of proud parchment in his hands, his diploma!

But what strikes me best is the honorary degrees which are being distributed by the universities to persons who had been honored with degrees but through the gauntlet of systematic study, but who receive recognition for having done their "bit" in this or that realm of social achievement.

Only that I feel keenly regretful that we have no workers' universities yet in the land that would keep their eyes open to the achievements of the leaders of labor. From all signs it will take some time before the proletariat captures the universities of the bourgeoisie—and it would be far too much to expect a bourgeois college to reward a labor leader for energetic endeavors against capital....

That's why in the roster of those who had been honored with degrees you'll vainly seek the name of a person who had spent his life in caring for the weak of millions of working class families, or one who has aided in improving the lot of multitudes of proletarians. No—our colleges do not take such accomplishments into consideration.

But we do read that a Prince Caiani had been made "Doctor of Laws." The prince is the Italian Ambassador and he had earned his legal degree during the last world carnage when he mined and exploded a hill on the enemy front and created havoc in the enemy camp. Yale University duly appreciated it and thus honored him.

And there is Harvard awarding another Doctor of Laws diploma to J. P. Morgan. Now, we all know that Morgan has never burned midnight oil in legal research work; but he is and his reigning prince of a mighty financial dynasty and he "voluntarily used the resources of his institution in the dark days of the World War crisis."

From our own small way of knowing how fearfully Morgan had used his power during those dark days, we are almost inclined to believe that President Lowell is given to mild twitting even in solemn-moments.

Morgan's grandchildren, we imagine, will never feel the thrill of possessing money. To them it will be like the common air we all breathe and the plain water we all drink. But as they travel through the sanctuaries of their spacious palaces they might some day point out with pride 4c visitors:

"This is the doctor's diploma which

The New Labor International and Its Program

By LEON CHASANOWICH

(Special European Correspondence to "Justice")

One of the main problems which confronted the congress of international labor and Socialism in Hamburg was the question of an effective international agency as such. What is the difference, indeed, whether this or that decision is adopted on matters of greater or lesser importance when there is no organization to carry out these decisions into practice?

The first thing the resurrected Internationale, therefore, had to think of was its own form and substance. The congress had before it two extreme examples of an Internationale—one with a minimum and the other of a maximum of influence and control over the affiliated organizations. And the congress rejected both, adopting the middle course between both extremes. The old Internationale placed its office at the beginning of the World War, at a moment when its existence was of greatest importance, went under because in its essence, it was not an organization of the workers of the world. It would assemble every three years in congress, would discuss with more or less thoroughness problems of international Socialism, would adopt resolutions, and would disband, leaving each party to do whatever it desired, with reference to the practical execution of these decisions. There was no authority in that Internationale, and no control over the affiliated parties. It did not have a one-hundredth part of the authority and power over its constituent parties which a national party anywhere has over its affiliated sections or members. The old Internationale disappeared at the beginning of the war because it actually did not exist. The war merely proved its non-existence.

On the other hand, the Communist groups which adopted the proud name of the "Third Internationale" fell into the second extreme. With this group, the central executive power is all and the national directing committee amounts to nothing. The Moscow Internationale with its "well-known" two-way conditions for affiliation stifled the initiative and the independence in each affiliated group. In practice this centralized control is even greater, and Moscow watches with a thousand eyes the groups that are united in it and are subject to its direction. The Moscow executive committee thinks for all its affiliated parties, decides for them all, and demands blind and undisputed obedience. It considers itself the "general staff of the revolution" and demands military discipline and military obedience. The autocrats of the "Third Internationale" go as far as directing the editorial policy of each and every one of the Communist papers the world over, and this has created a great deal of resentment against the "staff of the world revolution" even on the part of many of their former, since they are not.

The resurrected Hamburg Internationale, as we stated above, sought to avoid both extremes. Its brief

grandpa once got from Harvard....

And so we think: Why could not it be that the grandchild of a labor leader could not point with some pride to a bit of parchment on the wall—in years to come, and say with no less and the plain water we all drink. But as they travel through the sanctuaries of their spacious palaces they might some day point out with pride 4c visitors:

constitution has no declarative preamble and every word in it is terse and well thought out. It affirms that any parties that deny the class struggle cannot belong to it. It imposes an obligation upon all affiliated bodies to carry out its decisions and interpret it as a voluntarily adopted limitation of autonomy by each of the component parts.

In the future the conduct of individual parties will no doubt give sufficient concern to the executives of the new Internationale, but there is no doubt that, if its representatives know how to interpret such infractions and how to act with energy and tact, its authority will only become augmented.

Again, another paragraph in this constitution proves clearly that the lessons of the war were not lost to the new Internationale. It states that "the Labor-Socialist Internationale is not only an instrument in time of peace but also an absolutely necessary weapon in the event of war. In times of conflict between nations, the Socialist-Labor Internationale is recognized by the affiliated parties as the highest instance." This paragraph places the authority of the Internationale in national problems with emphatic firmness, as it recog-

nizes the dangers arising from national disputes and conflicts. The wretched experience which the old Internationale had had with persons who stood at its head and during the war became members of war-cabinets, has prompted the Hamburg Congress to decide that the entrance of a member of its executive into a cabinet automatically drops him from the directing board of the Internationale. He can, however, be reinstated after he gives up his post.

The relations of the Internationale to the trade-union movement are of particular interest. The old Internationale admitted to its congress representatives of labor bodies; the new Internationale, in desiring to avoid that state of fluid laxity which was the cause of the ruin of the old Internationale, accepts only political parties. It, however, retains the closest relations with the trade-union movement. It declares that unity with the trade-union movement which is represented by the Amsterdam International Federation, is an absolute necessity for the successful waging of the class struggle.

London was regarded as the most fitting place for the seat of the resurrected Socialist-Labor Internationale. Its leadership will consist of a directing committee in which all parties are represented: in a bureau of eight persons, of a business committee and of a secretariat. Friedrich Adler, the former secretary of the "Third Internationale," and J. T. Shaw, the secretary of the London (Second) Internationale, were both elected secretaries with equal powers.

144 Unions Aided By Labor Bureau

The annual report of the Labor Bureau, Inc., for 1922, just issued, shows that the organization doubled its services in the last year. The bureau was established in May, 1920, to meet the need of the labor movement for expert assistance along the lines of economic, social and political research; engineering and accounting services; newspaper and magazine publicity, and general promotion.

During 1922 the bureau performed services for 144 labor unions. The clients served by the bureau were located in fifty-six cities and towns in twenty-four States.

"Services rendered in 1922 followed, as they did in 1921, the actual needs of organized labor," the report states. "Many calls upon the bureau for service were, as in the past, the result of wage negotiations or arbitrations in which unions required data and briefs on earnings, economic conditions, cost of living, productivity, etc.

"More striking, however, was the development of the activity of the bureau into a number of other professional services for unions. Among these were such tasks as the preparation of educational pamphlets for use in strikes, an investigation of the possible use of arsenals and navy yards in peace time production, the organization of a research library, assistance in the registration of a union trade mark, a report on a plan for out-of-work benefits and a report on the method and cost of printing and editing a magazine.

"The bureau is neither a charitable nor a profit-sharing corporation. It is strictly an expert professional service bureau for organized labor. The staff of the bureau have at all times aimed to make the organization a kind of auxiliary to the labor movement. Their aim has been to put the weapons of facts and figures into the hands of union representatives or to use them directly in behalf of labor organizations. In doing so, however, the bureau maintains that the only facts and figures worth using are those obtained by investigations of the

most scrupulous accuracy made by the highest professional skill.

"The bureau's principle of self-support and freedom from entangling obligations of subsidies and contributions has been continued in the financial practice of the organization during the year 1922.

"Charges to clients have, as heretofore, been based strictly upon costs of operation and an inspection of the bureau's books by clients at any time has been welcomed."



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Upside Down

(A Lithuanian Silhouette)

By ABRAHAM RAISIN

At the age of five, Leizer was already a full-grown Jew, so he remembers today. He may have been born a big fellow—who knows?—but he remembers well that nobody ever had called him Leizerke as they should call a small lad, but always Leizer—in man-fashion.

He also always ate what the other grown-ups in the house ate,—black corn bread with potatoes, and he would eat from the same big wooden wooden dish with a big wooden spoon. And when on Friday nights mother would serve the family hard-boiled beans as a delicacy, Leizer would partake of the beans together with all the big folks. Like a regular big fellow, he never cried, but, on the other hand, as far as he could remember, like them he never laughed.

Moreover, they dressed him in his child years like a grown-up. At six, he wore long pants belted up with a cord, and a coat with a long rear slit. He would get his clothes made for him from old material which would not permit any other fashioning or cutting. He would wear his father's old cap, which as he had a big head, fitted him quite well.

He never knew toys—not having seen them either in his own home or the homes of the neighboring children. And even such toys as poor children make up themselves, such as a pistol

from wood, a boat from paper, a kite—he never had nor played with. His mental life Leizer modeled after his father's. At seven, he prayed three times a day—full length—and poured water on his hands thrice before every meal. At Passover he sang in full the story of the Seder, and on Atone-day Day he knelt alongside his father in deep solemnity and without the least touch of that parrotting the old folks that same arching affect.

When Leizer became thirteen and was confirmed, he began fasting on all fast-days and reciting the bookfalls of Slikhoth which are part and parcel of the ordeal on the days when orthodox Jews deny themselves food and drink. At that time, too, he began to smoke like the grown-ups smoke, with deep inhalations, each breath followed up by long-distance expectoration. At fifteen, he began to help his father in trading; at sixteen his chin commenced to be covered up with a young beard, and at seventeen he was married. At eighteen he already was a father, grew whiskers and side earlocks, and the Jews of the town would call him Reb-Leizer.

At the age of forty, his life took a sudden turn. He became ricco, moved to a big city and began to live on a large scale. His youngest child, five years old, was dressed in expensive, woolen suits, his hair was curled, and

he wore a cap that looked like an officer's. Leizer would look at his child, and would recall his own coat with that long slit in the back, and sigh. But not only that; his five-year-old boy had a separate room and the maid that took care of the children would spend most of her time with him, away from the life of the grown-ups in the house. That room was also differently furnished from all, the other rooms in the house, and in this connection Leizer would recall his own sleeping quarters before he was thirteen—at the foot of his father's bed—and later on the chest near the old clothes heap.

Leizer, being big little son, but somehow a feeling of envy would occasionally steal into his heart, envy towards his own child.... He would, in some sort of anger, call out: "See here, sonny! What's all this hullabaloo about! Don't you know that you are a big fellow already.... five years, eh?"

The kid would remain startled and scared—his eyes staring big in an attempt to grasp what his father meant—and would have to be occasionally scolded into his heart, envy towards his own child.... He would, in some sort of anger, call out: "See here, sonny! What's all this hullabaloo about! Don't you know that you are a big fellow already.... five years, eh?"

Once in a while, when the children were away, Leizer would steal into their room, and, having made sure that he was alone, would start play-

ing with the children's toys, completely dominated by the illusion that he again was a child. He would climb the big wooden stool that stood in the corner, would tie rollers to his shoes and start off on a skating trip all over the place until he would stumble and fall. His five-year old son once caught him thus sliding on rollers from burner to corner in the nursery and the boy was fairly smothered with joy and happiness.

"The 'tate' is playing, the 'tate' is playing," the little one screamed at the top of his ringing voice.

And before Leizer had time to untie the rollers, the other children, big and small, came rolling into the room, crying him with some glee, others with astonishment. His wife called out: "Leizer, what's getting into you, are you insane?"

Leizer was nonplussed, but when he regained his composure a few minutes later he embraced his wife, who in the last years of prosperity had become somewhat more cultured, and said half-smilingly and half-protecting:

"I never had that.... never.... I wanted to be a child though for a moment.... I really never knew what it meant...."

The children popped their eyes in amazement at Leizer as if asking: "How can one miss being a child, how is it possible?" But Leizer's wife understood, replied by way of consolation:

"Well, Leizer, it is for our children now to be children, not for us...."

Leizer nodded his head in agreement.

The London Dock Strike

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

The faith of the optimist is being severely tried. At home and abroad the outlook is gloomy, and only those who really believe the old assertion about the darkest hour find it possible still to keep their faces turned towards the problematic dawn. After a period in which industrial conditions in Great Britain have been, not forgotten, but somewhat subordinated to other matters, the permanent discontent of the underpaid and unemployed workers has suddenly flared up afresh, and we are on the edge of serious trouble both in dockland and on the railways.

AN UNAUTHORIZED STRIKE

The dock trouble is another symptom of the unrest caused by the signing of agreements with employers after the workers have been compelled through starvation to negotiate. We have seen this in the mines where the men, starved into submission two years ago, had to return to work on a settlement under which they could not live decently. The result is a growing mine situation that must soon reach an explosion. The dock strikes now in progress are caused by the spontaneous revolt of the men against a wage reduction of one shilling a day which has been automatically imposed in accordance with an agreement concluded last August, whereby wages were to be lowered by successive stages as the cost of living went down. This is the last of the wage cuts, and the men, declaring that the official figures showing a drop of 10 points since last August in the cost of living are incorrect, refuse to keep their part of the agreement. The leaders, though such trusted men as Edward Bevan and Harry Gosling, M. P., cannot prevail in the attempt to keep the men at work pending an inquiry into the accuracy of the cost-of-living figures, which would be the logical and strictly legal thing to do. When men, already tired

of the struggle to live on an insufficient wage to which they agreed when not in a position to fight further, are suddenly faced with a fresh reduction of six shillings on the weekly salary, logic and legality go down before the harder logic of facts. Against the advice and representations of their trade-union officials, they have struck in some 10 ports throughout the country during the past two days, and the strike has now spread to London. The instructions issued by the Transport and General Workers' Union, telling the men to honor the agreement and remain at work, have been disregarded. What will be the outcome it is impossible at this early stage of the dispute to foretell.

THE RAILWAY CRISIS

The railway crisis is on rather a different footing. Here, the demands for wage cuts on the part of the railway companies are, if anything, a breach on the employers' part of pledges given previously not to interfere with the rate of wages, independently of the cost of living. Although, therefore, the railwaymen seem to have a slightly stronger case for striking in the strict logical sense, there is, however, less chance of a stoppage of work in their case, partly because they are better off to begin with than the dockers, and partly because they have an almost perfect machinery for negotiation which their president, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P., is capable of using to the utmost before a strike becomes necessary. At the same time, the employers' proposals, which would involve for some grades of railmen cuts of as much as 2 shillings a day, and changes in overtime and Sunday work, will have to be seriously modified before the men will accept them.

THE LABOR CONFERENCE

Two important debates marked the closing sessions of last week's Labor party conference. One was centered

58 Men and Women Arrested in Portland, Oregon, Last President Feel Uncomfortable

Fifty-eight men and women were arrested in Portland, Oregon, on July 4th, for distributing tags asking for the release of political prisoners, according to information received by the American Civil Liberties Union.

"All were held under \$500 bail each in order to make it impossible for them to be released until President Harding, who was scheduled to speak on that day, had left town," the communication to the Civil Liberties Union states: "In the police court, the prisoners were charged with violating a city ordinance against passing handbills which, of course, did not apply to them. All were released but one, who was fined \$25. He is out under \$100 bail. We are going to test the validity of this fine in the courts."

In view of the fact that President Harding took advantage of the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence for advocating imprisonment and deportation for those who presume to question the policies of our government, it is not strange that these 58 people should

have been arrested for distributing tags asking for the release of all political prisoners.

The Portland arrests were obviously a miserable trick to prevent any discomfort the President might have felt in being reminded of the forty-four political prisoners and the more than a hundred workers still held under State criminal syndicalism acts.

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in the government's new proposals for increasing our air force and so beginning a race with France which is parallel to the pre-war race with Germany over naval armaments. The conference, after a lengthy debate, called upon the government to summon an international conference to deal with the question with a view to the abolition of air armaments altogether; but the practical proposal to instruct Labor M. P.'s to vote consistently in the House of Commons against estimates for armaments of all kinds was negatived after a speech from Mr. Arthur Henderson, taking the view that national defence was still necessary, and that the resolution, if carried, would bind the Labor party on taking office to abolish the Army, Navy and Air Force—which, of course, was what the movers of the resolution had in mind.

The other debate of interest was on the proposal to instruct the Party whips to recognize Mr. Newbold, the one Communist M. P., as part of the official Parliamentary Labor party. After the decision of the conference not to accept the affiliation of the Communist party, the answer to this resolution was similarly in the negative, and the proposal was lost by 2,277,000 votes to 216,000.

The suspension of four Scottish Labor M. P.'s for losing patience with the indifference of the government supporters over the increase of infant mortality consequent upon economic in milk grants, has produced a mass of irrelevant comment in the capitalist papers here. But it has drawn attention to a shameful scandal, and has not in any way weakened the united front of Labor in the House of Commons.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

OUR STRIKES

Last week we wrote of the strike of the button-workers which lasted but a few days and resulted in a speedy victory for them. Were all our strikes to be accompanied by such quick results we would have had little cause to complain. Unfortunately, things do not always go that way. We only recently had a strike in San Francisco which we all calculated would not last more than a couple of weeks but which dragged out for over three months and has cost the International Union a goodly sum of money, with results far from satisfactory.

Only this week we wound up a strike of dressmakers in Worcester with a substantial achievement for the workers. Yet, this strike lasted longer than it was expected. The strike of the cloakmakers in Baltimore, though only two weeks old, will, according to all signs, soon end with the introduction of union conditions and control in most of the Baltimore cloak shops. Another strike in Camden, N. J., has been going on for quite some time, and at the writing of these lines we are not entirely clear concerning its present status. In a word—when engaging in an industrial fight, it is a hazardous thing to predict with any degree of accuracy how long it might last.

Naturally it is quite desirable that strikes should last as short a time as possible, but this wish cannot always be fulfilled, and, while it is easy to adopt a decision that this or that strike last only a certain length of time and no longer, it is very seldom that such a decision can be carried into practice. When a union finds itself in the midst of a fight, it cannot bring it to a close because it has happened to exceed the time limit allotted for it.

As a general rule, however, it is not healthful for a union to protract the duration of a strike and drag it out endlessly in the hope that something unexpected might bring a victory. Such things occur but once in a blue moon and as a rule a long-protracted strike is a lost one, and a union cannot afford to be obstinate just for the sake of it. A labor union has too many other important daily fights to waste its strength and means in a fight that for the time appears hopeless. In such an instance the best method is to halt the fight before the union is entirely exhausted and to allow itself a breathing spell to undertake a new struggle when the moment appears more favorable.

Such tactics in our opinion are dictated by common sense. To fight until we are absolutely exhausted would be playing into the hands of the bosses, and to become impotent and "out of commission" for a long time to come. Most of our unions have followed this method heretofore. We have always been acting on the premise that a strike must never be lost. This, however, is folly, which cannot help hurting the union in the end. There is no fighting body of men in the world that can boast of winning every fight it undertakes. This is an impossibility and our unions must once for all understand that there is nothing humiliating in losing a fight occasionally. A labor struggle is not something which determines relations between workers and employers for all time. A labor struggle is a process which never ceases; it goes on continually and it would be unwise, therefore, for a labor union to put its whole existence at stake for the sake of winning one encounter.

And as we have touched upon our fighting methods, we should like to say a few words about strikes in general. Of course, the strike is our sharpest weapon in fighting the employers and any one who deprives the worker of this weapon is surely his bitter enemy; but, just because the strike is our strongest weapon, we must not abuse it. We must not apply it in cases where with some tact it could be avoided. For the sharpest of blades will be dulled if used too frequently and will cease to serve the purpose for which it was created.

Continual, everlasting striking is much more a sign of weakness than of strength within a labor union, and more than one labor body has gone out of existence because it had struck a bit too often. It must never be lost sight of that the strike brings to the workers that engage in it a great deal of suffering and pain, and the most loyal and devoted union men must sooner or later tire of eternal striking. So, while no definite rules covering the length of the strike are possible or feasible, a union which feels its great responsibility to its members must be guided by the principle that only in extreme cases will it apply the strike as a means of combat. It is good to bear in mind that the fewer sensations a labor union furnishes to the press, the better and more healthful in the long run it is for it.

CREDIT TO LOCAL 66

The winning of a 40-hour week by the bonnaz embroidery workers' union is no doubt a very important event for our union.

There are still very few workers in America who work only forty hours a week, and, regardless of our optimism and our faith in the inevitable progress of the labor movement in the direction of a shorter work-day, we still believe that it will take quite some time before the labor masses of America will have won for themselves a 40-hour week.

True, Local 66 is not a pioneer in this respect. Only a few months ago the other locals affiliated with the Dress and Waist Joint Board in New York City won a 40-hour week after a comparatively short struggle. This nevertheless does not diminish in the least the value of their achievement.

What is most important, however, is the fact that Local 66 won this 40-hour week without a strike, which is the best evidence that it exercises a strong control over labor conditions in the bonnaz embroidery trade in New York. Their employers must have known that in a fight with the union they stand more to lose than to win, and made a virtue out of necessity. After a few conferences with the union, they conceded what they would have had to give up after a fight. If all the other manufacturers in our various trades would have as much foresight and common sense,—how many fights and how many avoidable struggles would be spared to our industry!

We are sure that none of the members of Local 66 will underestimate the value of this gain because it came to them with comparative ease. Local 66 has honestly won this achievement. It was the solidarity of the workers and its fine leadership that made this gain possible, and, by way of warning, let us tell the bonnaz embroidery workers that it is not always what appears to be on the surface of a great victory that is in reality an undisputed gain. It happens often in labor struggles that employers are compelled for a while to concede some demands of the workers. In the end, however, these apparent gains have little value, as employers are very deft and handy with tricks that nullify all these achievements of the workers. Our readers are surely familiar with the horrible sweating business which goes on right now in the hand-embroidery trade in New Jersey and other localities. If Local 66 will stand idly by and allow its workers to trickle out from the sanitary New York shops into the unsanitary kitchens and bedrooms of the New Jersey home-workers, their present gain might cost them quite dear. It is the duty of Local 66 to bring to an end the sweating system in the nearby towns. Only in this manner can a 40-hour week in their industry be made a real achievement and an example for other unions to follow.

The bonnaz embroidery workers are one of our strongest locals and consist of men and women who keep their eyes open and on guard for their interests. They will not, we hope, permit this excellent achievement of theirs to be turned into a failure from mere negligence. The history of this local for the past ten years is the best guarantee that the 40-hour week just achieved in this trade will be as durable as all its former gains. In the name of our entire International, we greet our active, wide-awake and always forward-striving Local 66.

A CURIOUS WELCOME FOR PRESIDENT SIGMAN

A labor union president is not always greeted with bouquets. It is all too frequently that instead of bouquets he is welcomed with bricks. The story of how President Sigman, upon his arrival in Chicago, received as his first greeting a notice to come to a local court and state why a permanent injunction should not be granted to a certain dress manufacturer against him and against our International Union, is curious for more than one reason. We cannot refrain from making at least a few remarks upon it.

First, it is clear to us that the organizing work undertaken quite recently by the Western Office of our International in Chicago is beginning to make itself felt. Had the dress employers not sensed the danger which lurks for them in this organizing work of our union, they would not have run to courts for injunctions. Vice-president Perlestein and all the others who are with him in this organizing drive can only derive encouragement and satisfaction from this fact. It is plain logic that if the Chicago dress manufacturers were confident that their workers would not join the union and would not become potential strikers, they would not have run to courts to be saved from the hands of the villains.

Secondly, this is to our best knowledge the first time, at least in our trades, when a manufacturer applied to a court for an injunction long before the emergency of a strike even loomed up. The union has so far been conducting a campaign among the dressmakers for joining the union. It is as yet difficult to foretell whether this campaign will lead to a strike; this will depend largely on the number of workers that will join the union and whether they will declare in favor of a strike. Again it might occur that the majority of dress manufacturers will concede the demands of the workers without a fight. In a word, the strike is still a matter of the distant future. Yet, upon the mere application for an injunction, a Chicago judge, instead of laughing such a request out of court, immediately complied with the "prayers" of the employers and called upon the union's president and its other officers to come to his chambers and state why the union has a right to call meetings and to agitate among workers—a simple and ostensibly unalienable right of every American citizen under our constitution, which a judge, sworn to uphold this constitution, surely ought to be familiar with!

But the oddest of all is the third point in this greeting accorded President Sigman in Chicago. The employer, Mr. Mitchell, has based his application for a writ upon the following

What the Fifth Quarterly Meeting Has Accomplished

By S. YANOVSKY

V.
The most important question dealt with by the Board at its last meeting is, beyond doubt, the jobber question. This question has been widely discussed in our press and at our meetings. In substance it is reduced to the query: Why have the cloakmakers not been making a living in recent years? What is the true cause of it?

Some there are among us who would attribute it to week-work. These still hang after the old fashions of Egypt; they have forgotten the horrors of piece-work, of the bundle-hauling, soul-destroying nightmare of yesterday. Under piece-work they claim there would be more work today in the industry—while the opposite has always been true when piece-work was in vogue. This yearning for piece-work has found some expression at the meeting of the Board too.

On the other hand, the introduction of week-work has called out a number of grave new problems which cannot be ignored. The Board has grappled with these problems but has reached no decision yet upon them. Let us state these problems in brief to our readers.

Week-work, which was introduced in the cloak industry in 1919, together with a greater measure of shop control, is to a great extent responsible for the growth of the jobber as an important factor in the industry. Many manufacturers gave up their shops and began to give out their work or to buy garments from small sub-manufacturers and contractors at a smaller cost to themselves. How garments could be made cheaper in a small contracting shop is explained in more than one way. First, the minimum is so arranged that there is a work loss of time in the handling of the garment between the finisher, operator, presser and the other workers. The contractor's overhead is also very small in comparison with the inside shop. Secondly, the control of the union in these small shops is of necessity weaker. They multiply and disappear almost overnight; the pressure upon the individual worker is more severe; they manage not to be paid for overtime; and when forced thereto the workers clandestinely, in slack time, work for lower wages in such places. All of which has led the manufacturer in time to give up the making of garments and to become a jobber.

Third is a measure of truth in the above explanations. Week-work has led to the multiplying of the small contract shop, and the union is therefore faced with the difficult problem of fighting three thousand small contractors instead of several hundred

big manufacturers. It is an onerous task, and the union would have had to undertake a hard fight to a finish. Fortunately, there is an easier road for the solution of this problem. After all is considered, the big manufacturer in the cloak trade has not disappeared; he only changed his name and now calls himself jobber. He makes his garments now in a hundred of small shops which are entirely in part dependent upon him. It is logical therefore to make this jobber responsible as a jobber for all that he would have been responsible for as a manufacturer had he made these garments on his premises.

It was on this assumption that the Joint Board in New York decided some time ago to form a jobbers' department in pay its sole attention to this section of the industry. Yet, how can this jobber who gives out work to literally hundreds of small shops be effectively controlled?

For this President Sigman, together with Vice-president Feinberg, the manager of the Joint Board, has carefully prepared a complete plan of which we quote here only a few points:

1. The jobber shall not be allowed to make his work in an unlimited number of shops. Before each season he must agree with the union on the number of contractors to whom he would supply work. This to begin with would to an extent lighten the burden of the union control.

2. The jobber should be made responsible for wages, and other work-conditions as if he employed the workers in his own shop.

This materially solves the jobber problem. The limitation put on the number of his sub-shops would automatically decrease their number in the trade and would check the so-called social shops very effectively. And when the jobber is held accountable for the wages and work-conditions in his subordinate shops and, as others would have it, be made responsible for the annual wages of his workers,—an employment period, let us say, of 40 weeks in the year—he might be induced to return to manufacturing and give up jobbing entirely.

This, however, is but the first step in the direction of solving the problems in the cloak industry under the piece-work system. Let us remind the readers that when week-work was first established in the cloak shops there was real prosperity in the industry. Employers were reaping a harvest and the workers were earning good money. Every worker received at least the minimum scale, a great many received a good deal above it, and some got as much as

twice that amount. If, during the height of the season a worker asked for \$5.10 a week, he would usually get it as the employer could not afford to let him go. This prosperity, however, soon came to an end. The lean years followed and with them came a tumble of prices in the cloak shops.

In most trades it is an axiom that the smaller the labor turnover the better for the shop and for the shop's productivity. In the cloak industry, this well-established industrial principle seems to have been reversed. The manufacturer who retained his old workers and paid them the wages of the prosperity days was in a materially worse position than the employer who hired new workers continually and who, taking advantage of the industrial change, could pay his best and most expert workers no more than the minimum wage.

It could be easily imagined what took place in such a shop. Side by side with the old worker who was receiving ten or fifteen a week more there sat a new worker, quite as expert as the old, working for a much lower wage. This naturally spurred the old worker on to work his hardest and to produce as much as was physically possible. As a result the shops where workers were being changed frequently became dangerous competitors to such shops where the old staffs were retained, and the latter in the end would be compelled to close down entirely and to give out their work to shops where workers changed continually. In other words, workers from the closed down shops were pushing out the old workers who, on their part, had pushed others out in their search for employment.

The sum total of this unceasing migration was that in most of the shops the worker who received much above the minimum disappeared entirely. Most workers must now content themselves with the minimum, and the average man who works for a contractor often must secretly work for even less than the minimum in order to hold his job.

How can this be remedied? In other trades they solve such problems gradually. In the bricklaying trade, for instance, where the difference between one worker and another is small, the union has only to worry about a minimum scale and as a rule it insists on this scale only. In the cloak industry this is, however, impossible and the workers would not agree to it. In the cloak industry, being the week-work system was established the difference between worker and worker as regards skill and speed was pronounced and the difference in their earnings was just as striking. In

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

1400 policemen and guards patrol the striking cloak shops in Cleveland but the employers still fail to obtain strikebreakers.

A conference of all New York locals was held in which was presented a petition committee was formed for the Cleveland strikers.

The Reefmakers' Union, Local 17, wages a protracted strike against the firm of Flansberg & Gloeckel on Division Street. The strikers are all relatives of the employer, but they keep up a brave fight and hope to win their strike.

The Waistmakers' Union, Local 25, is conducting a hard battle against the Modern Waist Company. One of the employers is a certain Mr. Schab, a former business agent of the Waistmakers' Union.

The White Goods Workers' Union issues a bulletin in English, Yiddish and Italian in which they call upon the workers to get ready for a general strike.

200 waist and dressmakers are striking in the shop of the Lock Manufacturing Company, 344 Blake Avenue, Brownsville. The strike is 5 or higher pay. It appears that in this shop a girl had to work no less than a year to get \$6.00 a week. A few men that work in the shop get \$12.00 a week. Only five girls receive \$5.00 a week and the rest get from \$3.00 to \$7.00.

the cloak trade, therefore, a system of week-work was established in which the minimum scale was an exception and where each worker received a different wage, which naturally led the union to undertake the control of each shop separately. Yet, were the workers to stay permanently on their jobs, difficult as the task might be, the union would have carried it out. But with the forced steady traveling from job to job, the control of the scale for the individual worker became an impossibility. And, not being able to control the various scales above the minimum, it naturally lost control over the minimum too. In other words, for the cloakmakers' union to safeguard the minimum scale meant to control the scales that rose above the minimum.

How can this be done?

Some believe that a system of standards of production should be introduced in the trade for this purpose. The objection to this plan is that such standards mean the reintroduction of piece-work with all of its evils, and that the cloak industry is of a nature that does not permit such mechanical divisions of labor as are possible in other trades. President Sigman has proposed for the solution of this problem to divide the trade into, let us say, three classes:

(Continued on page 9)

plea: He has entered into individual agreements with his workers to the effect they will be employed in his shop only on condition that they do not belong to the union and do not strike, and he asks the court on this ground to forbid the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to agitate among his workers that they become members of the union. The firm does not claim that it has concluded an agreement with the International that the latter would not organize its workers, and does not ask the court to restrain the International from breaking such a contract, but it alleges that it had made agreements with its workers that they abstain from striking and from joining the union. Why did not this wise firm, first of all, ask for an injunction against their workers with whom it had made these previous agreements?

The only way we can explain the curious action of this dress manufacturer is that he regards his workers as irresponsible beasts of burden whom any one can seduce or steal away from him as one abducts a dumb animal from a farm. It throws a bright light upon the attitude of this employer towards his workers, with whom he entered into an agreement. We wonder whether this Chicago judge would not stop to ask this firm why it entered into agreements with persons whom from the very outset, it considered as unreliable and irresponsible.

All of which impresses us that the dress manufacturers of Chicago have lost their good sense, are obviously in despair. And though we cannot tell at this moment how this injunction suit will terminate, and though we admit that a judge may be found who would grant even such an insane plea for an injunction, we can assure the dress manufacturers of Chicago that it will avail them but little. The International is determined to organize all the dressmakers in Chicago into a union and will carry out its decision no matter how many injunctions may rain over its head.

We might, too, disclose a little secret that to a certain extent the International feels it is obligated to this Mr. Mitchell. With his running into a court for an injunction, he has helped our organizing drive a great deal. This injunction suit has no doubt opened the eyes of many a worker who has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage to these Mitchells in the Chicago dress trade, to the humiliating condition under which his no-union-and-no-strike contract has placed him. Their awakened sense of honor will force them to spurn as quickly as possible this ugly barrier with their bosses and join the union to which they properly belong and which is the only power that can protect them.

The Labor Press for June

By BERTHA WALLERSTEIN

Labor journals commented on the decision of the Supreme Court against the Kansas Industrial Law more than on any other event last month. In almost every case Labor compared this decision with that against the minimum wage law for women. On the surface, it was agreed, the Kansas decision was a victory for Labor. The law creating the Kansas Industrial Court was to Labor perhaps the most hated statute that had ever stood on the statute books of any State in the nation. The Supreme Court all but outlawed that hated law. But when you examine the decision more closely, you see that the Supreme Court has not suddenly turned Labor champion. As the *Garrett Weeker* points out, the Court is cautious in limiting the right to regulate prices, in the Kansas decision, but in the minimum wage case it states uncompromisingly that the law cannot interfere with wage scales. All the labor papers pounce on the phrase, "to the possible danger point of disaster from stoppage." In such a case, the Court holds that interference might be necessary in the interests of the public. In short, it does not draw all the teeth of the Kansas Industrial Court. It could still interfere with a strike. Labor, the weekly newspaper of the railroad brotherhoods, shows that the court has nullified the right of legislatures to act in the matter of wages, but has strengthened the right of the courts, the enemies of the workers.

More power to the courts! This is an anti-Labor principle. Never does a week pass that some labor journal

does not point out the injustice done by the courts to Labor. For instance, a Missouri judge declared unconstitutional a law ordering railroads to protect their shop employees from "wind, rain, sleet, snow, and all inclement weather" because "inclement weather" cannot be defined. "Can you blame the American workman," asks the *Locomotive Engineers Journal*, "for 'losing his respect' for the courts in the face of judicial despotism like this? The men who are in contempt of court are those judges themselves who are doing more to sully the reputation of the courts than all the soapbox agitators in the country."

Especially significant of judicial hostility to Labor is an announcement in the *American Federalist* that the A. F. of L. has a large amount of material which will help Labor in filing briefs in injunction cases. The *Federation* urges freely for such material when in need of it.

Labor papers comment widely on the recent convention of the National Association of Manufacturers with its open-shop resolutions passed in the name of American liberty, its immigration clauses virtually calling for a letting down of the bars against aliens when labor is not plentiful enough to be cheap, and demanding that propaganda be spread in Europe to recruit labor into American industries. It is no wonder that the labor press rings with protest. The Manufacturers' Convention has a twin brother in the convention of the United States Chamber of Commerce,

which means the scarcity of labor and high wage demands, exactly as housewives bemoan the price of eggs. The commodity theory of labor! Of course the Chamber of Commerce is a staunch open-shopper. "The One Big Union of Business," the *Firemen and Enginemen's Journal* calls this body.

In the field of wage scales Labor is meeting with various success. The Chicago capmakers have won a 5 per cent increase, which, the *Headgear Worker* announces, will be devoted for three months entirely to the organization of social shops in Chicago and other parts of the Middle West. The textile workers are fighting in New England for the 44 and 48-hour week. While Labor in the textile industries is divided among a half-dozen unions—with all too many outside any union at all—the textile manufacturers are combining more and more solidly. The *American Woollen Company*, the biggest giant in the woollen industry, and the Consolidated Textile Corporation, the biggest in cotton, have formed a combination as powerful as the Steel Trust. The textile bosses have learned more of solidarity than the workers.

The Ward Baking Company is still waging one of the bitterest anti-Labor fights in the country—a fight to cut wages and destroy the union. The *Bakers Journal* appeals to workers all over the country to support the locked-out union bakers with its buying power—to buy only union-made bread. In Pittsburgh the Ward factories have felt the sting of this policy. The women of the workers' families have passed resolutions to buy only union bread, if they cannot get it, to make their own bread. They have done more than "resolve"—they have acted on the resolutions.

As a result, the *Bakers Journal* reports, stale bread is being returned to Ward factories and repacked to be sold as chicken and hog feed. Anti-union bread is good enough for chickens and hogs!

The *Locomotive Engineers Journal* for June is devoted largely to the problem of railroad efficiency. The *Journal* has been giving over each number to a specific question of this sort. In April it was workers' education, and in May it was industrial research. Now it is the railroad question, from the viewpoint of efficiency. Efficiency or technique has become a labor word, and this progressive *Journal* holds. Speaking, as it does, to a technically intelligent group of skilled workers, it has an excellent chance to sow the seeds of education in fertile soil. One article deals with the Wall Street dictatorship of the railroads. Polakow, the engineer, explains why it pays business interests to run their industries inefficiently. Senator Brookhart writes on railroad problems. Senator Shipstead on high rates and waterful management, and George Soule pleads for Government ownership of railroads. Another article discusses railroad valuation. Valuation may seem to be a dry-as-dust technical subject, but it has a very vital interest for workers. Because there is so much water in railroad stock, the paper value of railroads is far above the real value. But interest must be paid on this paper value, thus draining off a large part of railroad earnings and cutting down the pay envelope of the railroad worker. If railroads paid interest on the real value of their capital, instead of on the paper value, they could not be forever whining that they cannot make ends meet and at the same time pay a living wage.

Brookwood Today

By A. J. MUSTE

There is no space available for a full description of the work of Brookwood. Besides, this is not the first time the columns of JUSTICE have carried information about Brookwood college. I want to write very briefly about one or two matters of immediate interest.

The question is often asked, will not Brookwood educate workers away from their trades and their unions, instead of making them more active and useful to the trade unions? We may as well admit that Brookwood is not a 100 per cent successful. But on the whole I am not afraid of the danger suggested in this question. What are some of my reasons for confidence?

For one thing, I am encouraged by the experience of the trade unions in countries like England and Belgium where resident schools have been in existence a longer time than with us. So far from being discouraged or disgusted with the results produced by their labor colleges, the trade unions in those countries have enough faith in them to give their students scholarships covering the full cost of their education by the college and to give them besides book and pocket-money and in some cases even money to help support dependents while the student is not earning wages. Surely the trade unions of those countries are not going into their pockets for thousands of dollars each year in order to educate their members out of the unions!

Do those who fear the danger we are speaking of realize how directly all the Brookwood courses aim to educate for work in the unions, and are of value only for such work? When students at Brookwood write in the English course, they write organization leaflets, strike calls, arguments against company unions, and so on. When they study a social problem like unemployment, they study a practical

program for organized labor with regard to this problem. They study trade union administration, book-keeping, organization work, history, tactics. What is the result of such absorption in the needs of the unions? Precisely what one of our students said recently, "I have never been so full of determination and desire to work for my union as I am now."

But what of the practical evidence?

A month ago Brookwood sent out its first class of fifteen graduates. Where are they now? One will be in Europe this summer. Nine are back at work in industry—in mine, in textile mills, in hotels, in machine shops, in garment shops, every one of them in touch with the union of his trade. Four have already been employed by unions for responsible work. One is organizer in a special campaign in Baltimore for the I. L. G. W. U. One is organizer of bar loca of the I. L. G. W. U. in New York. One is a business agent of the Philadelphia District Council of Machinists and secretary of the Philadelphia Trade Union College. One is assisting the editor of the official journal of the railway clerks. The only other graduate is at the moment unable to work on account of sickness. If you could read their letters as they come into Brookwood almost daily now, it would be plain that all these young people have indeed gone out "not to get something out of the movement, but to put something into it, not to get jobs but to do work." It is perhaps not easy for one who has not been at Brookwood to realize how hard it would be for any student to go out from the school with any other thought than to go to his union, serve on shop committees, strike committees, executive boards, anywhere the union may call him.

Today Brookwood is laying plans for direct service to the unions in still another way. Summer courses are

being planned for 1924. These courses will of course seek to meet as far as possible the needs of all classes of union members, but two groups are being especially considered in connection with these summer plans. One is for teachers of trade-union classes; Brookwood will aim to give teachers who want to serve in this way the background of the labor movement and its daily problems, and also training in the methods by which trade unionists in workers' classes may be most effectively approached and helped. Secondly, we are thinking even more of trade-union officials. There are no harder-worked people in the world than conscientious trade-union officers. What would it not mean for them to have a few weeks in the summer (even for two weeks) to live in this beautiful place in the Westchester hills, to meet fellow-officers from other trades, to discuss informally their common daily problems, and at the same time to get information and inspiration about what

is going on in the world of labor everywhere, as well as about their own pressing difficulties? Brookwood teachers and from other authorities who have had an opportunity in a large and thorough way to study economics, social and labor problems?

These are the kinds of things Brookwood is doing and planning to do. There is nothing we want more than the advice of those who hold responsible positions in the labor movement as to how we may do more and better.

If you want the Negro workers in your shop to join the Union, to become members in the great army of organized labor, ask them to read—

THE MESSENGER
The Only Trade Union Publication for Negro workers in America
2305 Seventh Avenue
New York City

VACATION TIME

is a

Good time to have your teeth taken care of.

Have your teeth thoroughly examined by your own dentist at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, before you have your vacation.

You will feel one hundred per cent better with good teeth in your mouth.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center is Your Dentist. Charges are based on costs, not profits. Remember, a small cavity today means a bad tooth tomorrow.

Office Hours: Daily 10 A. M. — 8 P. M.
Saturday 10 A. M. — 5 P. M.

Closed All Day FRIDAY During July and August.



FOREIGN ITEMS

SWITZERLAND

INTERNATIONAL LANDWORKERS' FEDERATION.

International Landworkers' Federation has sent a note to the International Labor office at Geneva, requesting that the International Labor Conference will deal with the question of handworkers' working hours at its meeting in 1924. It was decided at the conference of 1921 that this question should be handled at a future conference, it having been deferred only in order to give time for the study of the question. Any further postponement will, it is urged in the note, give weight to the suspicion that the International Labor Office is inclined to yield to the wishes of the majority at the Third International Labor conference; this minority was opposed to any discussion of the matter.

BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES AND LEATHER WORKERS.

International Federation of Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers will hold a congress at Dresden on September 15th.

RAPID DECREASE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN SWITZERLAND.

In February, 1922, there were 146,000 unemployed in Switzerland (10 per cent of the total number of workers). By the end of April, 1923, the number had fallen to 53,000. This is declared by the capitalists to be a result of the fall in wages.

The Federal Council has also decided to decrease the government allowance to the unemployed. The Federation of Trade Unions is making an appeal to trade unionists to create Unemployment Insurance Schemes of their own.

FRANCE

THE GLASS WORKERS' UNION.

The Glass Workers' Union at its last congress discussed the employers' disregard of existing legal regulations protecting the workers. Children under 12 are frequently employed, and glassblowing is done by youths under eighteen. The inspectors are powerless to prevent this abuse. It was resolved to protest, and if necessary, to strike, or to organize boycotts against the offending firms.

CANADA

LABOR MEMBERS IN CANADIAN HOUSE.

The two labor members, J. S. Woodsworth of Winnipeg and William Irvine of Calgary, have been officially recognized as a separate party in Parliament. The leader of the Liberal party is at present Premier.

CHINESE IN CANADA.

Chinese workers in Canada now number 58,000, most of whom are employed in lumber work and in the sea-fisheries. The government has just prohibited the further immigration of Chinese workers for the present. The trade unions are in favor of this policy. 20,000 Japanese and 2,000 Indians are also working in Canada.

ENGLAND

LABOR AND WAR RESISTANCE.

At the Labor party conference in London on June 28, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald warned his listeners that resolutions never to fight would not carry us very far, and that the only way to prevent war was to give power to a party that would prevent war.

Members of the War Registers' International in Moscow have sent to the British No-More-War Movement a message to the peoples of Western Europe, declaring that in their opinion there is only one effective way of preventing war, "and that is a determination on the part of the peoples of the world not to fight each other under any circumstances."

LABOR'S UNITED FRONT.

Important branches of the engineers' union in Sheffield, Yorkshire, have strongly supported in a resolution the attempt of the International Transport Workers' Union to organize a united front of labor against capitalism, and urge their own national executive to take steps to be represented at the next conference of the Russian Metal Workers' Union and to work for an international inclusive Metal Workers' Federation with a view to securing a world-wide united front of Labor.

NEW PREMIER AND LABOR ECONOMICS.

In a speech to the National Unionist Association, Mr. Baldwin, the new British Prime Minister, urged that Unionist workers should be educated in elementary economics in order to fit them to meet the vigorous and sustained propaganda of the Labor party.

SCOTLAND

"MURDER" AND SUSPENDED LABOR M. P.'S.

It is interesting to note in connection with the suspension of four Scottish Labor members of Parliament for accusing a Conservative member of "murder" (owing to his support of the government policy of cutting down the milk supply for infants in Glasgow) that the Health Minister accentuated the necessity for continuing the free milk supply, in his address to the Association for Preventing Infant Mortality. Yet in Glasgow, the government grant was cut from £160,000 a year to £8,000. Mr. Maxton, one of the suspended M. P.'s, showed in his speech in the house that over 1,200 additional infants died in Scotland last year owing to this false economy.

EGYPT

DEVELOPMENT OF EGYPTIAN TRADE UNIONS.

The greater number of Egyptian workers are landworkers, and these are not yet organized. Since the rising of 1919, however, trade unionism has been rapidly developing in the cities; there are now 21 unions at Cairo and 17 at Alexandria. One of these, the Workers' Union caters for 24 different trades. In June, 1922, the bank clerks organized in an "International Union" containing 1600 members. Since 1921 there has been in existence an Egyptian Federation of Trade Unions, comprising 21 unions and (in 1922) 60,000 members. The unions are not recognized either by the law or the employers, and they are managed almost entirely by the "intellectuals," as the bulk of the members can neither read nor write.

ITALY

FASCISM AND ITALIAN EMIGRANTS.

The Fascist government is establishing, in every district where there are numerous Italian emigrants, a local branch of the State Bank. The bank is to render assistance to individuals and enterprises "for the protection of national labor." The banks are intended to assist the consulates and Fascist groups against the class-conscious proletariat. The chief countries of Italian immigration are France, Belgium, America, Northern Africa and Asia Minor.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR FOR FASCISM.

At a dinner given by the Italo-American League to the American Ambassador, Mr. Washburn Child, and to Signor Mussolini, the ambassador made a speech which clearly showed his sympathy for and support of Fascism. Throughout his speech he gave the impression that he spoke not only his personal opinions but was the official mouthpiece of his government. Italy, he declared, had raised the standards of courage and discipline throughout the world, which was badly in need of such a movement as that led by Signor Mussolini.

The Last Meeting of G. E. B.

(Continued from Page Seven.)

A. B. C.—according to the grade of work. With some effort in each of these classes the average worker can be located. And if found, for instance, that in the better grade of shop a worker can make at least two garments a day, he is to be fixed as the minimum worker and his pay accordingly fixed at 50 dollars per week. If a worker, however, makes three garments a day his pay is to be rated \$75, and when such a worker leaves his shop and goes to work to a similar grade place he must there too receive his price, \$75.

This plan, nevertheless, provoked a great difference of opinion among the members of the Board. To many the plan appeared too complicated, while others believed that it would amount

to the establishing of standards of production in a slightly varied form. It was, however, important, and we shall return to it again at an opportune moment. The discussion ended by referring the whole question to a committee which is to make a thorough investigation of work conditions in all the cloakmaking centers.

This committee has already started on its work. This week the committee is in Cleveland and will delve into the heart of the local cloak industry and its problems. Later it will visit other cloak centers, and it is expected that the work of this committee will greatly facilitate the General Executive Board at its next meeting in coming to a definite decision on this highly important matter.

Attention of Shop-Chairmen in Dress, Waist and Embroidery Shops

You are hereby requested to attend a regular shop-chairman meeting which will be held on Thursday, July 26, 1923, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, right after work.

At this meeting questions of great importance to the workers in our industry will be taken up. Among other things, will be taken up:

1. How to organize the non-union shops.
2. Enlistment of an organization committee.
3. Amalgamation of the Dress Union with the Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Union.

Trusting you will realize the importance of attending this meeting on time, we beg to remain

Fraternally yours,

JOINT BOARD DRESS & WAISTMAKERS' UNION,
M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course on Social and Political History of the United States

By Dr. H. J. CARMAN

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Season 1922-1923

LESSON 16—THE ERA OF CRITICISM AND REFORM, 1870-1923.

I. After the Civil War, the American people began to be more critical of their institutions—especially social, economic, political and educational. This spirit of criticism, which is more pronounced today than ever before, is due to:

1. Abuses, corruption and seeming inefficiency of the old parties.
2. The control of public affairs by "invisible government."
3. The abuse arising from industrial monopolization under an economic policy of laissez-faire.
4. Exploitation of municipal utilities by politicians and financial sharks.
5. Rapid urbanization and overcrowding and poverty.
6. Growth of great fortunes which sought to escape taxation.
7. Exploitation of labor with all its attendant abuses and evils.

II. Manifestations of Unrest and Criticism.

1. The Labor Reformers, Greenbackers, Anti-Monopolists and others who demanded:
 - (a) Earliest possible payment of national debt.
 - (b) Regulation of railway and telegraph companies.
 - (c) Easy money for debtor class.
 - (d) Graduated inheritance tax.
 - (e) Popular and direct election of United States senators.
 - (f) Woman suffrage.
 - (g) Graduated income tax to shift burden of government on backs of those who could best afford to pay.
2. The Granger movement and its complaint against the railroads.
3. The Populist movement, the leaders of which declared that "the newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrate; our homes covered with mortgages; and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists . . . The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes of the few."
 - (a) Populist demanded:
 - (1) Free coinage of silver.
 - (2) Graduated income tax.
 - (3) Postal savings banks.
 - (4) Government ownership of railways and telegraphs.
 - (b) They also approved:
 - (1) Initiative and referendum.
 - (2) Popular election of Senators.
 - (c) Condemned use of Federal troops in labor disputes.
4. The Non-Partisan League, the Farmer-Labor party, and the Agricultural Bloc.
5. Strikes and the organization of labor:
 - (a) Knights of Labor (K. of L.).
 - (b) American Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.).
 - (c) The Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.).
6. Rise of Socialist and other radical parties.
7. The Progressive movement a protest.
8. Agitation of women for extension of suffrage.
9. Attempted prosecution of the trusts.

III. Reforms Undertaken.

1. Political.
 - (a) Civil service reform.
 - (b) Introduction of Australian ballot.
 - (c) The direct primary.
 - (d) Popular election of United States Senators.
 - (e) Commission government in cities and the city manager plan of government.
 - (f) Extension of suffrage to women (19th Amendment).
2. Social and Economic.
 - (a) Regulation of railways (Interstate Commerce Act of 1887).
 - (b) Establishment of public service commissions to regulate municipal utilities, or
 - (c) Municipal ownership of utilities.
 - (d) Housing legislation.

The Leaders and Our Members

No member of a union organization would disagree with the statement that the labor movement would profit greatly if its leaders were all men and women not only with a practical knowledge of labor problems, born of their personal experience in the shop and factory, but also with good education. There is no doubt that education in its wider sense is of utmost importance. A leader, who has read and studied, who is familiar with the results of investigations in history, economics, sociology and psychology, who is acquainted with the great literary works and with the ideas of the great thinkers and prophets of the world,—such a leader is surely of great use to his fellow-workers in their attempts to make this world a better place to live in.

But who will encourage the leaders to acquire an education—an education not to be used by them as a ladder for their own personal advancement, but one which will keep them in the organization and make them more effective in the labor movement? Such encouragement can come from no other source than the rank and file of the union. There should be a realization of the fact that education in its broader sense has a practical value for the labor leaders. The members should look upon it as a great advantage. It should look upon it with favor, and should show its appreciation of those men and women who make efforts to increase their usefulness to the movement through this means. They should appreciate the fact that an officer reflects the intelligence of his organization in the same way as a political party reflect, the intelligence of the nation or party, and that the members at large are judged by their officers.

The aim of our Educational Department is to instill in our members an appreciation of the necessity of acquiring knowledge, which will place

in their minds an additional weapon—that of education.

It is our aim to stimulate in our members a desire to study the history and problems not only of their own organization but of the labor movement as a whole, so as to better understand the world we live in and our economic and social structure. It is our aim to stimulate in them an appreciation of the value of a cultural education which will help them to be more responsive to human nature. The more our members appreciate this, the sooner will it help to bring about an intelligent leadership.

It may be true that many of our students do not possess the ability to lead. A leader is born and not made. But the person who has natural ability in this direction can be made much more effective and useful to the movement through an education. Such persons will sooner or later realize that if they want to find self-expression in serving the labor movement, they will have to devote part of their time to an education which will qualify them for such positions.

Thus we can see that our educational activities have a double function: to educate the members to an understanding of the necessity of an intelligent leadership, and to induce those in office to spend part of their time for their intellectual and spiritual advancement. Once the members of an organization appreciate the importance of education to the trade union movement, they will begin to discriminate between officers. We are happy to say that the effect of our educational movement is beginning to be felt here and there.

We hope that the time is not distant when the members of our numerous local unions will encourage the paid as well as unpaid officers of their organization to devote part of their time to educational activities which will be specially organized for them by the Educational Department.

Report of Education Sub-Committee, Trades Union Congress General Council

(Continued from Last Week.)

COSTS OF ORGANIZATION

Costs of running an organization that covers the country will also be considerable, and the congress may probably hesitate to commit its affiliated unions to such a large expenditure. An examination, however, of any summary of the educational needs of trade unionists will go to show that the most general and widespread of these are not peculiar to trade unionism. They are really the needs of the organized working-class movement, including the cooperative movement. The latter body is already spending considerable sums in education. If, therefore, these two wings of the working-class movement could agree to some extent to work togeth-

er, the problems of how to meet costs of organization in a comprehensive scheme might become easy of solution. It may also be thought advisable to consider the possibility of the Club and Institute Union cooperating in such a scheme, in view of the fact that it is now developing an education scheme of its own. Its clubs and other resources would be of considerable material assistance, in addition to which the education of its members would undoubtedly be met to a larger extent under a coordinated scheme than by isolated effort.

Whatever, therefore, may be the different theoretic views in regard to working-class education, and we hold

(Continued on page 11)

- (e) Workmen's compensation laws.
- (f) Legislation providing for minimum wage and mothers' pensions.
- (g) Income taxes (16th Amendment).
- (h) Industrial education.

READING: Beard, History of the United States, Chapters XXI, XXII, XXIII.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary
(Record of Meeting, July 11, 1923)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS' REPORT

The Board of Directors reported on their meeting of June 8th, as follows:

Communications

A communication was received from Brother Salvatore Amico in which he submitted a report of the entertainment given for the Harlem and Bronx branches. The total income from this entertainment was \$291.65, and the expense \$119.32, leaving a net profit of \$172.33, which was donated to the Hiss and the Italian victims of the Fascist reaction.

A communication was received from the Freie Arbeiter Stimme in which they requested the Joint Board to consider them when placing advertisements in newspapers. The Board of Directors, considering that the Freie Arbeiter Stimme is a part of the labor press, decided to grant this request.

MANAGER'S REPORT

On the matter of the Fashionbilt Garment Company, Brother Hochman reported that before he left he adjusted the matter and the firm agreed to make arrangements that all the workers shall work on the premises of the firm and under their control. However, on account of difficulty for arranging space it was agreed that work should meanwhile be resumed *in* heretofore.

Brother Hochman reported that he is making preparations for an organization campaign which should be started by the end of this month. Circulars have been printed and will be distributed among our members, but in order to carry on this campaign successfully we need the co-operation of the active members and a letter urging the active members to join the organization campaign was sent out. So far, however, the response has not been satisfactory and Brother Hochman has asked the secretaries of the different locals, by reading these minutes to their executive board, to try to interest all their active members and any others they may know, to help in the organization campaign.

Brother Hochman stated that it was necessary at the very outset of the season to arrange a series of district meetings in order to make popular among the members the organization campaign and to discuss with

them the main issues of the union. Such meetings have been held in the past and have always been successful and helped to bring our members in to closer relations with the union.

In regard to the jobbers, Brother Hochman stated that some time ago they asked for a conference, but due to the fact that Brother Sigman could not possibly attend as he has been away from the city, it is expected that as soon as he returns such a conference will be arranged and the question of an arrangement will be taken up with the jobbers.

A letter was read which he had received from the Department of Labor requesting him to attend a conference to consider plans for the prevention of industrial accidents. Bro. Hochman asked the approval of the Board of Directors for attending this conference.

He then read a letter from Morris Rothenberg informing them of the decision handed down by the Appellate Division approving the decision of Justice Bijur denying the application of the Jeannette Dress Company for an injunction.

Brother Hochman reported that before he left he made arrangements with Brother Horowitz for the signing of the agreement between the Union and the newly formed association in the embroidery industry. This agreement was finally signed last week.

It was understood that the request made by the committee of Local No. 66 that suitable arrangements be made by Brother Hochman in conjunction with the representatives of Local No. 66 for the carrying on of an organization campaign in the embroidery industry, will be granted. As to the request made by the State Department of Labor, the Board of Directors instructed Brother Hochman to attend that conference.

According to the newly signed agreement with the Embroidery Manufacturers Association, the union secured several notable gains. The provisions of this agreement are that the union may install the 40-hour week beginning next November and that the trial period for new workers shall be one week, also that all new workers must be secured by the employers from the Union, that work-

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RUSSIAN PROGRAM

by the
N. Y. Symphony Orchestra
WILLEM VAN HOGSTRATEN, Conductor

ALSO SPECIAL VOCAL NUMBERS

ers are to be paid for ten legal holidays and that a conference board should be created which will have the right to consider proposals and amendments to the agreements. To insure faithfulness to this agreement, the Association has to deposit security with the Union for each one of its members.

Brother Horowitz reported that Brother Fruhling whom the Association refused to have a clerk accompany on his visits to the shops, went about a number of days more without a clerk and then left for his vacation. On his return Brother Horowitz notified the Association that unless they assign a clerk for Brother Fruhling the policy of having him visit to cases himself, would be continued. This had the effect of forcing the Association to change its attitude and they assigned a clerk, after which they preferred charges against Brother Fruhling.

Brother Horowitz reported that during the week of the Fourth of July two firms had locked out their workers on account of the holiday. Brother Horowitz particularly called to the attention of the Joint Board the recent difficulties encountered by us in connection with the failure of a

number of firms to pay wages on time. In some cases Brother Horowitz stated, he succeeded in having the jobbers guarantee the payments. In the majority of cases, however, considerable difficulty was experienced in collecting money due to our members. In view of this, Brother Horowitz was of the opinion that some way of guaranteeing wages to our workers should be found.

The Joint Board was urged to adopt the necessary measures against employers who are discriminating against active union members.

An inquiry was made about reports lodged by Local No. 10 in a great number of cases and which have not been disposed of since July last. Bro. Hochman stated that, to the best of his knowledge, incoming complaints are well taken care of. However, if the complaints in question are in regard to letters informing the Joint Board of shops where no cutters are employed, these are not considered as complaints but merely as information in regard to firms suspected of not employing cutters. In all such cases Brother Hochman stated visits are made out for the respective business agent to attend these shops in the regular way.

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British Labor Educational Report

(Continued from Page 10)

The opinion that it is in the best interest of working-class education that these differences should exist and be discussed in a frank and friendly manner, there are certain important practical—more especially financial—problems which must be considered, and only insofar as we can suggest ways and means of overcoming these can we hope to win the approval of the trade-union movement to an inclusive and comprehensive scheme.

We, therefore, suggest that our inclusive scheme should be of such a character, as aims at establishing a kind of new education authority that will be responsible for the education of the adults and adolescent members of the trade union and cooperative movements, and as such representative of the movement concerned.

Such an authority should provide for the special work of Ruskin College and Labor College; it should enable

the trade union and cooperative movements to retain control over their own educational organization using public funds where available, while, at the same time, it would be free to conduct any educational work it desired on entirely independent lines.

In order to make clear that there is every reason why such an authority should be recognized by the Board of Education it is necessary to point out that certain precedents have already been established which make the proposal a practical one.

The bona-fides of Ruskin College as a labor college is not challenged by either the board of education or trade-union movement. It has a definite working-class attitude, yet it receives grants from the board of education and scholarships from education authorities, neither of which interfere in its management and control.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

CLOAK AND SUIT

The collective agreement between the Cloakmakers' Joint Board and the protective association received a considerable shaking up about three weeks ago as the result of the discharge of two cutters. A principle of great importance was involved, the proceeding from which was established a dangerous precedent.

Not less than the question of the union's submission to a standard of comparative production was sought by the association, in the opinion of Manager Dubinsky. At first the case assumed an innocent appearance; just a discharge of two cutters. But when the case was taken up and investigated it loomed up as the biggest case in recent times.

About three weeks ago two cutters were discharged by the firm of Jacob Rappoport & Co., of 498 Seventh Ave. Business Agent Nagler was assigned to the case for the purpose of reinstating the two men. When Nagler sought to ascertain the causes which led to the dismissal of the two men, the firm and its foreman made a sweeping charge of "soldiering." The union's representative contended that that was a serious charge and asked for evidence. The firm insisted that its word and the word of the representative were sufficient.

To have sustained the discharge meant to declare the cutters guilty of saboteging—something that Nagler was not ready to do. When the workers of the shop learned of the situation a stoppage took place. After the workers were idle for a week's time the firm decided to submit the necessary proof to substantiate its charge of soldiering.

Representatives of the union and the association proceeded to the shop with the understanding that the firm would prove the sabotage charge. The union was considerably surprised to find, upon beginning its investigation, that the soldiering charge became a question of comparative production. In other words the firm charged that the two men who were discharged, when the work they produced was compared with the production of the rest of the cutters, did not produce sufficient work. The firm practically wanted to set a standard of production in comparison with the work produced by the other men.

The union's representatives refused to submit to this. They contended that they would go on with the case as originally presented to the union by the firm; that the men were deliberately slowing down. And they further contended that it would be fair proof if the firm could show this by a comparison of the work cut by them during their trial periods.

The union insisted that the cutters were once submitted to a test, which was during the trial period, and that at that time ample opportunity was afforded the firm to test the productive abilities of the cutters. Once the men were retained after the trial period they qualified for their job. Any subsequent deliberate slowing up or charge of soldiering could only be measured by the standard set by the workers within their trial period. The firm stubbornly insisted upon an investigation of a comparative standard of production. The union was at once that to submit to this would be setting a precedent which would subject workers in the future to these tests; a test that would be resorted to by many employers as a subterfuge by means of which active union workers could be discharged. Manager Dubinsky stated that he would not even submit this case to arbitration. Even to do this, he said, would be

submitting to this dangerous precedent.

On Thursday, July 12th, when a stoppage of the cutters took place, Dubinsky was called upon by the firm to take the matter up. And this was not until after the protective association filed a complaint with the Joint Board and the International to the effect that the stoppage of the cutters in the shop of Jacob Rappoport & Co. took place.

The result of Manager Dubinsky's conference with the firm entirely satisfied the union. The question of comparative production was dropped by the firm. One of the discharged cutters was reinstated, and the other cutter accepted compensation in lieu of his job.

WAIST AND DRESS

The dispute which existed for about three weeks between the Joint Board and the dress manufacturers' association and which resulted in the association's refusal to have Business Agent Fruhling accompanied by one of its clerks for the investigations of shops, was finally settled to the satisfaction of the union.

The readers of these columns will no doubt recall the report contained in these columns that, because Fruhling insisted upon a thorough investigation of a certain shop, the association refused him a clerk and would not allow its members to deal with him because, it maintained that Fruhling, did too much "noeing."

When the business agent could not get a clerk he proceeded alone to investigate his shops and adjust complaints. Whenever a firm refused to deal with him he ordered the workers to stop. The collective agreement provides, it should be borne in mind, that investigations and the adjustments of complaints are to be made on and the employer's organization, jointly by a representative of the union.

About two weeks ago, Israel Horowitz, the chief clerk of the union's department which deals with the association, in taking the matter up with the association, insisted first that the association assign a clerk to the business agent before he would take up any charges. To this the association agreed.

Horowitz maintained, at the time the matter was taken up, that the association acted in a high-handed manner when it refused a business agent a clerk. He pointed out that there were ample provisions in the collective agreement which gave the association recourse in the event that the union acted wrongly. The chief clerk said that charges should have first been preferred against the union's clerk before any action was taken. The manufacturers' organization had to admit that this was a proper contention and at once assigned a clerk for Fruhling.

The entire case arose from a general investigation the business agent made on the suspicion that the workers in the particular shop were not receiving double time for overtime. The chairman of the shop as well as the firm was asked whether proper pay for overtime was given the workers. Both of these men said that double time was paid. Fruhling still was not satisfied and asked for the time book. The clerk who accompanied Fruhling refused to allow an investigation of the books, insisting that the word of the chairman and the employer was sufficient. The break between the business agent and the clerk then and there took place. Horowitz pointed out to the association that a business agent had a right to doubt the statement of the firm, and the chairman and the clerk should have permitted an investiga-

tion of the books. The association admitted that Horowitz was legally right but that the union's clerk should have informed its clerk of the mission of the union's clerk. However, the legal and technical side of the union's contention could not be questioned by the association and the case was completely won by Horowitz for the union.

A subsequent investigation of the books of the employer in whose shop the dispute arose proved Fruhling's suspicion correct. The workers did violate the union's rules regarding payment for overtime. The workers were found guilty by the grievance board; the chairman was fined \$25, was demoted, and a new chairman was elected.

MISCELLANEOUS

At the last meeting of the members of this branch, which took place last Monday at Arlington Hall, a report of the steps taken by the office for the adjustments of its grievances against the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association was rendered and Comrade Marie MacDonald, secretary of the American Labor Party, delivered a very interesting talk on unionism.

The keynote of Comrade MacDonald's talk was the oath of obligation which was administered to the incoming members. "The oath meant," the speaker said, "loyalty to the organization which made shops fitting workplaces for a human being. Organization and civilization," she said, "were inseparable."

Following the lecturer, Manager Dubinsky rendered the report to the members of the past month's activities of the office in Arlington Hall, a report of the steps taken by the office for the adjustments of its grievances against the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association was rendered and Comrade Marie MacDonald, secretary of the American Labor Party, delivered a very interesting talk on unionism.

In addition to this, the association has made it practically impossible for the union to conduct in any way investigations with a view to determining the union standing of the cutters. This was the result of a letter sent out to the association's members warning them against allowing representatives of the union admittance to their factories.

This last point of the union's right to visit the shops of these employers, is practically what caused a serious dispute. It is the union's contention that the collective agreement gives it the right to visit the association shops.

This was taken up with Counselor Morris Hillquit who contended in an opinion which Local 10 communicated to the association, that the agreement is clearly on the question of the right to enter factories.

When the association took exception to this and forwarded its letter to its members, the representatives of

Local 10 were even denied the right to speak to cutters in the office of the employers' factories. The association's manager said that the union had this right. But when he was told that his members refused to recognize it, he, the manager, did not even offer to jointly conduct these investigations.

Before taking the matter into his own hands, Manager Dubinsky took the question up again with Comrade Morris Hillquit. The union's counselor suggested that: (1) charges be preferred against the association's manager for failing to take up the union's complaints; and (2) that specific complaints be filed to the effect that the union's clerk was denied admittance to investigate shops. The office, in compliance with the suggestion of Comrade Hillquit, sent the following letter to the association:

"Cotton Garment Manufacturers of New York, Inc. Gentlemen:

"We herewith submit a complaint against your member, Parisian Underwear Company of No. 576 Broadway, New York City, J. S. Milberg of No. 512 Broadway, New York City and A. L. Small of No. 483 Broadway, New York City, and also a complaint against your Association as such, for a violation of the provisions of Clause "TWELFTH" of the Collective Agreement between us.

"Our complaint is based upon the fact that our Union has requested an investigation in the factories of the employers above mentioned for the purpose of ascertaining the Union affiliations of their workers in conformity with the "TWELFTH" clause of our agreement, and that no such investigation was made or allowed to be made; your members in each case refused a representative of our Union permission to enter their factories for the purposes of such investigation and your manager refused to direct them to admit our representative to their factories to accompany our representative on a joint investigation.

"As the controversy is, directly between the parties to our agreement we request that the same be immediately submitted to the Grievance Board in conformity with the provisions of the "TWENTIETH" clause of our agreement.

"Very truly yours,
"DAVID DUBINSKY,
"Manager."

So far no reply has been received from the association. In the event that a reply is not received, other steps will be taken. What these may be cannot as yet be stated. However, as Manager Dubinsky stated to the members Monday night, the union is determined to see for all organize the underwear cutter.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

GENERAL	Monday, July 30th
CLOAK AND SUIT	Monday, Aug. 6th
WAIST AND DRESS	Monday, August 13th
MISCELLANEOUS	Monday, August 20th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place