

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

JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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New York, Friday, December 15, 1924

Price 2 Cents

CLOAK AND DRESSMAKER BOSTON IN ONE JOINT BOARD

Readers of this journal already know that for quite some time there has been a movement on foot in Bos-

ton to form one joint board of cloak and dressmakers' locals in the city, as in New York and Chicago. At the

last meeting of the General Executive Board in Chicago, President Sigman appointed a special committee to carry out this plan.

Local 90 Will Elect Officers Next Week

Next Thursday evening, December 20, there will take place a very important joint meeting of both the Up-town and downtown sections of the Custom Dressmakers' Union, Local 90, at 62 E. 106th Street, Harlem.

ing the open shops in the trade. The quarterly report of every branch of the union's activity will be rendered by Manager Bernadsky.

Failure to attend this meeting by any member, unless unavoidable, will be severely punished in accordance with the decision recently adopted by the executive committee of the local.

Vice-presidents Wander, Heller, Ninfo, Halperin and Monosson, as members of this committee, visited Boston last week and carried out the decision of the General Executive Board in full harmony with the plan prepared by a joint meeting of all the local executive boards. The reader will find all details of this arrangement on Page 3 in our weekly communication from Boston.

Rogoff to Talk on American Civilization

H. Rogoff will start a course in Yiddish on "Civilization in America," this Sunday, December 16, at 10:45 a. m., at the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway. This course was specially prepared for our members, and is divided into three groups:

1. The European in America;
 2. The Economic and Political Development of the United States;
 3. The Cultural Development of the United States.
- Admission is free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

Boston Starts Educational Activity

The Joint Educational Committee of our Local Unions in Boston will celebrate the opening of their educational season Friday, December 14. For this occasion a concert has been arranged which will take place at Ford Hall, 15 Ashburton Place. The following artists, among others, will participate: Professor Boris Morros, the celebrated pianist, formerly of the Petrushevsky Conservatory of Music, with his famous quartette, and Mr. Paul Cherkowsky, violinist, at present with the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Philadelphia Needle Trades Unions to Form Alliance Branch

On December 7 there was held in Philadelphia an informal conference of leaders in the needle trades' unions to discuss the advisability of organizing a local branch of the Needle Trades Workers Alliance. It was the unanimous sentiment of all those present that such an Alliance should be formed without delay.

This preliminary meeting decided to call a conference of representatives of the various needle trade unions in Philadelphia on Saturday, December 15, in the afternoon, at 2013 Arch Street, the headquarters of the Shirtmakers' local of the Amalgamated. At this meeting, it is expected, a branch of the Alliance will be perfected. The call for the conference was issued to the Philadelphia Joint Board and locals of the International Union, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Journeymen Tailors' Union, the Capmakers' Union, and to the Fur Workers' Union. There is a need for intensive organizing work among

Trades Unions to Form Alliance Branch

some of the workers in the needle trades of Philadelphia, the statement issued by the preliminary conference sets forth, and there is every reason to believe that the stronger union will be ready and willing to help the weaker organizations in the industry to become thoroughly organized.

Among the representatives who signed the call for the conference on

the 15th are Max Amdar, manager of the Cloak Makers' Joint Board; Elias Reiberg, manager of the Dress and Waist, Local 15; B. Glassman and Geo. Slaughter of the Journeymen Tailors; H. D. Rosenbloom, manager of the Philadelphia Joint Board of the Amalgamated; Alma Weisner and Clinton Golden, organizers of the Amalgamated, and Ruth Gordon, organizer of the International.

District Council in Connecticut

At a local executive board meeting of Locals 32, 34 and 137 of our Union held in Bridgeport, Conn. on Tuesday, November 13th, there came up the question of organizing the ladies' garment industry in the State of Connecticut. Brother Bernard Schub, an organizer of the Out-of-Town Department of the International, told these present that the International had been doing everything possible to organize the industry in Connecticut, and that it would appreciate the cooperation of any local union or of any member of a local union in this work.

the Connecticut District Council will, after the election of delegates to it by the various locals, become a strong factor for the promotion of organization activity in Connecticut.

The first meeting of the Council will be held during the first week in January, 1924, its exact date and place to be announced shortly. The following locals are requested to elect two delegates each.

- Locals 32, 34 and 137 of Bridgeport;
 - Local 127 of Stamford;
 - Local 141 of South Norwalk;
 - Local 45 of Waterbury;
 - Local 138 of Colchester.
- The secretaries of the above locals are requested to communicate in regard to this matter with Bro. W. S. Hoffman, 24 Forest Court, Bridgeport, Conn.

Local 22 to Nominate Executive Members Next Thursday

On Thursday evening, December 20, very important member meetings of the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, will be held throughout New York to nominate candidates for the Executive Board of the local. The meetings will be held in the following places:

the first time there will take part the new members of the local who were recently transferred in a body to Local 22 from Local 23.

It may be noted that among these 1,600 new members, there are quite a number who formerly were very active in Local 23 and have served their organization faithfully ever since they joined it, as committee members, local officers and in time of strikes.

It is important that as large a number of members as Local 22 can muster for the occasion should participate in these nominations. It is the plain duty of the members of the local, old and new, to come to these meetings and to nominate the best and the ablest among them for the important posts on the Executive Board.

- IN NEW YORK**
- Downtown—Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th Street.
 - Harlem—Laurel Garden, 75 E. 116th Street.
 - Bronx—1258 Boston Road, in the office of the union.
- IN BROOKLYN**
- Williamsburg—Union Assembly Rooms, 56 Manhattan Avenue.
 - Brownsville—Labor Lyceum, 229 Beckman Street.
- Special importance is attached to these meetings because in them for

A decision was reached at that time to form a district council in which all the Connecticut local unions of International would be represented. This has now been voted upon favorably by the Connecticut locals, and

Women in Industry Protest to Coolidge Against "Equal Rights" Amendment

This amendment is being at present espoused by the National Women's Party and has from the beginning been opposed by all the organizations of Labor on the ground that its enactment would automatically wipe out from the statute books of various States the existing wage minimum laws for women and countless other welfare and protective laws enacted for women in industry.

International for the white goods trade in New York City, to go to Washington on December 12, where, together with a large delegation representing working women and organizations directly concerned with women in industry, she would serve on a committee to protest to President Coolidge against the proposed enactment of a blanket "equal rights for women" amendment to the constitution of the United States.

At the request of President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, President Sigman appointed Miss Mary Goff, organizer of the

President Gompers will present the delegation to President Coolidge. Included in it are some of the best-known leaders of women workers in the United States, consumers' organizations, and other bodies sympathetic with the general aims of organized Labor. More of this in our next issue.

Local 45 Elects Officers for Coming Year

A meeting for the election of officers of Local 45, the United Designers of Ladies' Wear Industry, was held on Saturday, November 24, at the headquarters of the local, 284 Fifth Avenue. At that time the following were elected to office:

President, M. Steginsky; Vice-president, S. Rumi; Secretary, N. Littenbaum; Executive Board, M. Axelrod, H. Goldman, Wm. Rosenfeld, F. De Francisco, A. Teich, M. Tich, D. Kessler, N. Mendelson, M. Romer, I. Housner, M. Hanover, H.

Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

THE victory of the Labor Party in the English elections last week was all the more inspiring because it came as a surprise to friend and foe alike. On this side of the ocean, at least, the opinion prevailed generally that in this contest, thrust upon it at a time it was least able to take it up, Labor stood nothing to win and a great deal to lose.

The satisfaction over the result of this sharp and brief campaign is even greater when one considers that the millions who voted for Labor in England did not have to do it in order to register their opposition to a protective tariff alone. For this they could have picked the Liberals. The Labor Party, however, besides a clear-cut foreign policy, a constructive unemployment relief program, and the advocacy of a capital levy for the easing up of unbearable taxation, reaffirmed its ultimate faith in an industrial democracy, and millions of Englishmen have cast their lot with it.

The question of whether Ramsay MacDonald will attempt, if asked, to form a Labor ministry at this juncture is perhaps of secondary importance. Certain it is that Labor cannot rule in England single-handed unless it obtains a majority in Parliament. Yet, for purposes of greater strategy, the executive of the Labor Party might agree to form a Cabinet, and if beaten and thwarted in Parliament by the Tories and Liberals, dissolve Commons and appeal to the country for a majority.

The new future will take care of that. For the moment it can hardly be contradicted that this unbroken rise of the British workers to power is, amidst the welter of misery, hunger and hate that is all but submerging Europe today, the only hopeful sign of a new safe life and a new deal for the men and women who toil on the old continent.

THE MEXICAN OUTBREAK

ON THE eve of a national election, Mexico is again rocked to its foundations by a revolt the size of which seriously threatens the stability of the present constitutional regime in that country.

It is a clear-cut fight on one side between the forces of dark reaction, exemplified by the group of militarists and die-hard reactionaries, that is leading the fight against Obregon—and the forces of new Mexico, those who prefer spending the national revenue for popular education rather than the costly upkeep of a big military establishment. A true anti-militarist at heart, Obregon has during the three years of his rule disbanded the larger part of the Mexican army, and now its former officers left jobless have turned upon him. The pretext is the opposition to the presidential candidacy of General Calles, the candidate of the progressive and labor forces whom Obregon himself has endorsed. The test of their sincerity, however, came when Calles resigned as candidate rather than remain the central figure in a bloody civil war. But, of course, this resignation did not stay their hand, and now the Sanchez rebels are reported marching on Mexico City to overthrow the Government.

Essentially this revolt is a movement by, for and on behalf of the large landowners whose huge strips of land have in the past few years been broken up and distributed to land-tillers. It is also aided and abetted by the oil magnates, domestic and foreign, who have regarded Obregon and his likely successor, Calles, as their inveterate enemies. In general, it is instigated by those who have been smarting under the "disrespect for property rights" which the constitutional regime of Obregon has shown.

Friends of the workers and toilers of Mexico, that finally a new era has dawned in that hapless country, will watch with bated breath this final decisive encounter between the forces of light and reaction in Mexico. A victory of the militarists will set Mexico back for another generation and will mean practically the return of peonage to that unhappy land.

INSURGENCY IN WASHINGTON

WHILE the natural tendency, dictated by caution and in a measure by experience, would be to minimize the importance of the insurgency of the group of progressive Republicans in the House and the Senate, the debut of this group in the first session of Congress and the adroit use of the balance of the power which they hold have made a profound impression.

This is, of course, not the first manifestation of insurgency in the history of Congress. The House in particular has seen a great deal of hectic fighting on the part of minorities and insurgent filibustering. In the end, however, these outbreaks proved to be short-lived, most of them dying through pollution by compromise.

The present fight of the radical group in the House and the Senate, however, appears to be far better organized and has better leadership. To begin with, it is a fight to make Congress a real parliament, which it is by no means at present. Fettered by iron-clad rules and dominated by a handful of men who happened to be the bosses of the Committee on Rules, whether of the Democratic or Republican parties, the House in particular is a place neither of free legislation nor of free debate. For any minority party, be that Farmer-Labor or Socialist, to have any chance to be heard on the floor of the House or to enact legislation unless it holds a balance of power, is practically a hopeless task under the present rules.

Obviously the first task for any radical or progressive group in Congress is to make it a free legislative assembly, to wrest from the powers that control it the right to freely initiate legislation and to have it heard and debated on the floor of Congress. This is exactly what this fighting group of radicals in Congress has set its mind to win at any cost, and that is why they deserve the unqualified support of every progressive and radical in the country, in addition to the solid support of organized Labor.

CHRISTMAS AND AMNESTY

FURTHERING the drive for the release of the remaining political prisoners by Christmas, distinguished educators, writers and editors, who last spring petitioned President Harding, have now appealed to his successor for a grant of amnesty.

Among the signers of the plea to President Coolidge are several governors, eight college presidents, and a number of educators, among whom

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NATURALIZATION AID LEAGUE BENEFIT

A very entertaining and interesting theatrical performance has been arranged for the benefit of the Naturalization Aid League, which will take place at the National Theatre, Wednesday evening, December 19.

The name of the play—which is in Jewish—is "Løvke Morideta." It has had a very enthusiastic response from the Jewish theatre-going public for some time, and the League looks forward to a similar success on the occasion of its benefit.

Tickets may be procured at reduced rates by members of the International at the office of the Naturalization Aid League, 175 East Broadway, the office of The Forward or at the box office the night of the performance.

ANTI-FASCIST ALLIANCE RUNS CONCERT AND BALL

An informal gathering will celebrate the defeat to date of efforts to import Fascism into America and will pledge to continue the fight against the "backstairs" at the concert and ball of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America. It will take place on the evening of Saturday, December 29, at the Debs Auditorium (Rand School), 7 East 15th Street.

The Alliance represents the organized labor opposition in this country

there are such outstanding names as Dr. John Dewey of Columbia University and Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School. The petition to President Coolidge reads in part as follows:

"We urge that you grant full and unconditional amnesty to political prisoners who have been detained in the United States years after similar prisoners have been released in every other country engaged in the World War.

"We make this demand because we are convinced that the right of freedom of speech in the first amendment to the United States Constitution is a fundamental tenet of a democratic government."

There are signs that this Christmas may see the final liberation of this intrepid group of men and women who have sacrificed their freedom for the right to speak their mind like freemen in a country where this right is supposed to be sacred and unbridled. Yet one can never be sure that, as Harding's successor and faithfully following in his steps, Coolidge will find mettle enough to give up the "selective" policy with regard to the political prisoners which Harding so consistently practised.

The only difference is that 1924 is right on the threshold, a Presidential year. Politicians in search of votes and popular support are likely at times to do unexpected things. Therein lies the hope of freedom for our political prisoners.

to the spread of the "black plague." Its activities have been in large measure responsible for the fact that Mussolini's agents have had comparatively little success here. It is therefore expected that labor organizations will buy tickets in quantities large enough to make the further work of the Alliance possible.

Music, dancing and good fellowship, as much of it as can be crowded into one evening, is guaranteed by the committee on arrangements. The spirit of the affair will be one of celebration, and the proceeds will go toward continuing the work which has been so fruitful until now. Tickets should be purchased from the Alliance at its offices at 231 East 14th Street.

SACCO-VANZETTI BENEFIT CONCERT

On Sunday, December 30, at 8:15 p. m., there will be given at the Manhattan Opera House, Eighth Avenue and 34th Street, a gala concert, the proceeds of which will go to help the Sacco-Vanzetti case. There will be a fifty-piece orchestra under the direction of Antonio Dell' Orefice and in addition there will be selections by many eminent artists, among them Dreda Aves, mezzo-soprano; Rogelio Baldrich, tenor; Lavinia Darv, lyric soprano; Maria Musavero, coloratura soprano; Auguste Ordonez, baritone; Maria Palesti, dramatic soprano; and Lorenzo Lunoceri, pianist.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

By OBSERVER

At last the Joint Board of Cloak and Dressmakers of Boston came into being. A number of conferences were held between the Cloakmakers' Joint Board and Local 49, which were called by Vice-president Monahan.

At these conferences an understanding was reached on many matters pertaining to the affiliation of Local 49 with the Joint Board. There was, however, one obstacle in the way which seemed unmountable and that was the question of representation on the Joint Board.

Some of the members of Local 49 were of the opinion that since the Dressmakers' Union is the biggest numerically in Boston, it is entitled to be represented by at least as many delegates as the latter are. They pointed out, at the above-mentioned conference, that it is not with them a matter of simply having a large delegation, but that they are primarily interested in protecting the interests of the members. They were afraid that the delegation of Local 49 would be out-voted by the other locals on questions concerning the dress trade.

On the question of representation, the conferences were deadlock. It was, therefore, found necessary to call upon the committee appointed by the General Executive Board at its last quarterly session in Chicago to bring about amalgamation, to come to Boston to enforce that decision.

The committee, consisting of Vice-presidents Wander, Heller, Halpern and Ninfo, arrived in Boston on Wednesday, December 4, and, in conjunction with Brother Monahan, set out to perform the task. An informal conference was held at the Avery Hotel with officials and prominent members of both organizations, where the committee got acquainted with the present situation.

On the following day, in the afternoon, a special Executive Board meeting of Local 49 was called, to which meeting were also invited many active members of the local. The meeting was a stated affair in order to impress the committee that there was genuine objection on the part of the members of Local 49 to amalgamation with the cloakmakers. The committee was surprised to hear a group of girls, who daily preach amalgamation, opposing the establishment of one Joint Board in a city like Boston, where altogether there are only between two thousand and three thousand ladies' garment workers. This paradox was pointed out to these objectors, but it didn't seem to have any effect on them.

The same evening the committee visited the meeting of the Joint Board, where a hearty and warm reception was given them. The committee was assured by the members of the Joint Board that they will give their fullest cooperation in organizing one Joint Board for the entire ladies' garment industry.

On Friday a joint session of the Executive Board of Local 49 and the Joint Board was called at the headquarters of the Dressmakers' Union. Vice-president Wander, acting as chairman, in his opening remarks made it very plain to those present that the committee came to Boston to carry out the decision of the last Convention, to establish a Joint Board and that no amount of objection will help. The chairman further pointed out that, in accordance

with the constitution of the International, every local affiliated with a Joint Board is entitled to an equal number of representatives and it does not matter how big or small a local may be. This being part of our constitution, it can only be changed by a convention of the International, and until this is done no local will be represented by more delegates than another. With that, the chairman called upon Brother Lewin, manager of Local 49, to give his views on how this Joint Board is to be organized.

Brother Lewin briefly outlined his ideas on the subject, the main points of which were that the Joint Board be officially established the first week in January; that the Joint Board then select a manager and three business agents; that a committee be appointed to get suitable quarters for the housing of the Joint Board and its locals; that for the time being both organizations stay in their present quarters, where all the routine business of the respective memberships will be transacted under the supervision of the manager of the Joint Board; that all the expenses for both offices be paid by the Joint Board; and that these expenses be covered by levying a per capita tax on the locals.

A discussion lasting for hours and participated in by all the vice-presidents and many of those present took place, at the conclusion of which it was agreed to comply with the edict of the International convention, and establish a Joint Board not later than January 4. A committee of ten, five from each organization, was then elected for the purpose of arranging all the details preparatory to the amalgamation.

In all probability, all locals will have new elections for Joint Board delegates within the next few weeks. It was pointed out by many who are acquainted with conditions here that the establishment of one Joint Board in Boston will raise the prestige of the organization and will help greatly in the renewal of the agreements in the dress trade, which expire February 15 of next year.

Local 49 intends to request certain important changes in the agreements with the manufacturers. And while we do not expect much trouble, still the fact that the agreement will be in the name of the Joint Board will exert a great influence on the trade.

With a view to renewing the agreements, the Executive Board of Local 49 invited the Massachusetts Dress Manufacturers' Association to the first of a series of conferences, which was held on Tuesday, December 4, at the headquarters of the Association.

At this conference the question of organizing the jobbers was taken up and committees were appointed to interview the latter with regard to this. At the next conference, which will be called soon, the renewal of the agreement will be discussed. The results will be reported in these columns.

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For the benefit of those of our members who did not attend the last meeting of our local on November 27, at Beethoven Hall, I think it necessary to state in brief what has happened there.

This meeting was a continuation of a previous meeting called for the purpose of acquainting our members with the ruling of the International regarding the "leagues." That meeting could not adopt a decision on the matter, owing to the lateness of the hour, so a second meeting was arranged to deal with it. About 150 members attended.

When the chairman got through stating the purpose of the meeting, about fifteen persons vehemently demanded the floor. A motion was made and seconded to adopt the order of the General Executive Board "under protest," and it was against this motion that all these speakers directed their attack, pouring venom, calumny, mud, and ugly slander upon the International officers. Nevertheless, they were not interrupted in their outpourings; but when the turn of those who rose to defend the order of the International came in due course, these "civilized" opponents of theirs, as if at a given signal, at once began to interrupt, smirk and laugh derisively aloud, obviously a new disgusting method adopted by them for the purpose of converting those who disagree with them to their "ideas." The chairman's protest and his appeal to their sense of fair play, they

met with another outburst of sardonic laughter.

In addition to this they kept up a constant din and tumult in the hall by talking loudly to each other and kept up this pandemonium until 11 o'clock at night. A number of those present finally began to lose patience and several left the hall. Yet a number of members demanded a vote on the motion, though the majority were obviously dissatisfied with the "protest" string attached to it, and when in the end it came to a vote, they rejected the entire motion because of this condition tied on to it.

The next thing to do was, of course, to vote on the adoption of the order without any qualifications. But the "leaguers," seeing that all their efforts had been in vain, set up a yell and a howl to close the meeting. The hall for a few minutes looked like a madhouse and all pleas and attempts of the chairman to bring order were fruitless. Some of these disrupters jumped upon the platform threatening the chairman with bodily injury if he continued the meeting. In the end, the members disgusted with this ugly spectacle of the union-breakers run amuck, left the hall.

And now that we have told you the full story of this outrage, we hope that it will open your eyes to the danger which is confronting our union from these irresponsible and that you will take all the required steps against these meeting-disturbers and bring an end to this orgy.

In the Chicago Joint Board

By M. RAPAPORT

A general member meeting and concert was held on Friday evening, November 23, 1923, at Schoenhofen's Hall, which was called for the purpose of outlining the recommendations that were unanimously adopted by the Joint executives and Joint Board in reference to opening a Union-owned cooperative factory. Brother Perlstein spoke at length on the merits of a Union-owned factory and brought out the fact that, in order to gain public opinion at all in favor of Union conditions, we must start that factory to show that good stylish garments can be made under ideal sanitary conditions at a reasonable price.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors on November 28, the Board took up for discussion the recommendation of Local 13 in regard to the Union's attitude towards members who are working in shops and who also are in business. After a lengthy debate, it was decided that all locals who know of their members having business should bring such cases before the Board of Directors, and the Board will define, after investigation,

what business this man has and whether he can work in the shop and be a member of the Union. This question was referred back to the Board of Directors for reconsideration to bring a more detailed report to the Joint Board.

REFEREES MARKERS NOMINATE OFFICERS

Last Thursday, December 13, the Referee Makers' Union, Local 17, had final nominations for officers. First nominations were made the week before on December 6, and now the members of the local are getting ready for elections—always an event of lively interest among the referemakers.

The voting on these nominations will take place Saturday, December 22, all day, and the count will be completed in the evening, as customary. The members of Local 17 will vote for executive board members, for financial secretary and for all other paid and unpaid officials. A record vote is expected.

JUSTICE

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American Labor Resolves

THE LABOR PRESS FOR NOVEMBER

(Introducing a Page)

The press is the tongue of the democratic age. Periodically it tells the people of the events, the thoughts, and the gossip of the period that has just passed. As in all languages, various groups use different dialects. The Nation as group expression is easily different from "the Outlook; JUSTICE has little in common with the New York Times."

Nothing testifies more convincingly to union labor's rise to significance and power than the marked development of its press. As your reviewer passes through each month the array of labor's papers and sees the fundamental unity beneath the variety of opinion, attitude, and reaction reflected there, she is impressed again with the meaning of the labor movement. Here is a true organic whole, a world within a universe. An although individual as the dominant power, can still make its papers the official language, labor's dialect is fast becoming the language of the public.

The concerns of the labor press strengthen this first impression. The topics of labor's consideration seem to fall into three large categories. Unions are organizations functioning in the world. Every major happening in the outside world has its effects upon them. Consequently, labor has much to say upon world affairs. Labor unions are also "worlds" in themselves, groups having definite relations with other groups and within themselves. All labor papers discuss the industrial struggle—the latest moves of the employer, the state, the courts, etc. Finally they ponder internal affairs at much length; education, books, unemployment, plans, conventions, etc.

JUSTICE will attempt to present each month a summary of representative labor opinion on these three subjects: a world (outside) conditions; on the industrial struggle, and on internal affairs. From such a summary, members of the International will be able to estimate how far their opinions on these matters coincide with the official labor opinion. Official opinion is often a forecast of coming action.

THE CENTER OF NOVEMBER ATTENTION

As a whole, the November press devotes the bulk of its discussion to the Portland Convention. During the first two weeks in October, representatives of the American Federation of Labor met at Portland to review the year that had just passed and plan for the one that was beginning. The end of the Federation's Annual Convention marks the beginning of labor's new year. Its proceedings contain labor's New Year resolutions. Its discussions show labor's reactions to the job at hand. Its votes reveal the weight on the scale pan of American majority unionism. Little wonder the November issues of the union papers hold the Convention in the center of their attention.

The entire issue of *The American Federationist* is devoted practically to a report and interpretation of the convention. As seen by its editors, "there were apparent uppermost in the efforts of the convention three questions of primary importance. Of these perhaps the chief one was to lay down a declaration of policy and philosophy by which the interests of industry and of a democratic development within industry may best be served. Secondly, there was a great determination that efforts towards organization of the unorganized should be redoubled in every direction. To this end a number of important organization campaigns were inaugurated by the convention. The third

impulsion determination was to lead the trade union movement of the last remnants of destructive and revolutionary effort. The showing of strength on this question is of particular interest and importance everywhere."

The Executive Council's report on "Industry's Manifest Duty" called for organization, industrial democracy, industrial franchise, escape from political bureaucratic control, functional control, remedies for the abuse of credit power, etc. The danger of bureaucratic control is given as the reason "why we have avoided the entanglements of a third party alliance." Under the second "question," the convention called for the organization of "white-collar workers," steel, textiles, laundry, and migratory workers.

A CHORUS OF APPROVAL

As a whole the American Federation of Labor press, as well as that of the unions related in temper and philosophy, is a chorus of approval to the convention proceedings.

"The movement started at the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor to eliminate the 'inside borers' was a wise and necessary step and is expected to become general. . . . Most of the international bodies have a sprinkling of this gentry and the sooner they are forced out or separate themselves entirely from the legitimate trade union movement the better," comments *The Typographical Journal*.

"An especially well-timed action of the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor was that taken against the radical Communist element that seeks to destroy the legitimate trade union movement by 'borings from within,'" approves the *Shoe Worker*.

"Now that the American Federation of Labor has picked from its midst a self-avowed communist, it would do well for a few central labor councils and bodies to red themselves also of those persons seeking the destruction of the labor movement," suggests the *Spokane Labor World*.

The *United Mine Workers Journal* is emphatic. "The action in unseating Dunne was notice to Moscow; it was notice to the Communist propaganda in the United States; and it was notice to everyone else that communists cannot mix in with American Federation of Labor affairs."

The *Railroad Trainman* approves for its Brotherhood the fact that the "American Federation of Labor made short work of whatever sentiment there was at its recent Portland, Oregon, Convention in favor of Communism and recognition of Russia."

THE CONVENTION AND "OTHER THINGS"

The other policies and steps adopted by the Convention meet similar approval in the Press. The report on "Industry's Manifest Duty," the action on Child Labor, Workers' Education, the Federated Press win special notice. The various papers, also, choose for lengthy comment from the Convention's agenda those matters of special interest to their organization. Thus the *Seaman's Journal* discusses at length the Federated's vote against the ship subsidy, and the semi-monthly *Bulletin of the American Federation of Teachers* (Nov. 5) takes special note on the Convention's recommendations on workers' education. Comment on the Convention as a whole may be instructed by the statements of the printers' journal: "The one big anti-union of employers, industrial and financial interests, legislatures, and courts cannot destroy the trade-union movement of the United States of America. . . .

Whether their means are fair or foul, legal or illegal, American labor in due time will come into its own and snap its fingers at all whose purpose is to establish an industrial slavery within our political democracy. . . . This is the confident challenge which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issues in its report," says the *International Streetcarriers and Electrysians' Union Journal*.

The vote against the Federated Press, the resumption of trade relations with Russia and against a third political party seem "A Good Job at Portland" for the *Typographical Journal*. For "all of these propositions were voted down with a regulation that must have been painful to the handful of supporters. The Portland Convention was a convention of American workers, standing for American ideals and American ideals as against the encroachment of a red menace that is just developing in many parts of the old world."

DISSENT

The most striking discords in majority unionism's chorus are sounded by the *Locomotive Engineer's Journal* for whom "actions, not words count. The American Federation of Labor is not what its executive council says, but what the convention does. No council report in recent years has been more promising and progressive than the statement for 1923 which preceded the annual American Federation of Labor Convention. . . . But these aims found scant expression in decisions made by the delegates on the floor of the Convention. The same policies, the same policy; the same personalities which evolved from the twelve-day session just closed has come out of the American Federation of Labor Convention for the past ten years." The *Journal* then drew up parallel columns of what the Convention voted for and what it voted against to show concretely why the balance appeared so unfavorably to it. In another place it had strongly condemned the Convention's votes for "light wines and beer" and against the Federated Press.

The *Journal* found only one gleam of light: "The most progressive note sounded at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. . . . was the emphatic endorsement of workers' education through a bureau controlled by American Federation of Labor executives."

THE INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

With so much space given over to a discussion of the Convention, outstanding events in the industrial struggle gain less attention than usual. Yet there are a few journals whose high spots are a record of gains and loss. Organized Labor reports for the California building trades the splendid victory gained by the union in Federal Court's condemnation of the "American Plan" as a conspiracy.

By this plan the building contractors attempted to force an open shop by refusing "permits" for materials to any builder who did not maintain such a shop. November saw the outcry of these open shop tactics. Organized Labor naturally rejoiced.

The Coronado Case has finally been

settled by a complete victory in this specific case for the miners. On the other hand the Colorado Labor Advocate reports threats of dismissal and police interference through the inauguration of an organization campaign among the tramway men; the *Steele Cutter's Journal* reports company unions in Indiana and the Chattanooga Textile Workers are fighting "yellow dog contracts."

AND THE WORLD

The *Locomotive Engineer's Journal* gives much space to European affairs. Those of its members who are reporting on their European tour seem to find little encouragement in the conditions of that distressed continent. And the Craig affair finds its way into the last issues of the weeklies, who point out that labor has always suffered from this "divine right of judges." But it needed a Craig sentence to arouse society to this crying evil. Yet according to *Advocate* and the *Headgear Worker*, labor is ready to receive the benefits of reform whatever their source. The November Press predominantly then is a discussion of labor's "New Year resolutions." Will the December issues, like everyman's January 2d, mark a return to normalcy? According to some the Convention's deeds were all too moral; according to others the resolutions mark important beginnings. Let the December issues continue the tale.

—Journalist.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday afternoon, December 15, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will discuss "The British Elections" at his Current Events Class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

At 3:30 p. m., on the same day, the Saturday Evening Cameraderie will be held in the Debs Auditorium. Tea will be served during a social half hour, to be followed as usual by a lecture by Mr. William A. Brady on "Theatres of America and Europe."

On Tuesday evening, December 18, at 8:40 p. m., Dr. John B. Watson is lecturing on "Thinking as a definite form of Behavior."

On Thursday evening, December 20, at 8:40 p. m., Mr. Epstein will give the last lecture in his course on the "Ring of the Nibelungen." He will discuss "Tristan and Isolde."

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Tina Takes Charge

By ELSIE GLUCK

The stamp clerk looked at the batch of union books presented to him and gasped. He had never known the shop of J. Levine to make such a good showing in all its years of existence.

He looked through his window at the girl who had brought in the dues money. Funny, he didn't ever remember seeing her before. My, but she was pretty—but entirely too young to be working in that shop.

"Whose girl are you—Mrs. Patroni's? What's a-matter with the shop chairman? Why don't he come with the books?"

"I'm Tina D'Agostino. Don't you see my union book? Mrs. Patroni's girl! And I'm the new shop chairman. What do you think of that?"

"Ah, gen week! You ain't big enough to work in the shop. When did you get elected shop chairman? And some shop you got there, too, girls. Who held them members up with a pistol!"

Tina looked around. There was no one crowding back of her in the line and she felt more at ease.

"Well, you see, it was this way. Our shop—'s one rotten shop. Rotten pay, no good union members, boss always saying, 'My God, I gotta go out of business.' So last week the business agent come round and say, 'Whattamatter you people don't pay dues?' And everybody hollers outright in front of the boss. 'Aw, we can't pay no dues. This union shop, but no union pay.' Ow, this business agent is a wise guy. He knows it don't do no good to have the boss

listen to such talk, so he says, 'No union pay! We have to see about that. We better have shop meeting, so he calls the cutter—that was the old chairman—and tells him we gonna have shop meeting next day.

"People wouldn't come," says the shop chairman. "You know how it is with women; all crazy young girls or married ladies."

"And I says, 'That's right. What's the use! Anyhow, we can't come. You know Italian girls got to be home early.'"

"This business agent, he says in a kinda funny way, like he meant business. 'Remember, everybody, shop meeting tomorrow night. If you want to be good to yourself, you better come.'"

"So after he left, the boss says to the shop chairman, 'Say, Jake, I want to talk to you a little while. Come into the office.' (Some office!)

"What about?" hollers one of the pressers. He never get along well with that cutter.

"Don't you worry," says the cutter. "I have no private business with this boss and anything he want to say, he's got to say in the shop."

"Every time that business agent comes around you all get excited. You ain't such wonderful members anyhow. Ain't that right? The boss looks at those married Italian women. I suppose because he knows they don't understand."

"Sure, sure!" they says. "That got me mad. Sure, sure," I says to him. "That ain't your business. We're union, all right."

"He looks at me like he would like to slap me and then he says to the chairman, 'Well, what I was going to say before you all got so excited was if you want to make a little extra money you can work overtime tomorrow night.'"

"Time and a half!" chairman says.

"Sure."

"All right."

"Hey!" I hollered. "Tomorrow night is union meeting. How about overtime next night?"

"No, it's got to be done tomorrow."

"Well," says the shop chairman.

"What do you think?"

"Say, I says, 'these here women don't know what you are talking about!'"

"They understand," says the boss.

"But the chairman told me to explain to the women. So I did."

"We no care," they says.

"That made me good and mad. 'Say, chairman, I says, 'you gotta to do what union says and we going to have meeting tomorrow.'"

"Sure," he says, 'I'm willing. It's up to you.'"

"All right, then we have meeting." The boss he laughs kinda funny and says, 'Say, since when you such a wonderful member? Why ain't you the chairman?'"

"I get madder and madder, so the next night all the people don't put on their coats, I put mine on and look at the cutter, so he gits his on."

"Where you goin'?" Ain't you going to take that overtime when it comes?"

"Shop meeting! Hey, put on your things and come on down," I says to everybody, 'we tomorrow there be no job at all.' I don't know what makes me say that, but anyhow they all come."

"Well, you shoulda heard them at the shop meeting. 'The union only

care for money.' 'Sure,' say the agent, 'the union care you should get the money.' 'We go home,' say the women. 'But listen, Mr.—I don't know your name. What's a-matter with our pay? Eighteen dollars a week. You know we can't live on that.'"

"Eighteen dollars! Say, wait a minute!" And he took out pencil and paper and puts down everybody's name and what they make.

"What can I do?" says the chairman. "You know how it is with them women. The boss comes up and tells them that he's got a family to support, too. He says he ain't making out and he tells them how good workers they are and when business picks up they all be glad they stay. You can't do nothing with them women. It's their own fault."

"Then everybody gets excited and talks at the same time. The business agent gets them quiet and then he says:

"Don't talk, men and women; you all union members. Everybody's gotta help."

"That's right," says the chairman. "Let somebody else be chairman. I wouldn't be chairman no more. Too much fight, too little satisfaction, no thanks."

"So we have elections. They put up the cutter again and the pressers and a couple of the girls, and when the agent calls their names they all say 'No.' So when he calls mine, I say 'No,' too. Then he starts picking on me and saying, 'I thought you was

(Continued on Page 9)

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EDITORIALS

ENGLISH WORKERS ON THE MARCH

The just ended Parliamentary elections in England which resulted in such a crushing defeat for the governing party, the Conservatives, and in such a glowing victory for the Labor Party, are of extreme importance not only for the workers of England but for workers all over the world. This event, made it possible that the Labor Party become the governing party in England, offers a pointed lesson to all organized Labor and is quite likely to presage a new departure for the labor movement everywhere.

It is true that we must not become too enthusiastic and fall under a delusion that we are already on the threshold of a great world-wide upheaval. We are still a great distance from it. Badly as the two capitalist parties have fared in the last English elections, they still have a little less than five million votes more than the Labor Party, and a Parliamentary strength almost twice as great as the strength of the Labor Party. So when we consider that the Liberals and Tories, who are today divided into two camps, might without much trouble combine in the next campaigns into one big party, sworn to fight and uphold to the last ditch the existing order of things,—we cannot for a moment allow ourselves to be intoxicated by the thought that soon, very soon, the entire capitalist order will become a matter of history.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that what occurred in England on December 6th was an event of world-wide significance. It heralded far and wide in clear tones the fact that the workers are on their way to final victory, that the days of the capitalist order of things are, metaphorically speaking, numbered, and that a new day is actually dawning.

Let us take stock of what has happened. One fine morning we learned with surprise that the British Tories, sitting flat in the government saddle with a majority of over eighty members, decided to dissolve Parliament and seek a new election. The excuse for this startling adventure was the determination of the government to "relieve unemployment" through the enactment of a protective tariff. The pretext, however, fell flat and the majority of Englishmen administered to the ruling party a severe rebuke. This, however, does not in the least explain the original intention of the Tories. The question remains quite open, what was it all for? Why was it necessary to risk a safe position and court disaster?

In our opinion, the intent of the Conservative Party was an entirely different one and, from its point of view, a very logical one. The Tories were opposed in Parliament no longer by the Liberals but by the Labor Party. And this has been a source of continued gail and wormwood to the Tory leaders. The prospect of the Labor Opposition becoming at any moment the ruling party would not let it rest. It would not mind making room from time to time for the Liberal Party, but to turn the government over to the workers was too horrible a prospect to contemplate.

Something resolute and drastic had to be done to force the Labor Party out of its place as the chief Opposition group. Finally the Tories hit on a plan. They would dissolve Parliament, come out for a protective tariff as a sort of a bribe to the workers, with a tangible promise of relieving unemployment thereby. It was deftly arranged to limit the campaign to a few short weeks and, with the aid of the press and unlimited campaign funds at their disposal, to catch the Labor Party napping and unprepared, and squelch it.

There is another consideration to be had in mind. In the last few years, the Liberal Party was split into two factions, which fact has helped the Labor Party considerably to score election victories. This time, however, the two Liberal factions were going to unite and would thus take back whatever strength they might have lost in the past to Labor. Between the Tories and the united Liberals, it was planned the Labor Party would be ground to pieces.

Such was the scheme of those who had ordered the new elections. This campaign was calculated to be the funeral of the Labor and Socialist forces in England even though it was ostensibly fought for and against a protective tariff. And it must be admitted that all indications pointed towards a victory for the two bourgeois parties. We are inclined to suspect that, badly as the Conservatives have wanted to come out the victors from this contest, they would not have been so painfully hurt were the Liberal Party to come out on top. They, however, never reckoned that, against such odds, Labor would come out not only unhurt but with a gain of fifty new seats in Parliament. Instead of destroying Labor, the majority of 80 of the Tory Party in Parliament has been converted into a minority of over 90. True,

it still has a larger number of Parliament members than any other party, but it cannot be regarded as the ruling group in any sense of the word. It sees now plainly the handwriting on the wall that sooner or later it will have to relegate its place as the ruling party to hated and despised Labor.

And now the question arises: How indeed has the Labor Party overcome all these difficulties? How could it in such a brief space of time have prepared and fought to a standstill its enemies? The only answer to this is that Baldwin and his advisers have blundered all the time in believing that the Labor Party was not prepared. Baldwin reckoned without his host when he thought that the English workers, who a year ago voted for the Labor Party, would now abandon it at the offer of a bribe extended by him. He underestimated the intelligence of the English worker. True, the Labor Party had little money, practically no press and little campaign literature, but the Labor Party had laid the groundwork of its present strength in former years and has educated the workers of England to a degree that they might see through the tricks and subterfuge of the ruling parties and not be caught in their nets.

The significance of this victory, therefore, lies not in the thought that the Labor Party may for a while become the ruling party. This means very little, and under the circumstances it may not be quite the best thing that the Labor Party undertake now upon itself the burdens of government. Nor does this victory spell the immediate eclipse of the capitalist system, as some hotheads might be inclined to believe. To us, this victory spells the victory of the intelligence and the clarity of purpose of the English workers and of their ability to overcome the haze and maze of trickery, subterfuge and fake. Insofar as the English workers are concerned, it is clear now that the day of the political charlatan is over. The English workers know what they want, and are on their way to getting it. The English workers are not today and will never be pawns in the hands of the political demagogues. They are not deluded by fancy phrases and have learned to think for themselves. The workers of England are on their march to freedom, to final victory and therein lies the paramount meaning of the Parliamentary campaign just closed in the British Isles.

NO FAVORED "LEAGUES"

Last Monday President Sigman summoned the General Executive Board of the International for a special meeting, to consider several problems which cannot be delayed until the next quarterly meeting several weeks hence.

Among other questions at this meeting the problem of the various "leagues" existing in some of our locals was discussed. This question, though frequently dealt with in the columns of our journal, appears to be still misunderstood by a considerable part of our members, and it would perhaps be worth while once more to state this subject and the attitude of the General Executive Board towards it, in clear and unmistakable terms.

An impression seems to prevail in some quarters that in its memorable order to the locals, the General Executive Board had in mind only the so-called "left" leagues, and that it sees no danger whatever in the formation of such leagues as would aid the union in the carrying out of its policy. This is a profound mistake. The order of the General Executive Board speaks not of one specific kind of "leagues," but of all, no matter under what name they go and what purpose they pursue. The General Executive Board considers every such "league" as superfluous and injurious to the union. The union can and must carry out all its functions through its own ways and means, and with the aid of its own members and its duly constituted committees. It will not tolerate any leagues that are being formed within the union for either good or bad purposes. Such a "league," acting upon its own initiative and responsibility, is in fact a union within a union, and a body which clearly cannot be tolerated.

We know that some such groups have in the past been formed with the best of intentions,—some of them, in fact, have had as their aim to combat the baneful influence of other "leagues" which were undermining the existence of some locals. But even then they were quite superfluous. It is the duty of the union itself to protect its life and existence against the disruptive elements that combine against it. It is beyond question, therefore, that today when the International is itself successfully waging a fight against those union-wreckers, that such "leagues," whether they call themselves "Pure and Simple" or otherwise, are entirely out of place in our union.

They need not expect that the General Executive Board will treat them with special favor or with appropriate mildness because they are opposed to the "lefts." More than once did we declare that the General Executive Board does not regard the "lefts" as step-children and does not treat the "rights" as pets. For the General Executive Board all the members of the union are equal—as long as they act as good and honest members should act, accept no orders from the outside and form no "clubs," "societies" or "leagues" for the purpose of forcing certain policies upon the organization.

So once again let it be stated that the order of the General Executive Board is applicable not only to the Trade Union Educational League, not merely to the sundry "shop delegates leagues," attached or unattached, but for "leagues" of every sort and description. There must not be any organization within our organization, or separate little unions within our union. And if the so-called "lefts" have finally understood this "leagues" have submitted to the order of the International, the so-called "rights" who assert that they are fully in accord with the policies and strivings of the International, must surely obey it.

Gompers in The Sunday World

By HARRY LANG.

Among the regular Sunday "features" of the New York World there has appeared for the last few weeks several articles by Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor. The old chief of the American workers in these articles not only expresses his personal opinions regarding general and special American issues, but he reflects in them the trend of thought and the philosophy of the Federation of Labor.

These articles are interesting and informative for more than one reason. They are not statements in that sense which a person in a high social position is obliged to make from time to time, and which are more in the nature of a duty than a sincere or a deep desire to say something. Such statements, appeals, or explanations surely have their place and worth, but one will seldom if ever find in such pronouncements the true, frank mirror of the soul and mind of the man who is called upon to make them.

Gompers' articles in the World are of an entirely different character. In these articles he treats his subject with thorough deliberation and a careful choice of words—to be sure, in somewhat too careful a manner. Gompers is at all times aware that he is the president of the American Federation of Labor and that when he speaks, he speaks for a great community, for an army, as it were, and that the enemies of this army are on the alert to interpret every word of his in a wrong light. Indeed, in spite of an obvious desire to break away from conventionalism and to speak more unrestrainedly and more naturally, this caution is evident in every sentence and line in these articles.

One article, for instance, deals with the immigration problem in this country. This article contains a paragraph in which Gompers says that America must not keep its doors tightly shut to every one whom fate brings to these shores. The American Federation of Labor is, he says, against free and unrestricted immigration and advocates firm laws against it. There is, however, an immigration element which must not be subjected to the same iron-clad observance of these laws. Gompers refers to those immigrants who come to America as a haven of refuge from political and religious persecution. He speaks of America's fine traditions of receiving with open arms the victims of political dictatorship and the martyred refugees from racial hatred. It would seem that the chief of organized labor in America here appears in the role of an advocate for those who come here to seek political freedom or national and religious peace. Yet, Gompers refers to this element only in a casual way. He devotes to it only a scant paragraph, and this too in a hundredfold guarded manner and uttered in a still, small voice.

Gompers, a true friend of freedom, surely had wished to broadcast far and wide his feelings concerning the brutalities of immigration; but Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, is apprehensive that a statement of this kind might stir up against him the opposition of those forces in the labor movement who would keep America closed to all and everybody. And as the president of the American Federation of Labor, he could not afford to fight these forces. That is why his liberal point of view with regard to immigration comes out in this article, hazy and very much discolored.

We shall yet return to his article about immigration. The figures quoted in it are very interesting, and the argumentation as to whether America lacks workers or not is very instructive. What we stated above is only meant as an illustration of how Gompers

as the official leader of the movement is wary of the consequences of developing a theory or a problem to its logical end. And his post, his responsibility to his army, keeps him in restraint even when he attempts the work of a publicist, and therein lies the chief drawback that an intelligent reader cannot fail to see in these articles.

We shall point to another passage in one of his articles, in the last one, where Gompers speaks about the "infection" of the American "intelligentsia" with the ideas of Bolshevism and its flirting with communism.

Gompers is amazed at this phenomenon and he asks the question, How is it that so many American scholars, critics, men of letters and intellectuals in general are so enthusiastic for Bolshevism and are so resentful against any disparaging remark about the Communist dictatorship in Russia. "Communism," as it exists in Russia," Gompers argues, "means dictatorship and unchecked rule, which is in its very essence the opposite of democracy. The educated classes in America should therefore be lined up for democracy and against the Bolshevist idea of dictatorship." Gompers places these questions clearly and boldly. In his answer, however, he misses entirely the psychological element of this very peculiar situation. True, he states that there is a psychological explanation of it, but he hardly touches upon it. For if he should, he would have had to

acknowledge that the American intellectual classes are sick at heart of our "democracy" and that they have sufficient reason for it. The political rottenness which has eaten into the very heart of our political structure, the graft in politics, the conversion of politics from a social function into a business—these are all factors which can enthrone our intellectuals but little, and small wonder therefore that they are carried away at this moment by what is generally termed as Bolshevism.

Gompers may see that, but he obviously cannot state it clearly. A declaration of that sort by Gompers would mean the indictment of the American political "democracy." And here again the same complex, we would say, enters; Gompers cannot separate himself from the idea that he was not given a mandate by the workers to represent them politically but to speak their mind and fight their battles for them on the economic field.

And so we say, it is Gompers' post as the leader of the economic organization of American workers that makes his articles sort of unfinished in places and in others hazy and half-spoken. On the whole, however, these articles are highly interesting and very instructive. Whether they speak of the relation of industry in our social structure, the relations of government towards industry, or give his theories regarding industrial democracy, they lead to the fight of the unions in America real meaning

"A Week"

A WEEK, by Iery Libedinsky, New York; B. W. Huebsch. \$1.50.

An unusual little book this, and a very welcome one. It is the nearest thing to belles lettres that has come out of Russia in some time and while classed in America should therefore be lined up for democracy and against the Bolshevist idea of dictatorship." Gompers places these questions clearly and boldly. In his answer, however, he misses entirely the psychological element of this very peculiar situation. True, he states that there is a psychological explanation of it, but he hardly touches upon it. For if he should, he would have had to

The book lifts the curtain upon a stage set in a small Russian town, at the foot of the Ural, some time around the early spring of 1921, three and a half years after the October revolution and shortly before the inauguration of the New Economic Policy. It is the tale of a week

crowded with stirring events centering around an attempt by peasant rebel-bands, as the author calls them, under the leadership of a former White Guard officer in disguise, to capture the city from the local Communist authorities. The attempt fails and the battalion of the Red Army stationed in the town, with the aid of embattled railway workmen, quashes the revolt but not before several of the local Communist chiefs are brutally slain by the peasant rebels.

WHAT HAPPENED IN ENGLAND



Labour! We're going your way. Throw your bundle in behind, mate, and jump up.

And He Did

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The Board of Grievances of the Cook and Skirtsman's Union and of the Cook Manufacturers' Protective Association of New York decided that employers be not permitted to discharge cutters or sample makers during the working week. On the other hand, workers shall not leave their jobs under similar conditions. Employers who violate these rules must pay the workers a full week's wage, and the workers who leave the job during the week shall forfeit the wage due them for the days they have worked.

Alteration tailors employed by Bonnet Tailor Co. go out on strike today to the firm's demand that they resign their membership in the union.

At a meeting of shop chairmen of all the cloak shops in New York, the decision was adopted to call upon the Joint Board to take steps against the so-called manufacturers who obtained materials and patterns from big firms and did the work more cheaply than in the inside shops.

and an absorbing concept. He outlines in logical consistency the underlying thought of the underlying movement. He places a definite goal before it and gives color and content to his own lifelong work.

We shall again return to these articles at an early opportunity.

The story, we take it, is typical of the innumerable small peasant uprisings which in 1920-21 reverberated across the whole Volga and Ural region and which led to the "strategic retreat" of the Bolsheviki, the practical end of the period of militant Communism, and the birth of the Nep. A panorama of faces, young and old, Chekists, party leaders, soldiers, ascetic girl revolutionists, a former Cossack officer turned Red Army battalion commander, counter-revolutionists under cover and in the open—passes before the reader, a living, moving picture, as for the few types of Soviet enemies drawn rather thin and pale and not without a touch of burlesque. Superbly done portraits are those of Martynov, the Hamletizing "intellectual" son of a noble family who "wandered" into the Communist ranks and stayed there, and whose former sweetheart, who shuns him because of his present life and associations, still lives in this small town in convent-like seclusion; and the old Cossack battalion chief, and of the young Cheka leader.

"A Week" is the kind of a book one reads from cover to cover without stopping—regardless of its literary merits. It affords a look into the heart of Russia—true, the Russia of almost three years ago—and it is, therefore, above anything else, of genuine historic value. And while it cannot be said that it is written in the detached mood of real art, or, at least, with the photographic faithfulness of an impartial recorder—such pen luxuries cannot yet be dreamed of in the Russia of today—"A Week," across its small pages, throws for the more light on the why and wherefore of the background, the provincial town life of Soviet Russia, than two score volumes of that wearily naive and half-baked pro and anti-Soviet propaganda of foreign literati and practical politicians which passes as informative literature on Russia in America and in some circles in Europe.

The book is very well translated by Arthur Ransome, though to one who knows Russian it is cobwebby in places and lacks spirit.

MAX D. DANISH.

THE STAGE

100—25—25—25—100

The Theatre Guild presents at the Garrick as the second production of its sixth season "THE FAILURES," a play in fourteen scenes, by H. R. Lenormand. Translated from the French by Winifred Katsin; directed by Stark Young; settings by Lee Simonson.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

The failure has become the heresy of modern epic. There is more than paradox in this fact; there is clear evidence of the increasing vigor of social environment on the one hand and the social rise of the underdog on the other. As long as the social environment was set and men knew they would die in the same class in which they had been born, art had an all-concern with alives and serfs. Some imaginations did stir under the sufferings that marred the lives of the "other nine-tenths"; but on the whole, artists dealt with brave knights and fair ladies and other-world inhabitants. There is no adventure in poverty and young civilizations worship deeds.

With the rise of industrialism, opportunity and adventure did knock at the doors of the disinherited. As "pushing individualists" forced new paths for themselves, literature took note of them. Successful captains of industry supplanted the knights of feudal art. Gradually the disinherited organized and the poor became articulate "union" boys. Poverty meant no more a factory town, a concentrated stench in life ways and industrial cities. No great artist alive today has been able to ignore the society's disinherited. Only the E. M. Hulls can be devoted wholeheartedly to the "rich."

Of recent years even the slight promise and hope that lit the artist's picture of the poor has been dimmed. Today our Oliver Twists no longer discover that they really belong to wealth and comfort, nor do the Dick Whittingtons find the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. They either discover the union like Pelle, or like Dittie they find release in death while the mass-mensch and the machine-wreckers push the single men from the center of the stage. As the "failure" fires the imagination of art, we mark the end of another epoch. Once again economic environment has become a rigorous and set, but the disinherited maintain more than ever the places they have won in the minds and imaginations of men.

As the final curtain fell upon the Theatre Guild's presentation of "The Failures," I felt that art had recognized another milestone in the progress of the race. The recognition of failure of course remains, but its interpretation changes. Within a quarter of a century, this interpretation has passed through three distinct stages. M. Lenormand's belongs to the newest school. Thus must modern art race to keep pace with the rapid sweep of modern events.

When John Galsworthy presented "Justice," he created for us a man who was admittedly guilty of the crime for which society held him, who deserved the punishment which society meted out to him according to all accepted standards and yet was a living impeachment of the society that broke him. A failure—poor, weak, and yet an accusation. Dreiser's "Hound of the Potter" still kept the failure a poor, weak one—and even more—degenerate and morally deformed. But "The Hound of the Potter" had fashioned him; so let society take God to task, the creator rather than the creation. In Lenormand's play, as in those of Eugene

O'Neill, the brave and, the soble join, the ranks of the failures made by society. Art no longer says to society: "Well, supposing your failures are meagre, weak, or even deformed souls, what of it, you heartless brute?" Looking at the Anna Christies and the Montredons and the he's and she's with their fine courage and understanding and wisdom it cries, "Look what you have made of these splendid noble souls, you criminal. Think what they might have been, if it were not for you."

The Guild's current production starts this charge with a tearing emotional force. "We feel ourselves by saying that this mire in which we wallow is a finer, better mire. But it's the same dirty mire," he says. In that lies the poignancy of this poignant play. It is the same mire. The core of this unconventional drama is as conventional as that of a featured movie. A beautiful young wife sells her body to save herself and her husband from the accompaniments of poverty—from disease and cold and utter starvation. But virtue does not triumph at the last curtain in the grand fashion of D. W. Griffith; nor does noble husband receive his erring wife with a smug gesture of forgiveness. They wallow in the mire, and the mire dirties them but they save their souls. Even though she becomes everyman's mistress and he becomes a drunkard and a murderer, they save their souls. For what happens to them is so inevitable that circumstances give them only revolt and understanding. It does not poison the essence of their humanity. The Guild's program frames the title of the play in questions: 0-9-0-0-0-0-0-0. Rather 100-25-25-25-100. The failures began with themselves, and everything that external circumstances took from them did not diminish the original capital.

Of the long cast only Montredon and Saint-Gallet and Larnaude have the identity granted by a specific name. Why these three failures are raised thus from the mass, I do not know. There is effectiveness in designation which lists "He" and "She" and "The Musician and the Baker, etc." It is not that these characters lack individuality but that their individuality in actual life is crushed by the external cruelty that makes them failures. Conquerors have titles and monuments, victims are marked with a cross and a number.

These failures are all people of potential promise. Dreamers, courageous, humorous, they are terrible contrasts to the oily, dense and limited members of the worldly successful. Montredon dreams of his National Art Theatre; He, of his fine dramas; She, of her heralded acting. And they all end in a stock-company tour of the provinces. They were not aesthetic geniuses—none of them—but they were brave enough to recognize in when the truth became unmistakably clear: "Yet what same society would penalize for its dream of lesser dream? When Montredon tries to laugh at the world "write-up" accorded him in the Artists' Who's Who, the catch in his voice is the only audible reproach he makes to our "success."

"The tour of the provinces" is their attempt to avert the dawn of awak-

ening from crumbled dreams. The had first met him when rehearsing in his play which even failed to win adequate rehearsals. They had married and discovered they were not great artists and that they had to live by some "practical means." He teaches, and then comes Montredon's offer of a contract in the tour they all despise. She might go and he continue teaching; this would certainly be the practical counsel. But they love each other too deeply to face seriously any such lengthy separation. They go together on her meagre salary. The meagre salary brings them everything—just meagre salaries usually bring—meat and sufferings and despair.

She could have stood the physical suffering of poverty. But she could not watch him standing it. She takes the way out that the society of practical men still offers to poor and pretty women. Like the young wife of O. Henry's story who sold her gorgeous hair (before the days of the bob) to buy a watch chain for the husband who had sold his watch to buy her a comb, she came bearing her "gift of the magi." He understood and loved the motive behind the act but could never really accept the act. And so they go down until he discovers and takes the "last way out" for them both.

Undoubtedly the play is there, but just as undoubtedly the Guild's production brought out its every value as few other organizations could. Lee Simonson's screen sets that the two in as harshly and bleakly as does poverty itself. Winifred Lenihan was a striking She, her every movement revealing the courage and understanding and fundamental incorruptibility

that belonged to this failure. Ben-Ami became at times unbearably moving; his portrayal, always close to the stuff of greatness, reached peaks of terrible brilliance. When he cried, "Don't laugh, Don't laugh," just before her hysterics gazed his turn never to murder, the stars vanished and nothing existed but his desperate clutching fingers and his writhing soul.

Ben-Ami has made marked progress in the essential trappings of his English art. His pronunciation is much surer and his accent shadowy thin. Since "John Ferguson" and "Jane Clegg" and "Lillian" and "The Adding Machine," Dudley Digges has been for me one of the foremost actors in the American stage. His Montredon in the current production adds another sterling bit to his achievement. The failures and favored of the world cannot be made them complete the perfection of the picture.

When He lies dead and crumpled by She's bed and over his own gun, Saint-Gallet, pathetic failure, doubly pathetic because he seeks to hide the facts in the externals of worldly importance, hurriedly steps forward to give information to the investigating police. Saint-Gallet has been the first to pronounce judgment upon the murderer and the suicide, he has been most valuable in his grief, and he has gripped most eagerly at the chance to make some money in the limelight. Like the world, he will not admit his own failure, but judges harshly, sympathizes profusely for a fleeting instant, snatches morbid interest and importance from the desperation of the finer victims. The curtain descends on the world writing history.

The Hopeful Journey

By Beatrice Kean Seymour. Thomas Seltzer, New York.

By FRANCES ROBBINS

We saw a play the other night and between acts we peeped into "The Hopeful Journey," which we had smuggled in with us. And at each rising of the curtain we reluctantly closed our book and returned to the world of make-believe.

Not that the play was bad; it was fairly good as plays go, but to us the characters that lived and loved through the printed pages of the book were far more real than the human beings who for a few hours went through various speeches and gestures in the drawing room of the Collylawsons.

For the people of "The Hopeful Journey" are living people—moving through an absorbing drama of three generations.

Miss Seymour must be a feminist (we confess we never heard of her before we read this fascinating volume), for in each generation she concentrates on one woman and through her interprets for us the tragedy and injustice of the life of women in a man's world. But in Miss Seymour there is never a trace of bitterness, only broad understanding of man as well as women and love and sympathy for them in the "hopeful journey of life."

Judith of the first generation is a shrinking, quiet creature, who "puts up with things," and who lives her life under the tyranny of a selfish, faithless husband. Her recompense lies in her children. Of these the strongest in character is Eve—a rebel always, fighting vainly for her ambition to become a physician. Eventually she marries and brings up her three children, Monica, Judith and Mark. She pins her hopes on the lovely Monica. But Monica is of weaker fibre. She marries Shane, who though he loves her betrays her love

and drags it through the mud of a filthy scandal. And Monica, granddaughter of the enduring Judith, and daughter of the Eve who would not endure, later returns to Shane, willing for the sake of her love to "put up" with things for the rest of her life.

We may, like Monica's mother, condemn her weakness, but unlike Eve, we pity and understand. For Monica, though raised in the atmosphere of a home where the woman was stronger, nevertheless carried within her the heritage of countless women who lived not a life of their own but a life ordered by the husband and father. Most women, though they may not realize it, are readily grouped into those who, as the author says, "put up with things" and those who do not. Eve is distinctly of the second group and cannot understand how a daughter of hers can be so shamelessly weak.

Throughout the book is a tenseness—the struggle for freedom—of each in her own way. And to none of them does freedom mean quite the same thing. Judith found her freedom in her children. Eve found hers in a career away from them and could never see that her freedom was not the freedom (just Monica wanted).

As young Judith tries to explain when Eve declares all her children have been given perfect freedom: "Perfect freedom to be like you—as much like you as possible. You know, mother, you can't bear us to think differently, to be ourselves. And that's the only freedom worth having."

Miss Seymour is never dogmatic. Hers is a breathlessly interesting narrative. She never tries to teach a lesson or point a moral, but speaks before us a carpet of many designs, drab, glowing, harmonious, chaotic. The reader may tread where he will.



LABOR THE WORLD OVER

HOLLAND**INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF WORKING-CLASS YOUTH.**

The Executive of the Young Workers' International in Holland has given expression to its sense of international solidarity by a resolution to set aside the first of December next as a Collection Day for the benefit of young German workers.

TEACHERS' INTERNATIONAL.

On October 27th and 28th, 1923, an international teachers' conference was held at Osnabruck, Westphalia, under the chairmanship of Mr. Sassenbach, Secretary of the I. F. T. U. The international relations between teachers having been brought to an end in all countries as a result of the war and the events succeeding it, it is manifest that at the present crisis in European affairs it is urgently necessary to restore these relations and to inspire them with new principles.

The Teachers' Committee appointed by the Osnabruck Conference consists of the following members: Adams (Germany); Lasnigg (Austria); Noordhoff (Holland); Peters (Belgium); and Posthumus (Holland). This committee has compiled the following principles:

1. The International Teachers' Association is desirous of combining the various teachers' unions of all countries into a single strong and efficient international organization, which shall pursue a clearly-defined policy.
2. The International Teachers' Association adopts the platform of unconditional and energetic solidarity with the teachers of all countries and with all workers engaged in economic conflict, and recognizes the international trade union principles which apply to such conflict.
3. It seeks not merely to give resolute support, together with the workers of all countries, to the struggle of the international teachers' unions for the improvement of the status of teachers both in the school and in the state, but also to work hand in hand with them for the furtherance of all education tending towards real progress, in order that the idea of peace and the conciliation of the peoples may be promoted in the various countries by a radical modification of the school and educational system. In the pursuance of these objects, it is desirous of co-operating as far as possible with all the existing organizations, and also with unions which are not teachers' unions but which seek these same ends.

The committee issued an appeal to all the teachers' organizations of the world to participate in the International Teachers' Conference to be held at Leipzig on the 16th and 17th of April, 1924.

All enquiries should be addressed to the International Federation of Trade Unions, Vondelstraat, Amsterdam.

SOUTH AFRICA**NO ADMISSION OF KAFFIRS INTO TRADE UNIONS.**

The president of the South African Miners' Union has issued a formal contradiction of the rumor that natives are to be admitted into trade unions.

ARGENTINE**THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE.**

The trade union organizations of Argentina are keeping up a fight with the firm of Guillermo Padilla, Ltd. This firm exploits the retail supply of petrol, making its purchases for the purpose from the West Indian Oil Company, a dependent of the North American Standard Oil Company.

The conflict arises out of an attempt of the employers, headed by the above-mentioned firm, to destroy all labor organizations in the country. The pressing necessity for action by the proletariat of the country led to the setting up of a special committee for the blockade of the firm in question; a committee consisting of all the organizations affected by the reactionary proposals of the employers in this country.

LATVIA**TRADES UNIONS MAINTAIN UNITED FRONT.**

The Trade Union Council unanimously approved the resolutions passed by the Management Committee of the International Federation of Trades Unions on the subject of relations with the Communists, and resolved that, in order to prevent fresh disruptions, the individual trade unions should no longer conduct separate negotiations concerning the united front with the unions which have succeeded, but that all such negotiations should be left in the hands of the National Executive Committee.

ITALY**THE FASCIST LABOR DELEGATION AT THE LABOR CONFERENCE OF GENEVA.**

Rosoni, the Fascist labor delegate, had a somewhat difficult task in justifying his presence at the Labor Conference held at Geneva in October. In his rather tortuous explanations he urged that the Labor Movement should no longer be divided according to trades, but that it should consist of the various "production groups," which should each comprise employers, workers, and middle men, etc. Rosoni was obliged to resort to this argument, because it is well known that the Fascist organizations contain not only workers, but also employers. This fact is clear from the rules of the Fascist organization, published in the official gazette of Rome in November, 1922, which state categorically that the Fascist Federation of Trade Unions, is an organization which, under the symbol of the Italian flag, organizes all citizens of both sexes, that is to say, all classes and categories of manual and non-manual workers. Article III declares expressly that every trade group, is to be divided into different classes, these classes representing capitalists, direct producers, employers, cooperators, profit-sharers, members following independent pursuits, salaried employees, and wage-workers.

We believe that these articles of the rules (which, according to Rosoni

are merely "draft" rules) furnish abundant proof that the Fascist trade unions are not bona-fide trade unions. In view of the official publication of these Rules, we really do not know how Rosoni, the leader of a trade union federation which claims to be a bona-fide movement, can have the courage to say that the Fascist organizations still have no rules, although the Federation has been in existence for two years. In any civilized country where an organization can exist for two years without possessing any rules? These things throw a somewhat peculiar light on conditions in the Fascist organizations, and also on the Italian Government, who sends delegates to represent an organization which does not even possess rules.

It is well known that the governments and employers have declared in favor of the validity of Rosoni's mandate. According to the newspapers, Mussolini, speaking at Rome on the occasion of the anniversary of the entry of the Fascists, declared that the admission of the Fascist delegate to the International Labor Conference was the first victory of the Fascist Trade Union Movement. Whether the word "victory" is very appropriate here we may perhaps doubt, when we recollect that the Labor delegates at Geneva, without exception, voted against the admission of the Italian delegates. In other words: All the delegates of the largest and most representative organizations were to be found among the opposition. Nor was this all. We kept a sharp look-out during the decisive meeting, and are able to declare definitely that the government delegates of Germany, Latvia, Norway, Yugo-Slavia, and Czech-Slovakia left the hall before the voting, and thereby abstained from voting. The employers of course all voted for admission; the Fascists may boast of this "victory."

One more point. The question of admission of the Fascist delegates was discussed on the last day of the Labor Conference, that is to say, when all the work was done. At the earlier conferences the mandate question has always been dealt with towards the end of the Conference. But when problems so vital to the Labor Movement are at stake, measures should certainly be taken to secure that the question of the verification of mandates be treated earlier at a plenary session. By this means the labor group would have a better opportunity of defining their attitude towards those whose only desire is to hamper the development of the trade union movement. In these reactionary times we are not surprised that the governments and employers voted in favor of admission. But the workers have given it clearly to be understood that they will have nothing to do with people like Rosoni and his fellows.

Tina Takes Charge

(Continued from page 5)

so anxious to be chairman. Ain't women just as good as men?"

"Well, that got my goat. So I said, 'Sure, I'll be chairman. And I bet I'll get a raise, too.'

"Wait till you're elected," says the agent.

"Well, anyhow, I got elected and then came the regular meeting, and, boy, you should have seen the raises that agent put us down for! Everybody was excited, but some of them said, 'Ah, we don't get no raise. Boss rather go out of business.'

"Say, what's the matter with you?" I said. "You worry about yourself. The boss take care himself. Sure, you don't get no raise if you don't stick together." So then I made a little speech—honest, it was the first time of my life—everybody promise to be firm union member.

"Next morning, when we come in the boss looks kinda scared. We work nice and quiet and about ten o'clock the business agent come and he call me in with a committee. The boss nearly died when he saw that list. Some of us gets \$10 and \$15 raise. My God, I gotta shut down my business. Why ain't you reasonable? Say, \$5 here and \$2 here.

"'Ah, ha, five and two,' I says. 'Last week you said you paid us too much already.'

"Just a minute," says the agent. "You contractors have a hard time sometimes. Let's see, whom do you do work for?" And when the boss tells him he says, "Those raises I put down are too small for that class of work." But you'll be a good beginning.

"Well, the boss wouldn't give in. He tried to talk to our committee and to me. So we just got up and left him. And the agent said he'd come back in the afternoon.

"When the agent left the shop,

everybody was excited. 'What you gonna do now?'

"Wait till dinner time. Shop's no place for a meeting. Keep your shirt on!'

"So dinner time I got them all together and I told them how the boss was willing right away to give some raise and what dumbbells they were for saving 25 cents a week on dues and paying the boss five dollars a week, and what a good chance we had to get what we wanted. Sure, they were all happy then. So I said to them, 'All right, you such wonderful members. You believe in the union all the time. Is that right?' 'Sure, sure.' 'Well, how about paying up the books? I begin with mine and pay the last cent.' Some of them says they have no money and I tell them I'm willing to lend it. Whether we win or lose this time.' 'Sure.' 'Well, we're going to win, see? If the business agent or I tell you to stop that means he don't want to give in. You all gotta stick together.' And I gave them a fine speech and everybody felt grand.

"Well, you just bet they did stick. 'I gotta give up the business,' he says. 'That's what you said before, but yesterday you offer me five dollars.' The business agent shows him where other bosses doing the same work pay what we ask for. We had a swell little stoppage. No one of them married women put a hand to her work. For how long? About one hour—and then we got pretty nearly everything we asked for.

"Yes, sree, I just made up my mind this time—we're going to win. So everybody gave me their books."

Then suddenly, as she was leaving, she called back: "Wanta make a bet those books going to stay good? So long!"



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

British Elections and Labor Education

The results of the British elections are of extraordinary interest to us. Those who had doubts as to the general intelligence of the working class are cheered by what happened there.

Intensive propaganda was spread in all directions by the capitalist press. It attempted to convince British workers that protection will stimulate the home industries and will provide employment for the millions of British jobs.

Such an appeal has generally been successful in America. But our British brethren were not caught this time. The British Labor Party countered with intensive educational propaganda. Its literature pointed out that protection of home industries will surely mean higher profits to manu-

facturers and an increased cost of living, but will not necessarily cut down unemployment. It also pointed out the part protection plays in aggravating international relations and creating ill-will instead of good-will among nations. The splendid fact is that British Labor was not fooled. They read and thought. The results were evident at the elections. The victory of the Labor Party proved that workers can and do understand economic issues when these are presented from a labor point of view.

The British victory is an inspiration to those of us who have faith in labor education. True, it may take time as it did in England. But ultimately the result of labor education will fully repay the labor movement for its efforts in this direction.

Lectures in Baltimore and Philadelphia

"How to Understand the History of the United States," a Lecture in Yiddish by N. B. Fagin for our Baltimore Members, Tuesday, December 18.

Mr. Fagin will lecture in Yiddish on "How to Understand the History of the United States", for our members in Baltimore on Tuesday evening, December 18. This lecture will be given at 201 Aisquith Street.

This is the third of a series of four lectures, but every lecture is a unit in itself. At this lecture Mr. Fagin will discuss "Forces Behind Government and Politics," the making of the constitution, and amongst others, he will also discuss the following:

1. How does it happen that in a free Republic there should be an incessant struggle between democracy and autocracy?
2. Has the conflict between state rights and federal rights been good for the development of the country?
3. Why was the government compelled to pass anti-trust laws?

4. What is meant by government "of the people, by the people, for the people"?

5. What has been the effect of labor unionism on our government?

Alexander Fichandler, Will Lecture on "Social Psychology," December 21, for our Members in Philadelphia.

Alexander Fichandler will begin a series of three lessons on "Social Psychology" on Friday, December 21, for our members in Philadelphia. These lessons will be given at 1035 Spruce Street.

Mr. Fichandler will make an attempt in this series to arrive at a satisfactory view of human nature and will stress the importance of thinking straight and logically about many concrete social and economic issues. He will, with the audience, make a study of the motives and actions of people about us with a view to throwing additional light on our own conduct and mental life.

A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the

UNITY CENTERS

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Season 1922-1923

LESSON 7—Continued.

9. The Washington Conference called to halt armament building and arrive at some settlement of imperialist rivalries in the Far East sat from November 12, 1921, to February 11, 1922. It limited chiefly the building of battleships (an antiquated weapon) and by accepting the doctrines of "special interests" and the "accomplished fact," failed to settle the Far Eastern Question. The disarmament treaties have been signed thus far only by the United States. (R. L. Buell, "The Washington Conference," Part III.)
10. The Genoa Conference (April 11 to May 20, 1922) aimed to set up commercial relations with Soviet Russia. It failed because of the French attitude toward the Russian debts and the stiffening of Russia's attitude with the reports of better crops. Special treaties were signed between Russia and Germany.
11. The attempts of individual capitalists such as Hugo Stinnes and J. Pierpont Morgan to meet the situation thus far have come to nothing.
12. France in the Ruhr is attempting reconstruction by force. But force, like conferences, cannot destroy economic facts. Whatever the French may be seeking in Germany there is small probability as far as present indications show, that they will find healing for the world.
13. All in all, we may say that capitalism thus far has failed to meet the post-war challenge hurled at it. We may now ask ourselves if it can continue to exist and what can take its place.

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 529

Saturday, December 15

1:30 p. m. Bird Stair—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—Poets of the New Social Order.

2:30 p. m. David J. Saposs—American Labor in Modern Civilization—Political Attempts of Labor to Reorganize the Existing System.

Sunday, December 16

10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Foundations of Modern Civilization—Tools of Civilization.

11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—Political and Social Institutions in Modern Civilization—The Beginnings of Social Control.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, December 17

Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171

1034 Third Street near Fifth Avenue, Room 406

8:30 p. m. Margaret Daniels—Trade Unionism in the United States—Beginnings of the Modern Labor Movement, The American Federation of Labor.

Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43

Brown Place and 135th Street, Room 305

8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement—Wasting Industry.

Tuesday, December 18

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61

Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Room 511

8:45 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement—Banking Control of Modern Industry.

Wednesday, December 19

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63

4th Street near 1st Avenue, Room 404

9:00 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions—The Trust. English is taught for beginners, intermediate and advanced students, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Saturday, December 15

Local 9—228 Second Avenue

1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Modern Economic Institutions.

ENGLISH

Thursday, December 20

Local 17—Reefer Makers' Educational Center

142 Second Avenue

6:00 to 8:00 p. m. Mr. Goldberg will instruct in the English language.

YIDDISH

Sunday, December 23

Forward Building, 175 E. Broadway

10:30 a. m. H. Rogoff—American Civilization.

Friday, December 14 and 21

Local 21—215 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

8:00 p. m. Rehearsal I. L. G. W. U. Chorus. Members of the International are invited.

OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

BALTIMORE

YIDDISH

Tuesday, December 18

Office of Joint Board, 201 Aisquith Street.

8:00 p. m. N. B. Fagin—How to Understand the Social and Economic History of the United States.

CLEVELAND

Monday, December 17

Office of Joint Board, 203 Superior Building.

8:00 p. m. H. A. Aikins—Applied Psychology.

Thursday, December 20

8:00 p. m. E. L. Oliver—Aims, Problems and Tactics of the American Trade Union Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.

PHILADELPHIA

YIDDISH

Friday, December 14

1035 Spruce Street.

7:45 p. m. Max Levin—Aims, Problems and Tendencies of the American Labor Movement.

Friday, December 21

7:45 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Social Psychology.

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.



Cooperative Notes

15 MILLION GERMAN COOPERATORS APPEAL TO AMERICA

One-quarter of the German people, banded together in the great German cooperative movement, have sent a call to the workers and farmers of America for moral help. Starvation and despair, stalking through that suffering country, has prompted the greatest international appeal ever made by organized cooperators.

"In this crisis," reads the message sent by the Central Union of German Distributive Societies to the farmer, labor, and cooperative organizations of America, "and in the true spirit of the international cooperative movement, which exists in all countries, we appeal to the organized farmers, labor, and other cooperators in America to support the recent proposals for a new reparations conference which shall fix in a fair and impartial way Germany's capacity to pay indemnities."

"Over 40 per cent of the German industrial population are today either totally unemployed or working so few hours a week that they are unable to earn a real existence's wage. This has caused so great a falling off in German trade union membership that all labor standards hitherto gained by years of patient effort are threatened, by an ever-growing mass of unorganized workers."

"Already our children are suffering from severe under-nourishment and disease. Four million working-class children in Germany are today underweight; tuberculosis among 6-year old children examined on entering school has increased from one-half of one per cent in 1913 to five and a half per cent in 1922; and 30 per cent of the children of 14 years leaving school are incapable of entering any occupation requiring physical work."

In making public this stirring appeal for moral support, the All-American Cooperative Commission urges cooperative, labor and farm organizations of the country to urge upon their national representatives in Congress the need for a renewal of America's offer to aid in the determination of fair reparations charges against Germany. By helping to win the war and draft the treaty, we are morally responsible for seeing that those charges are justly determined. Until this is done, the Commission concludes, there can be no peace in Europe, and a distraught Europe means an unsettled America.

experienced manager to put the laundry off on its feet. New York cooperators, who have great confidence in their renowned cooperative cafeteria, expect a thriving laundry business. On the firm foundation of these joint enterprises, they intend to build up a cooperative which will supply the essential wants of every New Yorker.

GIRLS TURN TO COOPERATION TO SOLVE HOUSING PROBLEMS

The only way to make \$20 stretch far enough to provide decent living quarters for working girls is to organize housekeeping cooperatives.

This is the conclusion of the Association to Promote Proper Housing for Girls, which met recently in New York City to discuss ways of overcoming the high rooms rents that drive working girls to living in third rate boarding houses and eating in cheap cafeterias. This organization is trying to care for the 50,000 working girls of that city who are unsatisfactorily housed and who are forced to live on an average wage of \$20 a week, while the lowest priced livable rooms in the city cost at least \$3 a week.

To blaze the trail, the Association has prepared a budget for sharing the expense of an apartment and the cooperative buying and cooking of food. By banding together in such a cooperative home three or more girls could not only live comfortably, but they might even save money. One of the girls, the plan shows, signs the apartment lease, and another contracts to buy the furniture on the installment plan.

Other working groups in New York have already organized cooperative housing arrangements, and are cutting the cost of living to the bone by that plan. The model apartments erected by the Finnish cooperators have been unusually successful, when both public opinion and rent laws fail to prevent profiteering in housing. Women wage-earners are discovering the soundness and wisdom of the cooperative way of solving living costs.



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РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

О ВЫБОРНОЙ КАМПАНИИ КЛУБОВ-МЕЙКЕРОВ.

Позволяю, в котором находится структура женского клуба и та борьба, которая ведется внутри самой рабочей организации, всегда способствует фабрикантам в ущерб их под контроль организации.

Каждый член рабочей партии призывается к тому, чтобы вступить в организацию, в которой их личная жизнь тесно связана.

Предлагаясь нам этот вопрос, который относится к нашей организации, я решил поделиться своими мыслями по поводу русских и польских товарищей клубмейкеров, но со всеми рабочими, которые хотят женского клуба в России.

Говорит о выборной кампании в Русско-Польском Отделе как не приходится по той простой причине, что в нем нет борьбы за "идею".

И тот пролетарий женского света на, который приходится в других отделах нашей организации и узнать, как тот вид, который раньше привнес сам себе ударился скалками волевыми европейской женщиной, стараясь заимствовать у них клубмейкеров для своей идеи.

Как же это узнать, как увидеть эту борьбу и выбрать ее с своей организацией?

А вот что нужно знать каждому клубмейкеру: пусть какой из нас победит, что прежде всего он клубмейкер и должен думать о выполнении в своем предприятии, а не в партийности, которая является второй ступенью.

Пусть каждый видит, что не партии его выигрывает от результатов работы, а его собственный профессиональный союз. Что же мы знаем в нашей организации? Говорит ли о том, как развивать сотрудничество среди рабочих для защиты своих интересов, или в нашей организации ведется внутренняя борьба, которая разлагает нашу рабочую организацию?

Мы знаем, что последние выборы первого, к. с., в нашей организации внутренняя борьба победила во здравие, что необходимо для укрепления организации.

Большинство рабочих чувствует, что положение не нормальное, но не знает как выйти из него, они не могут видеть той руки, которая создает в нашей организации различные типы, благодаря которым мы можем обрести уверенность, стараясь получить "идею" в нашей организации, есть выработка не-нашей идеи и управляет нами.

Все это создается или во имя "компромисса для спасения всего рабочего класса", или во имя "высвобождения для спасения отечества" (организация), как то так и другое создается благодаря известным причинам, кляне и быть не могло.

Итак же, так и другие группы являются опасными угрозами для нашей организации — опаснее своего фабриканта.

Многие приравнивают эти группы с собой во рту скажут мне:

"Ты врешь! Мы члены рабочей партии хотим пересоздать нашу организацию для всех рабочих. Мы хотим объединить рабочих всех индустрий в одну монументальную организацию".

Другие также скажут, что мы не хотим борьбы для "освобождения и укрепления нашей организации".

Всем им в ответ, скажи следующее: "Друзья, вы все и обещаете, а вы не делаете, что вы подделываете различные политические движения. Подождав серьезно над вопросом, тогда вы сами увидите, что вы можете быть в mesure, но заблудились в страсти у вас до того разрабались, что вы не можете это говорить".

На каждом углу, в котором, на работе и в личных делах от нас: "Воры, предатели, изменники, но подождав нам средства создать женское дело".

И когда просят, чтобы узнали все, что это правда, то вы знаете, что это чтобы это заимствовано из организации, которая была в нас, и что же вы делаете?

Но не стоит думать, что тут рабочий труд с его стержнем и может быть и не сама, но только та которая старается сделать нашу организацию волей своей волею, но возможно и обмануться злодея.

Нам ведь нужны люди, товарищи, что они могут объединить все союзы и виды, тогда как они сами не могут много утратить с чужими своим союзом.

Нам ведь нужны люди, что они могут представить рабочих, тогда как они сами считают и неосведомленные тех, которые они желают представлять.

Нам ведь нужны те, которые могут нас к созданию коммунистической партии и все это могут сделать не правые люди, а те, которые могут.

Правильная политика, что в семье не без урода, нельзя отрицать что в нашей организации есть люди с известным политическим.

Такие "идеологи" могут внести в качестве представителя благодаря той предельной выборной кампании, которая ведется всеми членами:

"Выбирайте представителя нашей группы! Мы все честные люди!"

И когда члены голосуют за полный список кандидатов представляющих ему тот или иной группой, то они все же, что к этому они и всем прошлым, который страшен свои убытки для того, чтобы обрести такую же массу чистых клубмейкеров.

Что должны помнить и делать клубмейкеры во время выборов?

Все должно помнить одно только, что прежде всего он клубмейкер интернациональный. Он должен думать о возвратах тех, кто приходит: "Воры, предатели!" Пусть он узнает как бороться и предельной. А все клубмейкеры должны видеть организацию и в меру с своей организацией, все же группы с их извращениями, всех рабочих, которых вы узнаете и оставить чистую клубмейкерскую организацию.

А. Н. Савичев.

ВНИМАНИЕ!
В пятницу, 14-го декабря, в 7:30 ч. в Паркленд Дом, 315 10-й уа. состоится ВАЖНОЕ СОБРАНИЕ Русско-Польского отдела, ювонна клубмейкеры.
На этом собрании будут дан доклад Эдвардсона Кооперации. Все члены обязаны присутствовать, так как может представиться возможность выбора кандидатов для выборов.
Присутств. всех членов просить во время.

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Members may obtain cards entitling them to this concession at the office of the Educational Department.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

The last meeting of the Waist and Dress Division was honored with the presence of one of our active members who is at present the manager of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union in Boston. It was none other than Brother Israel Lewin, who was at one time manager of the Waist and Dress Division and also general secretary-treasurer of Local 10.

Brother Lewin for the past nine months has been taking charge of Local 49 of Boston, and at the present time happens to be on a visit to New York in connection with the amalgamation of the Waist and Dressmakers and the Cloakmakers of Boston. From all indications it is believed that Brother Lewin will be the manager of the new Joint Board which will result from the above amalgamation.

Brother Lewin visited the offices of the union early on Monday and made it his business to be present at the meeting of the members which took place at Arlington Hall on Monday night. Brother Philip Ansel announced to the membership the presence of Brother Lewin and then requested him to address the gathering. The visitor was given a warm reception.

In addressing them he briefly laid stress on the fact that his career in the labor movement, which places him at the helm of the Boston Dress and Cloakmakers, is entirely due to the training he received in the cutters' organization, for which he feels greatly indebted. He then commended our local upon the stand we have taken in complying with the decision of the General Executive Board, with reference to members belonging to "Leagues." With these remarks Brother Lewin concluded his address

and remained for the rest of the evening until the meeting was adjourned.

Monday's meeting of the waist and dress cutters was, in accordance with our revised constitution, the last meeting of that division. The meeting, although a very well attended one, nevertheless was very brief, as there was very little business on hand to be transacted.

General Manager Dubinsky, in conjunction with his report, outlined the reasons for the changes in the constitution which necessitated the amalgamation of the cloak and suit and waist and dress branches, the main reason for it, naturally, being the amalgamation of the Waist and Dress Joint Board with that of the Cloak and Suit Makers. It would be ridiculous to read off a set of Joint Board minutes before one branch and have it accepted, and then read off the same set before the other branch and perhaps have it rejected. It was therefore deemed advisable to have the meetings combined so that the stand of the organization could be definitely expressed by the entire membership and not by various branches individually.

At the conclusion of Brother Dubinsky's report and the reading of the Executive Board reports the meeting adjourned.

As is customary in our organization before election, whenever there is a contest for any office, lots are drawn at the Executive Board to determine the order in which the names of the various candidates shall appear on the ballot. The following is a copy of the official ballot of our organization for the coming election:

OFFICIAL BALLOT

AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION

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

Of New York and Vicinity

DECEMBER 15, 1923

Mark a cross (X) in box alongside of the name for which you wish to vote. Do not mutilate or erase this ballot. If you make an error return this to the poll clerk and he will give you another ballot.

FOR PRESIDENT

Philip Ansel
Morris Jacobs

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

David Dubinsky
Joseph Fish

FOR BUSINESS AGENT

Vote for One (1) only.
Sam H. Shenker
Jos. I. Weinberg

FOR INNER GUARD

Sami Masoswer

FOR 3 DELEGATES TO CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL

Benjamin Sachs
Mos Diamond
Louis Pankin

FOR 10 MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE BOARD

Vote for Ten (10) only.

Michael Ondusko
Max Cooperman
Louis Forer
Harry Zerkowsky
Louis Polonicky
Louis Pankin
Mos Diamond
Meyer Skluth
Morris Jacobs
Henry Bobbin
Isaac Barenblatt
Samuel Kerr
Charles W. Serrington
Sam Slater
Irving Stone
Sol Levien
Harry Blum
Benjamin Evry

In the Miscellaneous Division, for which there will be a separate ballot, the names of the General Officers will be the same. However there will be the names of the three candidates for members of the Executive Board in this division, of which two are to be elected. The following is the order in which these names will appear on the ballot:

Frank G. Lewis
David Habel
Nathan Hoffenberg.

Although this election is expected to be the quietest that has ever been held in our organization, it is nevertheless expected that a big number of votes will be cast, as the main issue simmers down to the contest for Executive Board members.

There are in all eighteen candidates for members of the Executive

Board, and ten are to be elected. We urge that the membership be present on Election Day, Saturday, December 15, in large numbers to register their choice for the Executive Board, when installations will take place. This constitution, not only the Executive Board of our organization, but also Local 10's delegation to the Joint Board.

We believe that the Election Board will be through with its work quite early this year and the report of the results of the election will be read the following Saturday afternoon, when installations will take place. These will be held on Saturday afternoon, December 22, at 1:30 p. m., in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place. It will be the first time in the history of our organization that a president of the International will be present

at the installation of our officers, and it will also be the first time that Brother Morris Sigman, as President of the International, will address the cutters. We urge all the members to come and hear this address, as the General Executive Board passed a number of very important decisions at its last quarterly meeting in Chicago and Cleveland. These decisions have been outlined in JUSTICE as well as in our own columns some time ago, and were also partly covered by our manager, Brother Dubinsky. But we are sure that the membership will be very much interested to hear the report from the highest authority of our International, and will be present en masse.

In addition to Brother Sigman, the Executive Board has also invited the secretary-treasurer of the International, Brother Abraham Baroff, as well as the general manager of our Joint Board, Brother Israel Feinberg.

The cutters are therefore urged to set aside all other business and be present at the installation meeting which will take place on Saturday, December 22, at 1:30 p. m., in the large meeting room of Arlington Hall.

This special meeting will also have to vote on the convention city. The General Executive Board has submitted a choice of two cities for the approval of the membership,—Boston and Baltimore.

The recommendation of the Executive Board in this matter is that the city of Boston be chosen as the city for the next convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The conditions in the waist and dress and cloak and suit industries

are showing signs of activity. A few calls have come into the office and quite a number of cutters have been called back to work by their employers. The office, nevertheless, does not take this as a sign that the bosses are not doing their own cutting, and, as was decided by the organization last year, controllers are being sent out by the union.

At the present time Brothers Jacob White and Sam Lider are controlling. Brother White has been on the job for the past few weeks and since he is well acquainted with the shops he visits, the results are very satisfactory. The same applies to Brother Lider who has been controlling for the past two seasons, and who is well acquainted with the district which he covers.

We do believe, however, that conditions in the trade will improve in the very near future and that the office will again be in a position to report to the members that all our men are employed.

STUDENTS OF UNITY CENTERS AND WORKERS' UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE CHANGED RESIDENCE ARE REQUESTED TO SEND NEW ADDRESSES TO OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.



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CUTTERS, MEMBERS OF LOCAL 10, ATTENTION!

Election of officers for the ensuing term will take place on Saturday, December 15, 1923, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place.

Polls will be open from 12:30 to 6 p. m.

Members must be in good standing and have their dues books with them in order to vote.

CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS Monday, December 17th

SPECIAL GENERAL Saturday, December 22nd
at 1:30 P. M.

Special Order of Business: Installation of newly elected officers. Also balloting for next I. L. G. W. U. convention city.

**Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.
AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place**