

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

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 25.

New York, Friday, June 15, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

MEETING OF G. E. B. COMES TO AN END TODAY

BOARD LEAVES IN A BODY FOR UNITY HOUSE

The fifth quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board opened in accordance with arrangements on Monday morning, June 11th, at 9:30 in the Council Room of the International Building, with President Sigman presiding.

The sessions began with reports by President Sigman and Secretary Baroff covering the activity of our organization during the last three months. Sigman and Baroff have visited during this period a number of cities where our organizations are located and had a great deal to say concerning the state of affairs in which the workers in our trades find themselves at this moment.

Their reports were followed by reports of the vice-presidents in charge

of the various organization work in our union. Vice-president Halperin gave an account of the activity of the

San Francisco Settlement

Clean-cut Victory for Workers

Marks Important Gain for Organized Labor on Pacific Coast

As reported in last week's JUSTICE, the bitter struggle of the San Francisco cloakmakers has finally been settled. The fight of our workers for a union shop is won and the settlement justly regarded as a gain for all organized labor on the Coast.

Eastern Organization Department. Vice-president Seidman reported on (Continued on Page 7)

In addition to the telegram received last week by the General Office from Vice-president Gorenstein, Secretary Baroff received a letter which reads as follows:

(Continued on Page 9)

WORCESTER STRIKE STILL CONTINUES

ONE SHOP SETTLED

The dress strike in Worcester continues in full swing, and as the negotiations with the manufacturers have not materialized so far, it appears that the few hundred workers involved in the strike will have to stay in it, no matter how long, until the fight is won.

A beginning in that direction has already been made with the settlement of one firm which granted the Union conditions, a 44-hour week, and other terms demanded. The Worcester strike is being led by Vice-president Monesson and is supported in every way by the International.

This week the strikers received their strike benefits and will continue to receive financial support as long as the strike lasts.

Forest Park Unity House Opens Today, Friday June 15th

Opening Will Be Marked by a Concert and Dance—Philadelphia Unity House, in Orville, Pa., Opens Next Sunday, June 17th

The opening of the Unity House owned by the Dress and Waistmakers' Union of New York in Forest Park, in the Blue Ridge Mills, of Pennsylvania, has become a day of festivity not only among our local unions but in the entire needle trades movement. Practically all of our locals and joint boards are sending delegates to the opening day which gives it the appearance of a veritable convention.

This time the entire General Executive Board of the International will attend the opening of the Unity House. The session of the Board comes to a close on Friday morning and right after the final gavel falls the members of the Board will in a body leave for Forest Park. Representatives of the press have also been invited to the opening ceremonies, in addition to a host of writers, poets, actors, musicians and a number of leading personalities in the labor movement of the Greater City.

The concert and literary recitations will follow the opening ceremonies. Among the musicians who will take part in the concert are the well-known tenor Sergei Radonsky; and the lyric soprano, Miss Frances Bendelari. Mr. G. Rubin of the New York Jewish stage and Z. Libin, the playwright and short-story writer, will give humorous recitations.

Most of those who will leave New York for the opening evening are expected to take the 2:30 train from Hoboken, New York time. By special arrangement with the Lackawanna Railroad Company, a special train will also leave for Bushkill Falls at 5 o'clock in the afternoon to accommodate the New York visitors.

The Unity House of the Philadelphia dressmakers' union will open on June 17th. It is not as large as the Forest Park place but it is as pleasant and comfortable a home in every respect. The Orville House will also be opened by a concert and a dance which a large group from our Philadelphia locals, as well as from the Philadelphia labor movement in general, is expected to attend.

Cloakmakers in Canada

Waging Hard Struggle

Montreal Jury Decides That Picketing Is No Crime

Vice-president Seidman, who is in charge of the organizing work in Canada, came to New York last week to attend a meeting of the General Executive Board and brought a report of the fight that the International locals in Canada are at present waging to preserve the union.

Lockouts by employers and injunctions by juries follow one another rapidly in Toronto and Montreal, obviously for the purpose of terrorizing the cloakmakers and making them abandon their organization. The Union,

however, is little daunted by these persecutions and continues picketing the shops where the workers are on strike regardless of consequences.

In Toronto, the strike against the "Society" Wear Company, recently augmented by a strike against the "Toronto Skirt Company," is being prosecuted vigorously. These firms are trying hard to get strikebreakers but they have so far completely failed.

In Montreal the Union is waging shop strikes and is defending itself against injunctions. Last Friday the Montreal organizations scored a significant gain in King's Bench Court, when a jury, in the case of Brothers Jacobs and Martell, former business agents, decided in favor of the Union in the invasion of the labor movement of America should be resisted by class-conscious workers to the fullest extent.

Among the speakers at the meeting will be Morris Sigman, president of the International; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Joseph D. Cannon, of the Paper Box Makers' Union; Luigi Antonini, secretary of the Italian Dressmakers' Union; Arturo Giovanitti, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the Workers' Defense Union.

Annual Conference of League for Industrial Democracy

A conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, an organization of American Socialists and liberals interested in the labor movement, will open at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pennsylvania, the summer home of the Rand School adjoining the Unity House of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union.

Among the subjects to be discussed at the conference are: Next Steps in Civil Liberties and Academic Freedom; Next Steps in Cooperation; Next Steps in Labor Education; Next Steps Against War; Next Steps in Public Ownership; Next Steps in Workers' Control; Next Steps in Labor Politics.

Among those who have been invited to the conference and to address it are: Horace M. Kallen; Susan Kingsbury of Bryn Mawr College; Harry W. L. Dana; Algernon Lee of the Rand School; Wm. A. Johnston; Morris Hillquit; Florence Kelley; William P. Haggood; William Pickens; Joseph Schlossberg; James H. Maurer; Max D. Danahy; Dr. James Warhase; Roger N. Baldwin; Fannia M. Cohn; Norman Thomas, and many others. The conference will last five days, and will close on Sunday, June 24th.

of the Union, who were charged with picketing and speaking to strikebreakers, brought out a decision of not guilty after deliberating twenty minutes. The jury in explicit terms stated that picketing is not a crime in Canada. Mr. Peter Berkowitz appeared as attorney for the Union.

A few days ago Brothers Schubert and Romback and two strikers from the Golden-Samuels firm were served with notice to appear before Judge Coder and show cause why they should not be punished for contempt of court in violating the injunction against picketing. Brother Schubert appeared in court and replied that they were not acting in violation of the injunction but were picketing in an orderly manner. The Judge has not yet rendered a decision in this matter.

Big Anti-Fascisti Meeting Next Friday, June 22nd

New York Labor Movement Fully Represented

On Friday next, June 22d, at 8 p. m., the first big gun in the fight against the Fascist element in Greater New York will be fired at the mass meeting under the auspices of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, called at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street.

The workers of Greater New York are expected to attend this meeting in large masses to show their protest against the importation to America of the black plague of Fascism. The reign of terror in Italy has proved that the Fascists are a menace to life and to organization. Their attempt-

Traits of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

THE MINERS' PLAN

LAST week marked a step forward in the movement for the nationalization of the coal industry which is being steadily pushed by the mine workers' union and is backed by the entire labor movement of the country.

The presidents of the three anthracite districts of the United Mine Workers' Union in Pennsylvania, which comprises the bulk of the hard-coal output in the country, have filed a brief with the United States Coal Commission containing a concise plan for the nationalization of the anthracite industry at the end of fifty years and its control by the management, the public, and the miners.

The plan calls for the substituting of six per cent bonds of all the capital stock owned at present by the anthracite coal companies, and the retirement of these bonds through a period of fifty years. It recommends the installation of a uniform accounting system for the anthracite industry so that the public may at all times be in a position to ascertain the facts about its value, the costs, profits and everything connected with it. The retirement of these bonds could be easily accomplished from the earnings in excess of the six per cent rate, and necessary new capital for additions and betterments should come so far as possible from reinvested profits. The miners estimate that retiring the present investment would average only 25 cents a ton over the next fifty years, while dividends paid to capital holders last year amounted to \$1.40 a ton.

The miners' plan contains a practical challenge to the Coal Commission which has been so far dilly-dallying with the nationalization question and attempting to put it in the background. It puts the question up squarely and will no doubt produce a marked impression on public opinion. It is business-like and comprehensive and offers the only rational solution for the present chaotic condition in the coal industry, both with regard to the mine workers and the great consuming public.

THE FASCIST COUP D'ETAT IN BULGARIA

THE peasants' government in Bulgaria, which has been in the saddle since the armistice, was overturned last week by an army conspiracy and its leaders are now either hiding in the mountain fastnesses of Bulgaria or are endeavoring to assemble their scattered forces to resist the new dictatorship.

Bulgaria is largely a farming country, and has very little industry. The peasants' party which ruled it for a number of years was, with all its shortcomings, the national representative of the great majority of the Bulgarian population. It was opposed to a big army, and reduced it to a minimum. It taxed heavily the richer city classes, and fought the Bulgarian militarists to a standstill. Small wonder that the bourgeoisie and the militarist element in Bulgaria engineered the coup and are now revenging themselves on the leaders of the peasants.

How long this new dictatorship will last is, of course, hard to say. The sturdy Bulgarian peasants, each man a trained soldier and a fighter, will quite likely not submit without a fight to the army-group which took possession of Sofia. The chances are that within a few weeks the present army dictators will be turned out and a combination of the peasants' and the workers' parties will be at the helm again in Bulgaria. The coup, however, is but a manifestation of the general spirit of reaction which is surging ahead all over Europe. It is a small replica in Bulgaria of what the counter-revolution has accomplished under the black flag of Fascism in Italy, what the "grey shirts" are doing in Bavaria, and what the "Awakening Magyars" are perpetrating in unfortunate Hungary.

THE LAST GERMAN OFFER

GERMANY has made another offer to France and Belgium. It is substantial, moderate and business-like. It promises to pay the Allies almost as much as the original demands under the Treaty called for, and offers as guarantees a practical mortgage on Germany's industry, railroads and national income. It does not mention anything about the Ruhr occupation, thus obviously leaving an open door for bargaining on this very painful subject.

The offer created quite a favorable impression all through Europe and in America. Nevertheless, Poincaré would not hear of it, ostensibly because it fails to state in explicit terms the German surrender on the passive resistance in the Ruhr. The situation, nevertheless, is not quite hopeless. The English Cabinet might yet force the French to accept the German note as a basis for negotiations.

If this attempt fails, those in America and Europe who have heretofore doubted that the militarists in charge of affairs in France today are striving not to obtain reparations but to dismember and ruin Germany as a national and economic factor in Europe, will revise their opinion. There is hope, however, that the sentiment in France is also undergoing a change, and Poincaré's throne is not as secure today as it was six months ago. The gradual swing of opinion at home might force him and his lieutenants to accept finally a solution that might bring peace to Europe and stabilize conditions in the world at large.

AUSTRIAN LOAN

AUSTRIA is finally and safely lodged in the vest-pocket of international finance.

Austrian business and commerce is now expected to "see it through." Soon after the armistice, it looked for a while as if that small parcel of land known as German Austria, fraction of what once was Austria-Hungary, would become a workers' republic. For a time, Socialist and labor elements in Austria were strong enough to get their forces together and form a government. But economically Austria lay prostrate. It had no credit nor currency and was strangled from all sides by new barriers, anti-slavery and sheer hunger. For two years the workers' parties of Austria

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struggled to maintain it on a living basis. In the end, however, it was turned into the hands of receivers—the benevolent hands of the League of Nations, which secured from a consortium of international bankers a loan for the "revival" of Austria.

Last week saw the finale of this mortgaging of Austria. With the participation of Wall Street, \$125,000,000 was subscribed in the capitals of Europe and America for this loan, the promoters of which now own the little country body and soul. Austria is now "safe" for world peace, and the spectre of a Socialist or a Labor republic in that section of Central Europe is definitely removed. Under this system of benevolent present-day feudalism, the Austrian masses may not starve, but they are, nevertheless, kept in bondage by the huge banking interests who hold this mortgage on Austria and who will be backed by the bayonets of their governments in case the security of their mortgage is ever threatened.

JAPAN TURNS ON LABOR

A FEW weeks ago a wire from Tokio brought the news that the Japanese government was raiding Socialist headquarters, suppressing the radical press, and jailing men and women who openly dared to disagree with its policies. Last week additional information from Japan told the story that the police activities against the Socialists are now extending to labor, and that a large number of arrests is expected of prominent labor officials, including writers on labor topics.

There is nothing startling about these dispatches from Japan. With Oriental cruelty and finesse the Japanese ruling caste has been persecuting radical thought and the Labor movement in Japan ever since its inception. It is only a few years since organizing activity among workers in Japan has become possible at all. The strikes last year in the huge shipbuilding plants and the rice fields and industrial establishments in the Land of the Rising Sun have proved, nevertheless, that a substantial Labor movement is in process of formation in Japan and that her workers are learning how to organize.

It is obviously for the purpose of breaking down this movement that the Japanese government is now launching its ruthless campaign against Labor. Of course, as usual, the police assert that the raids are being made to nip in the bud "a plot against the government," but this silly subterfuge is all too obvious. Japan today has no fear of any "red" plot to overthrow its present government. What the industrialists of Japan, however, fear is the steady and growing influence of the Japanese workers and a labor movement fashioned after the model of the labor movement in Europe and America. And whenever organizing activity among their workers increases, the industrial magnates of Japan who own it body and soul, invariably show their strong arm by suppressing, jailing and in every possible way silencing the voice of their hard-driven, subjugated semi-slaves.

FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

Boston News

Some few weeks ago our readers were informed that the finishers, members of Local No. 56, contemplate applying to the General Executive Board of the International for a charter as a separate local. Since then the Joint Board of Cloakmakers of Boston, wishing to eliminate the necessity of splitting up Local No. 56, decided that the finishers be represented at its meetings by five delegates with full rights to vote on everything. Pressers' Local No. 12 and Cutters' Local No. 73 voted down this recommendation of the Joint Board as it is against the constitution of the International for one local to be represented by more delegates than other locals are. As a result of this rejection, the finishers have again made application to the General Executive Board now in session in New York for a charter. In conjunction with this, the following letter was sent to President Sigman by representative members of the Cloakmakers Union:

"Dear Brother Sigman:

Some time before the last Convention of the International, the G. E. B. had granted the request of the finishers of Local No. 56 to be represented at the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers of Boston by five delegates with full rights to vote. However, because of the protests on the part of some of the locals, the then president, Brother Schlesinger, on his visit to Boston after the Cleveland Convention, reversed the decision of the G. E. B. in that, the five delegates representing the finishers at the Joint Board shall have a voice, but not a vote.

"The latter reversal leads the finishers to request of the G. E. B. that they be given a charter for a separate local.

"The Joint Board in its desire not to split up Local No. 56, decided at its meeting of May 17, 1923, that Local No. 56 be represented at its sessions by ten delegates, five from the operators and five from the finishers, the latter to have full rights to vote on every proposition. This in the opinion and judgment of the Joint Board was deemed a fair solution of the problem.

"The compromise was accepted by Locals 56 and 24, but was rejected by the other half of the Joint Board, namely, Locals 12 and 73. This action on the part of the two last named locals is equivalent to a rejection. It is, therefore, but natural that the finishers in their desire and eagerness to be fully represented at the Joint Board should again apply to the G. E. B. for a charter.

"We, the undersigned, join in the appeal of the finishers for a charter, believing as we do, that the request is justified, unless the G. E. B. can find a way of convincing Locals 12 and 73 to accept the compromise as suggested by the Joint Board, i. e., that the finishers of Local 56 be represented by five delegates with full rights and voice on every matter coming before it.

Fraternally yours,

A. Tiediker, Manager, Joint Board Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

A. Finkelstein, Chairman, Joint Board Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

J. Schneider, Chairman, Executive Board Local No. 56, Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union.

"The active members hope that the General Executive Board will

now, once for all, settle this controversy, which has caused so much unnecessary friction."

• • •

WAIST AND DRESS

The regular bi-weekly meeting of Local No. 49, which was held Monday June 4, 1923, was by far the biggest, in point of attendance, since the culmination of the general strike. So many members came to the hall in spite of the suffocating heat, that not even standing room could be found inside for many, and the overflow crowded the stairway leading to the hall. The congestion almost reached the danger point, so that it was found necessary, after a brief outline by the manager on the strike situation in Worcester and on the general situation in the dress industry of Boston, to adjourn the meeting. The interest taken by the members, and particularly by those who enrolled in the Union during the general strike, is really remarkable. This is very gratifying and encouraging to the old active members, who devoted many years of effort and contributed many sacrifices to lay the foundation for the Union of to-day. It is well worth for the bulk of our members, who have been in the organization and are therefore experienced in Union matters, to know that the conditions obtaining at present in the dress industry of Boston, are the results of painstaking efforts and many sufferings, on the part of our active members for many, many years past. It is now up to the new comers into the Union to do their utmost to maintain the present standards. This can only be accomplished by their taking an increasing interest, so that when the time comes for the renewal of the agreement, it will be possible to get even better conditions than those we have at present.

• • •

A considerable number of our employers were very reluctant in paying for Memorial Day, one of the six legal holidays for which our workers are supposed to receive pay. Especially was it so in the case of the piece workers who for the first time in the history of our Union, are receiving pay for legal holidays. What was most remarkable is the fact that the Union found the greatest hardship in collecting pay for Memorial Day from the so-called "better class of manufacturers," the kind that we in Boston call the college graduates. These employers, when in conference with the Union, talk about the highest aims in life,—on literature and music, and all new fashioned ideas in vogue at the time; but when it comes to paying workers for a holiday, which is in accordance with the agreement signed by them, they tried all sorts of silly evasions to get out of it. We are glad to state, however, that all these did not do them one bit of good, for they had to pay in the end. It is high time for the employers to realize that the Union is here to stay, and intends to have every one of them live up to agreements.

• • •

The next bi-weekly meeting of Local 49 was postponed by the Executive Board from Monday June 18 to Tuesday evening, June 19, 1923. This was necessitated because Monday is Bunker Hill Day, a Massachusetts holiday. This meeting, which we also expect to be well attended, will take place at Faine Memorial Hall, 9 Appleton Street, and will be a joint meeting of all the branches of our local.

Chicago Items

By A. ROSE,
Secretary of Locals 18 and 59

A special meeting of Local No. 18 was held on Thursday, May 31, 1923, at the Humboldt Hall. Chairman M. Bernstein presided.

Chairman Bernstein said that the special meeting was called for the purpose of nominating officers for the next term, and also for nominating a candidate for secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board in compliance with the recommendation of Vice-president Perlestein. He emphasized the necessity of using discretion in nominating Joint Board and Executive Board delegates, and he instructed those accepting to represent their local and the trade in general at the Joint Board as trade union men should. Party or political principles should in no way be brought into the questions pertaining to our trade by those elected, impairing the fighting ability of our local.

Before calling for nominations, the chairman informed the local that, due to personal affairs, he was obliged to leave the city the following morning for the East and desired to take that opportunity to say good-bye to the members. He expressed a wish for Local No. 18's success in all its undertakings, and hoped that if at any time he should return to Chicago he would find Local No. 18 in no worse position than it is today, both from a moral and financial standpoint.

The chair was then taken over by the vice-president, Brother S. Isenberg, who accepted a motion that a committee be appointed to purchase a suitable gift for our chairman, and also that notices be sent to JUSTICE and the "Forward" expressing our gratitude and appreciation of his untiring efforts for the welfare of the local and the Cloakmakers' Union of Chicago.

Nominations were of a more spirit of nature than those at previous elections because of the presence of Vice-president Perlestein in our midst. He

has imbued everyone with a new spirit and his determined nature to make the situation in Chicago has awakened new life in our members. Each is willing to make sacrifices for the workers and for the organization. Vice-president Perlestein could not be present at this meeting because he was occupied with a special meeting of Local No. 100, which is conducting a successful organization campaign with the assistance of all the Chicago locals.

While the nominations were in progress the entire executive board of Local No. 59 appeared to bid farewell to Brother Bernstein and express their regrets at the loss our organization will sustain in the departure of one who has been so active in the labor movement.

The presentation committee then reported to the chairman, who presented Brother Bernstein with an engraved gold watch on behalf of Local No. 18, expressing their appreciation of his efforts and keen sense of judgment in conducting the affairs of the local, of the devotion he had shown to the local cloakmakers' union in Chicago and their regret at his leaving the city.

Brother Bernstein, on receiving the gift, said that words could not give vent to his feelings and appreciation, not so much of the token as of the sentiment and good will of the members towards him, and for the recognition of his sincerity in performing his duties as chairman of the local for a number of terms. After the meeting was adjourned, about fifty members attended an informal supper given in honor of Chairman Bernstein's departure.

In a certain sense, I was pleased with the situation caused by the departure of our Chairman. It was instrumental in bringing about a more harmonious feeling between the members which we hope will continue.

In Baltimore

On Monday, June 4th, President Sigman paid us a visit here and spoke to our cloakmakers. It was an unforgetable night but there were more than 350 men in the hall eager to listen to our chief.

The organizing campaign which we have undertaken here, to be frank, is not as successful as might have been expected,—yet we have managed to organize all shops, though we have not yet obtained full union conditions in these, except that they employ union workers only. We have, in fact, taught two owners of these shops lessons that they must treat their workers like union people and not discharge them at their whim and will.

Last week's meeting proved that the Baltimore cloakmakers have taken

up the suggestion of President Sigman that, if they really wanted to have an organization and were sincere about it, every man and woman must be on the job to help get it. On Saturday, June 9th, Local No. 4 had a special meeting called for that purpose, and it was one of the best meetings the local had had in many years. The members came and stayed to the very end of the meeting. Brother Goldberg, the International organizer in Baltimore, reviewed the whole situation to the assembled men and told them in plain words that unless they get to work, his staying in Baltimore will be of no further use. This straight-from-the-shoulder talk has had its effect and brought out clearly the earnestness of the situation. The meeting voted at once to give Brother Goldberg the authority to select from those present a committee that

(Continued on Page 5)

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Office, 3 West 10th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFFKY, Editor.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANISH, Managing Editor.

Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year.

Vol. V, No. 25. Friday, June 15, 1923.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 14, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1109, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

Wages and Profits in Poland

By DAVID MEYER

(Special Warsaw Correspondence to "Justice")

How are wages in Poland today?

It is not easy to answer this question. The workers receive a great deal more, of course, in paper money these days than they used to get before the war. In some trades wages per month are calculated in seven figures. This, however, is not in the least indicative of the actual earnings of the workers. A worker tells in order to sustain himself and his dependents, and is interested not in the nominal wage, not in the amount of paper money handed out to him, but in its purchasing power. In order to get a clear idea of present-day wages in Poland, it is necessary to know to what extent a worker can satisfy his wants today in comparison with his ability to do so before the war.

The workers had not been contented in Poland before the war either. Misery and want were frequent visitors to a worker's home in pre-war Poland—yet in spite of the huge number of marks, a worker is immeasurably worse off today in Poland than he used to be before 1914. This can be fully substantiated by the figures made public recently in the official organ of the Polish Ministry of Labor which is being published in Warsaw. According to the data furnished by this publication, it cost, before 1914, 19 marks and 66 pfennigs weekly to support a worker's family of four in Poland. This statement is based upon the calculation of a minimum standard of

existence, without regard for any savings for unemployment periods, old age, sickness, etc.

In February, 1923, according to this same source, it took 64,106 marks to support the same family per week on the same basis of a minimum standard of existence—*that is*, 3,262 times as much. It must be kept in mind, too, that the official statistical bureau from which these figures are derived does not reflect entirely the actual price of living commodities. The market price of these necessities is always considerably higher than as given in the governmental reports, and the true facts are that the expense of keeping up a four-person family has multiplied far more than 3,262 times. But even if we accept the official figures the present condition of the Polish is nothing short of staggering.

Now, if the expenses of a worker's family have since 1914 been multiplied 3,262 times, his income, in order to meet the minimum standard of living, should have increased that many times in marks. When comparing present-day wages with those of 1914 we, however, find the following:

A full-fledged coal miner who used to earn in pre-war days 33 marks and 60 pfennigs a week, should have earned, in February, 1923, 109,603 marks; in fact, he earned only about 9,000 marks—7.4 per cent of his pre-war wage. An expert textile worker would earn 29.16 in marks before war; in February, 1923, his wage

should have amounted to 95,120 marks, but his actual earnings were only 67,500 marks—70 per cent of his wages before the war. A competent metal worker's wages in 1914 were 67.45 marks per week; his wages in February, 1923, should have been 220,000—but he actually received only 100,000 marks, thus earning less than half of what he earned before the war.

The situation is somewhat different with the garment workers. Before the war a competent garment worker used to earn 33.48 marks per week. According to this he should have been earning today 109,212 marks a week. But actually garment workers now make 180,000 marks a week—165 per cent of their pre-war wages. That would be very well indeed, save for the fact that the number of weeks of actual employment in the garment trade has since the war been cut almost in two, and the real annual income of a garment worker has thus been materially diminished.

Before the war a textile worker, for instance, after covering the immediate expenses of a bare livelihood for the four members of his family, could have put away 9.51 marks a week for a "rainy day." Today his earnings barely suffice for his daily bread, and when a slump comes or when he loses his job entirely, he is faced with actual starvation. The press chronicles of Poland are, indeed, filled with facts reporting all most daily cases of suicide of unemployed workers or of men and women in the industrial centers who are driven to take their own lives because they are overworked, undernourished, and have lost hope and faith in a more tolerable future.

The other side, the side of the em-

ployers, however, presents an entirely different picture in Poland.

Before the war, any enterprise which yielded an income of 20 per cent was regarded as excellent. In fact, it was the exceptional thing—the normal returns being from 10 to 12 per cent on industrial investments. Today, a business which does not give 100 per cent is considered a poor proposition, and capitalists are not anxious to make investments in such undertakings. The actual capital in all industrial undertakings in Poland in recent years has doubled or trebled itself, and bankers and big business men have reaped colossal harvests. The annual reports of a number of stock companies and banks recently published easily substantiate this. Where did this wealth and wild profits come from? They come from two sources:

First—the low work wage. Owing to the actual greatly inferior wages, Polish industrialists can easily compete today in the open market and do excellent business. In comparison with the countries where a solid high currency prevails, Polish products are staggeringly cheap. They are selling fast and give the Polish manufacturers, in addition to quick turnovers, fabulous profits, entirely at the expense of the working masses.

The second source is the government credit or subsidy. To support industry and agriculture the government has been giving the Polish industrial and land interests huge subsidies which today have already reached the sum of 700 billion marks. The entire industry of Poland rests at present on this credit, which is advanced either on a low interest basis or without interest at all, and is being

(Continued on page 11)

Labor's Hope in Europe

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service)

DESPERATION IN THE RUHR

While M. Poincaré takes every opportunity of demonstrating his unalterable hostility to Germany, and the German government prepares a new note for the pleasure of the Allies, the German people themselves, who starve through the Ruhr occupation while diplomats squabble, have broken out into active revolt in Celskirchen and elsewhere. As before, the capitalist newspapers have attempted to explain the riots as Communist uprisings, but, as before, there seems no real proof of this. On the contrary, the creation of an instance of a labor militia formed from all sections of the workers, including both Catholics and Communists, in order to prevent plundering, shows that the revolt has no political basis but is evidence of the inability of the people to suffer indefinitely from high prices and wages too low to make the purchase of life's necessities any longer possible. What I saw myself when in Germany last February bears out this explanation of the industrial unrest in the Ruhr: my only wonder is that revolution has not occurred long ago as the reply of the oppressed workers to French tyranny, and to the manipulation of the mark, causing an impossibly high cost of living, in the interests of the big German industrialists.

LABOR'S HOPES IN EUROPE

There are signs that the long domination of the capitalist class, strengthened by the war, is at last about to be thrown off by the workers of Europe. In France, the refusal of the Senate to use its legal powers to try 34 Communists accused of treason against the State, (which produced the impulsive resignation of the Premier, since with-

drawn) may be compared with the late refusal of the British House of Lords to uphold our government's misuse of its powers in deporting British subjects to Ireland without trial. In Italy, the tide is slowly turning against Fascism, especially in the South. The first serious and effective attack upon Mussolini's dictatorship was made two days ago in the Italian Chamber, where loud cheers followed a Sicilian deputy's vigorous speech in defense of liberty; it is known, further, that discussions are now occurring in Fascist ranks themselves, which may mean the beginning of the end of this abominable dictatorship that seems to have so much charm for the middle classes in other countries.

The new Labor International, which has sprung from the ashes of both the Second and the Vienna Internationals which it now replaces, seems to hold out some hope, not only of a united front of all labor organizations outside the Communists, but also of some future coalition even with the extreme Left Wing in all countries. The open door, as one speaker said in an interview on his return from Hamburg, has been left for the gradual bringing in of bodies now outside the new "Labor and Socialist International." "One outcome of the Congress is the establishment of an Administrative Council, to sit permanently near London and act when necessary.

The meeting in Berlin of the International Transport Workers' Federation last week, was no less important. A joint Council of Action, with its seat in Berlin, was set up against war and Fascism, and it is considered possible that other industries will follow their example and also set up an

international Council of Action for the same purpose.

HOME POLITICS AND AFFAIRS

At home, while in some quarters unemployment shows signs of a slight decrease, low wages are everywhere creating distress. In the mining industry especially is this the case, though there has been a recent boom in export coal owing to the Ruhr deadlock. The new Prime Minister, in yesterday's interview with mining leaders, promised them time in Parliament for a debate on the subject, to take any form they chose; but short of nationalization one sees no solution of a situation in which the unification of the industry offers the only means of enabling the workers engaged in it to receive a decent wage. At present, asking into account the rise in prices, workers are worse off than before the war, when admittedly they were shamefully paid.

The opening session of Parliament, after the Whiteside recess, was

marked by a double triumph for Labor. The official opposition, aided by members of other parties who were sent to Parliament by working people's votes, were instrumental in securing the ignominious dismissal of a Conservative Bill to control and interfere with the finances of trade unions. In the second place, labor opposition had much to do with securing the amendment of the outrageous Indemnity Bill by which the government seeks to indemnify the Home Secretary (who does not appear to have resigned after all) for his late blunder in ignoring the Habeas Corpus Act and deporting British subjects to Ireland without trial. As it stood, it could have been interpreted so as to indemnify the government for all time in similar situations, and the country has been saved from that by the opposition in the House of Commons. At the same time, the steady government majority make it impossible for the House to reject the bill altogether.

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Sweatshops in Small Towns

By DAVID H. ROBBINS

In one of the cities of Northern New Jersey where organized labor had become somewhat weakened since the Amalgamite; where the open shop is legion to all members of the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs; where Senator Lusk dominates politically and otherwise, I have heard union men speak of organized labor's entrenched position in the State of New Jersey. This discussion came about after the Mayor had sent several "delegations" of police to tell me that he must see me before beginning my campaign as organizer of the International. Some, apparently from New Jersey, even referred the writer to the splendid labor men of that State, emphasizing of course the chapter on sweatshops which naturally interested me more than anything else in the discussion.

Several weeks afterward, I was sent to Plainfield, New Jersey, to continue organization work that had been begun by the Out-of-Town Department. Therefore, by virtue of this circumstance, I have made myself acquainted with New Jersey's labor laws. And, true enough, the section governing sweatshops is definite, consistent, and, as it seems to me, stripped of loopholes which so very often creep into labor legislation generally.

In brief, the law specifically provides that:

1. No room or rooms, apartment or apartments, in any tenement or dwelling-house, or in any building situated immediately in the rear of any apartment, tenement or dwelling-house, shall be used for the purpose of manufacturing, unless a license is secured therefor.
2. Before any such license is granted, an inspection shall be made by the Commissioner of Labor, factory inspector, or in the discretion of the Commissioner of Labor, by any local board of health or its inspector or inspectors.
3. No person, firm or corporation shall hire, employ or contract with any member of the family or any person . . . to manufacture, repair or finish any articles whatsoever in any room, apartment, dwelling-house, and no person, firm or corporation shall receive, handle or convey to others or sell, hold in stock or expose for sale any articles whatsoever UNLESS MADE UNDER SANITARY CONDITIONS.

As I said before, it is a pretty good law, as labor laws go. Its actual enforcement would certainly tend to discourage sweatshops in out-of-the-way places in New Jersey—a phase of the garment industry long solved to a large extent by the powerful Cloakmakers' Union in New York. This, however, was not accomplished by any means of mandatory legislation but through the power of its economic organization. To-day no agreement is made with any employer or association of employers unless the following clauses form part of the covenant:

"A duly authorized officer or representative of the Union shall have access to the factory of the employer at all hours for the purpose of investigating the conditions of the shop with reference to sanitation, fire-prevention, and general safeties . . .

"No work shall be given to employees to be made at home . . .

"The employer agrees to comply with all the standards of sanitation and all other rules now established by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

"The employer agrees that, at the expiration of the term of his lease, on the premises now occupied by him, he will not renew such lease or enter into a lease for other premises unless his present premises or the new premises, as the case may be, shall have been approved by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control as being safe and free from fire danger."

Now then, when we compare the difference between the direct enforcement of conditions in the shops, by the Union, with even the best labor laws in any State, we soon find which is the more effective. As an instance, let us take the same New Jersey sweatshop law which prohibits manufacturers from giving out homework, unless all the conditions (and they are quite strict) are complied with. But what good are laws when the dress or waist contractor out of town does not even know that such laws are in existence? And yet, this so-called labor legislation of New Jersey was passed more than six years ago.

There is, however, one dress shop in Plainfield which does not send out some of its work to be done in tenements or at home. That, of course, is due not so much to the altruism

(Continued on Page 11)

A Few Facts for Gary

Elbert H. Gary, President of the U. S. Steel Corporation, still stands by the 12-hour day in the steel industry, according to his report rendered on April 25th to the American Iron and Steel Institute.

He said it would be impossible to introduce the 8-hour, three-shift system now, on account of a labor shortage. That is what he said in 1919 and 1920; yet when the greatest labor surplus of history came in 1921, he kept the 12-hour day.

He says the sentiment for an 8-hour day was "not created or induced by the workmen themselves." How about the 300,000 workmen who struck for it in 1919?

He says the three-shift system "would increase the cost of production on the average about 15 per cent; and there would be needed at least 60,000 additional employees. If labor were sufficiently plentiful to permit the change, it would be necessary to add to the selling prices certainly as much as the increase in cost."

Seldom was more nonsense put into one sentence. The report of the Federated American Engineering Societies, made after long and careful study, says:

"The fact that already many plants operate successfully on the three-shift system indicates that profits need not suffer if the change is made with wisdom . . . The statistical law in the case of pig iron is from 5.8 to 8 per cent of the total manufacturing cost. Only a part of the labor in the industry is working the twelve-hour shift. If that labor were changed to the eight-hour shift and paid as much per day as it is now getting for twelve-hour work" (Bold ours) "even without securing any compensating advantages through increased efficiency, morale, etc., the total manufacturing cost of the product would be increased only from 3 to 15 per cent." (Notice that 15 per cent is not the average, but the maximum possible.) "As a matter of actual experience it is known that some plants have changed from the twelve-hour to the eight-hour shift and reduced their labor costs."

Others have reduced their total manufacturing costs."

The engineers' report also points out that the cost of all labor at the blast furnace on either system is less than \$1.00 per ton of pig iron. Judge Gary testified before the Lockwood Committee in June, 1922, that the U. S. Steel Corporation could produce at \$3.00 per ton less than its competitors. That means that he could double his labor cost at the blast furnace and still make more profit per ton than other steel manufacturers, without raising the price to the consumer one cent. Why then the absurd statement that any possible increase in production cost would have to be passed on to the consumer?

As to the extra men required, the engineers' report points out that "though saying wages a little less than is paid in corresponding plants working twelve-hour shifts, the three-shift plants have sufficient labor, both skilled and unskilled." Has it ever occurred to Judge Gary that he might remedy his labor shortage by making conditions of work more attractive?

And here is a smasher from the engineers. Henry Ford has his own blast furnaces. He has the eight-hour day instead of the 12-hour day. When Gary was paying his labor 27 to 35 cents per hour, Ford was paying 75 cents and upward. Yet Ford could produce his pig iron cheaper than he could buy it. This was due to superior efficiency.

After expressing his sentiments on the 12-hour day, Judge Gary goes on to say, "The moral and religious principles of the Bible, both Old and New Testaments, have never been and can never be successfully combated." Perhaps sometime he will come upon Matthew 23, verses 24-26:

"Ye blind guides which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

"Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also."

(Facts for Workers, June, 1923)

Let Him Run!

By Z. W.

As I read the resolutions, which some Jewish organizations are adopting in protest against the possibility of Henry Ford's becoming candidate for President, I feel like crying out: "Fellow Jews, let him run!"

Here is a man who is burning with the ambition of becoming President. Why stop him? It is a sin and an injustice. What else is there left for him to aspire to—that other pleasures, poor fellow, can be afforded?

The only drawback in Ford's existence—a man with a pretty safe income, healthy, and without worry or headaches—is perhaps the fact that he has already passed his three-score.

Were Ford a young man, he might have aspired to different thrills or pleasures. If unmarried, he might have sought the hand of a princess of the blood. There is no reason why a young Henry Ford could not become the son-in-law of the English King, of an ex-German Emperor, or, at least, of a Montenegrin potentate.

But luck had decreed it otherwise. It had given him first a wife and then riches, so he has to stick to both.

True, many a goodlooking and noble young demoiseille might have fallen in love with Ford even today,—but what would public opinion say? Ford is a person who reckons with public opinion. He is not one of those men of wealth who whistle at the universe.

Quite to the contrary, since he acquired his millions, Ford has been very much rapt up in the career of mankind and wants to save it from all dangers,—the war menace, the Jewish menace, etc., etc. No one's ever heard of Ford doing anything for himself, for his own pleasure. So when he gets it into his head that he might derive some pleasure from being President, is it fair to hinder him?

Of course some might say that he is ignorant, not educated enough to become President. But since when have we been falling in love with educated presidents in our country? A stranger might come to believe that we have been carrying Wilson on our shoulders because we appreciated his education so highly. Besides, this is a time when the common people of the world are run and ruled by "their

own folks." If, in the city of Ratchev, Russia, a decree can be signed in the following fashion:

"By the Committee of Education Ivanoff, but, owing to his illiteracy, by his secretary, Stepanoff," why should not the same thing be duplicated in Washington?

And second, it would not be a bad thing to find out for a fact whether the Presidency can be bought for money. If Ford can become President today, Rockefeller might become the first gentleman of the land next time, and Morgan next. So that in time it will become a precedent that the President must be a millionaire. As a result, the American boy will stop dreaming of becoming the proverbial President, for admittedly not everyone even in this land of golden bricks can become a millionaire.

And should it, contrary to expectation, prove that the richest man in the land cannot purchase the Presidency, we might after all acquire some respect for it and begin to regard it as an exalted post.

The drawback that Henry Ford is an anti-Semite, I discount entirely. If, after so much agitation and so many millions spent in anti-Semitic propaganda, he could not help indirectly to raise the paltry two mil-

lion dollars for the Palestine Fund so that at the last hour the promoters of the Fund had to appeal to Mayor Hylan for help,—his anti-Semitism is not worth a broken farthing. It is simply a waste of time to bother about it.

Therefore I say, fellow-Jews, leave him alone. Let him run for President. At least if he fails to win your approval after he becomes President, you can do as much to him as you have done to his fellow-Michigander, Mr. Newberry, by throwing him out of the U. S. Senate. It will never be too late to bounce him out of the Presidency, but for the time being, please, let him run.

In Baltimore

(Continued from Page 2.)

would go on with the organization work, and, remarkable enough for Baltimore—not one of those whom Brother Goldberg picked out refused to take up his share of the work.

A as a result an organization committee of 35 men is now on the job for the purpose of putting Baltimore again in the front line among the organized cloak centers of the country.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel.: Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. YANOFSEKY, Editor.

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager.

MAX D. DANIEH, Managing Editor
Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year

Vol. No. 25. Friday, June 15, 1923.

Entered as Second Class matter, April 16, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1105, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

EDITORIALS

THE VICTORY OF THE SAN FRANCISCO CLOAKMAKERS

The strike of the cloakmakers in San Francisco has ended in a victory for the workers. This strike did not involve thousands of workers, and even a less favorable termination of it would affect but little conditions in the cloak industry as a whole. Yet, every needle trades worker in the country must have heard with a sense of gratification the glad tidings that the conflict of the cloakmakers in that Far Western city has ended so well for the strikers.

The reason for this general rejoicing need not be sought far away. The fact that the few hundred cloakmakers in San Francisco have dared at a time of general depression bordering upon a state of panic in the trade union movement of that city, to oppose themselves against the widespread "open-shop epidemic"; the fact that the small cloakmakers' union has had the marvelous courage to declare a fight not only against the few cloak manufacturers but against the powerful Chamber of Commerce and its agent, the so-called Industrial Association of San Francisco; again, the fact that this handful of Maccabeans have fought largely for a union principle and not for mere gain of money or similar advantages—all this lends the San Francisco strike its great significance.

All this raises it above the level of the ordinary daily labor struggles which one passes by with but slight notice even though each of these encounters might be of vital importance to all those involved in it.

We can easily visualize the joy which now permeates the ranks of the strikers themselves, who have now returned to work after months of fighting. We know, however, one person in our own midst who actually lived through some of the happiest moments in his life when he received a telegram last Thursday from Vice-President Gorenstein that the strike had been won. It is the Secretary-Treasurer of our International, Brother Abraham Baroff, who spent a number of weeks in San Francisco endeavoring to bring this strike to an honorable end. A few weeks ago he was compelled to leave that city with a heart almost broken in despair over its outcome. His labors, however, were not in vain, and made themselves felt very strongly after he left that city. Public opinion in San Francisco was aroused and his untiring activity had to bear fruit. And even though he was not there when the strikers finally won their fight, he felt deeply elated at the thought that he had had a share in winning this achievement.

Of one mind with Secretary Baroff in this matter was of course the entire General Executive Board, with President Sigman at the head. Our whole International was deeply interested in the San Francisco situation not because, as we stated above, its outcome could have affected the interests of the cloakmakers in general, but the International was championing this strike. It pledged its full moral and material support towards it and its successful termination meant a signal victory for it.

For, without desiring in the least to disparage the firmness and the courage of the strikers, it should be admitted that the outcome of the strike would remain in doubt had the International not financed it as heavily as it did and had it not lent to the strike its full moral prestige and support. The presence of Vice-President Gorenstein, the invaluable work of Secretary Baroff, and the unceasing steady aid given it by our publications, which were regularly forwarded to every employer in the trade, must have contributed to the weakening of the baneful influence of the Industrial Association as a factor in the strike, and finally induced the employers to declare themselves ready to settle.

Significant and cheering as is the outcome of this strike for our brothers in San Francisco and for the members of our International in general, there is to this strike another aspect which seems to us of the highest importance for the labor movement of San Francisco in general. The labor unions there have been cowed and intimidated by the open shop campaign and they have, perhaps, regarded the fighting attempt of our workers as a hopeless venture,—as the effort of a little David to slay a modern Goliath, the almighty Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco! To be sure, they have given our strikers but little encouragement and assistance, probably because they felt that the effort was hopeless.

How amazed they must feel at the outcome of this strike today! We say this not in a sense of anger—we are too far from San Francisco and not sufficiently acquainted with the local conditions to pass definite judgment upon it.

But is it too much to expect that this struggle and the victory of the handful of cloakmakers should encourage the labor movement of San Francisco to a finish fight against the already wounded Goliath? The anti-union beast has received the first powerful blow. The cloakmakers' union has found the mysterious heel of the modern Achilles and has inflicted if not a deadly at least a serious

wound upon it. Now is the right moment for the other labor organizations in San Francisco which at one time were so strong and powerful, to deliver the finishing blow. We hope that, unless the trade union movement in San Francisco is entirely demoralized and has lost every spark of militancy and resistance, the bright example of the cloakmakers will imbue the labor army of that city with the ideal of making their great and wonderful city once again a citadel of unionism, and that they will make good the many blunders they have committed in the past which have brought about the present deplorable decline of labor's influence in the Golden Gate City.

And now a few frank words to the former strikers:

We have given you generous and unstinted credit for your share in this strike, and a few words of admonition may not be entirely amiss at this juncture. Do you know that you and your union were entirely unprepared to take up the fight? Do you know that you have entered this conflict with a lightmindedness that is quite inexcusable for sensible and intelligent workers? Do you know that you have committed a huge blunder by entertaining at the outset the notion that you might win this strike in short order? Do you realize that, if not for the aid of the International, all your courage and firmness would be of no avail and that you would have had to return to your shops as defeated men?

You might answer that question by asking whether you did not have the right as a part of the International to anticipate such aid from it. To this we shall say without desiring to hurt you that, while it is true that you are a part of the International, you have contributed but little towards it, though you have always drawn something from it. It goes without saying that, were the International composed entirely of such locals as Local 8, it could not have piled up a record of achievement as it did.

You can repay this debt to the International only in one way: Hold fast to your union; see that every cloakmaker in your city becomes a member of it, so that your local need not apply to the International for aid at the first emergency. See that you are always well prepared with everything and for everything. We are saying these parting words of warning to you safely hoping that you will fully appreciate the spirit in which they are said.

PRESIDENT SIGMAN DECIDES IMPORTANT POINT

As these lines are being written only the first two sessions of the meeting of the General Executive Board have been held. These sessions have been practically all consumed by the report of President Sigman covering all the important events which took place in our organization during the past few months. We shall return to this report in our next week's issue; meanwhile we shall touch only upon one subject in this report which we deem of especial significance.

Among all the duties vested in the President of our International Union—those of a general organizer, speaker, and chief supervisor of activities,—the passing upon mooted points of our constitution and interpreting them to our members is not one of his smallest tasks. And a ruling by the president remains the law of the organization—until revised by the next convention or reversed by the General Executive Board.

Quite recently there came up before President Sigman for solution the following question. In a certain local a member began selling, during the slump period of the trade a certain article to private customers, among whom there were several cloak manufacturers. He did not give up his card or standing in the union while he pursued this business,—and now this member has declared his candidacy for an office in his local. The local thereupon came to President Sigman to get a ruling on this member's eligibility to run for office under the above circumstances.

Brother Sigman ruled against this member's right to run for office. His ground for so ruling was not because the man had turned to business during the slack season, but because he had sold merchandise to the employers in his trade, a fact which might make itself felt in the future when he might, as an officer, have to come in contact with these employers.—To begin with—the workers themselves, the members of the union, might be inclined to suspect him not so much for having sold to the employers as for having performed his duties, and at the slightest provocation would be likely to interpret any act of his as repaying the employer for past favors. Needless to say, a union officer against whom the least suspicion in this direction is aroused at once reaches the end of his usefulness to the organization. It also tends to demoralize and degrade the high level and station which a union officer should occupy in the eyes of the members at large.

But aside from this consideration, such former business dealings with an employer raise strong doubts whether the man in question could, when elected to office, fully and scrupulously discharge his duties as a union officer who called upon to represent the workers in clashes with the employers. President Sigman argues as follows: It is impossible that such an officer can succeed in eliminating entirely from his mind the fact that he has had friendly and profitable relations with these employers. When a dispute arises where a conflict of interests is involved he might either act unnecessarily harshly as if to prove that his former contact with the employers had left no mark on him or too mildly. In either case his action will bring no good to the workers.

President Sigman's decision might appear harsh and severe, yet it is just and logical. One need not be harping constantly on the point of class-consciousness to see that, if we are not to weaken the avowedly clear purpose of our organizations and are to maintain them as militant labor organizations, we must not allow the relations between our officers and our employers to remain too amiable. Not that we would want them to be at one another's throat all the

Beer and The American Unions

By B. MEIMAN
(Special Washington Correspondence to "Justice")

It might perhaps sound comical if I were to tell you that in many governmental circles here in Washington the signing of the anti-prohibition enforcement bill in New York by Governor Smith is regarded as a victory for labor. Why it should be so construed is difficult to perceive, save perhaps on the ground that labor has demonstrated in Washington against the Volstead Act, because the leaders of the A. F. of L. have come out openly and sharply against the dry law; and also perhaps because it is a generally known fact that, while the rich stocked their cellars full of drink before the act came into effect and are still replenishing them today, American workers who would have their glass of beer after a day of hard labor are stopped from doing so by the rigid national Dry Act.

The action of Governor Smith has obviously disturbed the Republican politicians. As they interpret this act, they fear that it might win over the labor vote for the Democratic party. Naturally when they speak of the labor vote, they mean the vote of the organized workers, of the members of the trade unions. They seem to worry little about the vote of the unorganized workers, though there are still a great many of them in the country. And, while in a political sense, there are not supposed to be in America any organized workers, the politicians don't seem to take it lightly. They seem pretty well scared over the possible effect of the recent developments in the prohibition issue upon the frame of mind of the union workers.

When I made light of the idea that the repeal of the Mullan-Gage Act in New York would have an effect upon the American unions, and declared that it would be slandering the unions to say that they would sell their birthright for a mess of such potage, a very important personage in Republican politics told me the following:

"Gompers is himself a Democrat. It is many years since he has endeavored at their election to deliver the vote of the unions to the Democratic party. In this he has never succeeded. Nevertheless, the unions are admittedly more inclined to the Democratic party than to the Republican. It is equally admitted that, in the dry-wet controversy, the workers are for light drinks. The danger lies in the possibility of the workers' voting en masse for the Democratic candidates should the Democratic party come out for light wines and beer in the next election."

Whether Governor Smith's action will have an effect on the labor vote or not, it is expected to have a decided effect on the coming national

elections in general. Both old parties are today meandering on the American political playground without principles and without programs. They come to the people with a periodical hullabaloo and cry asking to be voted for, but they have nothing concrete and earnest to offer. The old line distinctions between these two parties have long disappeared and the question is being heard persistently and annoyingly more and more frequently: What is the difference between the Republican and Democratic parties? Sophistry and artificial explanations might be employed here and there, but these apologies won't do forever. So they are eagerly seeking now a definite and palpable line of distinction—something which the man in the street can see and apprehend. It is quite likely therefore that the drink question will supply this line of demarcation in the platform of both parties during the next elections.

Most Democratic leaders do not believe that the convention of the Democratic party should adopt a wet plank. It would be too daring a step for it, and the delegates from the Southern states will not allow that. Should it even become possible to smuggle in such a wet plank by a majority vote of the delegates, it might prove inadvisable in the opinion of expert politicians as it could lead to the break-up of the party. It can be reasonably expected that such as Bryan and his ilk would not remain and work in such a wet party. To satisfy all concerned, they will very likely not adopt an outright wet plank but an impression will be created and a candidate will be nominated who, in the minds of the people, will stand for a very liberal interpretation of the prohibition laws. That would leave free leeway for such political leader to interpret the situation as it suits himself best in his own State.

Governor Smith has in his explanation touched upon a very important point which will appeal to the South—the point of States' rights. In the South they are fiercely in favor of States' rights. They are jealous of the Federal Government and of the usurpation of States' rights by the Washington authorities. They have always been the traditional defenders of state autonomy, and protested against the passing of any legislation by Congress which implied compulsory enactment within States' territory. This issue of States' rights will strongly appeal to the delegates from the South though most of them are adherents of Prohibition.

This is what Governor Smith said: "It is impossible to divorce from the public mind the impression that the definition of an intoxicating bev-

erage as containing not more than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol was written by the fanatical drys in defiance of the general experience of mankind and of actual fact.

"It seems to me that common sense, backed up by good medical opinion, can find a more scientific definition of what constitutes an intoxicating beverage. Such a definition should be adopted by Congress as a proper and reasonable amendment of the Volstead act, and a maximum alcoholic content should be prescribed by Congress which would limit all States to the traffic in liquors which are, in fact, non-intoxicating within the meaning of the eighteenth amendment."

"Subject to that limitation, each State should therefore be left free to determine for itself what should constitute an intoxicating beverage. States which then wished to limit traffic to beverages containing not more than one-half per cent of alcohol would be free to do so and those which desire to extend the traffic to the maximum limitation allowed by

federal statute would be equally free to do so. There could be, within the limitations of the maximum, many differences of degree, extending even to the complete prohibition by some States of traffic in liquor containing any alcohol whatever."

It is this States' rights factor that may serve as the backdoor through which the delegates from the Southern States will sneak in and join the ranks of the wets. And if the Democratic party should decide to make use of the wet issue in the next Presidential election, the Republicans fear that the acknowledged leaders of the organized workers might this time succeed in "delivering" the labor vote to the Democratic party.

The saddest thing about this lies perhaps in the fact that the best of us, the workers, can not be too certain that this estimate of the politicians, which is illustrative of their judgment of the political immaturity of the organized workers, is wrong. Unfortunately there may be a good deal of truth in it.

Meeting of G. E. B.

(Continued from page 1)

the organization campaign in Canada and made recommendations with regard to future activities in that district. Vice-president Schoonman reported on the working of the Record Department, and later in the week Vice-presidents Perlsin and Reisberg reported on the situation in the West and in Philadelphia respectively.

The meeting of the Board was crowded with more business this time than on any other occasion. Perhaps, this is due to the fact that the sessions were held in New York City, and were open to committee members from locals and joint boards. On Tuesday afternoon, the principal discussion centered on the question of the consolidation of Locals 22 and 23.

Debs Thanks President Sigman for Aiding Speaking Tour

Brother Abraham Tuvim, manager of the business office of our publication, was away from New York for the last few weeks to help arrange the big Debs meetings in the Middle West. This leave of absence was granted Brother Tuvim at the request of a committee in charge of the Debs tour, and now President Sigman has received a telegram from Comrade Eugene V. Debs expressing to him and to the General Executive Board hearty thanks for it. The telegram reads as follows:

"Morris Sigman,
"3 West 16th Street, New York.

"Please permit us to return to you, and through you to your General Executive Board, hearty thanks for the great benefit we have derived from the very able and efficient services of our beloved com-

rade Abraham Tuvim, in making the Cleveland meeting the crowning success it was.

"Special occasion that required the most efficient management and which gives us great pleasure to report, is that Brother Tuvim was able to harmonize the forces here, as a result of which a magnificent meeting was held that will rebound not only to the interest of the Socialist Party but to the International as well. Be assured that we appreciate the service you have rendered and that we hold ourselves ready at any time to reciprocate in any way in our power.

"With greetings and best wishes for the I. L. G. W. U., who are ever ready to serve the great cause, we remain yours fraternally,

"EUGENE V. DEBS."

time—neither the interests of the workers nor of the industry in general would be benefited by such a situation. But while our officers may maintain friendly social relations with employers it must not be permitted that they be indebted to the employers for personal favors past or present.

We admit that this decision might occasionally inflict an injury upon an innocent person but we would rather see that than have the organization as a whole injured. And then, now that this ruling has been announced, the loyal and sincere union men in our organization will take heed and will avoid making a wrong step in this direction.

OUR UNITY HOUSES OPEN FOR THE SEASON

This Friday, June 15, the Unity House at Forest Park will throw its doors open officially for business, and a few days later the Unity House owned by Local 15 of Philadelphia will begin its season. At about the same time the Unity Villa of the Italian dressmakers of New York, Local 89, on Staten Island will begin accommodating guests.

Our Unity Houses, as is well known, are not instituted for profit. In point of fact, the biggest of them, at Forest Park,

has been losing money until two years ago. Yet, even then, it never occurred to anyone that these houses be closed because they were unprofitable. Our unions have come to regard these summer homes as part and parcel of their general activities, and not without reason.

It is of vital importance for our members to be able to spend at least a couple of weeks during the year in an atmosphere of rest and comfort and to recoup some of the strength and vigor lost in the daily grind for existence in the fierce conditions of the modern shop and the modern industrial city. It is equally important for them to take a rest mentally, to gather their stunted spirits, and to take stock, so to say, of themselves as members of the trade organizations, of their needs, ideals, and program in particular.

A vacation amid surroundings that are friendly and truly free and congenial is such a physical and spiritual tonic, and we can not think of places that would lend such an atmosphere of ease, comfort and thorough mental relaxation as do our unity houses. A vacation spent by our workers in any of them means not only a few weeks of physical comfort but a genuine treat for the soul and spirit.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

O'Neill's Plays

The Hairy Ape; Anna Christie; The First Man
(Bonl & Liveright, New York, 1922)

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There is a note of compelling strength in all that comes from Eugene O'Neill's pen. Daring and color are here, and the beauty born of deep probing and complete understanding. Mr. O'Neill seeks no refuge from the hard truths of life in catch-penny optimism. He is courageous enough to face facts and clear-eyed enough to know when submission to them is wise and when it is craven. His plays possess, therefore, the flavor of life and the nobility that inheres in man's strivings against its blind forces.

This fourth volume of his plays continues the tradition handed down through his others. Through them Mr. O'Neill has removed again the non-essentials in which men lose so many of their precious hours and shown us the moments when they rock back-betters. There are no false romances when men forget to pretend. But they alone give individual existence its meaning and justification. Birth and death and groping and revelation—in these men find their souls. Mr. O'Neill has caught them all in these pages.

There is a great dissimilarity in the texture and concerns of these three plays. The huge *Hairy Ape*, stumbling from the security of his own idealization of his place in the universe into the hostile truth, is very different from *Anna Christie* who saw clearly from the outset and won a dim triumph through her fundamental integrity. The ridden folk in these two plays again have little in common with the snug, tight little souls that hem in *Curtis* and *Martha Jayson*. Yet beneath all the differences in problems and setting, *Yank* and *Anna* and *Curtis* and *Martha* and all the others who revolve about them are bound together by the identity of their struggle.

Flies caught in a spider's web fight impotently for freedom. Human beings caught in the web of fate fight—first for freedom and then for understanding. Their struggle for freedom from the inevitable they share with all the living things; in striving for understanding they are unique to human. The *Hairy Ape* and *Anna Christie* and *Curtis Jayson* fight in the spider's web. Because each of them is different from the other, each uses a different technique of struggle. Because it is the same fight, the outcome in the three cases is basically one.

To the *Hairy Ape*, exulting in his glorious brute force, doubt was unknown. Out of the coil he fed into the glowing mouth in the stockhole and the steel it moved through the rushing ocean at twenty-five knots an hour, he had created a world of strength and speed to which "he belonged." The homesickness for an older day which stirred old Paddy, the muddled unionist; socialism that poured forth from Long; all "dem shels in de first cabin"—all that tumbled even the fringe of his assurance, until a decadent white young thing from the first teahouse, daughter of a steel magnate, comes down into the stockhole to see how part of the other half works. As the recoil from *Yank's* brutality as if he were a "great" they are escaped from the *Zoo*! Insulted

in some unknown fashion in the very heart of his pride, *Yank* roars "God damn yuh!" With that roar doubt enters his edifice. *Yank* seeks revenge and finds understanding. Through *Fifth Avenue*, on *Blackwell's Island*, in the I. W. W. local from which he is thrown out as an "agent-provocateur," in the arms of the ape in the *Zoo*—*Yank* climbs his weary way to understanding. He can finally say: "Steel it don't belong dat's what! Cages, cells, locks, bolts, bars—dat's what it means! holdin' me down with him at the top! . . . I ain't got no past to tink in, nor nobbin' dat's comin' on'y what's now—and dat don't belong . . . I kin make a bluff at talkin' and thinkin'—a'most git away wit' it—a'most—and dat's where the joker comes in. I ain't on sixth and I ain't in heaven, got me? I'm in the middle tryin' to separate 'em, takin' all the worst punches from bot' of 'em. Maybe dat's what they call hell, huh?"

Anna Christie does not have to struggle for understanding. She is always clear-eyed about her place, and her circumstances, and the people about her. And she has self-respect, too, and basic independence. Knowing just how the web of circumstance caught her in its meshes, her struggle is against the thick wall of tradition and taboos that prevent others from seeing it. Left by her father with cousin on a Mid-Western farm so that she could be far away from "dat old devil, sea," she is bitterly unhappy. Paul, the youngest son of the farmer-cousin, whom she hated "worse'n hell" but who was big and strong "started her work." She runs away from the farm and works for two years as nurse girl. To escape men and the "howling kids" she gives up and goes into "a house." During a month in prison after the house had been raided she gets sick and decides to visit her father. On the coal barge in which she lives with him and finds her true self she meets *Mat Burke*. They fall in love. Prodded continually by his desire to marry her and her father's determination to save her from the life of wives of "sailor fellers" she turns on both of them and tells them the truth about herself.

The power that lies in the last two acts of "*Anna Christie*" comes from a source entirely different from that which feeds the deep currents of the "*First Man*." *Martha* and *Curtis Jayson* are not tragic as *Anna Christie* is tragic. When *Curtis Jayson*, famous anthropologist, manoeuvres until he obtains permission to take his wife along on the five-year expedition searching Asia for remains of the "*First Man*," we glimpse the full and rounded happiness that has been their married life. We see it also in their relations together, their mutual friendship for *Richard Bigelow* and their common memories. But *Jayson* also steeped in the Main Street littleness of Bridgeport, Connecticut, cannot tolerate a happiness so outside their routine experience. They suspect *Martha* of an affair with *Bigelow*. They are also impatient with *Curtis*' determination not to have children because of the pain the death of their two daughters brought them, some fifteen years ago. The *Jaysons*

want a man-child in the family. *Martha*, however, also has been longing for a child. She tells her husband they are to have one because otherwise "it soon would be too late." *Curtis* is terribly upset. This new development interferes with all his plans. To his horror he finds himself growing to hate the coming baby and hoping it would be born dead. But it is *Martha* who dies in childbirth and *Curtis*' grief is so abysmal that he cannot rise from it even to look at the child who "murdered his wife." Only when he learns that his family is defiling his grief by interpreting it as an unwillingness to accept *Bigelow's* child does he recover himself. Through the "*First Man*" born to the *Jayson* family, he finds again an ideal by which to live.

I summarize these three plays in some detail to show the unity that lies beneath all their differences. In them we watch men pitting their tiny strength against life's giant forces.

Visitors to Our Building

By L. FINKELSTEIN

The International Building, the new home of our International where are located all the offices and departments of the General Office, at 3 West 16th Street, is almost daily receiving visitors and guests. Delegates from the trade-union movement all over the country—from Canada, Mexico and also from England, come to New York City very often. Very rarely do these visitors fail to make a tour of the homes owned by the labor unions in this city, among them the home office of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

But not only do trade-union delegates come to visit our home. The educational delegates from various schools and colleges in America and in England, teachers and students, men and women who have heard so much about the educational work of our union—have all considered it their duty when in New York to come to see us and to look over the material, charts, and curricula in our educational office.

The task of piloting the visitors through the six floors occupied by our office falls as a rule upon either Secretary-Treasurer Baroff or Vice-president Fannia M. Cohn, depending upon what side of our activity interests them most—the educational or the strictly trade-union. Before entering the elevator, our visitors never fail to take account of the beautiful vestibule done in fine Italian Carrara marble, and to examine the tastefully decorated auditorium which serves as a meeting and lecture room for many of our organizations.

The next step is the third floor where the office of Secretary Baroff, the Finance Department, the Auditing Department and the Eastern Organization Office are located. On this floor, too, is located the switchboard, the nerve system which connects our offices among themselves and with the outside world.

From the third floor they go to the fourth, where are located the Research and Research Departments, and the Mailing Department of our three publications—*Gerechtigkeit*, *Justice* and *Giustizia*.

On the fifth floor are the President's office, the office of the editor of *Gerechtigkeit*, the business office of our publications, and also a beautifully furnished council room where the General Executive Board holds its meetings in New York City.

On the sixth floor, the last in the building, are located the editorial rooms, the editorial office of *Justice*, *Gerechtigkeit* and of *Giustizia*.

The *Hairy Ape* storms at rigid external environment; *Anna Christie* grapples with hostile circumstances; *Mat Burke* matches his age-old traditions and customs with the force of inner impulse and instinct; *Curtis Jayson* tries to fight his wife's material hunger and *Martha* fails to defeat small-town pettiness even by death. But big as these forces are and weak as is man's fighting force, individual triumphs can be won. They are dim and indistinct these triumphs—but triumphs nevertheless. *Yank* and *Anna* and *Mat* and *Curtis* emerge victorious from struggle. Their victories, however, are not conquest but acceptance. Individuals cannot down external environment and circumstances and death, but by understanding they can rise above them. It is with this conviction and with a sense of having touched both haunting beauty and deep insight that one lays down this latest volume of Eugene O'Neill's plays.

Two weeks ago our International office had two very distinguished visitors—the old tireless champion of liberty, Eugene Victor Debs, and the veteran of the Socialist and Labor movement in America, Abraham Cahan, the editor of the Jewish Daily Forward.

Debs and Cahan did not come to our building by arrangement. Debs happened to be in New York City to address a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden and, this being his first visit to New York since he was released from jail, he could not, as he himself stated, refrain from coming to see the home of our International Union. He came to see not only the home, of course, but to meet face to face the main officers of our union, to shake their hands warmly, and to give them a hearty fraternal embrace.

Comrade Cahan wanted to see the building before he left for Europe. He wanted to see our place with his own eyes in order to be able to tell the organized workers of Europe about the degree of prosperity and stability which our workers have attained here. Both Comrades Debs and Cahan, just as were all other labor delegates that have visited our place, were sincerely pleased with the exterior and interior appearance of our building, as well as with the methodical and systematic work conducted on all our floors.

Debs and Cahan were not contented with the visit to our building alone. They also went to see the "real estate" owned by our International in New York. They paid a visit to the big corner building at Lexington Avenue and 25th Street recently acquired by the Joint Board of Cloak-makers' Union, which already houses a great many of its departments. They also went to see the smaller building adjoining the home of the Joint Board which was recently bought by the Cloak Operators' Union, Local No. 1, for the purpose of remodeling it into a home of their own. They saw the beautiful home of Local No. 48, the Italian Cloak-makers' Union, at 231 East 14th Street, and also the home of the Union Health Center, our medical and dental clinics at 121 East 17th Street, an institution maintained by most of the cloak locals in New York City.

After he had inspected all these headquarters and homes owned by our organizations, Cahan stated that he only now has a clear conception of how strongly and fundamentally the International office of *Justice* occupies among our workers.



DOMESTIC ITEMS

RAILROAD QUESTION PRE-EMINENT.

The railroad question will be the outstanding issue before Congress at its next session in the opinion of Senator Watson of Indiana, member of the Interstate Commerce Committee. The railroad situation must be straightened out. We must decide how we can strengthen the weak roads without giving the strong ones too much.

LASKER'S MILLION-DOLLAR FAREWELL PARTY.

The trial trip of the steamship Leviathan may turn out actually to be as it has already been dubbed "a million-dollar joy-ride" for the personally chosen guests of retiring Chairman Lasker of the Shipping Board. Shipping men point out that the Leviathan already has been given as much of a trial since her reconditioning as commonly is required of such vessels.

STRIKE-BREAKERS FORM UNION.

Employees of the United Traction Company of Albany, N. Y., who were brought there last year to break a strike of the old employees have formed a new union of street railway employees and have gone on strike.

EMPLOYERS' AGREEMENTS NOT BINDING ON WORKERS.

An agreement entered into by foremen and employers cannot bind the workers in a plant, according to an opinion in a labor case rendered yesterday by Maurice Wormser, editor of the New York Law Journal who acted as referee in the case of the Berg Auto Trunk Company against the Suit Case Makers' Union. This case is illustrative of the injustice of granting ex-parte injunctions in labor disputes.

FATHER BOASTS OF HIS CHILDREN'S LABOR.

"These three little kids do the work of two men," that is what Felix's father, sugar beet grower in Michigan, told the investigators of the National Child Labor Committee. He was very proud of 10-year old Polis, 7-year old John, and 12-year old Elizabeth, who took care of 22 acres of beets. "We report these things because we are friends of all children in the grip of this cruel, heartless system," says Mr. Owen Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

CHINESE ROUNDED UP.

Immigration officials visited four factories in Long Island last week and rounded up 101 Chinese charged with being in this country in violation of the Federal law. Warrants had been issued for 150 men; many evaded the inspectors. Deportation proceedings were instituted against them at Ellis Island by the Department of Labor.

UNION BACKS APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

Return to the old apprenticeship system in industry was predicted during a conference in Cleveland recently, called to discuss the bricklayers' shortage and to lay plans for training men. The International Bricklayers' Union is behind the movement and will back any apprenticeship school system which meets the approval of the arbitration committee.

Union Health Center News

The Union Health Center desires to make a correction in the news item of last week, to the effect that in addition to Locals 37 and 48, Locals 82, 21, and 64 still do not belong to the Union Health Center.

We have just received notice that the Executive Board of Local 22 voted unanimously to join the Union Health Center.

Dr. George M. Price, Director of

the Union Health Center, left this week to attend the conference of the National Tuberculosis Association and the American Medical Association in California.

The Special Gynecological Clinic which has been held on Friday will now be combined with the regular Women's Clinic, to be held Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 12:30. Dr. Sophie Rabinoff is in charge of this Clinic.

Russian-Polish Cloakmakers, ATTENTION!

A regular meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch of the Cloakmakers' Union will be held this Friday, June 15th, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th St., at 8 p. m. sharp.

On the order of business there is the election of a Branch chairman and also the financial report of the Relief Committee of Local 35. All members of the Branch are asked to be at the meeting without fail and to come on time.

Fraternally,

I. E. SAULICH.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

TO END WAR.

Women delegates attending the Welsh League of Nations' Union Conference at Aberystwyth on May 23, decided to send a memorial signed by women in every Welsh village and town, to women of America, appealing for support in putting an end to war for all time.

A batch of anti-war circulars has been issued by Bhagat Ram in the Punjab, who is secretary of an Animals' Friend Society. They demand the disarming of the nursery by keeping war toys and war pictures from children, on the ground that to be constantly thinking of destruction in the impressionable age "is certain to cultivate brutality and indifference to suffering, which often later leads to serious crimes."

THE WORLD'S DEBTS.

In his speech on the Peace Treaties at the Hamburg International Socialist Congress on May 26, Hilferding stated that the world before the war had a total debt of 5,000 million pounds sterling. Today this debt amounted to 30,000 millions, of which 2,000 millions were due to America. On the other hand, world trade which before the war was worth 87,500 million pounds, is now only about half that figure. This explained the existence of 10,000,000 unemployed, while standing armies were increased by 1,000,000 bayonets (and this with Germany disarmed!).

THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY AND THE RUHR.

In a letter addressed to the Belgian and French Socialist parties, the National Executive of the British Independent Labor party beg to be associated with them in a new campaign against the militarist and capitalist tendencies of their mutual governments, and for the entire reopening of negotiations for the settlement of the question of reparations. "We profoundly respect your attitude to the German proposal," says this manifesto, "and were it not for your stand, we should despair of seeing any check to the policy embodied in the Ruhr occupation."

ARCHBISHOP AND GERMAN STUDENTS.

Archbishop of Canterbury says—"To my mind it is nearly intolerable to think or say that, because of the event or concomitants of the war, aid which might otherwise be forthcoming should now in 1923 be deliberately withheld from students."

TEACHERS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

Teachers in London have taken steps to form a Labor group, open to all grades of the profession, for the purpose of establishing direct relations with the political Labor movement. Although the National Union of Teachers exists as a powerful organization, it is not affiliated either to the Trades Union Congress or to the Labor party. Yet the Labor party has demonstrated in the most definite way not only its abiding interest in education, but its concern for the welfare of the teachers themselves. No party in the state has shown anything like the same interest. Labor believes in and works for the closest relations between brain workers and manual workers, and the tendency for the brain workers' organizations to link themselves up with the Trade Union movement is growing.

The San Francisco Settlement

(Continued from Page 1)

Dear Brother Baroff:

What was by many regarded as impossible or unexpected has happened. We have settled with the cloak and suit manufacturers of San Francisco. Let me give you some details about it.

Mr. Baumgarten of the Hyman-Schevel Company, whom you met in San Francisco, became greatly interested in the strike. I met him once more two weeks after you left and he began to work for a settlement, this time with splendid success.

It appears to me that your final reply before your departure to the manufacturers has helped a great deal in effecting this settlement. You told them that the International will never negotiate with the Industrial Association. This statement appeared in all the San Francisco papers and also in the New York press. The manufacturers at once conceived that they were in for a long and stubborn siege.

On Tuesday, June 5th, another thing occurred. On that morning, copies of JUSTICE were received at our office and the strikers made it their business to acquaint the employers with the contents of its leading editorial on the San Francisco

situation. It must have given them food for thought, for soon afterwards they forwarded to us a joint statement—which in proper terms we call an agreement—which was accompanied by a letter bringing the strike to an end. When this settlement-statement, which contained a union recognition clause, was brought to the strike committee, it was adopted unanimously after a brief discussion. The strikers met at the same time to take up the proposal of the employers. A secret ballot was taken, and, by an overwhelming majority, the workers voted to accept the settlement. Enthusiasm and joy prevailed towards the end of the meeting and the members pledged themselves to work hard to maintain a one hundred per cent organization in the cloak trade of San Francisco.

Vice-president G.enstein ends the letter with regrets that he cannot come to the quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board and sends his regards to the President and to the members of the Board, thanking the International for the aid given the San Francisco cloakmakers during the thirteen weeks of the strike and for the wonderful spirit of cooperation displayed by the General Office.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course on Social and Political History of the United States

By Dr. H. J. CARMAN

Given at the
WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Season 1922-1923

LESSON 11—THE RESULTS OF THE CIVIL WAR..

I. The Supremacy of the Union.

1. War settled for all time the dispute as to the nature of the Federal Union.
 - (a) Proved that State no longer had right to nullify a national law or to secede from the Union.
 - (b) Nation henceforth to be supreme.

II. Destruction of the Slave Power.

1. Destroyed the planting aristocracy of the South.
 - (a) Slavery abolished.
 - (b) Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution gave ballot to former slaves.
 - (c) Southern leaders excluded from public office.
 - (d) Fourteenth Amendment forbade United States or any States to pay any debts incurred in aid of Confederacy, or in emancipation of the slaves, thus plunging into bankruptcy the Southern financiers.
 - (e) Southern labor system wrecked.

III. Triumph of Industry.

1. War stimulated industry.
 - (a) Between 1860 and 1870 manufacturing establishments increased 79.6 per cent as against 14.2 per cent for the period 1850-1860.

IV. Victory for Protective Tariff.

1. Southerners who had championed free-trade defeated by Northerners who advocated high tariff.
2. Henceforth manufacturing interests of the United States to have high tariff.
3. Used argument that tariff would raise money to help pay debts of the United States incurred by the Civil War.

V. A Liberal Immigration Policy.

1. Problem of securing sufficient number of workers for the growing industries became a pressing matter.
2. Republican party, therefore, favored immigration of foreigners.

VI. The Homestead Act of 1862.

1. Granted free land to settlers.
2. Manufacturers opposed it, but farmers favored it.
3. Republican party yielded to the wishes of the farmers and placed the manufacturers by championing immigration.

VII. Internal Improvements.

1. Farmers and manufacturers were united in their demand for internal improvements, especially railways.

READING: Beard—History of the United States, Chapter XV.

Our Educational Policy

(Report Submitted to the Conference of the Workers' Education Bureau in the United States.)

In formulating the plans of the character of instruction to be given in our course, we could have filled them with propaganda. We decided, however, that this was not needed. Our members have been educated in the school of bitter experience. They have taken part in the struggles of their Union. Can we make the need for social change any more convincing by class propaganda than by the lesson of a winter of unemployment? Do we have to prove that there is exploitation of labor to those who have graduated from the sweatshop? Must we preach the class struggle to those who have faced the lockout? They have learned from bitter experience that the existing economic system is unsatisfactory and should be improved and changed.

The labor union, consciously or unconsciously, tends to reconstruct society. Our members have their dream of that new world where social justice is to prevail, where men and women will not sneer at friendship and love, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity. We do not need to supply our members with aims.

The duty of our Union is to supply its members with a working body of social and economic fact. We want to help our people to find themselves in the modern complex world. We have gained the confidence of our students. We felt that the best way to accomplish this was to give our members a body of information and incontrovertible facts, which they can utilize in their economic and political activities on behalf of the working class.

Our Faculty Meets

Last week was held an important meeting of the teachers who compose the faculty. Those who taught last year in our Workers' University, Unity Centers and Extension Division, met with the Chairman of the Educational Committee, Israel Feinberg, the Secretary of the Educational Committee, Miss Fannia M. Cohn, the Educational Director, Mr. Alexander Pichandler, and delegates of the Students' Council. The object of the meeting was the consideration and discussion of our educational program for next year. After the proposed plan was presented, each of the persons present expressed his opinion of the plan, the methods and other problems of the Educational Department. Brother Feinberg told the teachers what he felt to be the chief object of the educational work of the International and his opinions were discussed at considerable length by the teachers present.

It was very interesting to note the different points of view presented at the meeting. Some of the teachers favored the organization of courses embracing practically every subject of interest. Others, on the other hand, favored specializing only in such subjects as have a direct interest for our organization and for the workers as such. Others favored a middle course or a combination of cultural and labor courses emphasizing the latter.

The interest of the teachers, many of whom are connected with well-known educational institutions and with prominent publications is ex-

trremely gratifying. These men and women believe that the movement for Labor Education is growing stronger every year and that very soon labor schools in the United States will be among the most powerful factors in helping the workers of the United States to realize their aims. The cooperation of these teachers is extremely valuable and is a promising sign in the history of labor education. Among those present at this meeting were the following: Lewis Gannett, editor of the Nation; Prof. Lindsay Rogers, Dr. J. P. Warshaw, Dr. W. C. Thorp, Professor Galatzky, Dr. Louis Levine, Dr. L. Goldstein, Miss Theresa Wolfson, George Soule of the Labor Bureau, David J. Sapos, A. L. Wilbert, Solon De Leon, Max Levin and Miss S. Haines of the Educational Department.

Messages of regret for their inability to attend the conference were received from Professor H. A. Overstreet, Professor Wesley Mitchell, Holland Thompson, Professor Camillo von Klenze, Mr. Otto S. Beyer, and Evans Clark of the Labor Bureau.

Brother Gold and Sister Lena Lindner were delegates of the Students' Council. They helped considerably by presenting the point of view of the students towards the curriculum and methods used in our classes. The meeting was voted a great success by all who were present. Each felt that he benefited by the discussion and that the work of next year will see its effects.

Our Hike in Interstate Park

Last Sunday morning hundreds of our members responded to the call of the Students' Council to meet at the foot of the Dyckman Street subway station for a whole day's outing and hike. Together they crossed the ferry to the Palisades and then hiked on through the beautiful hills of Interstate Park to Tenafly. The fragrance of the grass, the soft murmur of the branches of the mighty trees, the rays of the radiant sun framed in a clear blue sky, filled the hearts and souls of the hikers with joy, and on they marched singing beautiful folk songs.

They camped on the top of a lofty hill overlooking a stream from which the Committee on Water Supply fetched bucketful of cool refreshing

water. The appetite of the party after the five-mile hike was excellent and justice was done to the food. After a short rest the air rang again with folk songs, laughter and joy.

It is very encouraging to note what an appreciation of the outdoors is spreading among our members. They are learning how to hike and are enjoying it. Of course, some of them will find their muscles stiff on Monday morning and mistake it for illness. But as they grow accustomed to hiking, this stiffness will gradually disappear, and they will appreciate more deeply the joy of the outdoors and the happiness of being close to nature.

Prof. Overstreet's Message

In an inspiring message to the conference of the instructors of the I. L. G. W. U., Professor H. A. Overstreet said among other things:

"I wanted to be present on this day of summing up and looking forward in order that I might catch once more something of the fine inspiration that lies hidden and perhaps too often unexpressed in this movement of workers' education.

"May I at least make my own little confession? I know of no movement that gets so vitally at the heart of our human ills and of our human possibilities as this movement for the training of minds. Civilization, so far as I can see, is basically a state of mind, or a complex of states of mind if you will. If we can control

states of mind, if we can train them, above all if we can redirect them, we have power over future civilization. I think there has been too little recognition of this. We have taken it for granted with a kind of mechanistic fatalism that things just happen, institutions just grow, like Tokyo. We sit back in our arm chairs, or we lie in our gutters and wait. The whole thing is too big for us, we say. Progress will take care of itself. We should worry.

"I personally believe that the biggest job to be engaged in is the making of minds; better, in the remaking of minds. That is where the vitality and the power of the workers' education movement comes in. It is a movement that drives at the creative center of life."

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary
(Record of Meeting, June 6, 1923)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS' REPORT
The Board of Directors submitted its report and recommendations of its meeting held on May 28th in part as follows:

OUTSIDE COMMITTEES

Sisters Sonia Farber and Rose Patis appeared as a committee from the striking shop of Markowitz Company which obtained an injunction against the Union. As a result of this injunction only two of the six workers retained to carry on this strike are permitted to do picket duty. However, as this shop is located in a building which has two entrances, one on each of two streets, it is their opinion that a committee of two can do practically nothing. They further stated that Sister Patis is about to leave town and that Sister Farber for personal reasons cannot be on this committee. They therefore requested the Board of Directors to take up the condition of this strike.

The Board of Directors, after considering the circumstances of this strike, how it came about, the application by the firm for a permanent injunction, the fight of the Union to prevent the issuing of this injunction and the ruling of the court that only two pickets should be permitted, decided that a committee of six should be retained to continue to conduct this strike against the Markowitz Dress Company.

The Board of Directors decided upon motion to extend an invitation to Brothers Sigman and Baroff to attend the installation of the new Joint Board which will take place on Wednesday, June 6th.

MANAGER'S REPORT

Brother Hochman reported that the strike against the Woolworth Dress Company has been settled and the cutter who has been discharged has been reinstated.

Brother Hochman called to the attention of the Board of Directors the two strikes which have remained over from the General Strike. He described the conditions of these strikes and asked the Board to advise him as to how to proceed.

Brother Horowitz reported that he placed claims with the Association for monies due to the Union from a number of their members for violations prior to the calling of the General Strike, and after taking it up a number of times the Association paid to the Union \$507 out of their own treasury as some of the members against whom complaints had been

lodged have been out of the Association for one reason or another.

THE NEGRO ORGANIZATION'S REQUEST

Brother George Halpern reported for the committee which was appointed to investigate the African Blood Brotherhood organization. Brother Halpern stated that the committee interviewed Comrade Campbell and they also secured copies of the Crusader, a magazine which was formerly published by that organization but which had to be abandoned on account of lack of funds. At present that organization is sending out material for publication to about 100 magazines. The opinion of the committee is that the Joint Board ought to help the African Blood Brotherhood to establish a weekly paper for the purpose of spreading among the Negro workers the ideas of Unionism.

CALL BAZAAR

Brother Reisel reported for the committee which was appointed to take charge of the booth at the Call Bazaar. He stated that the committee succeeded in securing a number of garments from our members and other members made up garments of material purchased by the committee. The net income from the booth was \$362 which was turned over to the New York Call and in appreciation of that, Brother Reisel stated, the New York Call awarded our committee the second prize which is a fine oil painting.

The report of the Call Bazaar was accepted with thanks.

Upon motion the report on the shop chairman meeting was approved.

The following reports were submitted to the Joint Board by the Grievance Committee.

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE

The Grievance Committee hereby begs to report of its activities since it was appointed by the Joint Board on July 12th, 1922, until May 28, 1923.

Shortly after the Grievance Committee was appointed, committee meetings were held for the purpose of working out rules and regulations for the guidance of the committee. In order that complaints against members of the respective locals might be taken up with as little delay as possible and justice meted out, meetings were held every other week. During all of this period the committee tried its best to meet regularly. However, due to the General Strike,

for a number of weeks the meetings were rather irregular.

During the time of the committee's functioning, which in all was 45 weeks, they met twenty times and took up complaints lodged against 480 members from the respective locals affiliated with the Joint Board.

The nature of the complaints is classified as follows: Refusal to go down on strike when told to do so, deserting strike, scabbing, working Sundays and Saturdays and holidays, working overtime without extra pay, working excessive hours of overtime, failure to attend shop meetings, working in a cooperation shop, sub-contracting, using abusive language, causing discharge of co-workers, working on scab work, reducing fixed prices, insulting and disobeying shop chairmen and business agents, failure to report violation of employer, giving misleading information to Union officers.

In order to establish or disprove the accuracy of the charges, about 600 members were summoned as witnesses in these cases. The Grievance Committee in passing upon these charges tried its utmost in each and every case to arrive at just and practical decisions.

In some cases where the facts could not be thoroughly ascertained at the Grievance Committee meetings, a sub-committee was appointed to arrange shop meetings to investigate the cases and to submit its report to the Grievance Committee which then took up the case again for consideration. In all its decisions, the Grievance Committee was more concerned with bringing about a better understanding between member and member and between member and officer than with imposing a monetary fine. Only in cases where it was obvious to the committee that the defendants were of a character from which observance of union rules could be exacted only by disciplinary measures, were fines and other punishment imposed.

With the following figures will illustrate the results of the Grievance Committee decisions:

As previously stated 480 people were called to the Grievance Committee. From among this number 126 were sent letters of reprimand, 331 people were fined from \$1 to \$99, the total sum of fines was \$4,333.00, which averages about \$12 per person.

In two cases involving 17 people who had worked overtime without extra compensation, the money was collected from the employers and with

the consent of the defendants, this money was donated to the Hiss campaign. In two cases, six people were taken off their jobs.

This completes briefly the experiences of the Grievance Committee whose term now expires, and in order that these experiences may not be in vain the outgoing Grievance Committee wishes to report that in the course of their meetings, a great number showed an obvious ignorance of Union rules. In all such cases the chairman or some other member of the committee did all he possibly could do in order to explain to the members in question, the rules of the Union. They tried to impress upon them the great consequences of acting contrary to Union regulations, not only grave in their reaction upon others, but likely to react disadvantageously upon themselves. The aim of the Grievance Committee was always to show the members the benefits which they would derive from loyalty to the Union and to dispel whatever resentment they might feel.

Trusting that the report of the Grievance Committee will meet with your approval, we are

Fraternally yours,

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE:

M. Di Maggio, M. Halebsky, H. Balaban, S. Fernberg, C. Samorodnii, A. Blechtein.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Finance Committee hereby begs to report of its activities since the committee was appointed by you on July 12, 1922, until June 4, 1923.

As previously reported to you, the Finance Committee met regularly and when urgent cases had to be considered, i. e., when the Finance Committee was called upon to act as Relief Committee or when cases were referred to them by the Joint Board, special meetings were held.

IN RE EXPENDITURES

This committee saw to it that all expenditures incurred by the Joint Board were properly approved and chronologically entered. During this period the committee passed upon 2,008 vouchers, some of these vouchers containing particularly during the General Strike, as many as 200 receipts.

The Finance Committee was careful in examining each and every item of expenses incurred and in cases of doubt they always referred to the secretary or general manager for information. Not till the Finance Committee was clear about every expense did they O. K. the voucher in question,

Sweatshops in Small Towns

(Continued from page 5)

of this employer as it is to the fact of its being a union shop, which naturally prohibits homework. But then again, its next-door neighbor, a non-union shop, has most of the work done in tenements and homes.

Only recently (May 15th) I wrote to the dress manufacturer at Trenton informing him how this dress manufacturer is encouraging sweatshop conditions in Plainfield. Here is his reply:

"Your complaint of the dress manufacturing concern in Plainfield encouraging sweatshop conditions exactly covers the existing conditions and we are making very rigid investigation of this homework and will be glad indeed to let you know the results of our efforts just as soon as we have our general survey and report completed.

"I might add that we have investigated the same concern in Plainfield manufacturing children's clothing, men's clothing, women's dresses, un-

derwear and embroidery, and of these nine places one concern gave out work to four homes; one to from fifty to one hundred homes; one to ten homes; one to twelve to fifteen homes; one to five homes; one to one home and the other three gave out no homework.

"We then visited four of the homes in which this work is carried on and they were all found to be unfit for any kind of homework (bold type is mine). These conditions are being found throughout the State and will, no doubt, result in a general follow-up of this homework."

The Commissioner's reply is a clear admission that sweatshops are thriving in New Jersey, notwithstanding its rigid State laws against this evil in the garment industry. It should also be proof conclusive to all those interested in public welfare work that organized labor—in other words the Union—in the only agency which can and does deal effectively with this problem of the sweatshop.

Workers' Wages in Poland

(Continued from Page 4)

calculated in Polish marks the value of which is forever dropping. So that, for instance, if the government has advanced to a certain industrial enterprise the sum of 400 million marks in 1920, when the value of the mark was 400 to the American dollar, and that enterprise had at that time bought for this subsidy machinery and raw materials in the foreign market, it is only obliged to return to the government this amount in present-day values, which is only about 10,000 dollars, though at that time this sum amounted to 400,000 dollars. The remaining 390,000 dollars is safely pocketed by the firm.

In a former letter I pointed out that practically all Polish revenues are raised practically from indirect taxes

which fall most heavily upon the great consuming masses, the workers and the peasants. And here, too, the employers and the big business interests succeed in evading burdensome responsibilities, as the onus of supporting the government which is advancing subsidies and credits to them rests largely upon the toiling masses of the country.

We have, therefore, on the one side a low starvation wage which leads to misery, hunger and suicides, and on the other—to colossal, legendary profits which permit unheard-of luxury and ease to a small group of industrial magnates, merchants, and speculators. It is a dismal picture of life of the working masses in Poland, but a true picture nevertheless.

The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

The meeting of the General Executive Board of the International is taking place in this city this week at the home of the general officer. Manager Dubinsky, as vice-president of the International, will therefore be taken up with these sessions during the greater part of the days.

One of the important questions before the G. E. B. is the settlement of the amalgamation problem of the two dressmaking locals, 22 and 35. The members are no doubt familiar with the details; these were recounted here quite often. And in the last week's issue of this publication it was reported that the cloak and suit joint board before whom this question arose, referred for decision some important details to the board.

At these sessions of the G. E. B. committees representing the cloak and dress joint boards, and of some of the locals involved, appeared for the purpose of presenting the opinions of these bodies as regards their feelings in the matter of the solution of the amalgamation.

The sessions are still in progress at the time of writing. It is therefore doubtful as to whether a decision will be contained in the report of the meetings in this issue of "Justice."

Manager Dubinsky knowing that the meetings of the Board would necessitate his being occupied almost a full week, decided in advance to make the necessary preparations for the coming season in the various trades under the union's control.

One of the important things in connection with this is the issuing of new working cards. In July, dress and cloak cutters will be required to change their cards for the new ones to be issued in that month. A member who fails to renew his old card for the new one will be held as guilty of a violation as the man who does not secure a card at all. The manager is determined to make permanent the system of securing working cards immediately after a cutter secures a job.

One of Local 10's means of ascertaining which shops have cutters is through this working card system. Members who fail to secure them compel the office often to spend a great deal of time in following up the shops and filing complaints.

CLOAK AND SUIT

The report which Manager Dubinsky submitted to the last cloak and suit meeting on the conditions in the trade during the past season shows a very rigid inspection of every shop listed under the union's control.

It is of special importance to note the growth in the number of shops the owners of which are very eager to do their own cutting. But due to the control maintained by the office a large number of employers who otherwise would not have employed cutters, were compelled to hire them by Local 10's special controllers.

The report shows a total of 1339 shops which employ from one to five and more cutters. These are divided as follows: 844 shops keep 1 cutter each; in each of 183 shops are employed two men; in 242 shops are employed from three to five men. There are 70 shops in which more than five cutters are employed. The manager's report shows 242 shops which, in addition to the control by the regular business agents of the Joint-Board, are also closely watched and followed up by the cutters' own controllers. Of this number the employers of 180 shops were compelled to hire cutters during the past season.

That cutters were employed in these houses, was mainly due to the efforts of the special investigators. These

men were given a list of shops and they visited them very often. As soon as a shop was found where no cutter was employed and the operators of which had work, the office, in addition to filing complaints seeking the placing of fines against such employers, forced the employment of cutters.

Of course, the cutters in these 180 shops are now laid off for lack of work, but these shops will be followed up again. The remaining 102 shops in which cutters are seldom found, were found to be very troublesome. This number is listed in a special class and more than the ordinary controlling will have to be done by the office during the coming season in an effort to place cutters in these shops.

An interesting aspect of this report is the wages received by the cutters. Taking the 1339 cutters employed in the legitimate shops, that is in the shops which cannot get along without cutters, and adding them to the number employed on part time by the smaller shops, something like 2500 members are employed in the cloak industry during a season.

Wages for these men range from the minimum scale of \$44 to \$70 and up per week. To give the members a correct idea of the number of cutters working for the minimum scale and above it, Manager Dubinsky has turned these numbers into percentages with the following result: 10 per cent. of the men received the minimum scale (this also includes those men who received 45 per week). Four per cent. of the cutters employed got from \$46 to \$49 per week. There are 1678 men or 6 per cent., who received from \$50 to \$55 per week. \$56 to \$59 per week was paid to 1 per cent. of the cutters and 25 per cent. of the total number of men were paid from \$60 to \$70 and up per week during the past season.

For an industry which is highly seasonal and one in which men consider themselves fortunate if they work for a stretch of 16 weeks, Brother Dubinsky concluded there were still too many men who received only the minimum scale. That the manager is going to improve this condition, may be seen at once when the case of Kaplan Brothers' cutters is called to mind. This case was reported in these columns last week.

WAIST AND DRESS

The meeting of the waist and dress cutters which was held last Monday night in Arlington Hall, and was unusually well attended, turned into a very exciting affair.

The first part of the meeting was taken up with a report of the conditions of the trade and the union by Manager Dubinsky. In speaking of the trade as it at present affected the cutters, the manager said that the usual slump was now being experienced. There were not very many complaints filed as is the case when men are employed. However, complaints that bosses are doing their own cutting and complaints by men that they are not receiving an equal share of work are not lacking.

As regards conditions in the union, the manager gave a detailed report of pending amalgamation of the two dressmaking locals. What occupied the attention of the members for the greater part of the meeting was a communication which the Executive Board had sent to the dress and waist joint board requesting that the terms under which business agents hold office should be readjusted. If this request of Local 10 would have been adopted the joint board would merely revert to a condition which had at one time existed. When this decision of the Executive Board was

read to the members a motion to adopt it brought forth considerable discussion. In his argument for rejecting the communication, Harry Berlin, delegate to the joint board, argued that the board committed an error in sending the communication without first submitting it to the members.

Manager Dubinsky, in speaking for the adoption of the recommendation, pointed out that it was the business of the chairman of the joint board to rule the communication out of order if he felt that the communication should have first been taken up by the members. He pointed out in effect that a president of that sort was never established and never existed; that the board had acted within its rights when it sent in the communication, and that no such contention was ever raised in a matter of this sort before.

President Philip Ansel, in submitting the question to a vote, read to the members the clause of the constitution which related to the point in dispute. This clause gives the Executive Board, the president stated, the right to transact the union's business when the members are not assembled in regular meeting. The right is given to adopt measures in the interest of the organization and adopt such action as may be necessary for the welfare of the local.

The recommendation of the Executive Board was finally adopted. Immediately upon the conclusion of this matter a motion was offered to adjourn on the ground that it was late and that the members were already exhausted. A point was raised that the meeting could proceed with further business. However, it was pointed out that more than half of the members had already left and it could not be reasonably expected for the session to continue with the small number of remaining members. The motion to adjourn was carried.

This by no means ends the controversy. There are further recommendations of the board which deal with the question disputed. This will be taken up at the next meeting of this branch at the meeting on the second Monday in July.

MISCELLANEOUS

The members of this branch of Local 10 will hold their meeting next Monday night, June 18th, in Arlington Hall. In spite of the slackness in these trades, the office is taken up a good deal with complaints and organization work.

In addition to the regular report which Manager Dubinsky will render, he will also report to the members on the matters with which the office is contending now as regards the agreement. The association interprets the agreement in a manner that considerably hinders the office from

proceeding with its control of the shops.

Two or three important points are in dispute which could only be settled with the association in the presence of Morris Hillquit, the Union's legal adviser. The reason why these matters were not taken up until now is that Comrade Hillquit was away to Europe. He has now returned and the manager is making arrangements to dispose the questions in dispute.

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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS	Monday, June 18th
GENERAL	Monday, June 25th
CLOAK AND SUIT	Monday, July 2nd
WAIST AND DRESS	Monday, July 9th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place