

"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."

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## "I" Men and "We" Men

"He is a strong man who can stand alone." Thus Henrik Ibsen through the mouth of Doctor Stockmann in his celebrated drama, "Enemy of the People."

Ibsen was a great artist and a profound thinker. But man, no matter how great, is liable to err, and in this matter Ibsen has erred.

In this world there is no human being strong enough to stand alone. From his first to his last breath, in order to live and make headway, man must fall upon the aid of his fellow human beings. The truth, therefore, lies in the direction entirely opposite from where Ibsen placed it. The strongest man is not he who stands alone, not he who would separate himself from his fellow-men, not the "I" man, the individualist, but he who unites with his fellow-men and helps them to struggle along as they help him. The strongest is not the "I" man but the "We" man.

To remain obdurately alone and apart from others is tantamount to death. The human kind would have disappeared long ago were man not a social animal, were it not for the great urge of man to combine with others of his kind. The rising of the human species from a lower to an ever higher status has always proceeded along this path of union of effort, of joint action against obstacle and inimical interference. The history of mankind teaches invariably the one lesson that progress is marked and strong where men learn to work together and drops to the zero index where men instead of working by common effort work at cross purpose and fight each other.

In the last war, when each man and each nation acted like "I" men, human progress came practically to a standstill. Art, letters and science became stagnant. Not a single great art product, not a notable constructive invention could be traced to that period. The war turned into dust what has taken mankind generations of peace to accomplish. Human progress not only stopped but was thrown back many years from the line where it stood before the slaughter began.

Wars, no matter under what slogan, have always hindered human development. Only when men live in peace, striving, working, and acting together, can they make headway in every field of human endeavor.

And among all the classes of our society, the working class is the weakest, for it is the least organized.

Consider only that of about thirty million of wage earners in our land only about five million are united, while the rest have hardly a notion of the vital importance of thinking, feeling and acting in a collective sense. And even the few millions that are organized are united largely on the surface, skin-deep, as it were. Watch them, how bitterly they oppose each other as Jew and Gentile, as members of different races, as adherents of different political beliefs! The Democrat despises the Republican, the Socialist scorns the anarchist, the "left" loathes the "right" and the "right" execrates the "left."

There are workers who believe they are the chosen among their class because of a notion that their particular craft is finer, "higher" than the work of others. They actually look down upon their fellow workers, in return for which they naturally receive the scorn and contempt of the workers of the "lower" crafts. Upon such a thin thread does their sense of solidarity hang, likely to be blown to shreds at the first inclement wind!

Small wonder that Labor is still so weak, so helpless. Small wonder that Labor entitled to the highest rung on the social scale is still at the very bottom. Small wonder that the creators of all wealth must still remain content with the crumbs that fall from the tables of the idle.

You see, they, the idle and the mighty, are united. They do not fight windmills, nor do they lack the spirit of get-together and of mutual help. In fighting the workers they cease to be "I" men. They cast personal preference and caprice aside to down their common enemy. Therein lies the secret of their success, though numerically, as compared with the workers, they are like a fly to an elephant.

Yet, things are improving. A portion of the workers is learning the secret of power. They have wrested from life already a great deal more than their progenitors ever dared to dream of. But they are still leagues away from where they should be—all because the majority of them still belong to the "I" man type, petty egotists, with petty, cramped vision.

S. Y.

## One Week's News

So far as the world is concerned, it is a seasonal pastime with no national legislators, nor devoid of a dash of order, rest and make-believe.

Somehow, we cannot avoid the conclusion that every labor movement gets the kind of leadership it deserves. Russia has had her Lenin, while Britain gets MacDonald, far apart from each other as the poles. Yet, in a swift moving world, one cannot fail to observe even in a seemingly inextricable vortex of multiple tendencies that Russia is slowly evolving toward the MacDonald idea rather than England toward the dogma of Lenin.

The Senate is investigating. The Bok peace plan, the Mellon tax resolution, the soldiers' bonus, the Raa, plan recognition problem—all have been taken in hand by the Senate, and the hearings are on. It is a seasonal pastime with no national legislators, nor devoid of a dash of order, rest and make-believe.

Usually these investigations lead up to nothing, though it would be a shame to miss them. In such a turpid parliamentary life as our Congress usually leads in its committee-roomed existence, life would probably be intolerably dull without them.

Meanwhile, as it looks to us from a distance, the Tea-Tot Dome Oil kettle is coming to a pretty boil. Something got into the pot that sends out such a smothering stench as we have not been treated to in a long while, at least, not since the German dye patents involving hundreds of millions of dollars worth of property were "sold" during the Wilson administration to a group of patrician gentlemen whose interests are now being taken care of by the former Alliance Property Custodian Garvan. As if that be not by the Democrats, the Republicans have now dished up a similar scandal involving a former Cabinet member and millions upon millions of good, flowing barrels of Government oil.

Could better proof of the excellency of our two-party, fifty-fifty system be offered?

The Minnesota organizers of a national confab for a third party on May 20, in St. Paul, are, mildly speaking, in hot water. In their hurry to corral everybody in sight for that convention, they caught for themselves a pretty Tartar by inviting, or rather by allowing that little group of "proletarian dictators" from the so-called "Federated Labor Party" to butt in on the meeting. Now they are discovering that none of the substantial factors in the third-party movement in this country, none of the hippest trades and other political organizations, will have anything to do with that conference, if the "captives" of the Chicago conference in 1923 are allowed to remain in it.

The gentlemen from Minnesota are now rushing about, trying to arrange for a preliminary conference at Washington in an effort to save the St. Paul convention. If they mean business they can do only one thing: Tell the "dictators" to retire as gracefully as they are able to and leave the folks who honestly mean to build up a third party in America severely and contemptuously alone.

And while speaking of a third party, we should like in call attention to a bit of inimitable humor which crept into the news the other day. The Miners' Convention in session adopted a resolution against affiliating with a third party movement "for the time being" and in the same breath sent a ringing telegram of congratulations to MacDonald and his associates.

On the morning on which His Majesty invited MacDonald to form a cabinet, the engineers on the British railways went out on strike.

Two days later, MacDonald told Henderson, his Secretary for Home Affairs, to "get busy and settle the strike." For which reason the news that the engineers' union is conferring with the railway's executive and that a settlement is in the offing.

Wanted: A responsible public person or staid respectable organ to loudly declare the suspicion that the whole affair was "cooked up" in advance to care for the first Labor Cabinet of Great Britain a pretty feather for its new house.

The New Leader, the new weekly of the Socialists in the Eastern part of the country, made its appearance last week. It has something to say and says it without equivocation. It could not have arrived at a more appropriate moment. The interest in Socialism, in a world at home and abroad which fairly simmers with Socialist and labor events of first-rate magnitude, is at a high pitch. The New Leader can satisfy the need for an American Socialist interpretation of these phenomena, and we hope it capably will.

By way of further comment, it need not be a weekly newspaper, nor strive to be. It can do its work best as a journal of opinion and comment rather than as a compendium of news items. That's what its readers will look to it for; that's what they really want.

M. D. D.

## BOUND VOLUMES OF "JUSTICE"

The management of our Publication Department has had a number of complete sets of "Justice" for 1923 bound and ready for sale.

As the number of these books is limited, secretaries of locals and individual readers who desire to obtain a 1923 volume for a very moderate price, will at once get in touch with the office at 3 West 116th Street, New York City.

All Union and Trade News on Page Two

Have You Already Opened an Account in the International Union Bank? If You Are a Depositor in Any Other Bank, You Have Only to Bring Your Bankbook to Our Bank. We Will Do the Rest.

## INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION IN MAY TO BE IN BOSTON, MASS.

Committee on Arrangements Appointed

At the seventh quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board which closed a week's session last Friday in Philadelphia, Secretary Baroff announced the result of the referendum conducted by our membership on the selection of a convention city next May. The returns overwhelmingly favor Boston, Baltimore having received only a small number of votes.

The business of arranging an international convention is no small matter and involves a prodigious amount of detail. President Sigman therefore appointed at the end of the meeting a Convention Arrangements Committee to proceed with the work. The committee consists of Vice-president Salvatore Ninio, manager of the

Italian Cloakmakers' Union, Local 48; Joseph Brelaw, manager of the Cloak and Dress Pressers' Union, Local 35; David Dubinsky, manager of the Cutters' Union, Local 10; Fannia M. Cohn, executive secretary of the Educational Committee; and Fred Monoson, manager of Raincoat Makers' Union, Local 7, of Boston.

### Joint Executive Council for New York Locals

Vice-President Lefkowitz Instructed to Organize the Council

One of the decisions adopted at the last meeting of our General Executive Board is that a joint executive council of the locals in New York City which do not belong to the existing Joint Board in the cloak and dress industry be now formed without delay.

This question received a thorough airing at the meeting of the Board. It was pointed out that practically all of these unattached locals could ben-

efit a great deal through belonging to such a central body and could get better results in every form of activity by joining efforts. Vice-president Lefkowitz was instructed to proceed at once to organize it.

Last Friday afternoon, Lefkowitz had a meeting with the officers of the following locals—the Swiss Embroiderers' Union, Local 6; Raincoat Makers' Union, Local 20; Waistmakers' Union, Local 25; Ladies Tailors' Un-

ion, Local 38; Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66; Custom Dressmakers' Union, Local 90; Children's Dress and Housewren Makers' Union, Local 91; Whitegoods Workers' Union, Local 62; and the Cloak Buttonmakers' Union, Local 132. A plan for a central body was laid before this meeting along the lines of a joint executive council with all the locals represented in it. The officers who attended the meeting warmly responded to the plan. Next week a joint meeting of all the executive boards of the above-mentioned locals will be held and it is to be hoped that very soon this new central organization will be in working order.

### Internationals Greet Labor Government of England

Cable Message Forwarded to MacDonald

As quickly as it became known that the English king had sent for J. Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the British Labor Party, and asked him to form a cabinet to govern Great Britain, President Sigman forwarded to the British Labor Party a congratulatory message in the name of our General Executive Board and of the membership of our union. The cable reads as follows:

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of America is happy to convey to the British Labor Party and to the organized

workers of England a message of brotherly greetings upon the historic event of the formation of the first labor government. Stirred with deep emotion at your magnificent victory we pray for your continued success, as we know that not only will it make England and Europe as a whole a better place to live in, but will add strength and hope to this labor movement in every country in the world, our own included. MORRIS SIGMAN, President. ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary.

### Members of Local 10 Honor Manager David Dubinsky

There are moments in the lives of people engaged in the furtherance of the ideals of the Labor movement which remain imbedded in their minds—moments and times which are without precedent. Such incidents do not spring from coldly calculated and preconceived arrangements. They are spontaneous, sudden outbursts, which render the individuals speechless because of pent-up emotion.

Such was the experience of David Dubinsky, one of the Vice-presidents of the International, and manager of the Cutters' Union, Local 10, last Saturday night, January 19th. This was due to a testimonial and surprise banquet tendered him by officers and a group of about ninety active members of Local 10 at the Martiniere Mansion, 156th and Beck Streets, Bronx.

The affair was not one planned weeks in advance by the organization itself. Speakers did not groom themselves with a view towards outdoing one another in speech-making. A few officers and active members got together and spoke over the matter of arranging some means of expressing to Dubinsky their heartfelt appreciation of his sincere and fruitful efforts towards furthering the interests of the members and the organization.

The committee, self-organized, consisted of Brothers Samuel Perlmutter, Isidore Nagler, Harry Zuslowky, Meyer Skloth, Morris Jacobs, Ben-

jamin Evry, David Fruhling and Nat. Baron, the latter an honorary member of Local 10 and formerly an active member and officer of long standing in the organization.

When word was passed among the members as to what was being planned, the committee was besieged with requests for invitation. The committee, however, regretfully had to turn down many applicants because of a lack of accommodations. Those who were gathered at the banquet were representative of the active element of Local 10. There were young-timers and old-timers. There were conservatives and radicals. Men of forty years' standing in the organization and of three years' standing.

The eulogies expressed by the chairman of the occasion, Brother Isidore Nagler, and by the toastmaster, Brother Samuel Perlmutter, would fill columns of this paper. What effected the entire occasion had upon Dubinsky was shown when, after being presented with a diamond stickpin, tears welled up in his eyes as he rose to speak. That this was the most memorable event of his seventeen years in the labor movement was made evident when he spoke of his experiences in it, colorful as they were. He mentioned the time when he was served with a meal in this country immediately upon his arrival after his escape from his Siberian prison. The incident remained fresh

(Continued on Page 11)

### INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Local 9 of New York announces that their income during the last quarter amounted to \$11,259.58, and expenses to \$12,875.72. Their treasury consists of \$1,978.87.

New York Board introduces uniform working cards for all members. These cards are to be controlled at the section-meetings and members are warned in the shops without such cards.

At a joint meeting of the executive boards of locals 18 and 25, the question of a general strike in the waist and dress industry is being referred to a referendum vote of all the members. The voting is to take place on January 27, 28 and 29, 1912.

Chicago Cloakmakers' Union has called out on strike the workers employed by the firm of Beak & Kirshbaum for the unjustifiable discharge of workers who had been employed by this firm for over five years.

### Out-of-Town Department Active in Corona

The organization campaign of the Out-of-Town Department in Corona, L. I., which was begun five weeks ago, has been showing gratifying results. In the strike that followed the campaign, 14 cloak and dress shops went out, of which ten have now signed up with the union, two have gone out

**A COURSE FOR SHOP CHAIRMEN  
OF LOCAL 91 THURSDAY  
EVENINGS**

A course on the "History, Aims and Problems of the American Labor Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.," will be given for the shop chairmen of the Children's and House Dressmakers' Union. These lectures will be given Thursday evenings at 6 o'clock in the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th street, beginning with Thursday, January 24.

of business, and two still remain on strike with prospects of an early settlement. Of approximately 2100 workers who went out in the strike, 200 have already returned to their shops, all with an increase in wages.

In addition to the wage-raise, however, gains of greater importance to the industry were obtained, for the six settled cloak shops returned to work under the union agreement which is in force in the cloak shops of New York City, and the four settled dress shops have granted to their employes the 40-hour work-week which was won last year by the organized dressmakers in New York City.

The Corona campaign and strike was directed by Brother Philip Oretsky, organizer of the Out-of-Town Department of the International, who was assisted in the work by Brother Marco Durante.

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# The British Labor Party Before the Test of History

By LEON CHASANOWICH

(Special European Correspondence to JUSTICE)

"The worker must have political power in his hands before he can establish the new organization of Labor. He must overturn the political basis upon which are founded the institutions unless he is to abdicate all claim to temporal power as have done the early Christians who ignored and scorned it.

"Nevertheless, we do not maintain that the ways of arriving at this goal are the same everywhere. We know that the institutions, customs and traditions of the various lands must be considered, and we do not deny that there are countries like England and America—and, if I knew your own institutions better, I should include Holland—where workers may by peaceful methods reach their aims. This, however, is not so in all countries."

Thus spoke Karl Marx in the year 1872 at a mass meeting in Amsterdam, Holland, after the congress of the First International. The great teacher of modern scientific Socialism obviously believed it possible that in some countries, where the institutions of democracy are firmly rooted, the workers can take over power through peaceful means and establish the "new organization of Labor" by democratic and parliamentary methods. Marx specifically refers to England among such countries, though it need not be assumed that Marx expected that even in England the transition to Socialism would not be accompanied by far-reaching social upheavals and long arduous fighting, or that he entertained the illusion that by the simple means of a parliamentary vote England could jump straightaway into a Socialist order of things. Marx, who lived in England for many years and who was a student of English history, knew very well that it takes decades to carry out even a social reform in that country. If he, nevertheless, believed that such a profound change in the social and economic structure as Socialism could be effected in England by peaceful means, he doubtless counted upon the steady and accumulated growth of power, the diligences among the English working masses which would in the end give democracy sufficient impetus to break down the opposition of the ruling classes and make room for a new order of things.

Is England today ripe for the moment which Marx prophesied? Is Britain at the beginning of that new historic period which Marx had in mind, the threshold of a great fight for Socialism within the framework of the traditional British constitutionalism and parliamentarism?

A great many of the English labor leaders who officially maintain the Socialist credo are worried less about the future than by the concrete problems of the hour. There are in the Labor Party, however, particularly in the independent Labor Party, a number of leading persons to whom Socialism is paramount. They anticipate the victory of Socialism in England, approximately along the lines of Marx's calculations, namely, through the means of evolutionary democracy. The democratic principle is in the very blood and marrow of the English labor movement, and there is not a group within it that they can afford to deny. Thus democratic Socialism is being put today in England to the acid test of history. The anti-democratic and terroristic Bolshevism of Russia has caused considerable damage to the world-wide

movement of Socialism. The Socialism of Germany, partly reformistic and partly revolutionary, politically unripe and without elements of statesmanship, has compromised itself thoroughly through harmful coalitions and a lack of will-power when confronted with critical situations.

Socialism in England finds itself in a more fortunate position. Three-fourths of the English people belong to the working class and a Socialist party desirous of achieving its ultimate aim must not in England, as in Russia where the working class is in a very small minority, become despondent of democracy. In England, Socialism is an educational factor which has already given, such fine results. Neither is Socialism in England condemned to waste its best strength on saving the existing forms of government and to make misalliances with false friends in the camp of the bourgeoisie, as the Socialists of Germany have had to do. England, which is more republican than the German republic, is not in danger and the Labor Party of England is not required to sacrifice principles for the sake of defending it from its enemies. On the other hand, it would be an error to believe that the path of the English Labor movement is strewn with roses. It will meet difficulties without end as soon as it undertakes earnestly to carry out its program and particularly when it begins to broaden out its aims.

The antagonism to the Labor Party is as yet not very deep in English society because to this day this party has not yet very strongly affected the convictions and feelings of the English bourgeoisie. It is not particularly aggressive in its phraseology, its tactics are extraordinarily correct, and "fair play" on the part of the English bourgeoisie demands therefore that the Labor Party, today the strongest opposition group in Parliament, be given a "chance."

The Labor Party is a minority party—it cannot rule unless it receives Liberal support. Should the Labor cabinet attempt to enact any part of this program which affects strongly the interests of capital, such as the capital levy or the nationalization of the mines, the Liberals will join hands with the Tories and overthrow the Labor government. The Labor Party knows, therefore, that it is building on sand when it leans on the Liberals for the enactment of its program. It, nevertheless, decided to take over the government and at the same time to prepare for a new election in the hope of succeeding in obtaining a majority in a new electoral canvass and in carrying directly its educational message to the people in such a manner. It is good sound Socialist policy and that explains the reason why the Labor Party rejected the idea of a coalition with the Liberals, for which the left wing of the Liberal Party was so eager.

Among the severe tests which the Labor government will encounter in the near future will be its foreign policy. The Labor cabinet will strive to carry on an active policy abroad. It will make an effort to convert the League of Nations into a "real international organization capable of averting wars." It will insist that Germany and Russia be taken into the League of Nations, and it hopes with

America to be able to regulate the reparations problem on a basis of "equity and common sense," and to raise an international fund for the purpose of "reestablishing the productive forces of the impoverished countries of Europe." It is only when the Labor cabinet begins to negotiate concerning these questions with the wolves and hyenas of European diplomacy that it will first learn what a task it has on its hands.

It is more than doubtful whether America will help politically or financially a Labor government no matter how moderate it is. It can also be safely assumed that the wealthy classes in England will adopt a sabotage policy with regard to it. Another difficulty which is lost sight of in England at present and which for a Labor government might become very menacing, is the antagonistic attitude or lack of cooperation which it might receive from certain sections of the British Empire. Australia, where the workers play a leading part in government, will probably be very cordial to a Labor government in England. The attitude of such orthodox capitalist governments as exist in Canada, South Africa, and other dominions, however, will be quite different. It is beyond question that if Socialism should today be proclaimed in the mother country, several of these colonies would forthwith detach themselves from it. And the breaking up of the British Empire without a simultaneous organization of the rest of the world on the basis of international cooperation would be not only a death-blow for Great Britain, but also for British Socialism.

A far-sighted and wary policy on the part of a Labor government could, however, circumvent such a menace from the dominions. Nevertheless, these colonies will probably look askance at a Labor cabinet in England and will not make things too easy for it. On the other hand a Labor cabinet will be confronted with the problem of oppressed nationalities in some of the colonies which will cause it no end of worry and hardship. It is a great question whether the movement for independence in India will, for instance, exhibit enough self-restraint not to adopt a negative economic policy towards England now under a Labor government, which might become very dangerous to the very existence of the English masses.

The Labor Party of England has, indeed, come into a very precarious heritage. In addition to that, the government has not even an extensive press of its own that would defend it before the great public and where it could reply to the attacks of the enemy press, which would doubtless minimize every one of its successes and magnify each of its failures.

Will the Labor government know how to steer the ship of State over all these hidden rocks, cliffs and shallows? Will it display sufficient moral strength not to sacrifice its greater future for the smaller interests of the hour? This is a question of supreme importance not only for England but also for international Socialism, which certainly needs, after the numerous blows it received in the last few years, a new pathfinder and new inspiration.

## The Union Health Center of 1923

On Thursday, January 24, a great many of the union leaders, managers and secretaries of the locals, and the medical and dental staff of the Union Health Center are to have their fourth anniversary meeting and dinner at the Aldine Club, 200 Fifth Avenue, to celebrate the fourth year of the Union Health Center in the new building.

The Union Health Center has just passed a most prosperous year full of service and progress in all its branches. No less than 17,805 examinations and treatments were made in the medical department; 4,502 patients were treated in the dental department with a total of 26,788 treatments, and added to this enormous work, the three new departments—the drug, the X-ray and the electric baking departments—have also served and treated a large number of sick members.

The outstanding features of the Union Health Center during the year 1923 were: (1) the establishment of these three new departments, (2) the participation of Local 22 and Local 3 in the Union Health Center institution.

The income of the House during the year was \$9856.00 and the expenses, with the paying off of the mortgages, were \$9065.28, leaving a considerable surplus. The dental department has increased its income to \$59,117.52, with a net surplus of

\$4456.92, a large part of which has been spent for additional equipment.

The medical department has an income of \$27,270.42 and a total expense of \$28,933.96, showing a deficit of \$1,663.54. The main income of the medical department was \$6,736.00 from applicants, \$5,591.50 from general clinics and \$5,275.00 from special clinics.

In spite of the fact that one dollar is charged to members for each examination and treatment, the medical department does not pay for itself and showed a small deficit last year and will show a larger deficit next year. Each general examination costs the clinics for professional and overhead charges \$1.29 while the special examination costs an average of \$1.33 per examination, which clearly shows that it is impossible for a paying clinic to get along on a one dollar charge for examination and treatment.

As is known, the board of directors of the Union Health Center have decided to hold a large entertainment and masque ball on Saturday, March 29, at the First Regiment Armory on 24th Street and Park Avenue. The purpose of this affair is to collect a fund to help the medical department bear its annual deficit.

The board of directors hope that all Union officials and Union members will do their duty and provide themselves with tickets for the affair in order to sustain this institution.

## JUSTICE

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## "Nuts"

By AUGUST CLAESSENS

The recognition of the value of organization is the first clear indication of intelligence. When a man does not know the meaning of organized power he is a first cousin to a lamp-post.

What distinguishes man from beast, barbarian from savage, civilized man from barbarian, is a superior knowledge of organized might. Ours is an age of huge organizations—manufacturers' associations, chambers of commerce, bankers' and business men's associations, Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, and a host of other large combinations are instruments of gigantic power. Little effort is required to convince the average business man of the necessity of organization. They are well schooled in this information. Relatively, the great mass of toilers are still in the kindergarten. Hence, for their education we must use the simplest lessons and illustrations. So here goes.

A little stick can be broken by a slight pressure of one's fingers, but a good sized bundle of the same frail

little sticks resists the strength of a mighty pair of hands. A sledge hammer's blows upon a stone soon reduces it to powder. Why? Because the elements in steel are better united than the elements in stone. And please realize also that mass, bulk or weight alone does not necessarily result in organization or power. A ton of feathers may light upon your skull but with little discomfort. Lots of mass, bulk and weight but darn little unity in a ton of feathers. Powerful unity in a brick—ask your head the next time a brick kisses it.

As soon as working men and women appreciate the meaning of organization, light streams into their homes and the first sign of brains and sanity is reflected. Let's wind this up with a story.

An elderly lady once went visiting in an asylum for the insane. She was a cussed busybody and as full of questions as a barber's cat is full of hair.

If she had only halted her jaws for a moment so her brain would have

had a chance, she would have answered her own questions. But she didn't and thus the results.

On entering the ward where the dangerous maniacs were housed, she inquired of a keeper:

"My dear man, what do you do when one of these lunatics becomes unruly and attacks you?"

The keeper, a husky big brute of a fellow, glowered upon the old lady like an elephant upon a potato bug, and answered:

"Lady, I can handle anyone of these nuts whenever he tries to get funny."

"Yes, yes, my dear man," she responded, "but suppose two or three of them attack you at one time, then what do you do?"

"Lady," replied the keeper, getting a little impatient, "I can handle two or three of these guys any time." And he looked it, too.

"Yes, sir," came back the old lady again, "but suppose a whole crowd of these lunatics get together and organize an attack upon you, then what do you do?"

With an air of utter contempt he growled at her, "See here, old woman, if you ask any more damn fool questions we may keep you in this joint.

If you knew anything at all, you would know that nuts don't organize!"

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## Wage Theories and Arguments

### III. THE STANDARD OF LIVING

(NOTE: This is the third article of a series of wage argument and theories used in negotiations and arbitrations. Others will appear in subsequent issues. These are intended to be of practical service to all concerned in such matters.)

In the second article of the series, published in the November issue, we discussed the relation between cost of living changes and wage rates. We pointed out that to change wage rates in accordance with changes in the cost of living gives no assurance that the worker is getting a living wage. For example, if \$10 per week was not sufficient to support a proper level of life in 1914 then, if retail prices have doubled in 1920, \$20 will fall just as far short in the latter year as \$10 did in the former; and to say, therefore, that wages have kept pace with prices tells us nothing about the adequacy of the wages.

### THE STANDARD OF LIVING

To test the adequacy of wages it is necessary to compare them with some standard. The standard of living, like any other standard, is a measure. A yard is a standard of distance; a pound, because it is a definite measure of weight. The problem of wage-earners is to devise a standard by which to measure wages.

The commodity budget is the type of standard that has been accepted for this purpose. It is a catalog of the items and amounts of goods and service which will enable an individual or a family to live a certain length of time on a specified level. The prices of the items are not taken into consideration. For instance, a commodity budget will provide for housing facilities of five rooms and a bath and not for an appropriation of a definite amount of money. When the budget is applied as a test of wages the items must be priced, each unit price multiplied by the quantity allowed and the results (unit price times quantity) added to give the total cost of the budget. When we talk in terms of money we are dealing with a cost budget. Every cost budget must, of course, be based on a commodity budget.

### INFINITE NUMBER OF STANDARDS POSSIBLE

Just as distance can be measured not only by the yard but also by the inch, foot, mile or other standards, or by fractions and multiples thereof, so also can there be an infinite number of standards of living.

In the first place, commodity budgets vary according to the purpose for which they are intended. If they are intended to meet the requirements of a life of extreme luxury they will provide for automobiles, yachts, trips to Europe, a country estate and a city home. If, at the other extreme, they are constructed with a pauper's existence in mind, they will include only the barest necessities.

In the second place, they vary with the sex, age and number of those for whom they are devised. A man's requirements differ from a woman's even on the same general level, and both of those in turn, from a child's. A family's needs are not the same as those of an individual and those of a family with children, not identical with those of childless parents.

A third important cause of variation is occupation. A manual worker must have a greater food allowance than a clerk, while a clerk must have more collars and shirts. The minister, the teacher, the actor, the senator, the fireman, all have their own peculiar demands to satisfy.

Among the other factors having an effect on the making of the budget are climate, race, and the general nature of the community for which the budget is designed.

### THE WORKINGMAN'S BUDGET

Now, when it comes to negotiations or arbitrations, what standard can the worker set forth to justify his wage demands? At this point we want to emphasize that a worker's budget is always a minimum budget. It defines the lowest level on which the group in question should live, not the highest; and consequently it limits wages only as to their low extreme.

Such a budget has been compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor. It carries the title "Minimum Quantity Budget Necessary to Maintain a Worker's Family of Five in Health and Decency." The principal characteristics of this budget, most of which are indicated by the title, are as follows:

1. It is a minimum budget.
2. It means for the family of a worker engaged in manual labor.
3. It is, therefore, essentially an urban as opposed to a rural budget.
4. It is a budget for a family of five—husband, wife and three children below the age of 14.
5. It covers one year's requirements.
6. It is designed to permit the family to maintain itself in health and decency and in very modest comfort.
7. Translated into engineering terms, it may be called a minimum efficiency budget, for as the Bureau of Labor Statistics has said in connection with an almost identical budget, it establishes a bottom level "below which a family cannot go without a deterioration of physical and moral deterioration of the family."

This budget is by no means ideal; in fact, very meagre. But it is the best available for general use, though it is frequently necessary to modify it to suit the particular group for which it is intended. This can usually be done by making slight additions and changes which can readily be justified.

Its chief value in arbitrations lies in the fact that, as it has been prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it becomes the official pronouncement of the United States Government on the minimum standard of living. It carries, therefore, far more weight with most people than any other budget.

### APPLICATION OF THE BUDGET

To apply this budget in negotiations and arbitrations it is necessary to translate it from a commodity to a cost budget. This is done, of course, by pricing each item of the budget and doing the necessary arithmetic to get a total cost of the items for their respective quantities. This total can then be compared with the actual annual earnings of the workers under consideration to test the adequacy of their wages. It is important to remember that actual earnings (unemployment taken into account) not fall time rates should be used in the comparison.

The budget having been priced at any given time, it becomes possible to derive the cost of this same budget for various dates as far back as 1914 by computing (using as a method outlined in the next article of the series) the change in the price level between the time the budget was actually priced and the time for which a figure is desired, and then applying this change to the original sum. To illustrate, suppose the present cost of the budget is \$2,500 in a given city and that the cost of living in that city is 100 per cent above 1914. Obviously the cost of this budget in 1914 would have been \$1,250. In this way earnings and the cost of living can be compared over a series

of years by making a single price study. The method is not absolutely exact, but sufficiently so to make the results acceptable. Budget studies can likewise always be brought up to date. If the budget costs \$2,500 today, and if by next December prices have advanced five per cent, then the cost next December will be \$2,625.

### ATTACKS ANSWERED

Employers frequently attack the validity of the principle of measuring the adequacy of wages by a standard family budget, and their attacks are usually concentrated on two points. In the first place they maintain that the average worker does not have to support a wife and three dependent children; in the second place that the total national income is not sufficient to make it possible to pay each worker enough to enable him and his family to live in accordance with a standard such as that defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

As to the first point, it is enough to say that the claim is not made that the average worker has a wife and three dependent children but that the normal family group is of this composition. That is to say, if all workers' families were studied it would be found that there were more of this than of any other single type. It is therefore, logical that provisions should be made to meet the requirements of families of this make-up rather than of any other.

The answer to the second point can be only suggested, for to attempt to go further would lead to a lengthy discussion of involved economic theory. The attack can be parried by developing the theorem that the upper limit of wages is determined not by the aggregate national income—expressed in dollars—divided by the number of individuals; but by the potential production of consumption goods and their distribution among wage earners, which, after all, is the

function primarily of those who control the machinery of production and distribution. The next article of this series will deal with this subject.

### SOURCE OF MATERIAL

The minimum health and decency budget referred to in this article may be found in the June, 1920, issue of the Monthly Labor Review, the official publication of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A budget for a clerical worker's family is contained in the December, 1919, issue, and for a single man or woman in the January, 1920, issue of the same publication. The Monthly Labor Review also prints from time to time, summaries of budgetary studies made by other sources.

Much budgetary material is contained in briefs which have been submitted by unions to the U. S. Railroad Labor Board at various times. A compilation of budgetary studies has been published by the National Industrial Conference Board.

In the October issue of "Facts for Workers" there is a list of 19 cost studies made by the Labor Bureau, Inc. in various cities. Of these, 13 are based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics' commodity budget and 6 are based on this budget with additions designed to raise the budget to a level more in line with the requirements of skilled workers.

Many other references to budgets can be found by consulting the files of any good library under the subject heading budget or cost of living. References to the theory of budgets can be obtained in the same way, and the subject is treated in almost every general text book of economics.

When using published material unions should be careful to distinguish between budgets which are designed to serve as standards for an adequate wage and those which are merely compilations of the actual expenditures of workers in certain income groups.

—Facts for Workers.

## Housing Conditions in New York

The outstanding item in the preliminary report of the State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning is that in spite of considerable building for the past two years the housing conditions in New York City are worse than ever. This fact indicates that the emergency rent laws, while giving some relief in cases where tenants have not moved for a number of years, are inadequate. They do not check the worst evils that come of profiteering in an elementary need of human beings.

The report shows that tenants who have been able to avoid moving for a number of years have been able to avoid excessive increase in rents. But this has been offset by the fact that landlords refuse to make needed repairs unless tenants submit to extortions. Tenants are thus penalized by being forced to submit to a lower standard of housing accommodations.

Outside of this small class of tenants conditions are a disgrace to a civilized community. Rents have increased from 40 to 80 per cent in four years while factory wages have decreased during this period. The report shows that rents generally soar when tenants move. The measureless exactions of the private exploiters of housing have driven increasing numbers of tenants to abandoned dwellings built for human habitation. Sanitary conditions grow worse, overcrowding increases, and living conditions become a menace to the family life of many thousands of people.

This emergency has been with us for a number of years and yet we are told that even the beginning of systematic relief is impossible without an amendment to the State Constitution. The earliest period such an amend-

ment could be obtained would be in the fall of 1925. Nothing in recent years has so glaringly revealed how influential property interests take precedence over human welfare.

Great municipalities in the old world have long ago grappled with this problem and in London a comprehensive municipal housing program has been carried out and is being extended from year to year. The American Labor Party has stressed the need of such a program for a number of years in New York City. It has insisted that housing the millions in a great city is so intimately related to public health and sanitation, to the integrity of the family and the welfare of the next generation, that housing should become a public function of the municipality. However, it remains a matter of private exploitation, private enrichment.

It is to be hoped that the startling disclosures contained in the preliminary report of the State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning, will create a public sentiment in favor of taking the matter of housing out of the hands of landlords and building rings and place it where it properly belongs—in the hands of the municipality. When the private motive ceases to erect barriers to the welfare of millions of tenants we will begin to establish model tenements and at a moderate cost that will place them within the reach of all.

### REVISED OUTLINE OF DR. CARMAN'S COURSE

An outline on "Social and Political History of the United States" given in the Workers' University, I. T. U. W. U., 48 pages, price 10 cents, can be obtained at the office of the Educational Department.

# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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## EDITORIALS

### NEED OF IMMEDIATE HELP FOR THE GERMAN WORKERS

The General Executive Board of our Union, at its Philadelphia meeting, decided to contribute to the fund which is being raised in America for the relief of the German trade union movement, the sum of five thousand dollars, two thousand of which is to go direct to the German Socialist Party.

Of course, this is not a large sum—but it must be considered that we recently sent a thousand dollars to the German clothing workers' organization, and have in the past few years given quite generously to our needy friends across the seas. And when it is added that times are far from good in our unions right now, it will have to be admitted that our organization is as generous and as broad in spirit today as it ever was.

Only let the other unions in the American labor movement follow our example and something real big will then have been accomplished for the prostrate labor unions of Germany. There is no reason why this response should not be far-reaching and big-hearted—unless there is really "something rotten in Denmark." The leaders of the American labor movement will have to do some talk explaining if their organization should remain callous and indifferent to this trenchant appeal for help to our German fellow-workers.

But we believe that the moral fibre of our unions is sound and that this call for aid issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will find a general and deep echo in the hearts of the organized workers and that a very substantial sum for Germany will be raised.

At the same time we deem it necessary to warn our unions that this fund is being raised exclusively by the American Federation of Labor and that any other persons or agencies who might appeal to the labor movement for a similar purpose are not trustworthy and are appearing without authority and under false pretences. In point of fact some of these busy-bodies, if not worse, have already made an attempt to knock at the door of some of our unions for that purpose. Let it be known to our unions that this fund is being raised for the exclusive purpose of aiding the German labor movement and not for those who themselves carry a great deal of the responsibility for the plight in which that movement finds itself today—not for those who have done their best to wreck the powerful unions of German labor.

There is one more thing that our unions must have in mind. In Germany the labor movement and the Socialist movement are one and the same. Nevertheless, helping the trade unions only and leaving out the Socialist organization of that country would be giving the German workers only half-aid. Of course, it would be idle to expect the majority of the American labor unions to contribute to the aid of the German Socialist movement, whose ideas and aims are totally alien to theirs. But our own unions will surely not forget the Socialist movement of Germany, and it was in this spirit that the General Executive Board acted in dividing its contribution to the German workers.

We believe that it is unnecessary for us to emphasize the fact that this relief fund must be raised without any delay. We already have read of a contribution of five thousand dollars given for this purpose by the United Mine Workers. This should set a fine example for other unions to follow. Quick relief is double relief, for it must not be forgotten that the German workers and their unions are now passing through the worst crisis in their history, a crisis in which every day and every hour counts.

### A CENTRAL BODY FOR OUR SMALLER LOCALS IN NEW YORK

The General Executive Board in Philadelphia decided to form a central body for all our locals in Greater New York which are not affiliated with the Cloak and Dress Joint Board, such as Local 25, the waistmakers, Local 62, the whitegoods workers, Local 51, the children's and house dress workers, Local 38, the ladies' tailors, and several others. All these locals are doing important work in their spheres, but they are outside the trade limits of the Joint Board as they do not belong to either the cloak or dress industries.

Alone, as they stand today, they find it at times quite hard to thrive and progress; their treasuries are far from full and their means for organizing work and for extension are correspondingly small.

It is true these locals are at all times under the protective wing of the International Union, which is constantly aiding them by word and act. But it is equally true that a labor-union which must constantly resort to outside aid and continually look for

it cannot develop as well and grow as strongly as one which stands firmly upon its own feet. It must also be considered that in a city like New York shops of these several trades are frequently located in one and the same building, and for each of these locals individually to spend time and money on conducting organizing or control work is certainly a wasteful procedure. There is no reason why a single factory building should be visited, let us say, on one day by five business agents of five different locals when this work could be done just as effectively by one officer covering all the shops in the same building. Were these locals organized together under one central body, it is obvious that at least half of the unavoidable waste could be eliminated.

Do not let us forget that the Joint Board in the cloak and dress trades was formed and built up practically for the same reasons and purposes. In point of fact, it is now obvious to all that any other form of proper control of work conditions in the shops would be well-nigh impossible—except through such a joint board. This joint board is the very heart and core of the organization in the cloak and dress industry of New York, and if such an organization has always been deemed to be vital to the cloak and dress trades, it would stand to reason that it is even more urgent in such smaller and less protected organizations as the miscellaneous locals in New York.

Vice-president Lefkowitz was charged with the task of carrying out this plan and he is already approaching the job. In the next few days, a conference of all the locals that belong to this category will be called and concrete plans will be prepared and carried out.

Very soon, let us hope, another institution will have been added our international that cannot fail to be of ultimate benefit to our Union. For it is palpable that the stronger the individual links that compose our chain, the more independent and self-sustaining our locals, the stronger is our International as a whole.

### GENERAL STRIKE OF THE DRESSMAKERS IN CHICAGO

The matter of calling a strike in the Chicago dress trade is already a settled matter. Indeed, there was nothing for the General Executive Board to do but to reach such a decision, as in Chicago the dress employers have been lording it over their workers without restraint in recent years; they worked them longer hours than in New York, gave them meager pay, and made other work conditions almost unbearable for them. They also have been compelling their workers to sign individual agreements providing against union membership and union activity, and, for the creation of a strike fund, which they earned in the sweat of their brow, the workers in the Chicago dress shops have been forced to give up their self-respect and their rights as supposedly free American workers.

In the face of such a situation nothing but a general strike could be thought effective. As a matter of fact, this was the ultimate purpose of the General Executive Board when it undertook a year ago to form a Western organizing office in Chicago with Vice-president Perlestein in charge. After an arduous campaign a great many dress workers who did not belong to the Union have joined its ranks, and a number of shops have been organized. But the situation in the trade as a whole is far from good, and that is why the International has now decided upon the final step in this direction—a general strike.

We in the Union do not love strikes for the sake of strikes, it is true. Were the Chicago dress manufacturers not as obstinately blind as they are the strike which must for a time demoralize conditions in the industry could have been averted. But these bosses would not see where their policy of brutal reaction leads to and the Union will have to apply its last weapon in this case, the general strike.

But, while this strike has been decided upon by the General Executive Board, it has been done so far as a matter of principle only. The reason is plain. The International officers never did nor do they desire now to act the part of dictators. No matter how bad the situation in an industry, they will not undertake a strike unless it meets the will and mind of the majority of the workers in it. For only then can a measure of success be assured power of the workers' fighting endurance. Our International would rather postpone action, painful as such a course might sometimes be, than plunge into a strike without the consent and assured cooperation of a large section of the workers involved.

Had the organizing work among the dressmakers in Chicago proceeded along regular and normal lines, we are confident that by this time there would be but few of them outside the union. Unfortunately, as the work began, a group of union wreckers masquerading under the cloak of radicalism have succeeded in creating enough confusion among a considerable number of the workers to check the organizing work to an appreciable extent. Instead of going ahead with constructive work, our union was compelled to waste most of its time on counteracting the baneful influence of the demagogues. It was a doubly difficult and ungrateful task, and surely the Chicago dress employers could not have obtained better results for themselves than they did through the machinations of these "principled" enemies of our union had they spent a barrel of money in hiring provocateurs and private detectives to do the dirty work for them.

Under the circumstances, the question arose before the General Executive Board whether this very much needed general strike could practically be carried out. Wishing alone and hoping to drag the Chicago dressmakers from out the mire of semi-slavery into which they had sunk would not be enough. What

# Three Months' Work of Our International

By S. YANOFKY

From the reports of President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and of all the vice-presidents, rendered at the meeting of the General Executive Board in Philadelphia, it can be gathered that the work of our union for the last three months was mainly confined to two purposes,—propaganda and reconstruction.

At this time the agitation carried on was of a somewhat different nature than usual. The propaganda was confined particularly to making clear to our members the program adopted at the Chicago meeting of the Board, a task to which President Sigman devoted himself steadfastly and wholeheartedly. He appeared on behalf of this program at the meetings of the joint boards and locals and even argued in its favor at all installation meetings at which he was invited to speak.

It is all too clear that a plan, no matter how strikingly good and logical, at times will meet with unusual difficulties in being adopted particularly when it involves a temporary apparent loss to some few persons. Those few who stand to suffer even a slight loss will therefore be inclined to view the entire program through their own selfish glasses and are likely to jeopardize its adoption. It was therefore necessary to bring forth frankly, clearly and with emphasis the major beneficial features of this program and, as it appears from the report of President Sigman, this work has not been in vain. Almost all our locals and joint boards in New York and other cities are today heartily in favor of this program which is by this time known as the "Ten Commandments."

Simultaneously with this work of propaganda there was carried on an extensive task of reconstruction which took up a great deal of the time and energy of the entire General Executive Board. In Philadelphia the waist-makers' and cloakmakers' locals had to be reorganized in order to place them for all time upon a wholesome basis that they might function normally and do the work for which they were organized. This work fell to the task almost entirely of President Sigman. On the other hand, it became necessary for the International, in the course of the elections in some of our locals, to prevent the election of some shady persons who have been trying to worm their way into these locals. This was an unpleasant and by far the least inviting part of the work which fell to the lot of the various sub-committees of the General Executive Board. They had to employ an unusual amount of tact and finesse in following out their instructions not to step over the boundary of local autonomy and the time-honored policies of our International in regard to non-interference with local affairs.

In Local 22, for instance, there was the operation of, unseating a group of executive board members who, if

they remained in power, would have wrecked the local and inflicted undue injury upon the entire organization. The committee has done its work excellently and carried out the election for a new board in perfect order. In Local 1, the sub-committee appointed by the General Executive Board confined itself to the task of acting as a committee on objections to candidates in order to prevent any laqueus members from appearing on the list of candidates, leaving the other work to be carried out strictly by the local members.

Another sub-committee was assigned for Local 9 to oversee the compliance of the local with the policies of the International which this local had finally consented to carry out after a protracted controversy with the International. It later became apparent that the leading spirits in the local were not acting quite in accordance with the decision of the General Executive Board, and the sub-committee was therefore charged with wider powers, not only to supervise the election of candidates but to carry out the election in a manner that would leave no harmful after-effects and continued dissension within the local.

Something similar though on a smaller scale took place in Chicago, according to the report of Vice-president Perlestein. There, the process of winding up the anti-union element had taken place in Chicago several months before. This, however, did not bring matters entirely to an end. These destructive factors are still doing their utmost to hamper and hinder our unions in their work. They are not yet either willing or ready to repent and they still pour calumny and slander upon the union and its leaders, and endeavor to undermine the authority and prestige of the union in the shops.

It is probably needless to state here that this underhand opposition work is making organization activity among the Chicago dressmakers more difficult than before. Nevertheless, this work goes on and it has progressed to an extent where a general strike in the Chicago dress trade is a matter of the near future. As a matter of fact, the Board decided that the President visit Chicago and make all necessary arrangements if he deems it practicable to carry out this strike, depending of course upon the conditions in the trade and the situation among the workers.

In other cities, according to reports from Vice-presidents Seidman and Perlestein, apathy prevails as before. There are no signs of awakening in Toledo, St. Louis, or Cincinnati, and the work made at Montreal has not as yet brought favorable results. The French-Canadian workers are still a big obstacle to success in that city. In Toronto the union is much stronger but it appears that the two cities, Montreal and Toronto, are too closely bound together to allow

any aggressive action in one city without taking into account the state of affairs in the other. Acting upon these reports, the General Executive Board can do no more than refer the situation in these cities back to the General Office with pious prayer to act as they might deem best under the circumstances. A far more favorable report came from Boston where, owing to the efforts of President Sigman and Vice-president Monson, all the locals were united into one joint board recently. It is expected that this consolidation will effect a saving of money and effort for all the locals. Local 49 is in good shape today and, after a series of conferences held by the employers and jobbers in the Boston dress and waist trade, President Sigman now reports that these workers will win the 40-hour week when the new agreement is to be signed.

The cloak industry of Boston, however, suffers from the same evils as cloakmaking in other cities—namely the small corporation shops. These will have to be brought under the control of the union and the Chicago program will quite likely have to be applied to Boston in order to cure the local cloak industry of its ills.

Vice-president Lefkowitz brought an interesting report from Los Angeles where he spent several months as International organizer and leader of the Los Angeles cloak strike. In spite of the odds against them, the strike seems today to have been won. Most of the employers have already come to terms with the union, several of the obstinate ones have gone into bankruptcy, and the handful of workers that are still idle are so because there is little work in the trade. Los Angeles works for the local market only and the weather has been such that it tended to curtail production. The end of the strike now is but a question of days, in the opinion of Vice-president Lefkowitz.

In San Francisco the cloakmakers are quite restless. There is hardly any union control in the local shops at present and the men are ready to resume the fight if the International will only give the word. Of course this matter was left to the General Office for action.

Vice-president Halperin rendered a very extensive and interesting report for the Eastern Organization Department. We shall not enlarge upon it as it will shortly be published in the columns of JUSTICE in accordance with a wish expressed by the General Executive Board. Brother Sol Polakoff, the new manager of the Baltimore local, also reported on the steady progress and continued activity in that city.

And now a few words concerning an interesting subject touched upon in the report of President Sigman. Some time ago, Brother Sigman had in mind the organization of a district council for all the locals in New York not affiliated with the Cloak Joint

Board. And now that the dress organization has gone into the Cloak Joint Board as an integral part, the necessity for such a district council appears to have become even more urgent. There is Local 25 left unattached to any central organization, as well as Local 38, formerly part of Local 2, Local 51, Local 62 and others are without a joint board. Whatever obstacles there were in the way of such a district council also appear to have vanished, and the General Executive Board has now decided to proceed with the creation of such a central body, leaving the practical steps to be carried out by Vice-president Lefkowitz.

President Sigman also appointed Brother Abraham Tavin as special organizer for Local 25 to aid in their organizing campaign. Reports from that field are quite promising and it looks as if the waist industry in New York will soon again be an organized trade.

The vote for the convention city was comparatively small, Secretary Baroff announced. The convention will be held in Boston, which received 4,000 votes while Baltimore was left behind with a few hundred. Secretary Baroff also gave an enthusiastic report of the opening of the International Union Bank.

Vice-president Schoolman gave a detailed account of the work in the Record Department and of the publication of our journals which is under his management. The importance of the Record Department was again made clear to the members of the Board and Vice-president Schoolman promised to effect greater economies in its management in the future. He also spoke of his plans in connection with the business management of our publications.

Vice-president Fannia M. Cohn gave an encouraging account of her work in the Educational Department. It would seem that the number of men in the past year has been attending the classes and courses given by the International is now markedly on the increase. The educational work extended to Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago is proceeding in a very satisfactory way.

In addition to President Sigman, Vice-president Reiberg and Brother Max Amdur also delivered reports on the Philadelphia situation. Vice-presidents Wander and Heller did not render any special reports, their work having been confined largely to committee work on the various sub-committees appointed by the General Executive Board during the past term.

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

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good if only a minority of the workers were ready for the strike while the majority was as yet unprepared?

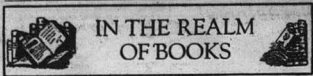
That was the reason why the General Executive Board decided to sanction the strike only as a matter of principle. Whether it will be called out or not now depends upon the Chicago dressmakers themselves. They now have their fate in their own hands. If they have the necessary intelligence and will, they can bring an end to their miserable situation. Let them join the union, turn away with scorn from all the shady persons who have been hindering them in the past, and decide for a general strike. Then the International will be ready to lead them to victory and place all its resources at the command of the strike. Or they might remain as indifferent as heretofore and continue squabbling over trivial, unreal matters and theories and remain just where they are.

To get a clear answer to this very important question, President Sigman will soon visit Chicago to find out how the workers feel about it. If he finds that the workers are organized sufficiently and are in proper fighting shape for such a strike, he will give it his sanction and the sanction of the entire International.

If not, the decision of the General Executive Board will remain a decision in principle and the general strike in the Chicago dress trade will have to be postponed until the Chicago dressmakers are ready for it.

## THE LOCAL 17 BANQUET

Just a few words concerning this affair. Most of our union festivities, or call it banquets, if you please, are, as a rule, well supplied with things good to eat, and in former days—to drink. Most of them, however, we say it not without regret, are sadly lacking in taste, and some of them are decidedly distasteful to the ear and the eye. In this respect, the little banquet held recently by Local 17, the Reefermakers of New York, to install their new officers, was a pleasant exception. The place was very tastefully decorated, the music was pleasant, and the speeches which included addresses by Sigman, Baroff, Heller, Kaplowitz, Levy and Pina were of an especially interesting, impressive, and appropriately brief. The unusually large number of women present lent additional to the affair.



## Nor Floods Nor Rainbows

Plays. Fifth Series. By John Galsworthy, Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There is a fragility and tenderness of touch in Galsworthy's work that is essentially godlike. Not with floods nor fire and brimstone must any gods that be have watched the iniquities of the earth and its Sodoms and Gomorrah but with just such brooding sorrow and understanding. For surely the gods are no less than men. In Galsworthy's plays there are neither villains nor heroes; neither judgments nor reproaches. They end in no rainbows of forgiveness because his beginnings loosen no floods of revenge.

Perhaps the gods, like men, have learned. Not so long ago, human beings scourged their "sinners" and burned their dissenters and flogged their insane. Too many of even our modern fathers still attempt "to lick the devil out of their" willful sons. But our age, as a whole, is learning better. "There, but for the grace of God, goes John Wesley." Thus by the eighteenth century, "There, but for the kindness of men, goes A Man." Thus the twentieth century. The gods must have learned that the desires and instincts which they themselves gave men make the fuel of wrongdoing; just as men have learned that their own cruelty toward other men has made that but a destructive blaze instead of a glowing warmth.

Galsworthy knows. The fifth series of his plays carries on the tradition of that knowledge, the tradition which *Strife* and *The Eldest Son* and

*Justice* began. Galsworthy is still the queer mixture of observer and partner in men's strivings and failures—aloof and tensely interested, impartial towards individual men and warmly partisan towards Man.

This volume, as did the others, holds three full-length plays, two of which have had a New York showing. "A Family Man," "Loyalties," and "Windows." Knowing Galsworthy, we know that the plays are not what the titles seem. The "family man" is a boomer and cad for the best of self-made reasons. "Loyalties" is not for once cementing man to man, but forces dividing groups of men from other groups. "Windows" should be the means by which we look into men's souls; but looking we see what they think should be there but is not. Windows can be blinded by shades and eyes may be covered by lids.

In the tradition—all three of them; but for me only one of the three carries the moral with the usual grace and unobtrusiveness. "A Family Man" possesses character and wit and talk and idea. Yet it seems to me the most inconsequential play that Galsworthy has ever written. "Windows" in print is infinitely more convincing than it was in the Theatre Guild's production. Yet its static quality must make it a play that cannot be conveyed across the footlights. And plays are meant to be acted. "Loyalties" is, if one may shatter all the canons of the stage in a phrase,

a subtle melodrama. It has electric passages such as *succo projudice*, *judging*, *law suits*, *debts of honor* and *murder*. An exciting, compact drama, it remains throughout a significant commentary on man and his ways of life.

I wonder still why the "Family Man" left me so cold and impatient. I have known numbers of similar "family men"; I have watched them bulldoze their families in the name of "what's good for them"; I have fumed at their attempts to force codes upon them because they had a place in society to uphold. Very few of us have not met some family men and harbored murderous intentions against them. Yet I finished the play with a sense of "much ado about nothing." Why continue to throw stones at fallen idols? Moreover John Builder, Galsworthy's "Family Man," wins just a little of his creator's contempt. Galsworthy, however, does not know how to hate. The family with which he has surrounded Builder, as a contrast, therefore, are over-fine. True, Athene's attempt to break away by refusing to marry the man she loves is too stereotyped a form of revolt to carry conviction (Model 1914), but Athene, herself, is a charming and lovable rebel. Maud, who would use her "film face," in the movies, is understanding but reserved. Mrs. Builder are level, understanding, and coolly bitter. The families of those family men whom I have met have seldom emerged so untouched. They are either poor-spirited or "agin everything and everything." Finally Galsworthy cannot forget to attempt to extenuate. After Maud has brought her father before the magistrate she says, "I saw red . . . my father saw red, and the constable saw red . . ." Were even "family men" created by the hand of the Potter?

"Loyalties" distinctly does matter; there is nothing of inconsequence in it. A rich young Jew, De Levin, is robbed of a large sum of money while visiting at the home of a wealthy taxman. A combination of circum-

stances establishes in De Levin's mind the conviction that Captain Ronald Dancy, another guest, is the guilty man. He expresses his conviction and all the others array themselves behind Dancy. But they have also observed the truth of some of De Levin's circumstantial evidence. Every one is thus shown to be doubtful that Dancy is guilty. But doubts, even though bordering on conviction, do not matter. Dancy is "one of us." For a time they attempt to silence De Levin by "social blackmail," but when they fail to gain entry for him into certain select clubs he makes open accusation. It becomes another De Levin's case after Dancy meets De Levin's charge with "You Damn Jew!" This only time the Gentle is the accused—and justly accused. For the stolen bills are traced and Dancy's guilt established. De Levin withdraws from further prosecution with a sense of "well, that's all." "Don't mistake me, I didn't come because I feel Christian; I am a Jew."

Exactly. And as Margaret says, "Prejudices, Adela—or are they loyalties?—I don't know—cross—cross—we all cut each other's throats from the best of motives."

"Windows" has already been reviewed in these columns—as a Theatre Guild production. Undoubtedly some of the responsibility for what seems to me to be failure must be laid to the Guild. Helen Westlake's interpretation of Mrs. March's flash of revelation now almost appears a cruel libel upon Galsworthy. Miss Westlake made Mrs. March really intoxicated and even her beautiful message became offensive because of the harsh setting with which she gave it. From the text of the play there was about Mrs. March "something unusual and charming, as if formally had dropped from her." She speaks "with a sort of delicate slow lack of perfect sobriety." And then there is meaning in her cry to

"See—people—see—people—see! Then you won't be disappointed. Don't—have—ideas! Have—vision—just simple—vision—"

and fail to see the deeper significance underlying them.

Another chapter of peculiar interest at this time is that on "Sex Education." Dr. Miller deprecates the present-day tendency to make the subject abstract and flowery for children. Present it, he says, as an everyday physiological fact. You may not agree with him when he says that a child of two or three can be told where the new baby—or kitten—comes from. But Dr. Miller bases his principles of very early sex instruction on his experience with nervous cases in his clinics. He asserts that most sex neuroses arise from careless or insufficient sex knowledge in childhood.

Dr. Miller differs from so many of his contemporaries in his failure to harp on sex. We are rather fed up with the Freudians who lay such insistence on suppressed desires and who interpret most dreams in the light of their sex significance. It is so much more refreshing and equally enlightening to join Dr. Miller and the followers of Jung in their belief in free will and human spontaneity.

## The New Psychology and The Parent

By H. Crichton Miller, Thomas Seltzer, 1923.

By FRANCES ROBBINS

To those readers of JUSTICE who are merely people, not parents, we recommend this book as affording a most pleasurable and interesting trip into the much-discussed but little-known territory of psycho-analysis. To those who have achieved or have had parenthood thrust upon them, we doubly acclaim Dr. Miller's volume. They will gain not only a new vision of themselves as thinking beings, but a vivid and helpful understanding of themselves in their relation to their children.

It is rather fashionable in these days to chatter glibly of complexes, dreams and neuroses. But most of us, even when we learnedly discuss such things as dream symbolism, have a far from scientific grasp of the subject. Not that Dr. Miller presents his material in scientific fashion! He seems to have the happy faculty of translating technical data into everyday terms in such a simple manner, that with the reading of every page the muddled stream of one's thought processes flows ever clearer.

And what has this New Psychology to offer the parent in his struggle to lead the child to his great conflict with life? Dr. Miller puts it so well that we shall quote. "The whole outlook upon education was that in order to win John Latin we had to know not must consist," but John. That is not

enough. The point is that if we wish to teach John Latin or anything else, we must know not only Latin and John, but above all, ourselves. That is the real crux of the New Psychology."

But to know ourselves is not so easy a matter. Only experts in the field of this New Psychology can be entrusted with the delicate handling of psycho-analysis, the treatment which reveals to us our unconscious motives through the interpretation of dreams. To amateurs a little knowledge may be a dangerous thing. And since few of us can afford either the time or money for the services of a specialist, we must either abandon the subject or use it merely as a term that stands for an analytical probing into our own attitude toward life. Dr. Miller adjusts us to throw overboard our prejudices and outworn theories and face our problems, unburdened by a life-time accumulation of preconceived notions.

We read Dr. Miller's chapter on the "Aims and Problems of Education" with a feeling of guilt, for in the child's desire to realize himself or to adjust himself properly to society, we find that the fault lies almost invariably in the wrong treatment of the child by his parents. The gravest crime a parent can commit, it seems, is to hamper the self-development of

the child. We should give him the best of care and environment, but otherwise—hands off! Our own offspring, being, still a toddler, we are not worried about his self-realization just yet. But we are firmly resolved that, should he some day decide to save the heathen in darkest Africa, we will not retard his development—although personally we despise missionaries. Hat Caught ourselves at it again! Another preconceived notion to get rid of as we strive toward the ideal parent.

In his discussion of "Psychology and the Nursery," Dr. Miller lays particular stress on the factor of fear. His experiences have shown him the untold harm caused by childish fears which have been repressed. We as parents must deal tenderly with these fears, and help the child bravely to overcome them.

A minor matter, but one about which many controversies are being heatedly waged, is the new war on fairy-tales. The author believes in imaginative fairy-tales, if they do not lead the child too far from the realities of life. Fantasy carried to excess leads to insanity. Perhaps in abnormal cases Dr. Miller may be right. But for the normal child we disagree with him when he says of Red Riding Hood, "The underlying message consists in the ugly truth that old people are apt to develop a jealous and cruel attitude toward the young. This is undeniable in life but it is also undesirable to suggest it to the child. Similarly, the doctrine of the magic solution as exemplified in the wood-cutter is of doubtful value." After a number of years as director of a story-telling club we believe that the children usually take the stories for granted

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# LABOR THE WORLD OVER

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### AMERICAN POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES JOIN INTERNATIONAL.

The American "National Federation of Post Office Clerks" has recently officially announced its affiliation with the International of the Post Office and Telegraph Employers. The International has in its turn sent a special letter of welcome to the American colleagues, expressing the hope that these will take part in the forthcoming International Congress which is to take place at Vienna.

### SPAIN

### MINERS AFFILIATE WITH MINERS' INTERNATIONAL.

The Fourth Congress of the Spanish Miners, at which 17,321 miners were represented, was held on December 18 last, and it was unanimously resolved that the union should affiliate with the Miners' International. This resolution was no mere form, as is evident from the resolution (adopted at the same meeting) to send assistance to the German workers, and also to send a delegate to the mining districts in other countries, in order to study the system of production and the organization of the miners.

### BELGIUM

### PRETEXT AND TRUTH.

In the recent struggle in Belgium with the employers and the Government for the retention of the 8-hour day, the chief argument adduced by the latter was always: "The eight-hour-day must be given up in order to save industry."

This looks rather strange when we examine the export statistics of Belgium. These show that Belgium has greatly increased her exports to one of her chief buyers (Greece) in respect of artificial manure, hardware, lead, mineral oils, etc. Moreover, in comparison with last year Belgium has increased all her exports to Greece by the following percentages: Mineral oils, from 16 to 18 per cent; hardware from 45 to 78 per cent; lead and antimony from 31 1/4 to 43 per cent. Belgium controls the zinc market wholly. In dyes she holds the first place. Her total exports have risen 163 per cent. It should also be borne in mind that various other countries (the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany) compete for the Greek market. In the face of such success, why need the 8-hour-day be abolished?

### DENMARK

### EMPLOYERS PROTEST AGAINST WAGE RISE.

The Executive Committee of the National Employers' Union of Denmark passed a resolution at its last meeting, protesting against any rise of wages in the forthcoming collective agreement negotiations. Any such increase will, it was declared, only be accepted on condition that the workers are willing to work for longer hours and give up the eight-hour-day.

### FRANCE

### AFTER THE BOURGES CONGRESS.

After the Congress of Bourges, when the political wing of the French Communist Confederation of Trade Unions obtained a majority over those who were in favor of a purely trade union policy, this political wing has been glorying in its victory and paying little heed to the announcement of the opposition that it intended to continue its efforts for genuine trade unionism. The minority has, however, shown great energy in organizing itself; it has established a kind of state within a state, and has, so to speak, laid the foundations of a new trade union federation. A "Committee of the Trade Union Minority" has been formed, which has its own rules, calls its own meetings, levies its own affiliation fees, and may possibly even hold its own congresses. The formation of this new organization may foreshadow a new disruption. The Committee has already defined its aims and line of policy, and created an administrative framework. In order to avoid exclusions, only individual members are accepted.

### INDIA

### WOMEN IN MINING.

The Government of British India is again devoting attention to the pressing question of the prohibition of women's work in mining. The Ministry of Industry and Labor has sent out a circular to all the provincial governments, asking if it would be possible to prohibit women absolutely from undertaking such work. At the present time women workers constitute almost a third of the total number of workers engaged in mining.

### SWEDEN

### SWEDISH TRADE UNIONS 25 YEARS OLD.

On January 1, 1924, it will be 25 years since the foundation of the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions. The Swedish workers have every reason to be proud of the work done during the last quarter of a century. It has been a period of fierce but successful conflict which has brought the Swedish working class no little influence in determining the destinies of the whole country. Internationally, the Swedish trade unions have always taken a foremost place and have never failed in their duty. They have every reason for confidence, then, that the whole trade union International will have the warmest sympathy with them in the celebration of their jubilee.

Press Bureau, International Federation of Trade Unions

## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### LARGE AUTO PROFIT.

A net profit of \$1,161,439 for the third quarter of 1923 is reported by the Packard Motor Car Company.

### RAIL EARNINGS ARE UP.

Class I railroads earned an annual rate of return of 4.68 per cent on their tentative valuation for the month of November. In dollars this represents a net profit of more than \$84,000,000 on 192 of the country's largest railroads.

During November, 1922, the same railroads earned a net profit of \$81,691,900.

### REJECT CENSOR PLAN.

Trade unionists in Duluth rejected the offer of public school authorities to present a list of speakers and their subjects as a condition to secure the use of a public school. The central labor body protested to the school board against its censorial attitude.

### STATE COMPENSATION PAYS POLICYHOLDERS.

Breaking all records since its organization, the California state compensation insurance fund, with a premium increase of nearly \$1,000,000 over 1922, will show the past 12 months to have been the banner period of its existence.

Policyholders of the fund will receive \$1,600,000 on policies issued last year because of the prosperous condition of the state's insurance business.

### OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES NOT UNDER LIABILITY LAW.

The Ohio State Supreme Court has ruled that occupational diseases are not to be included under the state compensation law. The court held that tuberculosis alleged to have been contracted as a result of inhalation of iron particles is not an "injury" in the sense used in the original law.

### STICKING QUALITIES WIN.

Trade unionists are pointing to organized taxi drivers as an illustration of what workers can accomplish if they stick. Last year, in St. Louis, they secured a union shop agreement with the Yellow Cab Company after a 20-month strike. The taxi drivers have now negotiated a new agreement. Wages are increased.

### PICTURE OPERATORS ACTIVE.

Moving picture operators have unionized every "movie" theater in Spokane, Washington, but two.

### FEDERAL BREAD ACT IS URGED IN HOUSE.

Figuring that consumers are losing \$50,000,000 a year on short weight bread, Congressman Brand of Ohio has introduced a bill designed to prevent such unfairness in interstate commerce and to be a model for prospective state laws.

"Bread is sold for 8 cents generally, whether it be a 12, 14 or 16 ounce loaf," explained Congressman Brand. "The flour in a loaf of bread is worth about 2 cents, and when the consumer gets 12 or 14 ounces he is not getting even 2 cents' worth of food in terms of the raw material. The loss to the consumer where no bread law is in force amounts to at least one-eighth of what he pays."

The Brand bill requires that bread be sold in multiples of one pound, and that the weight be shown on each wrapper.

### OPPOSE CONVICT LABOR; WOULD ANNUAL CONTRACT.

Officers of the Federation of Labor call on state officials to annul a convict labor contract at the Anamosa reformatory, where more than 400 inmates manufacture ladies' garments that are marketed by a Chicago concern. The contract has six years to run. Every attempt has been made to conceal the existence of this contract, it is stated. The unionists do not agree with Chairman McColl of the state board of control, who claims there is no other remedy for idleness if this exploiting contract is not carried out.

"Such an occupation," the unionists' resolution declares, "is in no sense conducive to the welfare of those thus employed in that it does not teach a gainful occupation to men who can be utilized at the expiration of their terms of confinement, but instead, throws them upon the world unequipped to make their way as honest citizens."

### LEASING CONVICTS ILLEGAL IN FLORIDA.

The leasing of convicts to private interests is now unlawful in Florida, under a law enacted by last year's legislature. The lash in convict camps is also ended.

The abolition of these barbarous practices was the outgrowth of a legislative investigation into the death of Martin Tabert who was whipped with a nine-pound lash for "insubordination." His offense consisted of asking for a pair of shoes large enough to wear.

The State of North Dakota, through its attorney general's that justice be done. Walter Higginbotham, whipping bear the Tabert, has been convicted of second degree murder, 25, eat at the arrested him and the judge who sentenced him were  
The Putnam Lumber Company has settled for \$20,000 OUS CAFETERIA  
East 15th Street

10 A. M. to 9 P. M.

### EMPLOYMENT IS LOWER.

Employment in the United States decreased 1.7 per cent in preliminary figures issued by the Bureau of Labor



# EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



## A Course in Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the

**UNITY CENTERS**

of the

**INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION**  
Season 1922-1923

### LESSON 8—Continued.

- What, then, are the points in society's challenge to the present order—the points inherent in its workings before the war and added by and since the war?
- There is, first, the challenge to Business Enterprise. This is a large challenge which points to the difference between business enterprise and machine production; which points out that the primary purpose of machine production is to satisfy men's wants, while the primary purpose of its "business-like management" is to make profits. This distinction was not so important in the early stages of capitalist production when individual acquiescence supplied the drive necessary for the development of industry. But today business enterprise has actually gotten in the way of machine production. (Thorstein Veblen—The Vested Interests, etc.; The Engineer and the Price System; H. L. Gantt, Organizing for Work.)
- This leads us to the second challenge—the challenge of industrial waste. We have seen how the control of industry by private individuals, profit seeking, has condemned us to lose about three-quarters of our potential industrial capacity. This loss accumulates through actual employers' sabotage, bad organization, competitive advertising, production of useless or harmful products, unemployment, industrial warfare and idleness, maintenance of an elaborate commercial organization, etc., etc. The challenge of waste hits straight at fundamentals—the production of goods which lies at the roots of every economic system (see Lesson 4).
- There is the challenge of wealth distribution under the existing system. The facts of distribution, as recent studies are revealing them, are in themselves a challenge. An answer must be made to the fact that 5 per cent of our families receive from 20 to 30 per cent of the annual national income while the remaining 95 per cent are forced below the subsistence level. It may be said that profits are the rewards for "risk-taking" and "management," but the records are showing that time has dulled the edge of this argument. Today, as we have seen, (Lesson 5, paragraphs 7 and 9), the investment bankers assume the risks of "legitimate" business, and management with the growth of trusts becomes more and more the work of salaried men. Moreover, "risk insurance" has been developed; absentee ownership becomes general and the circular letters of such large firms as The Prudence announce one great advantage of the bonds it recommends in the "freedom from managerial anxieties." The collection of cost records by the Federal Trade Commission under the "cost-plus" provisions of the Lever Law showed how our dominant classes themselves do not accept the "management and risk-taking" argument in practice (e. g. Report of the Engineers Committee—U. S. Fuel Administration, 1918-1919).

## Weekly Calendar

### WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School  
Irving Place and 16th St.

Room 529

Saturday, January 26

- 1:30 p. m. H. W. Smith—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—Modern Tendencies in Social Criticism.  
2:30 p. m. David J. Sappos—American Labor in Modern Civilization.

Sunday, January 27

- 10:20 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Foundations of Modern Civilization.  
11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—European History.

### UNITY CENTERS

Monday, January 28

- Harlem Unity Center—P. S. 171  
1034 Street near Fifth Avenue, Room 406  
8:30 p. m. Margaret Daniels—Trade Unionism in the United States.  
Lower Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 43  
Brown Place and 134th Street, Room 305  
8:20 p. m. Max Levin—History of the American Labor Movement, with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U.

Tuesday, January 29

- Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61  
Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Room 511  
8:45 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement.

Wednesday, January 30

- East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63  
4th Street near 1st Avenue, Room 404  
9:00 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions.

English is taught for beginners, intermediate and advanced students, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

### EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Saturday, January 26 and February 2

- Local 9—228 Second Avenue  
1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Modern Economic Institutions.  
Sunday, January 27  
Club Rooms, Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue  
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—The American Labor Movement.  
Clinton Hall—151 Clinton Street, Room 47  
12:00 M. H. Rogoff—Civilization in America.

RUSSIAN

I. L. G. W. U. Building—5 West 16th Street.

- 2:00 p. m. Radio Lecture and Demonstration.

ENGLISH

Thursday, January 31

- Local 17—Refer Makers' Educational Center  
142 Second Avenue  
6:00 to 8:00 p. m. Mr. Goldberg will instruct in the English language.

RUSSIAN

Friday, February 1

- Russian-Polish Branch—315 E. 10th Street  
8:00 p. m. K. M. Oberucheff—Trade Unionism in the United States and Europe.

Friday, January 25 and February 1

- Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn  
8:00 p. m. Rehearsal I. L. G. W. U. Chorus. Members of the International are invited.

### OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

BALTIMORE

YIDDISH

Tuesday, February 5

- Office of Joint Board, 201 Alquist Street.  
8:00 p. m. N. B. Fagin—How to Understand the Social and Economic History of the United States.

BOSTON

Wednesday, February 13

- Local 7, 21 Essex Street.  
6:00 p. m. Lawrence G. Brooks—Current Economic and Labor Problems.

CLEVELAND

Monday, January 28

- Office of Joint Board, 203 Superior Building.

- 8:00 p. m. H. A. Alkins—Applied Psychology.

PHILADELPHIA

Friday, January 25

- 1055 Spruce Street.  
7:45 p. m. A. J. Muste—Lecture to be announced.

Monday, January 28

- Office of Local 50, 1018 Cherry Street.  
7:30 p. m. Mr. Glassberg—Social and Trade Union History.

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED.

### A COURSE ON "SOCIAL AND TRADE UNION HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES" TO BE GIVEN ON MONDAYS AT 7:30, AT 1018 CHERRY ST., PHILA.

A course on "Social and Trade Union History of the United States" is arranged for our members in Philadelphia. The instructor is E. Glassberg.

This course is specially prepared by the instructor to meet the needs of our members. The first lesson was given last Tuesday. Fannia M. Cohn, the secretary of our Educational Department, explained to the class the object of this course, and E. Glassberg gave an introductory lesson. The second lesson will be held to meet on Monday, January 28, at 8:30 in the office of the Unity Center, 1018 Cherry Street. The first lesson will be given on January 28, at 8:30 in the office of the Unity Center, 1018 Cherry Street. The second lesson will be given on January 28, at 8:30.

### "CIVILIZATION IN AMERICA," A COURSE BY H. ROGOFF, TO BE CONTINUED ON SUNDAYS

H. Rogoff will continue his course on "Civilization in America" on Sunday at 12 in the morning, at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton street, Room 47.

This course is given in the Yiddish language. We are sorry that through some misunderstanding the proprietor failed to open the hall for H. Rogoff's class on Sunday morning, January 13. But measures have been taken to prevent the repetition of such an unfortunate happening.

Admission to this course is free to the members of the I. L. G. W. U.

### "LABOR AND ECONOMICS."

A course on "Labor and Economics" is to be given by Miss Sylvia Kopald in the auditorium of the Brownsville Unity Center, Public School 150, Christopher and Sackman sts. The introduction to this course of six lessons will be given this Monday, January 28, at 8:30.

# Women Without A Country

The Women's Trade Union League is calling a delegated conference of organizations interested in the welfare of alien women. The conference is to take place on February 15 at the League Club House, 247 Lexington Avenue. It is the outcome of a thorough study of the Cable Law and its effect on the status of the foreign-born women married to American citizens.

This law came into effect September, 1922, and was passed in order to enable American-born women married to foreigners to retain their native citizenship. Alien women are required to secure citizenship independent of their husbands, and the League realizes the fact that the foreign-born women are mostly confined to their homes and are therefore less likely to become acquainted with the language and laws of the land of their adoption or the need of their naturalization.

In questions of separation, in financial transactions, divorce, custody of children, the wife's case against a husband may be that of an alien against an American citizen. In time of war, the father and children may live under the protection of the Ameri-

can flag while the wife, if an alien, is open to camp detention or deportation. In the latter case, she has no place to go, for upon marriage to an American citizen she loses the citizenship of her native land and remains, therefore, a woman without a country.

The Women's Trade Union League maintains a Naturalization Service free to alien women. Education is carried on and application may be made at the League headquarters, 247 Lexington Avenue, on Thursday evenings from 7:30 to 9 o'clock and on Saturday mornings from 10 to 12.

## CHILD LABOR LAW

January 27 and 28 are the days designated for the observance of Child Labor Day in churches and schools, respectively. The National Child Labor Committee in its call for observance of these days has pointed out the following facts: "The census of 1920 showed 1,060,858 children between 10 and 15 at work in the United States. But that figure would be a mild statement for the conditions existing right now. The 1920 census was taken while the Federal Child Labor Tax Law, which materially restricted the employment of child labor in every state in the Union, was in effect. But in 1922 that Federal Law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and the regulation of child labor was thrown back entirely upon the consciences of the individual States! The result is a mass of forty-eight different child labor codes in this country, having little relation to each other. And more than that, the result is a definite increase in the number of children employed in all parts of the nation now that the Federal ban no longer exists, children who are working in industrialized farms, in tenement sweatshops, on city streets— are losing precious education and the playtime of childhood simply because their elders are not yet sufficiently enlightened to protect them and train them in the formative period of their lives."

**LOCAL 10 MEMBERS HONOR MANAGER DUBINSKY**  
(Continued from page 2)

In his memory because it was the first time that he was able to sit as a free man among free men. Aside from this incident nothing has ever affected him, he said, as did the present occasion.

His remarks concerned themselves mainly with his experiences in the working-class movement. From these one learned that it was no more than logical that Dubinsky's activity in the Central Union should be one of accomplishment. His training was an ideal one.

At the close of the banquet there was but one regret expressed by the hundred members who were there, and that was that all those who had made application for reservations at the affair could not have been accommodated for lack of space. Old-time members of the union who had been present at every occasion of the organization stated that their satisfaction was no longer genuine at any other time than at being present that evening.

# РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

## В РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКОМ ОТДЕЛЕ ДАМСКИХ ПОРТНЫХ.

В субботу, 19-го января, в Народном Доме, 315 15-го явля, в отделе проводилась выборы должностных лиц на 1924 г.

Со всех 24 кандидатов имена которых были на избирательном листе, выбрано нужное число, а именно и Иск. Ком.

Председателем избрано из следующих лиц: А. Саулин, председателем отдела; Ф. Финский, вице-председатель; В. Миронюк, прот.-секр.; И. Шевченко, секр.-пр.

Иск. Ком. избран из тов.: А. Антоновский, Ф. Адамчик, М. Бальтрушки, М. Волчок, А. Давыдов, В. Канский, В. Колятин, К. Корняк, А. Мороз, В. Нарочкай и Я. Новичук.

Иск. Ком. посылает представителя в "Доброй Боры", "Экс. Боры" док. 1, "Экс. Боры" док. 35 и в "Резак Ком." док. 35. Из них посланы следующие лица в уполномоченные учреждения:

А. Давыдов и В. Колятин — в Д. Б. А. Антоновский и М. Бальтрушки — в Экс. Боры док. 1.

Ф. Адамчик и М. Волчок — в Экс. Боры док. 35.

Д. Новичук — в "Резак Ком." док. 35.

Иск. Ком. назначила свое собрание (выборный митинг) на среду, 23-го января. На этом собрании членами старшего Иск. Ком. должны сдать свою работу по-выборным членам.

Новый Иск. Ком. должен работать из своей среды вестря отделе, а также издать уполномоченных делегатов, избранных в уполномоченные учреждения в женском, детском и детском секретариате. Все эти представители должны быть посланы не раньше, чем в конце дня, когда в эти учреждения новый состав будет назначен старшего.

Вчера выдвинулись, что новое собрание с Иск. Ком. будут работать также вечером, как и старые работники, на базисной организации, избрала уполномоченных делегатов.

Новому правлению с его Иск. Ком. нужно быть в два раза энергичнее, так как те женщины, которые претендуют на выдвинуть, требуют большей даты работы, чем в предыдущие годы. Вопросы, стоящие на очереди, должны быть разрешены до мая м-я, вот что является главной задачей.

Все те вопросы и являются для отдела первой его задачей, но как бы далеко, а как далеко одной из главных задач, как и в старом отделе. Об этих вопросах старший Иск. Ком. выслушает и поговорит с новым, перед тем уходить.

Судя издвинулось, что на следующем собрании новый Иск. Ком. закончит работу своего члена своего времени, которое он законит на собрании от 23-го января.

## НЕСКОЛЬКО СЛОВ О ВЫБОРАХ В ОТДЕЛЕ.

Пожелать на то, что поименован Народного Дома всем членам отдела, большая часть членов отсутствовала во время выборов.

Этого не нужно скрывать, так как практика всех дел.

Во время выборов, было 100 в избирательном Русско-Польском отделе избраны все же и государственные выборы каждой из стран, всегда поименовано большинство присутствующих и сит аккредитованных сном.

Всегда поименовано избраны слова представителя, поименовано и управляет большинство.

Большинство лично и любит много слова, благодаря, закону природы — "Плюриум". Поименовано большинство не принимает участия в выборах в котором, что оно своим существованием хочет выжить и процветать, не желая чтобы их избрание умирало. Нет, если бы оно избрало какое-либо решение, то избрало было бы разбито. Но когда же избрать в них большинство даже и своим решением,

интереса, то тогда у вас терпится ведь и то, что рабочие сумеют обособиться и управлять собой.

Если я вам представлю какой-либо предложение и начну вас протестовать, будете протестовать и не закончатся, с чем вы не можете согласиться, но все таки вы будете раздвигать тогу, что в этой резолуции что не исполнить, а раз исполнить, значит в ней есть что то живое, а может быть и творческое, которое со временем получит свободу и выберется наружу. Тогда оно может скатиться вместе с законом стремлением и создает что-то новое и сильное, что необходимо для уничтожения рабочих тираний.

Но когда я вам представлю человека и на языке предположу приступать к творческой работе отвечает вам: "Вы, мой милый господин, делайте так, как вы сами знаете, куда вы, грешному человеку, лезть, но так не. Вот этот человек был своим господином", то такой ответ может достать вас до самобытности, тогда вы получите в судьбу рабочего класса, имея в нем великого раба, который несет на себе тяжелые цепи и не желает сбросить их.

Такие великие люди необходимы для тех, кто хочет управлять ими и жить на их счет, но не для тех, которые живут свободой и хотят быть равными братьями.

Надлежащее большинство работ на всем первом ядро сит исторически сном. Об этом свидетельствуют последние два года.

Кауцкиеры подымают эту задачу, а потому не будем же обманывать тогда когда они спят, но выдвигая им протесты и быть борцами, когда тяжелой работой ударят в их спячку.

## ВНИМАНИЕ!

В пятницу, 25-го января, в 7:30 ч. в Народном Доме, 315 15-го явля, состоится ОБЩЕРОДОВОЕ СОБРАНИЕ Русско-Польского отдела кауцкиеров.

В порядке дня очень важные вопросы, а потому присутствие всех членов "Адаптация" во время.

## КОНЦЕРТ-ЛЕКЦИЯ.

В воскресенье, 27-го января, Русско-Польский Отдел Юниона Кауцкиеров управляет лекцией с концертной программой.

И если проф. Михайловский будет демонстрировать "Радио-фон и Радио-театр" а в программе будет участие всевозможных программ.

В виду большого интереса и раздачи билетов, отделе приглашает всех своих членов прийти с семьями и дружить в 2 часа дня, а зал "Интернационал", 3 явля 16-го явля в 5 явля, Н. Н.

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# The Week In Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

A surprise banquet was tendered to our manager, Brother David Dubinsky on Saturday, January 19th. This testimonial was arranged by the active members of our organization, the Arrangements Committee consisting of the following brothers: Ildore Nagler, Samuel Perlmutter, Harry Zaslowsky, Nat. Baron, Meyer Skluth, Morris Jacobs, Benjamin Evry and David Fruhling. The place engaged by the committee was the Martinique Mansion, 156th and Beck Streets, Bronx.

When Brother Dubinsky was escorted by the committee into the dining room there were about one hundred members of our organization present, who gave him a rousing welcome, such as he had never before received. The management then proceeded with serving the dinner, after which Brother Nagler, as chairman of the evening's affair, made a few fitting remarks for the occasion. He explained to those present that the reason for this testimonial is the fact that, when the committee originally gathered in order to discuss ways and means in which the appreciation of the work done by our manager could be shown, they thought that the best means of evincing their feelings would be as coming from the rank and file of our members, instead of the organization proper, and that this was the most fitting manner in which to do so.

He then introduced as toastmaster for the evening, Brother Samuel Perlmutter. It is customary for most toastmasters to be brief in their introductory remarks, but also in introducing the speakers of the evening. Brother Perlmutter, however, left very little time for the other speakers to express their sentiments. However, Brother Perlmutter is to be forgiven for over-stepping the bounds in connection with the duties of a toastmaster.

In his opening remarks, he said that this is the first time in the history of our organization that an affair of this sort was tendered to an officer. He then proceeded with eulogizing the activities of Brother Dubinsky as manager of the organization and the hardships he had to undergo upon assuming his office. He further stated that it is the first time that members of our organization holding various shades of opinion have gotten together to express a common appreciation of their leader's work.

The toastmaster proceeded with introducing the various speakers, the first of whom was our president, Brother Philip Angel. Due to his weak condition which is the result of an operation which he recently underwent, Brother Angel stated that he would have to be very brief in saying what he wanted to say. He stated that the fact that an affair of this sort was arranged for Brother Dubinsky shows that the members appreciate all he has done as manager of the Cutters' Union. His activities not only manifest themselves in the work of the organization proper, but may also be seen in the respect which is accorded the organization, and the manner in which the Joint Board and other organizations regard us. He also pointed out that, while Brother Dubinsky was away in Philadelphia attending a session of the General Executive Board, he had the affairs of the organization in mind to the very minutest detail and, although we had a responsible man in the office to take his place during his absence, nevertheless he made it his business to keep in touch with the office daily. We want to say that had Brother Angel's health permitted, he would

have spent much more time on the work of Brother Dubinsky as the head of our organization.

The next brother to speak was the chairman of the Executive Board, Brother Benjamin Evry, and in a few words he expressed his admiration of the results accomplished by the man in whose honor the banquet was given. As chairman of the Executive Board he has watched the work of this brother and has always found that the Executive Board is guided by the proper direction and ready advice given by Brother Dubinsky, and that the latter is always ready to stand up and fight for the decisions of the Executive Board, whether at the meetings of our membership, or at the Joint Board. He concluded his remarks with the hope that we will have the future services of Brother Dubinsky in leading us to future successes.

Brother Joseph Fish, secretary-treasurer of the organization, was the next speaker. At the beginning of his speech he gave those present, a warning that he would not take too much of their time and that he would be as brief as possible, not because he has not enough to say but because he wished to give the other speakers a chance to express their sentiments on this occasion as well. He mentioned the fact that since Brother Dubinsky has become manager of this organization, the Joint Board has been swamped with work as a result of complaints filed by our office. And this is mostly due to the check-up system that has been installed in our office by Brother Dubinsky, in order to determine whether or not the firms are employing cutters or not. He also stated that a number of business agents whom he has met on the outside have remarked on the quantity of work being supplied the Joint Board staff through the efficiency of Brother Dubinsky. On a number of occasions Brother Fish has seen Dubinsky argue with the managers of the various departments of the Joint Board regarding various cases and, in order to make his points even stronger, he would tell the managers that if it is a question of deciding they would have to decide either with him or against him, but that he would accept no compromise.

Brother Perlmutter introduced as the next speaker a young man who has not been active in the organization for a very long time but for the time he has been with us he has taken quite an interest in the affairs of the local, and he is none other than our Vice-president and the Vice-chairman of our Executive Board, Brother Morris Jacobs. Brother Jacobs expressed his sentiments along the same lines as Brother Evry, chairman of the Executive Board, as he is in a position to watch the work of Brother Dubinsky very closely as a member of the Board.

Brother Louis Gabriel then was given the floor. He acquainted the members with the fact that he has been a union man for forty years and has seen many managers come and go, but that at no time has he seen a man so energetic and thorough as our manager and that he hopes that the organization will continue to have the able leadership of Brother Dubinsky.

The next speaker that was introduced by Brother Perlmutter was one of the oldest of the organization, who, although his hair is white, nevertheless continues to be as active as any young man of our ranks, and makes it his business to pay close attention to the affairs of the organization. This is none other than our esteemed

ex-President, Brother John C. Ryan. Brother Ryan, in praising Dubinsky, laid stress on the fact that Brother Dubinsky has been able to group together around himself members of all shades of opinion and that it is a credit to his personality to be able to do so. He, too, has watched and studied various men who were managers of this organization and has found that Brother Dubinsky fills the bill to his satisfaction as well as to that of the vast majority of the cutters.

Following this, Business Agent Benjamin Sachs was introduced and in a few pointed remarks brought home to those present the fact that, should Brother Dubinsky ever leave this organization, the next manager would have to "go some" in order to fill his place adequately, as the members had become used to his aggressiveness and interest taken by Brother Dubinsky in adjusting complaints as well as in other matters pertaining to the organization.

Brother Perlmutter subsequently called upon the Vice-president of the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' & Accountants' Union, Herman Volk, to speak. Brother Volk stated that he has known Brother Dubinsky for many years and has known him as a product of the Socialist and Labor movements. He believes that he is successful in his work because of his experiences in and his knowledge of the Labor movement. Brother Volk stated that he hoped Brother Dubinsky will serve the labor movement with the same zeal, energy and devotion in the future as he has in the past, and that his accomplishments are only the beginning of a great career in this, the only movement worth the while.

The toastmaster then called upon Brother Sam H. Shenker, who is considered the right hand man of Brother

Dubinsky, as he is continuously working with him. Due to the fact that the hour was late, Brother Shenker did not wish to take up much time in expressing his feelings on this occasion.

The next speakers introduced were Brothers Charles W. Serrington, Harry Hachen, Sam Sedowsky and Controller Philip Hanes, who, for the same reason as Brother Shenker, did not take up much time and delivered short addresses.

Brother Perlmutter, as toastmaster, then had the task of introducing Brother Dubinsky. However, before permitting him to speak, he presented him with a diamond stick-pin as a token of appreciation from those in attendance. Brother Dubinsky, upon receiving this gift, was moved to such an extent that he was actually choked with tears and it took him a few minutes before he was able to continue in addressing the gathering. He then stated that this was one of the greatest events in his life and that words failed him in expressing his sincere appreciation of the sentiments expressed and prevailed at this affair. If then told those present that he would take this opportunity in relating his story from a youth of thirteen up to the present time, a thing which he has never done before. Brother Dubinsky's narration of his activities and experiences was colorful and picturesque, to say the least. He also paid tribute to Mrs. D. Dubinsky to whom he feels he owes a great deal of his success, and who has encouraged and inspired him in all his undertakings. He concluded his speech by saying that an event of this kind gives him added vigor and encouragement to continue his work as manager of Local 10.

## CUTTERS OF LOCAL 10, ATTENTION!

All cutters working for the same firms as last season are to renew their working cards for the new season.

All cutters who are working on new jobs must secure working cards no later than one day after they start in to work.

For failing to comply with these instructions, members will be summoned before the Executive Board.

DAVID DUBINSKY, Manager.

## CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

### Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING. . . . . Monday, February 18, 1924

REGULAR MEETING. . . . . Monday, February 25, 1924

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place