



JUSTICE



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION.

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New York, N. Y., Wednesday, May 14th, 1919.

No. 18

THE STRIKE CALL

By B. SCHLESINGER

To the question "strike or no strike?" the overwhelming majority of the members of the Cloak, Skirt, and Reefermakers' Union with vigor and determination replied in the affirmative, and in compliance with this decision you will to-day go out in strike.

You all know why you strike.

You are striking for the establishment of week work throughout the Cloak industry.

You are striking for week work which should consist of 44 hours a week and no more.

You are striking for a minimum scale, for a weekly wage which may never be less than the amount decided upon, but which may be greater for those whose skill and efficiency are above the average.

These are your principal demands.

Each and every Cloakmaer knows that important as the previous struggles of the Cloakmakers Union were, aiding as they did to strengthen the power and influence of the Union, the present struggle is the most important the Union ever waged.

This is not a struggle for a temporary improvement but for a permanent secure existence for the cloakmaker and his family every day in the year.

This time it is not only a struggle for the right of the workers to be organized as was the strike of 1916. It is a struggle to gain conditions which will make it possible to enjoy the benefits of your organized power.

Each of the strikes you waged had its significance in its time. But their main significance was and is that they all have prepared the ground for the present struggle.

To-day you are going out on strike, and the entire industry will be paralyzed as if by magic. There will not be a single shop running. Not a wheel will turn, not an inch of material will be cut. Everything will be paralyzed. You will leave your shops in an orderly manner and in calm spirit, for you are sure that there is nobody to take your places. You will leave your shops with dignity in the realization that before long you will return to your shops as victors.

It will not take long before the entire cloak industry will be placed on the basis of all other organized industries—on the basis of week work, on the basis of a 44 hour week, and on the basis of minimum wage scales that will enable the cloakmaker and his family to live a comfortable life all year round.

The revolution in your industry must and will bring about a revolution in your lives and those of your families. It will put an end to the constant insecurity which has been the curse of the cloakmaker and his family. It will put an end to the hustling which has made the cloakmaker the most wretched of all toilers. It will put an end to the short seasons in the cloak industry.

It is to gain these things that you are now stepping forth for the great struggle which will, in golden characters, write a new page in the history of your Union. It will be the greatest and most impressive struggle. You will all leave your shops on the minute. And you will conduct your strike in an orderly manner as behooves organized workers who are conscious of their strength. Such calm, determined and energetic conduct of the strike will make early victory certain.

Cloakmakers! This is the greatest day in the history of your Union. Prove yourselves worthy of this great historic moment.

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
President, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

ATTENTION OF THE CLOAKMAKERS OF NEW YORK

THE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE, under the chairmanship of Bro. Metz will meet at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St. Tel. Orchard 2366.

THE GENERAL PICKET COMMITTEE under the chairmanship of Bro. J. Breslau, will meet at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Pl. Tel. Orchard 2385.

THE HALL COMMITTEE, under the chairmanship of J. Halpern, will meet at 228 Second Ave., in his office of Local No. 9, on the 3rd floor. Tel. Stuyvesant 6753.

THE OUT-OF-TOWN COMMITTEE,

under the chairmanship of Louis Langer, will meet at 40 East 23rd St., on the 3rd floor. Tel. Gramery 7140.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU, under the chairmanship of S. Priesmpt will meet at 40 East 23rd St., on the 1st floor. Tel. Gramery 7140.

THE SPEAKERS COMMITTEE, under the chairmanship of I. Feinberg, will meet at 40 E. 23rd St., on 4th floor. Tel. Gram. 7140.

ATTENTION OF THE CLOAKMAKERS OF BROOKLYN
The office of the Cloakmakers' Union is at 90 McKibben St.,

under the chairmanship of D. Nisnevitz.

The strikers of Brooklyn will meet at the Royal Palace, 16 Manhattan Avenue.

ATTENTION OF THE CLOAKMAKERS OF BROWNSVILLE
The office of the Cloakmakers' Union is at 219 Sackman Street, under the chairmanship of A. Babitz.
The strikers will meet at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St.

ATTENTION OF THE CLOAKMAKERS OF JERSEY CITY
The office of the Cloakmakers'

Union is at 76 Montgomery St. under the chairmanship of P. Kottler.

ATTENTION OF THE CLOAKMAKERS OF NEWARK
The office of the Cloakmakers' Union is at 103 Montgomery St. under the chairmanship of D. Bruck.

ATTENTION OF THE CLOAKMAKERS OF HARLEM
The office of the Cloakmakers' Union is at 1714 Lexington Ave., under the chairmanship of Robinbaum.

LA PROCLAMAZIONE DELLO SCIOPERO

EMANATA DAL PRESIDENTE GENERALE BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER.

La questione di scioperare o non e' stata decisa chiaramente dalla grande maggioranza degli affiliati alla Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Union.

La volonta' della maggior parte dei membri sie' affermata in modo risoluto sull' affermativa. In base a tale risoluzione, lo sciopero s'intende dichiarato da oggi. Voi sapete perche scioperate.

Voi scioperate per stabilire in tutta l'industria il sistema di lavoro a settimana.

Voi scioperate per stabilire una settimana di lavoro di 44 ore e non un minuto di piu.

Voi scioperate per otte nere un salario minimo adeguato ai bisogni d'un' esistenza civile.

Tali sono i principi fondamentali del vostro sciopero.

Ogni cloakmaker conosce l'importanza dello sciopero e sa che la riuscita di esso dipende dalla resistenza e dalla coscienza degli unionisti.

La presente non e' lotta per ottenere miglioramenti provvisori; ma e' lotta che dovra' una volta per sempre realizzare il benessere nelle vostre famiglie.

Questa non e' lotta per affermare soltanto il diritto ad essere organizzati, come lo fu nel 1916, ma e' lotta per po ter conferire all' Organizzazione il po tere di conseguire il benessere degli operai affiliati.

Oggi tutti voi, cloakmakers scendete in sciopero e l'intera industria resta paralizzata, per il vostro magico potere. Nessuna fattoria restera animata, nessuna macchina avra moto, neanche un sol inch di stoffa sara piu tagliato. Tutti gli ambienti del Lavoro saranno condannati al silenzio.

Voi lasciate le vostre shops calmi e sereni e col massimo ordine. Voi siete sicuri che nessuno salira' a pigliare il vostro posto.

Lasciate di lavorare con la massima dignita e pensate che in breve tempo, ripiglierete il lavoro da vittoriosi.

Non passera molto e la Cloakmakers' Union, al pari delle altre Organizzazioni, sara' messa sulla base del sistema di lavoro a settimana, delle 44 ore e del salario che e garanzia sicura d'un vivere civile ed elevato. Modificata radicalmente l'industria, anche il sistema di vita delle vostre famiglie sara radicalmente modificato, e finira' per sempre la ristrettezza e la penuria nelle vostre case. Finira, dopo questa lotta, anche l'inconveniente delle corte stagioni di lavoro, e finira' una volta per sempre la schiavitù alla quale il cloakmaker e stato costretto dai cattivi sistemi dell' industria. Abbiate presente dinanzi alla vostra coscienza che con questo sciopero voi scriverete a caratteri d'oro una pagina gloriosa nella Storia della vostra grande Organizzazione.

Lasciate le fattorie col massimo ordine e mostratevi all, altezza di coloro che sanno di essere forti.

La calma e la serenita colle quali condurremo questo sciopero affretteranno la nostra vittoria!

Cloakmakers! Questo e un gran giorno nella storia della vostra Unione.

Siate all' altezza di questo storico grandioso avvenimento!

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,

Presidente, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHERE THE STRIKERS SHOULD ASSEMBLE :

All shops on Division Street and all Division Street stores and other stores will meet in PACIFIC HALL, 209 E. Broadway.

All shops located on E. Broadway, Canal St., Madison St., Hester St., Grand St., Pike St., Broome St., will meet in CAPITOL HALL, 56 Orchard Street.

All shops located on Eldridge St., Forsyth St., Chrystie St., Ludlow St., Suffolk St., Norfolk St., Clinton St., Attorney St., Ridge St., Pitt St., Willett St., Columbia St., Sheriff St., Lewis St., Goerck St., Cannon St., Henry St., Delancey St., Bivington St., Stanton St., E. Houston St., 2nd Avenue, 2nd St., 3rd Ave., Bowery, Bond St., and Great John St., will meet in GRAND LYCEUM, 73 Ludlow St.

All shops located on Bleecker St., Wooster St., Spring St., Prince St., Greene St., Mercer St., Lafayette St., Mulberry St., Waverly Place, Crosby St., 3rd Broadway, 4th Avenue, University Place, Lower Broadway,

Lower 6th Avenue, E. & W. 3rd St., Avenue B, E. & W. 4th St., will meet in GRAND LYCEUM, 83 & 85 Forsyth St.

All shops located on E. 5th St., E. 6th St., E. 7th St., St. Marks Place, E. & W. 8th St., and E. 9th St., will meet in CLINTON STAR HALL, 82 Clinton St.

All shops located on E. 10th St., E. 11th St., E. & W. 12th St., E. & W. 13th St., E. & W. 14th St., W. 15th St., E. & W. 16th St., will meet in ODDFELLOWS HALL, 98 Forsyth St.

All shops located on E. & W. 17th St., E. & W. 18th St., W. 19th St., W. 20th St., will meet in GREAT CENTRAL PALACE, 90 Clinton St.

All shops located on E. 19th St., E. 20th St., and W. 21st St., will meet in LENOX ASSEMBLY ROOMS, 256 2nd St.

All shops located on E. & W. 22nd St., will meet in HENNINGTON HALL, 216 2nd St.

All shops located on W. 24th

St., W. 25th St., will meet in FULTON HALL, 15 Avenue B.

All shops located on E. & W. 23rd St., E. & W. 26th St., will meet in PROGRESS CASINO, 28 Avenue A.

All shops located on E. & W. 27th St., E. & W. 28th St., and E. 29th St., will meet in MANHATTAN LYCEUM, 66 E. 4th St.

All shops located on W. 29th St., and E. 30th St., will meet in ASTORIA HALL, ANNEX, 64 E. 4th Street.

All shops located on W. 30th St., E. & W. 31st St., will meet in ASTORIA HALL, 62 E. 4th St.

All shops located on E. & W. 32nd St., will meet in CASINO HALL, 85 E. 4th St.

All shops located on E. & W. 33rd St., and W. 35th St., will meet in MANSION HALL, 57 St. Marks Place.

All shops located on W. 43th St., W. 36th St., 7th Avenue, 6th Avenue (upper) will meet in LABOR TEMPLE, 14th St., corner 2nd Avenue.

All shops located on W. 37th St., W. 38th St., W. 43rd St., W.

48th St., Broadway (upper), 5th Avenue, Madison Avenue, Lexington Avenue, will meet in WEBSTER HALL, 119 E. 11th St.

All shops under the control of the Reefer Department will meet in STUYVESANT CASINO, 140 2nd Avenue.

All cloak, suit, reefer and skirt cutters will meet in ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place.

All button hole makers, sample makers, Examiners, bushellers and begraders will meet in BERTHOVEN HALL, 210 E. 5th St.

All cloak makers who are working in Bronx shops will assemble in LONDON CASINO, 3875 3rd Ave.

All cloak makers who are working in Harlem shops will assemble in TERRACE LYCEUM, 210 E. 104th St., and in MADISON HALL, 1666 Madison Ave.

All cloak makers who are working in Brooklyn assemble in ROYAL PALACE, 16 & 18 Manhattan Avenue, Brooklyn.

All cloak makers who are working in Brownsville, will assemble in LABOR LYCEUM, 219th St. Manhattan St., Brownsville.

GERECHTIGKEIT

הערנכמליי'ט

בדפוס הוצאת וול
ארצה (מיוב כ"ה, 8)
18 מיון נעשענדיק
השלח איד ווי שטייט
און וועל אחרת נים ער
לענד.

סיר ווילען סיר
מזען זיין נעשעם
אפילו צו די, צו ווען
סען עס גלעס ווי אנה
צו דיין אונגעריכט
ווארענדיג ווילען.

אפיציעלער ארנאן פון דער אינטערנעשאנאל ליידיעס נארמענס ווארקערס יוניאן

Vol. I. PRICE 3 CENTS New York, Wednesday, May 14th, 1919. 1919. דער 14טער מאי, 1919. No. 18.

דער דויענגער אל סמריי'ק ערקלערט
היינט, 10 אויגער אין דער פריה

ברודער און שוועסטער! ווארם נים א קאמיטע ואל אייך קומען ארונט
פענענדיק, סיר וועלען נים שיקען קיין קאמיטע. איהר זייט נענט קלאר
סען-באוואוסט ארונטפונגען אין נומער ארדנונג און דיסציפלין, ווי עס
פאסט ויך פאר אן ארגאניזירטער ארטי. אלוא, שוועסטער און ברודער, אלע
ארומטער און ואל יעדער שאט נעהן אין דעם האל ווי עס ווערט אנגעצייט
אויף זייט 2. וואס וועט זיין אייער ספרייק-קוארטער ווי לאנג דער ספרייק
וועט אנהאלטען.

היינט, מיטוואך, דעם 14טן מאי, 1919 פונקט 10 אוהר אין דער פריה,
ניש פרוהער און ניש שפעטער, מוז יעדער קלאק און ספירוס מאכער, אפעריי-
מאס, פינישער, פרעסער, קאמערס, שטיקשניידער און סעפעליסאכער,
ריפער-מאכער, באקאמפאל מאכער, עקוואטערס, באנארדערס און בושלער -
אונטעלענען די ארבייט און אלע צוזאמען ארונטפונגען אין ספרייק.
קייער פון אייך ואל נים בלייבען אין שאט, אלע ארומטער!
איהר ווערט אויפגעפארט, אר ביים ארונטפונגען אין ספרייק ואל
הערשען פלעשמעדיגע ארדנונג. פארלירט ויך נים, מאכט נים קיין סומעל.
פונקט 10 אוהר אין דער פריה ואל יעדער פון אייך איינפאקען זיינע ארבייט-
מולס און דאס סימנעלען מיט ייך. נעהט ארומטער פון די ענשער שפיל און רוהיג, אויב
וואס באלאנגט צו אייך. נעהט ארומטער פון די ענשער שפיל און רוהיג, אויב
די באסקס וועלען אייך נים לאפען ארונטפונגען מיט'ן עלעוויטאר, מאכט נים
קיין מענט, פארבייט אייער כבוד, און נעהט ארומטער מיט די מרעס און
מארשירס אין ארדנונג אין די האלס, וועלען ווערען אנגעצייט אויף זייט 2.

עס לעבע דער קאמף! עס לעבע דער וועג!

ביי ארדער פון דער דויענגער אל ספרייק קאמיטע פון דער
קלאוק, ספירוס און ריפער-מאכער יוניאן, אינטערנע-
שאנעל ליידיעס נארמענס ווארקערס יוניאן.

GENERAL STRIKE DECLARED, TO-DAY, 10 O'CLOCK THIS MORNING!

To-day, Wednesday, May 14th, at 10 A. M. sharp, all Cloak and Skirt Makers, Operators, Finishers, Pressers, Cutters, Piece Tailors and Samplemakers, Buttonholemakers, Reefermakers, Examiners, and Bushlers must quit work promptly and all together go out on strike.

this discourtesy and use the staircases. Upon leaving the shops proceed at once to the halls designated on Page 3.

None of you is to remain in the shop. All must go down on the minute.

Brothers and sisters! Do not wait for committees to come and take you down. We will not send committees. You are class conscious enough to come down in perfect order, with perfect discipline, as befits a well organized army. The hall designated on Page 3, will be your strike headquarters for the duration of the strike. Go there immediately after leaving the shop.

You are urged to maintain perfect order in leaving your shops. Do not lose your self-control and refrain from creating disturbances of any kind. At ten o'clock sharp each and every one of you must pack up his tools and take them with him. Remove from the shop everything that belongs to you. Leave the shops in perfect quiet and order. If the use of the elevators will be denied to you, disregard

Hurray for the Strike! Hurray for the Victory!
BY ORDER OF THE GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE CLOAK, SKIRT AND REEFER MAKERS' UNION. INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

DICHIARAZIONE DI SCIOPERO GENERALE CHE AVRA EFFETTO QUESTA MATTINA ALLE 10 A. M.

Quest' oggi, Mercoledì, 14 Maggio alle ore 10 A. M. precise, tutti voi Cloakmakers, Skirt e Reefermakers, Macchinisti, Finishers, Pressatori, Tagliatori, Sarti a pezzo, campionisti, Occhiellai, Esaminatori, Bushlers dovete scendere in sciopero.

Dopo che avete lasciato la fattoria recatevi nella sala che e indicata in inglese in questo manifesto.

Nessuno di voi deve ir manere nel laboratorio. Tutti debbono scendere in istrada in un momento.

Compagni e Compagne! Non aspettate nessun Comitato che venga ad invitarvi a scendere. Voi avete piena coscienza del vostro dovere di classe e scendete con ordine e disciplina, come si conviene ad operai organizzati.

Voi siete avvisati di mantenervi in perfetto ordine nel lasciare il posto di lavoro.

La sala designata a ciascuno di voi restera la vostra dimora per tutta la durata dello sciopero.

Sappiatevi controllare per non commettere disordine o disturbo di nessuna natura.

Andate nella sala dirittamente, appena lasciate la fattoria. Viva la sciopero! Viva la Vittoria dell' Organizzazione!

Alle 10 precise ognuno di voi pigliate gli oggetti di propria pertinenza ed uscite. Lasciate la fattoria in perfetto ordine e colla massima calma. Se il conduttore dell'ascensore si rifiuta di scendervi, non fate nessuna rimostranza e venite giu per le scale.

Per ordine del Comitato, Generale dello Sciopero della Cloak, Skirt and Reefers Makers' Union.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION.

Only high-class
type 12 & 10
font, and will
not let it go.
(Job. 17.5.)

"We ought to
be just even to
our readers."
Frank Wilson.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION.

VOL. I. No. 18.

New York, N. Y., Saturday, May 17, 1919.

Price 2 cents.

N. Y. Cloak Industry at a Standstill

At ten o'clock Wednesday morning May 14, all the men and women employed in the great cloak industry left their shops, and their numbers flooded the entire cloak district, which remained unusually crowded till the cloak-makers departed for the previously designated strike headquarters.

The walkout did not come as a surprise. A strong movement for cardinal changes in the cloak industry had been on for months. The months of discussion and agitation were followed by a short period of intense preparation. A large strike fund was raised, various committees were organized and all the preliminaries, which a strike of this magnitude requires were completed. Then representatives of the Union notified the Manufacturers' Association that the Union had worked out a number of demands which they wanted to see carried out in the cloak industry and which they wanted to put before the manufacturers. The representatives of the manufacturers — they must be given credit — promptly agreed to meet the representatives of the Union. A number of conferences were held but an understanding was not reached. The strike thus became inevitable. The representatives of the Union decided to make the question of a strike to a general membership vote.

The balloting continued for three days and somewhat less than 24,000 votes were cast. Of these the overwhelming majority favored a strike and only some thousand odd votes were opposed to a strike.

After the ballots were counted, the entire machinery was set in motion at a particularly high speed. Last Monday the entire General Strike Committee met at the Central Opera House. It was a committee worth seeing. It looked more like a mass meeting, for the Committee consists of several hundred persons, all picked and chosen and every one of them fully familiar with his duties and responsibilities as one of the leaders of the great struggle. On the face of it, it was a business meeting. Reports were rendered by the committees on the progress of their work. But every one felt as if he heard the din of the oncoming struggle, especially when B. Schlesinger, the president of the International, delivered his concluding speech.

Everything was in readiness and only the signal of the leaders was awaited.

But the signal could not yet be given, for on Tuesday, May 13th another conference was to be held between the representatives of the workers and the manufacturers and there was still a chance, though a slight one, that the strike might be avoided. The conference took place but to no effect. The result was that late Tuesday night every member of the General Strike Committee received a telegram to

take his post at once. Special strike issues of the "Justice," the "Gepehigkeit," and "Giustizia," were ready for Wednesday morning in which the General Strike Committee and B. Schlesinger, president of the International, summoned the workers to the struggle.

Following is the strike call of the General Strike Committee (the strike call to the struggle of B. Schlesinger will be found elsewhere in this issue):

General Strike Called for 10 O'Clock This Morning

To-day, Wednesday, May 14th, at 10 A. M. sharp, all Cloak and Skirt Makers, Operators, Finishers, Pressers, Cutters, Piece Tailors and Samplemakers, Button-holmakers, Reefmakers, Examiners, and Bushlers must quit work promptly and all together go out on strike.

None of you is to remain in the shop. All must go down on the minute.

You are urged to maintain perfect order in leaving your shops. Do not lose your self-control and refrain from creating disturbances of any kind. At ten o'clock sharp each and every one of you

must pack up his tools and take them with him. Remove from the shop everything that belongs to you. Leave the shops in perfect quiet and order. If the use of the elevators will be denied to you, disregard this discourtesy and use the staircases. Upon leaving the shops proceed at once to the halls designated elsewhere in this issue.

Brothers and sisters! Do not wait for committees to come and take you down. We will not send committees. You are class-conscious enough to come down in perfect order, with perfect discipline, as befits a well organized army. The designated halls will be your strike headquarters for the duration of the strike. Go there immediately after leaving the shop.

Hurray for the Strike! Hurrah for the Victory!

BY ORDER OF THE GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE CLOAK, SKIRT AND REEF MAKERS' UNION.
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

And in response to this call, the workers to a man quit the shops on the minute and the Cloak industry of New York was at a standstill.

What do the strikers want? Why have they quit work? They

want and they are firmly determined to obtain among other things, three principal reforms in the industry: First, they want the system of piece work abolished in the Cloak industry and week-work system inaugurated instead; that is, they no longer want to be paid by the piece as it was the custom until now, which made every gain of the Union mere illusion. They want to be paid as week-workers.

This is the chief demand to obtain which the workers are ready to fight with their might and main, and which the Manufacturers consider the most revolutionary because it will lead to radical changes in the operation of their factories. The busy season will be considerably lengthened, the workers instead of wasting their health in top speed work within a short season will be in a position to maintain their health some time longer, a thing that is not benefiting a Cloakmaker.

The second demand of the workers is a minimum scale of wages for all crafts in the cloak industry, so that the operators, the pressers, the finishers, the cutters, etc. receive a weekly wage never less than the minimum agreed upon but which may be greater for those who can do
(Continued on page 7)

"UNREASONABLE" DEMANDS

Thus Mr. Saul Singer, the president of the Manufacturers' Association characterized the demands of the workers in his statement on the strike.

To this statement B. Schlesinger made prompt reply. On the same morning as the workers went on strike, the following letter was addressed to the president of the Manufacturers' Association:

May 14, 1919
Mr. Saul Singer, President,
Cloak, Skirt & Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Assn.,
220 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

This morning's newspapers print a statement by you to the effect that our demands are unreasonable and that all the efforts of your conference committee to reach a peaceful agreement with the Union, were without avail. You also say that "whenever the Union is ready to meet the Association in an earnest effort to resume the conference in the hope of finding a solution of the existing difficulties."

We take it that the first part of your statement was made for the purpose of placing your Association in a favorable light before the public. We believe, however, that the public is sufficiently informed in such matters to understand that as President of the Ma-

ufacturers' Association you are expected to say that the workers are unreasonable, and your statement will, therefore, fail to make the impression you desired it to produce.

As to the second part of your statement, we wish to say as follows: The Union stands ready to resume conferences with your Association. We earnestly hope that after a closer analysis you will find that our demands are reasonable, just and fair and that a satisfactory adjustment can be reached.

We would kindly request you to designate in your reply the place and time for a conference.

Very truly yours,
Benjamin Schlesinger,
President.

To this the manufacturers, by a special messenger, sent the following reply to B. Schlesinger:

"Your communication of the 14th instant has received the consideration of our Executive Committee. You state therein that the union stands ready to resume the conferences with our association. Since you coupled this statement with another, which, in effect, is an attack on the sincerity of our motives, and have gone to the length of publishing your letter as a paid advertisement, you leave us no alternative but to reply in the same manner.

"We do not feel that it would

promote a successful conclusion to coming conferences were we to enter into a public discussion at this time of a question of fairness, but will give you ample opportunity to demonstrate the sincerity of your statement and we will, in the event of a disagreement, rest content to place the entire controversy before the bar of public opinion through the advertising columns of the public press.

"Our Conference Committee is ready to meet with yours at any time and place and we have instructed our Chief Clerk to act with yours and make such arrangements as may be necessary for the purpose."

We may thus see that neither the workers nor the Manufacturers have burned all the bridges behind them; that before the strike was a day old, it was the Manufacturers who first declared their willingness to resume negotiations with the representatives of the Union.

The Union of course will readily comply with this request. The Union does not quarrel for the love of it. What it wants is the introduction of week work, the 44-hour week, a definite minimum scale of wages for operators, finishers, pressers, cutters, piece-tailors, sample makers, button-holmakers, reefer makers, examiners, bushlers, etc.

If the Manufacturers agree to these demands, peace may be concluded to-morrow, and the Cloak industry will for the first time be placed on a solid foundation.

RIGHT AND LEFT WINGS

By N. BUCHWALD

III.

The Standpoint of the Right Wing

The arguments of the right wing are just as old as the "new" creed of the left wing. As we pointed out before, the dispute between the two factions of the American Socialist Party is not the result of recent events or present problems. The war and revolutions in Europe merely added new fuel to the old flame of the dispute between the two tendencies of Socialist thought.

The American Socialists probably remember the stir the exclusion of Haywood from the party has caused in its ranks. The technical charge against him was the violation of a certain clause of the party constitution, but in reality he was expelled because he preached direct action and belittled the significance of political action. The program of the left wing does not differ materially from the direct action methods preached by Haywood and his followers. Both the Haywoodists and the left wingers consider that the revolutionary economic manifestations of the organized proletariat constituted the only effective means of combating capitalist oppression, that they are the only forms which the class struggle must assume before the time is ripe for the overthrow of capitalism through a revolutionary uprising of the proletariat. Socialists of the left wing, like the I. W. W., do not believe that political action can under the existing circumstances lead to the emancipation of the proletariat and establishment of a Socialist or Communist order of things.

The present strife is thus not new even in the ranks of the American Socialist Party. Seven or eight years ago the party emphatically rejected the methods of 100 per cent economic action, no social reforms, etc. And also now, in spite of the tremendous changes that have been wrought in the relations of nations and social classes, there is no reason to discard political action and social reform.

Both the left and right wings take Russian Bolshevism as the starting point of their arguments. The left wingers point to the Bolsheviks as the only true socialists, and to their methods as the only right ones. The right wingers, on the other hand, hold that so far as the Bolsheviks have not accomplished anything to justify a radical departure from the methods of the party in America where a revolution is yet far from being a fact. The Bolsheviks, the Spartacists, the Hungarian Socialists of Lenin's school, were confronted by questions not of propaganda but of immediate action. It was not a question of choosing methods whereby the working class might gain the control of society at some time in the future, and rebuild it on a Socialist foundation; it was a question of the kind of structure to be erected on the ruins of the old society. In none of the countries where the Socialists of the left wing proved to be in power did the revolution come as a result of former revolutionary propaganda of the left wing kind. In Russia the parliamentary system was the sole basis upon which the Socialists, the

Bolsheviks included, conducted their propaganda. One of the strongest objections to the Kerensky government was the part of the Bolsheviks was that a Constituent Assembly — a parliamentary democratic institution — was not convoked early enough. And Germany was widely the strongest of political parliamentary Socialism. Thus the revolutions both in Germany and Russia had little to do with former revolutionary, anti-parliamentary education of the working class. One need not go to Marx or Engels for a confirmation of the truth that revolutions are catastrophic phenomena, that they can not be prepared or made to order. Russia was the first of the countries whose structure crumbled as a result of the destruction, sapping the war, and it was also the first country in which the revolution occurred. America — it will be admitted even by the left wingers — is at present very far from such a break down. And if such a break down will not occur there will also not occur a revolution of the Russian kind. The countries who survived the war crisis will surely seek to prevent catastrophes that would make mass uprisings possible. The labor program of the peace congress is one of the many symptoms that the bourgeoisie and the workers are ready to yield to the workers as much as it is necessary to prevent catastrophe. And if the labor masses will find it possible to lead a more or less comfortable existence under present circumstances there will be no catastrophic revolution.

This does not mean, however, that the bones which are cast to labor will prevent the rebuilding of present society along socialist lines. The vigilance of the working class, as of all social classes, will not be allayed through gains, but, on the contrary, stimulated and increased by them. The more victorious the working class will be the more conscious it will be of its power and the more anxious to exercise it. The better the working conditions, the shorter the hours, the better the workers will be in a position to participate in the general life of the country.

If, then, the desirability of a catastrophic revolution is a debatable question, and if — even if desirable — such a revolution is highly improbable in the United States, it follows, naturally, that the parliamentary methods, the methods of social reforms which gain more and more power for labor, are the only rational methods the Socialist party can adopt.

Most of the prominent leaders of the American Socialist Party sympathize with the Bolsheviks and Spartacists, and if they had to live and exercise their influence in Russia or Germany they would surely side with these parties. In America, however, they are with the right wing because here they are not confronted with a choice of forms for the new society. So far it is only a question of choosing methods of agitation and propaganda for the Socialist party to pursue. The right wingers maintain that the methods of political propaganda, of election campaigns, when the average citizen is particularly responsive, together with educational work all the year round, are the most effective

under the circumstances.

As to revolutionary manifestations of organized labor the right wingers do not really oppose them but they think that American labor, in its large majority of the Gompers brand, is as yet unripe for such a step. They maintain that the party must urge and preach industrial unionism, political activity of labor organization, but to antagonize the existing labor organizations — may it be for however lofty an ideal — is not the best way of hastening the coming of Socialism. The left wingers would want the party to recognize the I. W. W. as the only true labor organization and to declare open war upon the American Federation of Labor. The right wingers, while not refusing to entertain the economic methods of the I. W. W., do not find it possible or necessary to break with the great labor organization, conservative as it may be. They believe in the method of burrowing from within and not attacking from without. If it is a question of con-

HOW THE WAIST MAKERS' STRIKE WAS SETTLED

By ELIAS LIEBERMAN

During the entire strike period the "wireless" was busy. Good people were making attempts to bring about peace. More than once it seemed as if a conference was near at hand, that both sides were to meet each other half-way; but all these kindhearted attempts ended in a fizzle.

A woman reporter stepped in as peace maker. The notables of the city tried to end the strike for the good of the community, or perhaps for their own glory. But evidently the time was not yet ripe, the disease had not yet come to a head. The temperature was still high, the fever still intense. Only after a representative of one camp had encountered by chance one from the hostile camp and the two had got to talking matters over, the first conference was effected in the City Club on Thursday, March 24.

The Union and the association had 11 persons each to represent them. There was little good feeling on either side. The politely cold "Hello," sounded like "Hell-oh!" Only the go betweens, Messrs. Schiffler and Moskowitz were not strained and spoke in a natural tone of voice. At the request of the chairman B. Schlesinger, the president of the International made an official statement of how the Union understood the basis of the conference. But it soon became evident that the other side had just the opposite notion of it. The association wanted the conference to mean that the Union was satisfied to insist on special provisions against the discharge of active Union members. The president writer was next to speak. He tried to prove to the representatives of the association that they had expected the active Union members to receive special attention. Morris Weiss, the president of the association, called his committee in caucus. They withdrew to an adjoining room and we sat and waited for them, pondering over the situation as we did so.

We were under a nervous tension that defies description. The

verting the American proletariat to socialist creeds it surely cannot be attained by uniting with a minority of the proletariat and by coming out in open opposition to the majority.

It is much easier to reach the American worker through the direct political methods than thru the proposed economic revolutionary methods. The right wingers do not want to confine themselves to mere revolutionary propaganda for the sake of propaganda. They want to get practical results from the election campaign. They seek to elect socialists to the legislative bodies, and to exert an influence upon the legislation of the country. They want to prepare the working class for the coming of Socialism but first they want to capture in a legal way the machinery of State with its juridical, legislative, and executive institutions.

We may have occasion to write again in the dispute in the Socialist Party. At present our series is at an end. We have considered here only the theoretical side. In the near future it will be possible to write on events in the Socialist Party in connection with the dispute between the right and left wings.

defendant awaiting the verdict of the jury; the soldiers about to go over the top, the mother watching at the bedside of her only child that is in delicate balance between life and death — may suggest emotions similar to those we experienced at that moment.

At last the "jury" appears. The foreman looks grave. We seat ourselves at the table — the manufacturers to the right side of the chairman, the Union representatives to the left. Mr. Weiss makes a brief statement on behalf of the association: "The manufacturers will not concede this point."

In a twinkling of an eye we were in the street. The negotiations have been broken off. The more we were aware of the seriousness of the moment the more determined we were to insist on our demand that the active union members must be given more than usual protection in the matter of discharge.

The war must be continued with the same grimness and firmness. "No more peace, war again!" This message must be at once carried to the ranks.

You probably do not remember the night of March 29. Rain was coming down in torrents, and it continued all night. The elements were particularly angry and unusually relentless. It was impossible to venture out into the streets. A good night for the wicket.

It was on this evening that the "wireless" again began buzzing in an effort to bring both sides together for a second conference.

The mediators carefully probed the ground to ascertain how far each side would go to meet the other, and on Friday afternoon another conference took place. For better luck the place was shifted to the Hotel McAlpin.

The conference was scheduled for 8 P. M. — But to hasten progress it was agreed that sub-committees of both sides should meet an hour earlier and adjust the exchange question in accordance with the suggestion of the media-

THE STRIKE CALL

By B. SCHLESINGER

To the question "strike or no strike?" the overwhelming majority of the members of the Cloak, Skirt, and Reefmakers' Union with vigor and determination replied in the affirmative, and in compliance with this decision you will to-day go out in strike.

You all know what you are striking for.

You are striking for the establishment of week work throughout the Cloak industry.

You are striking for week work which should consist of 44 hours a week and no more.

You are striking for a minimum scale, for a weekly wage which may never be less than the amount decided upon, but which may be greater for those whose skill and efficiency are above the average. These are your principal demands.

Each and every Cloakmaer knows that important as the previous struggles of the Cloakmakers Union were, aiding as they did to strengthen the power and influence of the Union, the present struggle is the most important the Union ever waged.

This is not a struggle for a temporary improvement but for a permanent secure existence for the cloakmaker and his family every day in the year.

This time it is not only a struggle for the right of the workers to be organized as was the strike of 1916. It is a struggle to gain conditions which will make it possible to enjoy the benefits of your organized power.

Each of the strikes you waged had its significance in its time. But their main significance was and is that they all have prepared the ground for the present struggle.

To-day you are going out on strike, and the entire industry will be paralyzed as if by magic. There will not be a single shop running. Not a wheel will turn, not an inch of material will be cut. Everything will be paralyzed. You will leave your shops in an orderly manner and in calm spirit, for you are sure that there is nobody to take your places. You will leave your shops with dignity in the realization that before long you will return to your shops as victors.

It will not take long before the entire cloak industry will be placed on the basis of all other organized industries—on the basis of week work, on the basis of a 44 hour week, and on the basis of minimum wage scales that will enable the cloakmaker and his family to live a comfortable life all year round.

The revolution in your industry must and will bring about a revolution in your lives and those of your families. It will put an end to the constant-insecurity which has been the curse of the cloakmaker and his family. It will put an end to the hustling which has made the cloakmaker the most wretched of all toilers. It will put an end to the short seasons in the cloak industry.

It is to gain these things that you are now stepping forth for the great struggle which will, in golden characters, write a new page in the history of your Union. It will be the greatest and most impressive struggle. You will all leave your shops on the minute. And you will conduct your strike in an orderly manner as behooves organized workers who are conscious of their strength. Such calm, determined and energetic conduct of the strike will make early victory certain.

Cloakmakers! This is the greatest day in the history of your Union. Prove yourselves worthy of this great historic moment.

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
President, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

(Reprinted from the strike issue of the Justice)

MAY CELEBRATION OF LOCAL NO. 80

By H. HILFMAN

There was a time when the Ladies Tailors could not celebrate the first of May together with other workers; when the Ladies' Tailors were not counted among organized workers.

But the Ladies Tailors and Alteration workers awoke and rebuilt and strengthened their Union. They are no longer excluded from the family of organized labor. They no longer live outside the atmosphere of brotherhood and solidarity.

In a very splendid and impressive manner the workers of local 80 celebrated the first of May—the holiday of internationalism

constitutional to leave such matters to the discretion of the impartial chairman. When we rested our case the manufacturers replied: what!

Read the next article and you will know.

and brotherhood of all nations.

The order of the Executive Board to quit work on that day was obeyed by every one of the workers. The mass meeting and concert which the Union had arranged for at Manhattan Lyceum, 60 E. 4th St., was unusually well attended.

Addresses by Elmer Rosenberg, Osip Volinsky, Pietro Allegro, and Henry Jaeger were rewarded by stormy applause.

The concert was equally successful and equally well responded to by the audience.

The Ladies' Tailors proved that with their solidarity of labor is more than a mere word. They responded most cheerfully to an appeal for aid for the Lawrence strikers and to collections netted \$211.43.

Some time ago the Ladies' Tailors and Alteration workers, at a membership meeting, assessed

every member of the Union with \$5.00 for a special strike fund to gain the 44 hour week and other improvements in the trade. They are here reminded that the tax must be paid not later than May 15th. Those who failed to pay up are urged to do so at once and avoid trouble.

All members are requested to attend a members' meeting on Tuesday, May 20th, at Mt. Morris Hall, 1362 Fifth Ave.

Order of Business: The Cloakmaker strike, sample making, and the Alteration Tailors stores. Come and take part in this important meeting.

Polite

"Sorry I gave you the wrong number," said the polite telephone operator. "Don't mention it," answered the man who had made up his mind not to lose his temper. "I'm sure the number you gave me was much better than the one I asked for. Only it just happened I wasn't able to use it."—Washington Star

ters, our "wireless." The subcommittee of the Union consisted of B. Schlesinger and myself.

We met at seven, as arranged. It was to take only one hour to pave the ground for the general conference. All went well till we reached the question of the penalty the impartial chairman was to impose on a manufacturer for discharging a worker without sufficient reason, if the worker is not reinstated in his job. A small matter it may seem, but it gave rise to endless arguments and declarations of principle. The Union demanded that such decisions should be left to the discretion of the chairman; the association recoiled in horror at this "bolshevist" idea. They cried to all saints, to the constitution of the United States, they invoked the "Great Ghost" of democracy which demands that an offender know the punishment that awaits him. They fell into a frenzy of argument and indignation.

Well, we thought, if it is the constitution we are second to none. With an air of confidence and authority we proceeded to show that it was 100 per cent.

JUSTICE

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FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

23457-1293

The above figures tell the story more eloquently, with greater vigor than we can ever express in words. We will, however, attempt to explain their full significance.

Just think of it. The Cloakmakers have just wound up the season in the course of which they have been deluged with dollars, and all on account of the system of piece work. How could it be expected under these circumstances that the Cloakmaker would pay the least attention to any hint of a strike? It would be but common sense to expect that the workers would indignantly reject any suggestion of quitting work, and going out on strike. But what happened in reality?

What has happened is one of the rarest phenomena in the history of the labor movement.

These men and women who made such heaps of money have voted in the thousands in favor of a strike, whose object apparently was to kill the hen that laid the golden eggs. They have voted for a strike whose primary aim is to abolish the lucrative system of piece work and establish the week work system instead!

And the interest, the alertness the workers displayed during the three days when they had an opportunity to vote for or against a strike! Never in the history of the Cloakmakers' Union has such a vote been cast. As a rule only a small minority of the membership takes part in the balloting even on the most important questions at issue. But this time it was a large majority that was interested enough to go to the ballot boxes and cast their votes. Twenty three thousand five hundred and fifty-seven members of the Union deemed it necessary to take leave of their indifference and go to the ballot boxes to cast their votes.

The present writer was at the offices of the Joint Board last Saturday when the balloting was on. The spectacle was really a remarkable one. Hundreds, thousands of men stood in the lines waiting their turn to cast the vote. Their solemn faces were the best proof that these people came in a downpour of rain to cast their vote on the question "Strike or no strike?" because they considered it the most vital question of their existence. Every voter was vigilant lest his vote be not counted, lest his voice be not recorded. One of the watchers left his post for an instant, and he was reprimanded in a tone of profound earnest by the man whose turn it was to cast the vote.

Every one present—union book in hand—was burning with impatience to get a ballot blank and cast his vote.

It is not really marvelous? And how can we explain it?

Still more marvelous is the result of the balloting. Of the nearly 24 thousand votes only some 13 hundred were against a strike, while the overwhelming majority 22164 were in favor of a walkout.

What a surprise it must have been to the cloak manufacturers who, up to the last minute thought that the workers would entirely upset the calculations of the union leaders, who, in the opinion of the manufacturers, are alone to blame for the entire strike agitation.

But surprised as they may have been at the first moment, they now know already that what they had considered a mere caprice of the Union leaders is in reality the *solid will of the entire great union*. Do they also know that it is sheer insanity to oppose this will!

Nothing is more explicit than the vote of the Cloakmakers' Union. The Cloakmakers, in spite of all the "fortunes" they made at piece work, insist that week work become the only basis of wages, that a working week consist of no more than 44 hours, and that a minimum weekly wage be secured for every worker.

Wherein then lies the explanation? The explanation is a simple one. The Cloakmaker in his action is prompted by much finer and subtler motives than those of the so-called common sense. His head is not turned by momentary, short-lived prosperity. He takes into account not his large earnings of the past two months but the situation as a whole. He recalls his experiences of past years. He has imagination enough to conjure up his future when his "prosperity" will come to an end; and he comes to the conclusion that in spite of the brief shower of gold, piece work is the demon that ruins him physically, mentally and morally. He, therefore, decided to go out and combat the demon. He is determined to make it a finish fight. Such an attitude and such determination call for a high degree of intelligence.

It is here that the manufacturer was wrong. He hoped that the result of the vote could be influenced by the crude common sense, by the common sense that forgets the past and has no conception of the future. But instead of this, the result was dictated by high intelligence that sees facts in their mutual relation, that knows how to estimate their true value.

This is the explanation of the Cloakmakers' vote. With all our heart we congratulate the cloakmakers upon their highly intelligent vote. They went through a severer test and they have acquitted themselves with great credit.

In view of this vote we believe that the struggle, though waged for such cardinal demands, will

not be of long duration, for the Cloak Manufacturers will not want to see the strike dragged out with the usual loss of time, and money for both sides.

The manufacturers cannot, of course, be blamed for having resisted the demands of the Union. It is quite natural for them, as well as for anybody, to defend their own interests. And since they also believed that the last season which was a particularly prosperous one, has won over many workers to their side, the resistance they showed can be deemed a skillless.

But the cloakmaker vote of last week should be an "eye-opener" to the manufacturers. Now they see that they are facing the determined will of the entire union, and we would greatly underestimate the intelligence of the manufacturers if we assumed that now, after this unmistakable demonstration of the will and the sentiments of the Cloakmakers, they will prolong the struggle one minute more than necessary, now that the struggle is on.

We will, therefore, not be surprised in the least if the manufacturers will hasten, before the strike is more than a few days old, to get together with the representatives of the Union and agree to the workers' demands, which will have to be acceded to sooner or later.

It is for this reason that we believe that the present strike, the most successful in the history of the Cloakmakers' Union, will be short lived. This is a supposition based on the assumption that the manufacturers are intelligent enough to grasp the situation. But is not a certainty. Once a struggle breaks out, nothing is certain. And the Union, anticipating the worst, has, with all its foresight and experience, erected its defenses on all sides.

If the strike will end soon the Union will surely not regret the fact. The Cloakmakers' Union is not waging a fight for the sake of fighting. Should the goal be attained, the strike will have served its purpose and it will be recorded as another glorious event in the history of the Union. But as long as the goal remains unattained the struggle will continue with all the undaunted energy of the Union, until it is crowned with a decisive victory.

The Cloakmakers are quite alive to the situation and its possible outcome. They know that the strike may not last long, but they also know that they must fight with as much fire and vigor as in the hardest of struggles. The past experience of the Cloakmakers is warrant enough that they will not commit the fatal error of over-confidence.

If the manufacturers count on this we give them our friendly and timely warning that they will be disappointed once more. The strikers, we repeat it once more, hope for an early victory but they are prepared for the worst, and they will fight as long as it is necessary to attain the goal.

The Summer Resort of the Waistmakers' Union

The importance of this enterprise is so great that it really can not be overestimated. Only one who has never visited the Unity House in the country and who has not seen the members of the union as temporary guests, how they are blended with a new life and how they gather new strength

and energy for their further activity as intelligent men and women—only one who has not seen this will not understand the great significance of the purchase and the necessity of having made such great exertions. But one who has seen what the Unity House has done for its guests, one who has seen how little benefit is derived by girls from their brief two-week vacation when spent elsewhere, how dull their time is, will understand and appreciate the really great achievement of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union in buying a country resort which has all advantages of spaciousness and comfort; so that 500 persons may be accommodated at one time, and each of the members of the Union may spend two weeks in the course of the summer.

We consider of particular value the fact that the resort is not rented but is the property of the Union. The guests will be assured that they are at home; that it is their savings that paid for this place of rest.

What a cozy feeling this must be in itself!

Since it is the property of the Union there is no reason why the place should be good only for the few summer months. Quite a number of waistmakers are in need of a rest also during the winter. Many country places are just as crowded in the winter as in the summer. And we can see why the Unity House in the Blue Mountains should not serve also as a winter resort.

It stands to reason that not all cottages will have to be open during the winter. But one or two of them may easily be kept open for those who need a winter vacation.

We have not seen the place yet; but, judging by the description in the last issue of the "Justice" it seems that the place is one of the blessed nooks of our earth, that it is a place where one may restore one's physical and mental energies, where one may really forget all the anxieties of the busy city life, and spend a few weeks in the most inviting and invigorating atmosphere. In our opinion, no effort can be too great, no amount of money too large, to acquire such a place.

Naturally, the more persons will take it upon themselves to care for this new home of the workers, the easier it will be for each of them. It may, therefore, be expected that each Union member will contribute her share and that before long the resort will be the clear property of the Union.

The Waist and Dressmakers of New York will be inspired by the example of its sister organization in Philadelphia. The latter has a summer resort of its own, which costs \$40,000, and which is all paid up. If a comparatively small union like the one of Philadelphia could accomplish this, there is no reason why the great Waist and Dress Makers' Union in New York cannot.

We do not, for a moment, entertain the idea that the Waistmakers of New York will fail to secure this property for themselves, and we expect that with united strength they will all set to work and will not rest until this resort is made clear of all rights. Given the good will of the workers and there will be no lack in funds.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE ECONOMIC MACHINE.

BY JULIET STUART POYNTE

As the year 1900 approached, the rumour went abroad that the end of the world was coming. Great fear seized upon humanity. Many spent their time on their knees in prayer, others cried and uttered curses at their fate, still others ate, drank and were merry, "for tomorrow we die." The excitement increased as the fatal day approached, and a universal hysteria spread abroad. The coming of the year 2000 seems attended by no less solemn portents, but this time no disappointment is in store for those who are pouring forth their tears and their curses. The end of the world is indeed at hand—the end of the capitalist world! We are living in a day whose vast importance we can hardly understand. We go about our daily tasks much as before, hardly conscious that the greatest social change in the history of the world is now going on about us, that the old order will soon be a memory, and that the new order is already far more than a hope.

The surprising thing about the present world crisis is not the strength of the revolutionary movement, but the weakness of capitalism. The economic machine has run down. The wheels will not go round. The capitalist system has collapsed all of a sudden like the "wonderful one-hoss shay" the carriage of Oliver Wendell Holmes' poem which was so strongly built that no part could give out before any other part, but which finally went to pieces completely and thoroughly in every part at once. The strain of the war has proven too great and we now see lying about us the wreckage of international capitalism, the remnants of the delicate edifice of capitalist world credit, capitalist world commerce, exploitation of subject nations and classes, individualistic organization of industry and property control of the state. All these great structures are tottering to their fall and will be seen no more by the year 2000.

I wish to emphasize the inevitable nature of the social revolution which is coming to pass. It is no longer a question of success or failure of a struggling movement, no longer a question of organizers, of agitation, of a long process of education before the masses are awakened. The revolution is being organized by the combining force of economic circumstances. Power is passing into the hands of the workers almost before they are ready to take it. Only the healing force of universal co-operation can rebuild the war-torn world. In the face of the wreckage left by the competition and exploitation are powerless. Morally and economically capitalism is dead.

In the world of long ago before the great war the peoples of the earth obtained food, clothing, and other necessities through the operations of an economic system international in its scope, spreading out its tentacles over all the earth and the seven seas. The whole world was one, vast network for the circulation of goods to meet human wants, and the heart of this great circulatory system was credit. The capitalist, the business man, the trader, or-

crated not with money but with credit. The actual cash in the hands of manufacturer or merchant was small in comparison with the value of the business. The rest was credit. It was the great system of international finance, of international credit which was the heart of the capitalist system, the heart which kept the blood moving to all parts of the body. Now that body has been suddenly stricken by the disease called heart failure. Suffering under too great a strain the heart has given out, and the body lies cold and lifeless.

We read that there is so little cloth in Bohemia that many of the inhabitants have to go about the streets clad in their bedclothes. In the same paper we read that the textile mills of North England must shut down entirely for two weeks because of lack of work. We know that in France the workers in the building trades are unemployed and hungry while there are not enough houses for the people, and that the devastated districts which need to be rebuilt immediately lie almost untouched. We know that millions tremble on the brink of starvation in Central and Eastern Europe, while grain will be destroyed in America at the next harvest to keep up the price. We know that thousands of factories and millions of machines stand idle in every country of Europe and in America although their products are sorely needed by the poor suffering peoples. Sewing machines idle, while people are unclothed; spinning and weaving machines idle, when thread and cloth are needed, iron mines unworked when iron for machinery and construction is needed everywhere, coal mines idle because the transportation system has broken down and there are no cars to carry the coal, thousands starving because there are not enough ships and cars to carry food, and not enough gold or credit to secure its payment.

Universal want and universal unemployment are the strange bedfellows brought together by a system where industrial activity is kept alive by the profits of the few rather than the needs of the many. Financial crisis accompanied by starvation and illness brought misery to the workers every few years even before the war. But all signs indicate that the present crisis is a far vaster and more serious one than any that have gone before. The drug fiend has taken an overdose of time. All the countries of Europe are trembling on the brink of bankruptcy. They have no money and no credit with which to start their industries again. They have all issued an enormous amount of paper money estimated at six times the amount considered safe before the war, and have thus depreciated the value of their currency. Their gold reserves they still cling to, each jealously watching the other for the signs of financial weakness. The brick which they owe together for their waste and destruction is more than two hundred billion dollars.

In the face of this situation the reactionary government of England is planning enormous expenditures for the coming year

which in the opinion of many must mean financial collapse. Armed forces, marshalled by English generals must be kept in every part of the world to restrain the rising revolutionary movements in Ireland, in Germany, in Austria, in Poland, in Russia, in Siberia, in India, in Egypt. The cost is enormous, amounting to \$7,000,000,000 for the coming year. Nothing short of revolution at home can meet such a situation is the opinion of even the liberal press. France is in even more desperate plight with industries at standstill, a tremendous war debt amounting to \$40,000,000,000, an enormous devastated district, a starving and revolutionary working class. Her bills must be paid for several years to come by either the Allies or Germany, or she must declare herself bankrupt. Her capitalist government has not yet been willing to pay its debts through the simple means of taxing war profits and great wealth. Instead Caillaux and others who defend this radical form of taxation are languishing in prison, suffering the vengeance of owners of great wealth. The plight of Belgium

is even more desperate than that of France, dependent as are her industries upon a world commerce long since disappeared.

All the capitalist nations of Western Europe took to Germany to pay their war debts, but find that they are in danger of killing the goose who they hope will lay the golden egg. Germany is in much the same condition of exhaustion, and if pressed too hard will prove bankrupt and useless for financial exploitation.

America alone has emerged from the carnival of destruction with any economic security. The burdened with a war debt many times the national debt of pre-war years, in spite of the reckless plunging of the government into new ventures in militarism, the United States is now the great creditor nation, the last stronghold of international capitalism. Marshalling together the remnants of European capitals, financing them, strengthening them with her moral (!) support, this country will probably be able for some time to hold the fort against the rising power of revolutionary labor. But the seeds of dissolution are spreading fast in all the countries of Europe and in one country, however rich and capitalist, can long hold out against a world which is being reorganized rapidly according to principles of co-operation and economic justice.

IN THE LABOR WORLD OF CLEVELAND

By M. PERLSTEIN

Cleveland Workers and the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce

Two weeks ago the new chief representative of the employers' interests in Cleveland made his maiden speech to his associates. As he himself admitted, the interests of the workers and capitalists are not identical "in most of their broader aspects." The workers should become familiar not only with the power of the forces which oppose them in their struggles for higher wages and better working conditions, but they should also know something of the underlying philosophy of the enemy. How the employing class will act in case of controversy is a vitally interesting subject to wage earners.

Mr. Paul Feiss, the new president of the chamber, outlined a fairly clear and coherent policy towards labor. He is absolutely certain that unions are impracticable; that collective bargaining is a failure; that all advances in wages and all betterments of working conditions must be made voluntarily by the enlightened and benevolent employer. His gospel is the gospel of scientific management.

He informs us that Capital formerly dictated Legislation, but that Labor is now in the saddle.

Mr. Feiss' philosophy is based upon his experiences in his own factory, The Joseph and Feiss Company, manufacturers of men's and boys' clothing. He is naturally quite pleased with his own shop and recommends that other employers model after him.

We will admit that Mr. Feiss and his company have succeeded in forestalling serious labor troubles in their factory. We will admit that the sacred six per cent of profits has been kept intact. We insist, however, that all the

welfare work, including medical attention, libraries, English classes, orchestras, bowling teams, baseball clubs, and all the other paternalistic apparatus is being paid for by the workers. We insist that the average, general wage paid by the Joseph and Feiss Co., is lower than in shops where Unions have a say in determining conditions.

Mr. Feiss asks us to throw aside our only means of defense against industrial oppression and wage-slavery and welcome instead the benevolent disinterestedness of the employer. He asks us to plead and beg for better conditions and higher wages from employers. Instead, we intend to fight for them as a matter of right.

As self-respecting men and women, we must stand up for our rights. To vindicate these rights, we must strike if necessary. To the invitation of Mr. Feiss and the Chamber of Commerce, let us issue our slogan: *Agitate, Educate, Organize, for one hundred per cent union.*

Workers Discontented and Employers Contented

Occasionally, we assume ourselves by looking over the pages of the "Cleveland Topics", a weekly publication of this city, a "rapid weekly of Cleveland's smart set, which proclaims that it is "written up to the intelligence of the public." We felt our intelligence grossly insulted however, when we read a letter from Mr. E. S. Rogers, of the English Woolen Mills Co., to Mr. Louis H. Under of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in the issue of April 19th. Mr. Rogers advised Labor Unions throughout the country to go out and agitate against the employers, among the business men and professional

class, instead of "organizing discount among the masses."

"Would it not be better to devote more time to organizing employers and converting them to your principles in possibly less time than in organizing employees?" asks Mr. Rogers.

Well, we don't know. Hundreds of employers during the war found that they had to permit representatives of the workers to sit with them for the purpose of mutually adjusting differences. And we all know how well the employers liked it. It was taken as a litted dose of medicine with very bad grace. Hundreds of employers went about muttering among themselves that there are two men ruling this country, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Gompers. They looked with vindictive eyes toward "Industrial Autocrats" and waited for the glorious day when they would have a chance to fight Labor again.

And the opportunity came with the signing of the armistice. The war of Labor versus Capital, or as some of them call it, "Bolshevism against Americanism" was reopened. The employers also anticipated with joy the overthrow of the regime at Washington which had forced them to undergo such hardships.

Under the light of the above facts, we must feel that the intellectual and moral regeneration of the employers is well nigh hopeless. If a Government at Washington, clothed, with special dictatorial powers during the war, could not bring a change of heart in the employing class of this country, we feel certain that our own little, pretty, scattered efforts have as much chance of succeeding as the proverbial snow ball dog has of catching the asbestos cat in Hades. But the thing has been tried even in the 6th City, incidentally. One of our comrades, E.-C. Ruthenberg, was invited to speak before the Kiwanis Club, a club of business men, on Labor topics. No sooner did the printed announcements reach the members of the club, than a terrific protest was raised and Mr. Ruthenberg was informed that he couldn't speak.

No, thank you, Mr. Rogers, we will rather cultivate our own patch of ground than raise any crops in your barren fields.

In Our Locals

All our members of the different locals are active preparing for the coming struggle.

Cutters Union. Local No. 42, had a special meeting where demands, to be presented to the Manufacturers, were discussed and approved. The demands are:

- A 44 hour working week
- A 15 per cent increase in wages
- Recognition of the Union
- And Union shops.

Before our strike in 1918, the Cutters in our trade in this city were not organized and the tailors were the ones to work out and present the demands for them. Things have changed. The Cutters have a good organization; they discuss and decide their own demands and are getting ready to put up a real good fight for them.

Our Women Garment Makers, Local No. 29. Our girls are active. Since our last strike also the situation amongst our girls changed greatly. We don't hear any more that a Union is not for girls; on the contrary, the girls, to a certain extent more than the men, are striving to build up a strong organization and are trying their utmost in establishing in our industry "equal pay for men and women" and it seems that the

In the International Labor World

By M. KOLCHIN

About the International Labor Standard

We know already that the peace treaty contains a labor clause. Of course, it is not yet certain whether the peace treaty will be a treaty, that is, whether Germany will sign it, but if she will, we will have an international labor standard, an international labor law.

Some people entertain grave doubts about it. The international standard, for instance, forbids the employment of children under 14. But how can this international law be put into effect in a country that is opposed to it?

Take America for instance. Anti-child labor law was passed recently but declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. Now, if such a law is unconstitutional when passed by our own legislators, why should it be constitutional when passed by others, who are not even Americans? In this case it is surely against the constitution.

It is difficult to understand why the Government representatives at the Peace Conference favor reforms which they could not or would not pass at home. The international standard for instance calls for an 8 hour day but not all countries have an 8 hour day. Why has it not been established? And how can a country be forced to introduce it against her will? We understand quite well that every country fears competition and if 8 hours is the standard in one and 10 in another country, the latter will compete more successfully in the international market. It is better, therefore, to establish such laws internationally so that capitalists of different countries cannot compete among themselves. But the question again arises: What will become of the backward countries, and how can this law be made effective there? According to the International Standard, a backward country has a right not to observe the International Law. Where is the guarantee, then, that all the countries which are now the guardians of civilization will not declare themselves backward and uncivilized?

The German Social Democrats and the Peace Conditions

The leaders of the German Social Democrats have under consideration the peace conditions laid down by the victorious governments. Their contention is that such a peace is worse than war because by it Germany loses 80 per cent of her territory, must pay about 23 billion dollars in leaders of our coming strike will be the girls.

Pressers' Union Local No. 37. Pressers have learned how to attend meetings and how to attend to business. It took us a long time to get them used to it, but we have accomplished that and we find now that the meetings of the Pressers are attended better than any meeting of the other locals.

Our pressers are also busy now working out demands for the pressers to be presented to the Manufacturers and are getting ready to put up a battle for them.

So everything moves rapidly in our city.

demnities, must give up her commercial fleet, except a few small craft, must build ships for the Allied Governments, and is stripped of all its former power. The only way to prevent such a peace is to sign it. It will not be worse, they say, it cannot be worse. That the Allied Governments may occupy Germany is in their opinion, not the worst thing that can happen, because this means that the Allies will have to feed the Germans, since it is impossible to maintain troops in a starving country.

The German Social Democrats think that their plan is a good one. The Germans will not have to pay indemnities or build ships, or give up ships, or lose territory. The workers will not have to work for the Allies and the Germans will remain the martyrs. To make their martyrdom still greater, the German Social Democrats are planning an appeal to the workers of the whole world in which they will declare their position and point out that instead of the expected peace based on President Wilson's 14 points a peace of imperialists was forced upon them which will mean many years of slavery of the German workers. The German Social Democrats, therefore, are prepared to ask for the aid of the workers and Socialists of all lands.

This may help them somewhat; at least they believe it will. But one thing we cannot understand: how can the Kaiserist Socialists, who voted for the Brest-Litovsk Peace of robbers and handouts, turn to the workers for aid? How can the Noskes and Scheidemanns who acted so treacherously toward Russia and other countries expect aid and sympathy from

workers of other lands? We can find only one answer: The Germans are entitled to aid and sympathy in spite of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske.

Industrial Unionism in Canada

The working masses of Canada are on the alert. They want to rebuild all their organizations. They want to abolish the old system of trade organization and establish industrial unions which should unite the skilled as well as the unskilled, the men as well as the women of the same industry in one industrial organization.

Most of the Unions are connected with the American Federation of Labor which is now vigorously opposed by Canadian labor. They cannot forget that Samuel Gompers, the president of the Federation, had advised Canadian labor not to strike at a time when their strike would have been so successful. The labor unions of Canada have come to the conclusion that it would be better for them to rupture the official ties between Canadian and American unions. The Canadian unions are to decide individually whether the question of seceding from the American Federation of Labor and establishing an industrial union should be submitted to a referendum. It will take some time before a decision is reached.

"Now if you could just hit it right by composing the words for a popular song," urged his friend, "you might get independently rich." "I know it," he groaned, "but, alas, I am educated."—New Orleans Picayune.

A COURT DECISION WHICH IS A BLOW TO LABOR.

St. Paul, Minn. — In upholding a judgment of \$200,000 against the United Mine Workers of America, the federal court of appeals in this city has ruled that a trade union is liable for the acts of individual members. The judgment, which is similar to the English Taff Vale decision, which was overthrown by the English parliament, was rendered by the United States court for the western district of Arkansas.

Under the Sherman anti-trust law the judgment is automatically trebled and the United Mine Workers of America, as an organization, is held liable for damages totaling over \$600,000.

The suit is the result of an attempt by a Philadelphia high financier to operate Arkansas coal companies on a non-union basis after he had contracted to pay higher royalties for his coal lands than did his competitors and had tied himself up with shrewd arrangements that landed him in the bankruptcy court.

A fight against the union was then started and the financier's blunders were overlooked because he was "attempting to run his own business." He claimed the union destroyed his property in 1914. This was prior to the passage of the Clayton amendments to the Sherman anti-trust law.

A suit was started against the international organization of miners on the ground that it instigated the proceedings when its members refused to mine coal on

a non-union basis, in competition with organized mines. Damages were also asked because of the alleged charge that a riotous crowd was led and directed by officers of the union.

The union insisted that it disproved violence and that it should not be held liable for the acts of members who are in a crowd of this character.

The decision opens the door for detectives who join a union and who instigate riots, as has been done times without number. In these cases an international trade union and its treasury is held responsible even though such strike is not called, financed or indorsed by the international and is merely a local or district strike.

The decision will be appealed by the United Mine Workers of America.

Machinists Insist on Gag Law Repeal

Release of all political prisoners, nationalization of public utilities and the repeal of the Espionage law and similar gagging war measures are demanded in a resolution adopted recently by Martine Lodge, 744, International Association of Machinists.

The resolution asserts that many of the war acts were used to subdue friends of the organized labor movement, and that any need there may have existed for such laws now has passed.

NEW YORK CLOAK INDUSTRY AT A STANDSTILL

(Continued from Page 1)

Thirdly, the strikers want a week's work to consist of 44 hours instead of the official 49 as until now. We say official because in reality the workers, obliged to turn out the work within a short time and desirous to earn more, often put two weeks time into one week. They worked day and night. They toiled beyond their physical strength. The 44 hour week will therefore mean in reality a decrease of much more than 5 hours a week.

These are the principal demands, and to gain them the Union is determined to wage the struggle for months, if need be. The Union knows that important as the previous strike had been, the present one is the most important of them all, for it aims at placing the cloak industry on a basis that will provide a decent and secure existence all year long for the workers employed in the industry.

This firmness and determination of the forty thousand workers are no secret to the manufacturers. If they had their doubts as to whether the workers meant business these have been dispelled by the event of Wednesday morning.

All of which leads us to believe that the struggle will not be of long duration; that what the manufacturers considered impossible before the strike will now be viewed by them in another light—in the light of necessity to agree to the workers' demands.

Fortunately for both sides the manufacturers do not exhibit the degree of stubbornness and unreasonable of employers. They remember the former strikes and what they cost. We have, therefore, reason to hope that before many days are over the great manufacturers' Union will be in a position to receive congratulations from the entire labor world upon one of its greatest victories, a victory that will at last place the Cloakmaker on a level with the best paid skilled workers of any industry in the country. The Cloakmakers will at last know that they have an occupation upon which they may count as a source of livelihood all year round. Their families will no longer be in fear of the coming of the slack season. The 44 hour week will make it possible for the Cloakmakers to work within the limits of their physical energies and not beyond them, as was the case under the piece work system.

BRO. BAROFF FEELING BETTER
We are glad to announce that Brother Baroff, the secretary and treasurer of our International, who took seriously ill during the last quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board and was removed to a hospital to be operated on for appendicitis, is feeling much better and is on the road to recovery. We hope that he will soon be with us again, as, first, foremost in the fighting ranks.

Typographical Error
"The doctor felt the patient's pulse and declared there was no hope."—London "Opinion."

WAIMAKERS OPEN CAMPAIGN FOR UNITY HOUSE

General Rejoicing in Local 25—Plans for Raising Money—Registration Begins.

The news of the purchase of the new Unity House by Local 25 has caused widespread rejoicing among the members. There were many shining faces this week as the glad news spread abroad among the shops. For several months there has been an atmosphere of suspense among the members of Local 25 which even the excitement of the strike could not dispel. Would there be a Unity House this summer? Shudders of misgiving were seen. Perhaps after all the Unity House would die and be forgotten. These gloomy forebodings were not allowed to stay long in the minds of the Waimakers. They had too great faith in their Union and in the power of Unity to believe that such a thing could come about. And quietly, faithfully all the time the Unity House were devoting themselves to the task of making plans for the coming summer. If they could prevent it the Unity House would not only not die, but would emerge greater and more beautiful than ever before. Under the leadership of their devoted chairman, Rebecca Silver, they were investigating every possibility for a new Unity House. There were indeed moments of discouragement. No house could be found in the market which would house 150 people, and nothing smaller than that was big enough for the waimakers. Furthermore a place of real beauty inspiration was the only possible physical embodiment for the idea of Unity. We must see the "outward sign of the inward grace." But how few summer resorts built for purely commercial purposes for people who had no conception of the bigger things of life and cared only for their own personal comfort. How could such a commonplace place ever satisfy our three year old dream of a permanent Unity House? Small wonder then that Local 25 is happy. There will be Unity after all for this summer, and a more wonderful realization of their vision than any one could have hoped.

The pictures of the new house have been greeted with gasps of astonishment. Is it really all our own? All the houses? And the beautiful lake! And is there a real swimming pool? And tennis courts! And are there walks? And a barn with real horses and cows? And a farm with real tomatoes and vegetables! The waimakers are assured by the committee that all these things are their very own. But they are still rubbing their eyes with astonishment, hardly able to believe the good news. And then they hear of their great tract of 700 acres a part all of their very own. They see themselves in imagination living in their little Unity Village, walking about from house to house under the rustic covered walks, singing to each other across the green from their balconies.

An enthusiastic meeting of shop chairmen and a Unity members came together last Monday at the Unity Center to hear about the new house and to lay plans for work. For there is indeed work to be done. Nothing great is to be had upon this earth without sacrifice and effort. The Unity House is not a gift of some philanthropist, it is not a divine favor

suddenly fallen from heaven. No, it is a very earthly undertaking. It must be paid for in real money, and not in heavenly blessings. It must not only be secured but kept. Twenty thousand dollars have already been paid down on the price of \$85,000 and this money must be gathered together immediately from all workers to whom the idea of Unity is of vital importance. The money for the house must come from the pockets of the workers. That will be a matter of rejoicing when the place is really ours. We have but little but we will put all our bits together and make something great: The \$85,000 should be raised in short order by such a large and energetic organization as the waimakers. Comrade Theresa Malkiel who was present at the meeting tells us so. And who should know better than she! Has she not just raised \$150,000 for the Call in the short space of two months! She believes that the waimakers should have no difficulty whatever in raising the necessary amount. As a beginning in the new business of raising money and organizing a campaign for the sale of Unity Bonds, the waimakers will take a booth at the Call Bazaar at the end of May, and will sell dresses and waists as well as Unity Bonds for the benefit of the Unity House. Many chairmen have already declared their intention of participating in the bazaar, and every shop will be invited to assist the committee in charge by making garments for sale.

The campaign for the sale of Unity Bonds is being organized in a systematic manner which the Liberty Bond campaigns can hardly surpass. It is true our Liberty Bonds and Victory Notes will be sold for a very different purpose from those of the government. We are fighting for the liberty of the working class and for their final victory! And the Unity House is one of the greatest steps toward emancipation. If the workers in our industry have contributed \$800,000 to one issue of Liberty Bonds alone as was reported surely the waimakers can buy \$80,000 worth of Unity Bonds. Every shop chairman will receive a book of Unity Bonds for sale among the members and weekly records will be made of the progress of the bond campaign. A united effort of all members is necessary to produce immediate results, and it is expected that all the forces which have carried our union through so many other trials of strength will soon make the Unity House the property of the workers forever.

New Unity Headquarters

All the Unity undertakings as well as registration are being carried on from the new Unity headquarters in the front room of the basement of the office of Local 25. All those who wish information about the Unity House, who wish to assist in the Bond Campaign or in the Waimakers Booth at the Call Bazaar will call at the new headquarters. Registration is also open there now under the charge of Miss Rebecca Porringer and all members are urged to register at once to avoid disappointment later.

DEB'S MESSAGE FROM HOUNDSVILLE PRISON

"These are stirring days for living men. The day of crisis is drawing near, and Socialists are exerting all their power to prepare the people for it.

"The old order of society can survive but little longer. Socialism is next in order. The swelling minority sounds warning of the impending change. Soon that minority will be the majority, and then will come the co-operative commonwealth.

"Every workingman should rally to the standard of his class and hasten the full-orbed day of freedom.

"The overthrow of capitalism is the object of the Socialist party. It will not fuse with any other party, and it would rather die than compromise.

"The Socialist party comprehends the magnitude of its task and has the patience of preliminary defeat and the faith of ultimate victory.

"The working class must be emancipated by the working class.

"Woman must be given her true place in society by the working class.

"Society must be reconstructed by the working class.

"The working class must be employed by the working class.

"The fruits of labor must be enjoyed by the working class.

"War, bloody war, must be ended by the working class.

"These are the principles and objects of the Socialist party, and we fearlessly proclaim them to our fellow men.

"We know our cause is just and that it must prevail.

"With faith and hope and courage we hold our heads erect, and with dauntless spirit marshal the working class for the march from Capitalism to Socialism, from Slavery to Freedom, from Barbarism to Civilization."

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Pat Again

Pat, upon entering a crowded street car, was jolted into a neighbor lady's lap when the car started suddenly.

Indignant Lady: "Here, what kind of a man are you, anyway!"

Pat: "Sure I always thought I was an Irishman, but now I think I must be a Laplander."

Latemat wanted to buy a clock—that is, a reliable clock—and he made the shopman show him a good many before he decided on one.

"Now, sir," said the salesman, "this clock will last you a lifetime."

Latemat looked dubious. "Why, how can that be?" he asked. "I can see for myself that its hours are numbered!"

"Brevity is the soul of wit," quoted the ready-made philosopher.

"Yes," replied Senator Sorg-hum, "but it's no good in a filibuster." —Washington Star.

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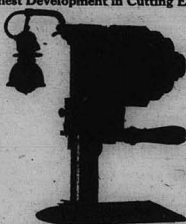
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