



JUSTICE



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION.

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No. 15

Cloakmakers on Eve of Strike

It is not yet certain whether the Cloakmakers and cloak manufacturers of New York will come to an open clash. But if one is not too optimistic and looks at things soberly, one is inclined to think that a struggle is unavoidable.

At first it seemed that the manufacturers were ready to meet the workers half way. Their prompt reply to the letter of the Joint Board calling for a conference, the manner in which, at first, they receive the workers' demands gave one the impression for a while, that a strike would be avoided this time.

And it is indeed reasonable to suppose that the manufacturers would not be stubborn.

Even if we consider the most revolutionary demand, the introduction of week work we do not see what right the manufacturer has to come to the workers and say: "I insist that you work piece work." It is obvious that in this case it is the worker who has the right to determine the manner in which he should be rewarded for his work.

Naturally the employer may say that he is willing to have his workers get paid by the week but that he cannot pay the scale the workers demand. But the fact is that the question of wages has not yet been reached. The dispute is still revolving about the question of introducing week work. If the manufacturers were in the least logical their reply to the Union representatives would have to be about as follows: "In our opinion week work is not a good system. It may do harm to you as well as to the entire industry. But since you insist on week work, we have no choice but to yield. Now let's talk about your wages, working hours, etc. You want \$50 a week? It is too much. You want 44 hours? It is too little." Etc., etc. This would be the proper course to take. But the manufacturers balked at this one point of week work as if they had the least right to dictate to the worker the system of compensation; just as if the worker is not the only one who has a full right to determine this point.

We might have expected, of course, that the manufacturers would try to win the Union representatives over to their point of view and we could raise no objections when they tried to do this with their "arguments." But now that they have tried all their eloquence on the workers' representatives without success, they might have yielded gracefully and passed on to other matters. But this they have not done. They are still dragging out the conference. Does it not prove clearly that without a struggle the manufacturers will never understand that the worker has the absolute right to determine in what way their wages are to be paid; that if he insists on being paid by

the week, there is no power in the world which has the semblance of right to force him to work by the piece.

This the workers understand very well. They interpret the protracted conferences as an indication that the manufacturers, after three years of peace in the cloak industry, again want to match strength with the Cloak Maker Union.

We do not know to what extent the manufacturers are prepared for the impending struggle. Most probably they do not depend upon miracles and have made the necessary preparations. But the same is true of the Union which is ready at any moment to take up the fight.

The difference between the Union and the manufacturers is this: the latter are precipitating the strike with the hope that they may win this time, but the workers are sure to win. They are fully

conscious of their power and the absolute justice of their demands, and therefore in the ranks of the worker there reigns a spirit of enthusiasm which is rarely to be met with even in labor struggles. Not a shadow of doubt, not a trace of disunity. These are the best guarantees for a speedy and complete victory.

This is the case not only with the New York Cloak Makers. The fighting spirit has seized all Cloak Makers wherever cloaks are made. And the objective is everywhere the same: week work, a definite scale wage and all other demands. It is therefore quite possible that if a strike will break out, it will break out simultaneously in New York, Cleveland, Toronto, Montreal, Chicago, etc.

We say it is possible, but we are not sure of it. This depends upon many circumstances. But should the leaders of the International find it necessary to call

a general strike of the organized Cloak Makers throughout the country the latter are ready to obey the signal, and should they find it more expedient to call the strike in New York first, the Cloak Makers of other cities will have the needed patience to await their turn. The important thing is that the entire cloakmaker army is completely mobilized and determined to win its demands and to work its way to victory whatever the cost.

It is therefore clear why the Union makes use of every minute to perfect its preparations. Those who are somewhat in arrears in their dues know that now is the time to pay up. The workers who have been passive until now are flocking to the Union and offering their services in any capacity at all. The Cloak Makers' Union and the Joint Board are now living through the stormiest days of their glorious history.

A BLACK CONSPIRACY

We are living in a period of reaction. Darkness, stupidity and crime have unmasked their hideous faces which had been disguised as progressive or even radical.

This is the time when darkness and vice have joined hands. It is the time of the faker, the parasite. The scoundrel may permit himself all liberties if only he wraps himself in the cloak of patriotism.

Small wonder, therefore, that all fakers, all parasites on the body of the labor movement, who until now had enough reasons to fear that they would be thrown into the discard and did not know how to escape this danger, have now come to realize that all they have to do is to raise a hue and cry of socialists' bolsheviks! radicals! and they can continue to stay on the organism of the labor movement as parasites.

Until now these vile creatures feared the day when the workers would come to realize their role and take them to account. But now they take advantage of the prevailing confusion of minds to attempt to clean out the labor movement, of all that is noble and pure, of all that contributes to the material and spiritual welfare of the workers.

A conspiracy is on foot to "cleanse the labor unions of their radical elements." It is planned to break every union concerning which there is slightest suspicion that it more than an organization that affords cozy corners to a handful of parasites and idlers. The plans are to make the American Federation of Labor a howling desert in which there should be no room for anything that is

progressive, for any elements that strive to real freedom.

It is planned to accomplish all this at the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City.

Will this band succeed in carrying out the act of treason against the American labor movement? We hope that it will not. We believe that the great masses of American Labor are not blind and foolish and that they will give these fakers and parasites of the labor movement the surprise of their lives.

We believe that these creatures without knowing it, are with their own hands digging ditches into which they will be cast. One thing is certain—that if they think that they can carry out their treasonable work the better because there is disunity among the radical elements themselves, they are mistaken.

In a moment when the entire labor movement is in danger the truly progressive workers will forget their minor differences, and the black conspirators will face a united host of workers that will be the stronger since it has no other interests than those of the labor movement.

These traitors may attempt to do their worst; the result will be such as will aid the further progress of the labor movement.

One of two things must happen: either they will fail miserably in their attempted conspiracy, and then the labor movement will be rid of them, or they will succeed in expelling from the existing labor movement all that is radical, honest and energetic in it, and then it will crum-

ble to pieces because of its own decay and upon its ruins will arise a great, powerful labor movement which is long needed in America, if ours is not to remain the most backward of civilized countries in the world.

Yes, let them do their worst!

May Day Celebrations Throughout the World

The first of May was celebrated this year in every portion of the world in spite of the rigid police precautions taken everywhere.

Of particular significance is the May Day demonstration in Paris. The capital of France witnessed once more one of those great, elemental mass demonstrations of Parisian laboring people, which mark the turning points in the history of the French nation and, indeed, of the whole world.

In America the forces of reaction did all in their power to prevent the celebration of the holiday of international labor. Uniformed rowdies, undoubtedly instigated by the forces of organized reaction, made themselves particularly notorious in attempting to disrupt labor meetings and parades.

But these vicious attacks on organized labor had only the effect of fanning the flames of discontent and indignation. When workers of this country see bands of men in U. S. uniforms trying to interfere with their liberties they cannot help but think and—understand!

The Chiefs of the International at Work

I.
While on my way to the meeting of the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, I did not expect to hear any oratorical speeches, for I knew that the projected order of business was of a practical, matter-of-fact nature which hardly lends itself to flights of winged oratory. Nor did I expect sensational decisions, or new accomplishments, for I am more or less familiar with the past achievements and future plans of the officers of the International, and these did not warrant the anticipation of a new avenue of activity. Nevertheless, I accepted with genuine pleasure the invitation of general secretary Baroff to attend the meetings at Philadelphia.

I felt a strong inner desire to see the chiefs of the International at work. I wanted to see how the 13 persons, familiar with the destiny of one of the greatest labor organizations, work together. For it is not enough to know a person from a personal conversation. It is necessary to see him at work with his comrades. One can then have a deeper insight into his soul, his mentality, his inner make-up, so to say.

I know most of the vice presidents quite well. I had occasion to meet most of them in New York. Zigman, Rosenberg, Wander, Leikowitz, Pearlstein, Halperin, Fania M. Cohen, Nimfo, Amdur, — they are all familiar persons, most of whom I have known for many years. But a few of the vice presidents were to me *terra incognita*, as it were. I heard of brothers Koldvorsky, Schoolman and Silver and their good work on behalf of the International, I even may have met them at some time or another, but I have never had the opportunity to become well acquainted with them.

I also knew that many reports, recommendations, requests and demands had been sent to the Board. I surmised that various committees would appear before the chiefs, to present suggestions and demands, and this appeared to me the best opportunity to learn the nature of the International, on whose behalf I edit the "Justice" and the "Gerechtigkeit". What is a better way of learning how best to edit these publications than personal acquaintance with those who more than any others express the spirit of the International?

It is for these reasons that I gladly accepted the invitation of friend Baroff, and I want to state at once that I not only am not sorry that I did so, but that I sincerely regret my inability to stay till the end of the deliberations. My leaving Philadelphia a day earlier I surmised a great deal. But before I come to the imparted to me both as to themselves and their activity. This I may do upon another occasion. It will be sufficient for the present to state that brother Silver of Philadelphia has in the last 3

Impressions of the quarterly meetings of the General Executive Board at Philadelphia on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 25-27.

By S. YANOFKY

years achieved a gigantic piece of work. When he came to Philadelphia he found an organization consisting of a few girls and known as the Ladies' Waist Makers' Union. The organization really existed only in name. Now he can boast of having organized the entire Ladies Waist trade. The Ladies' Waist Makers' Union of Philadelphia is a model union, in the best sense of the word, for it ministers not only to the needs of its members as workers but also to their needs as cultural social beings. The Union has a large house in Philadelphia in which the members hold their shop meetings, in which the Union conducts all its business, which has a gymnasium, a swimming pool and other accommodations. Dancing classes and glee clubs have been successfully organized and conducted. The Union plans its own lunch room in the near future.

In addition to these city accommodations the Union has had built its own summer villa, a Unity house in the country. It costs 40,000 dollars and is all paid up.

When I entered the labor temple it was humming and bustling like a bee-hive. Something was going on in every room. In one of them Bernstein sat as judge in some kind of shop dispute. By his flushed face I can guess that the case is not of the usual run, and I hurriedly shut the door and turned to another corner. Everywhere the same activity and bustle. Here a girl hands out receipts for dues; there Miss Rosenfeld, to whom Miss Kennan has already introduced to us, is enthroned in a high chair near a window. In every room, in every nook there is talking, debating; everybody is busily engaged in doing something.

Fortunately for me, or rather for us, for I came in the company of Baroff and Seidman, it was the time when the musical clubs were assembled. We were surprised to see a large room filled with girls of all ages and appearances with mandolins in their hands. We stayed in that room for some time. They rendered a few pieces fairly well although they had been in training only for two months. The same was true of the Glee Club. Twenty odd girls sang in chorus and though not all of them had fresh and beautiful voices, they all sang with feeling.

Our enjoyment was marred by a sad encounter. Friend Baroff and I recognized in the choir a girl who years ago had been very pretty and healthy. To see her withered face, her sad extinguished eyes was very painful to both of us; and I thought to myself: Ah, if such a Union had been built up years ago, this flourishing beauty would never have reached such a state of despair and sorrow. And I doubt it whether the Union would now be in a position to remedy even to a degree, the havoc which was wrought in the life of this girl.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR WORLD

By M. KOLCHIN

May Demonstration in France

There are now enough troops in France and the rulers of France should, it seems, have no fear of labor troubles, but they tremble nevertheless. They awaited the first of May with fear. The greatest labor unions and the socialist party decided to strike on the first of May. They arranged a demonstration to show the French rulers the power of the working class. And the workers are, indeed, in possession of great power. If well organized, they can force the government to capitulate on their terms. The rulers of France know it, and in spite of the great problems of the peace conference, they have begun seeking means of combating the power of labor.

The French parliament was greatly enraged upon learning of the coming demonstration. What was to be done? A law was at once passed granting an 8-hour labor day. The legislators hoped this to divide the labor masses and win over a part of the working class. But this is not all. Preparations were begun for a "victory demonstration" arranged by the government at very great expense. Money is no consideration when it is urgently necessary to stir up "patriotic" sentiment, when "patriots" are needed to oppose the socialists and workers.

It is to be regretted that we are now living in a time when we cannot know everything that happens, when we are not permitted to know it. Who knows what is going on in France? Who knows to what extent the rulers have come to realize that when the working class begins to stir the structure of the present system begins to shake and tremble?

The Situation in Italy

Some people think that the disputes among the statesmen of the

peace conference over Fiume are of very great consequence. They maintain that Italy has for some time been on the verge of revolution. The population is with the socialists, and against the government, in spite of the ostensibly patriotic manifestations reported by the press. The government feared the first of May which, it is said, was to be the day of the beginning of the revolution. The government was looking for an issue to divert the attention of the masses from the socialists, and thus prevent or at least put off the revolution. It is therefore, grasped at the Fiume question, and statesmen of other countries aided her in this. "The people now have an issue — the 'honor' of Italy is at stake; the representatives of the government are heroes, they demand Fiume and defend the honor of Italy. Later they will get Fiume as mandates, and this will strengthen the government still more.

We are not in a position to contradict this opinion for we do not know what has taken place at the peace conference. Diplomacy has always been a mysterious affair. But one thing is clear — the situation in Italy is serious; it may even be called critical. And the situation there has nothing to do with Fiume. Long before the unrest among the masses, especially among the laboring masses. Things went so far that the government was forced to call a conference between representatives of employers and labor and announce its intention to introduce an 8 hour work day and many other things. But it was too late, and two weeks later we read in the newspapers about armed conflicts between the workers and the military in the streets of industrial cities.

This, of course, has nothing to

do with the Fiume question of which we know very little.

In Sweden

In Sweden the workers have their economic organization — the labor unions and their political organization — the socialist party. Up till recently there was only one socialist party in Sweden, but the split of the socialist parties in other countries also brought about a split of the Swedish socialist party. Now there are in Sweden two socialist parties — the "young socialists" and the Social-Democratic party. The first is the left, the second the right wing of the socialist movement. At the last elections in 1917 both parties polled 40 per cent of all the votes. The left socialists have 11 representatives, and the right 86 members in the Riksdag, that is 42 per cent of the total membership (230).

The left socialists, after the German revolution, adopted a new program which is not quite clear for it includes many contradictory points. So, for instance, one clause demands the introduction of a soviet form of government, while another demands the abolition of the upper house. The program calls for a constituent assembly and universal suffrage for men and women over 20. Among the other demands we find the establishment of the 8-hour day, increase of wages, the abolition of military service and labor control of industries.

The "young" are growing in numbers and influence. They influenced the old Social Democrats in many ways and made the government promise various reforms. But they are not through. The chief question in Sweden now is — a monarchy or a republic? All socialists are for a republic, of course, and the matter will soon be decided by a referendum or in a constituent assembly. If the socialists were united they could, of

Lawrence Again

By REV. CEDRIC LONG,
American Citizen, A Harvard Graduate and Congressional Minister

For eleven weeks textile workers to the number of 20,000 have been on strike in Lawrence.

They demand an eight-hour day without a reduction in wage from the nine-hour schedule. Their pay for nine hours is far below a living standard. This pay has been cut severely by unemployment since the armistice. They cannot stand a further reduction.

Yet the famous American Woolen Company in 1917 made \$10,000,000 excess profits. Even while they declare themselves unable to meet the new wage demands (March, 1919) they grant an extra dividend of 10 per cent.

The strikers have asked for arbitration of the dispute. Mill owners flatly refuse, in spite of pressure exerted upon them by civic organizations, State boards — the Governor himself.

Meanwhile the police have been brutally beating and clubbing peaceful citizens, investigators, social workers and ministers, who have come to Lawrence to help the workers. They have even entered the cells in which arrested men are confined and beaten their helpless victims with fists and clubs.

Frank Ribaldo, Italian, served as an American soldier in France for 18 months, returning to this country February 20. On March 17 he was attacked by police officers while walking the street in full olive-drab uniform, clubbed and arrested. While he was at police headquarters 10 officers unlocked the door of his cell, entered and beat him so severely with fists and clubs that he was confined to his bed for several days. Ribaldo says he will never again wear the United States uniform; he has lost all faith in American institutions.

The first "crime" of the workers is their request for a 48-hour course, gain all their demands for the masses are with them, but the internal party strife weakens their influence upon the population. The conservative and liberal parties are making use of this "civil war."

Canadian Labor Favors Industrialism

In Canada organization labor is beginning to understand that a form of organization which includes only the skilled workers and leaves out the unskilled is a menace to the working class as a whole. The Western Conference of Labor therefore decided to reorganize the unions on the industrial basis, one union for one industry, and the union should include also the unskilled. This is a revolution.

Indian Labor Self Determined

The fact that several million Hindus died of the influenza, that the population of India is enslaved and starving, that the Hindus want to have a voice in determining their own destiny, that several hundred of them were shot at the last uprising, when bombs were thrown and the protesting masses were fired upon from the air — all this is of no importance. The important thing is that there is now quiet reigning in India. The rulers of Great Britain again "self determined" India.

week without a reduction of their inadequate pay.

Their second "crime" is more significant. They have dreamed of a little leisure and opportunity whereby these people of 18 different nationalities might build themselves a great temple for common recreation. They have seen a vision of great classes for the study of English, economics, history, literature, art. They have hoped for a great co-operative store. Three ministers caught their vision and went to their aid. They have exerted a restraining and law-abiding influence. Two of them have been beaten and arrested by the police, but were acquitted by the courts. These three men have staked their all on this great issue of industrial justice in America.

Hunger and Distress. It now costs \$18,000 a week to feed the

strikers. Because of a lack of funds the medical station and the baby-milk station have been closed. The sick and the helpless are suffering. The Relief Committee can provide only soup, bread and coffee for the families of the strikers.

Defeat or victory, Lawrence is a strategic center for industrial disputes. Reduction in the wage of low-paid labor here means eventual reduction elsewhere. More than that, it means bitterness, disorder, seeds of Bolshevism and revolution. Victory for the strikers means industrial peace, normal industrial evolution. Human life versus abnormal profits! Which shall it be? Lawrence is one of the great industrial battlefields of the nation. The victory in that contest will carry its message all over America. Will that message be justice and democracy or exploitation and anarchy?

\$10,000,000 excess profit for the mills!

For 61 per cent of the workers a wage \$300 below the minimum living wage standard as established by the War Labor Board.

SAN FRANCISCO CLOAKMAKERS WIN 44 HOURS SCHEDULE

By I. H. GREENBERG Business Agent, Local No. 8, San Francisco.

Some few weeks ago, the editor of this magazine, asked his readers, whether or not they knew that a Cloak and Suit industry existed in San Francisco. The question was pertinent and to the point.

Whether there is an "industry" here, is a debatable question. If in any Cloak Town, where the largest shop runs no more than seven machines in the height of the busy season, can be called a cloak center, then we have an "industry" here, if not, then we haven't. So much for that.

However, there is a local union here. And a live one at that! Local No. 8. And its members work almost human hours, too.

We "took" the half holiday, and argued it out with the bosses afterwards.

The "industry" here comprises approximately 80 operators, 40 pressers, 6 cutters, and a 125 finishers (all girls). It supports besides the workers and their families, 35 bosses and their families. Prior to the general strike in N. Y. of 1910, there were a couple of little shops here, but all of a sudden a number of shops sprang up, as if by magic, until, by 1913 quite an "industry" had been established, and a 100 per cent union alongside of it.

A strike took place. Some of the operators of the type that were ready to build barricades in the main street. Others were of the good old Gompers type.

The strike was lost. Incomparably lost. The union went apiece. This was in 1913.

A few ladies' tailors kept alive a little independent union, and from time to time called the cloak makers to mass meeting, trying their utmost to reorganize them again, to little or no purpose.

1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917 went by. During these years, some of those who had been forced to flee in 1913, came back.

By the spring of 1918, some 65 cloak makers and ladies tailors, were members of the union. An intense organizing campaign was undertaken and by August, we had a 100 per cent union, with a written working agreement with the plutocrats.

These "Manufacturers", so

called, never at any time made any attempt to live up to the working of the agreement, and it has been one continuous scrap here ever since, but we have them on the run at last and we are going to keep them running.

We established the "next list" system here at the beginning of this season. We didn't ask permission of the bosses. The boss found himself helpless to hire and fire his slaves at his own sweet will, as his royal highness had been accustomed to from time immemorial, paying whatever miserable wage he saw fit. Some of the bosses didn't object, but others raised an awful howl called us pro-Germans, I. W. W., Anarchists and worse than that, actually and solemnly proclaimed us to be Bolsheviks.

A number of employers complained against us to the San Francisco Labor Council and affected a meeting of the executive Board of that body with a committee of our Union. They hoped that the S. F. L. C., true to its traditions, would not side with workers of unaided tendencies. But the unexpected happened. Even this conservative labor organization took our part.

It just so happened that a special meeting for operators had been called for that very evening and the 44 hour week was unanimously demanded.

Our pressers had a special meeting two days later, on Thursday. By this time the 44 hour disease, like Bolshevism or the "flu" permeated the minds of all. The pressers demanded Saturday afternoons a legal holiday, as far as Local No. 8 was concerned.

The bosses thought they could bluff us as they had often done before. They asked for a conference. We assented, they stated they agreed to the Saturday half holiday but said that they would not pay us for the four hours. We listened to this stuff, till finally, our chairman, Brother Rubin, arose to his feet and told them, in a tone of voice, that left little room for doubt, "One of you bosses offered a Saturday half holiday. Later he was prevailed upon to change his mind. It's too

Boston Phone Girls Win Wage Advance

Boston. — Telephone girls in this city and vicinity have won a six-days' strike for higher wages and against the "postponing" policy of the postoffice department in the adjustment of grievances. A general wage advance has been secured, and will total \$3 a week where girls have been employed seven years and over. This class will now receive \$19; they asked for \$22. This new schedule dates back to December 31, when the old scale expired.

Electrical workers who joined the strike have been increased 50 cents a day in Boston and 62½ cents a day outside of Boston. This establishes a uniform rate for these workers.

Madge — I thought your engagement to him was merely for the duration of the war.

Marjorie — Believe it will go on indefinitely. We've agreed to extend it for the duration of the Peace Conference.—Life.

late. The time for the 44 hour week is long since overdue, yes, and that's too long. Its about time we worked 4 hours a day. And we soon will. You threw us the 44-hour bait, however, we took you at your word, we bit, we have it, and we are going to keep it."

We left, the bosses offering to let us know their decision next day. They thought that they would still keep their bluff to see if we really meant what we had said. One shop paid off that noon and the boys found a half day's pay short. They came to our office.

About 2:30, the telephone rang and who do you think was on the other end? The president of the Bosses Association, and he whispered over that they were just holding a meeting, in fact were still in session, but had already decided to grant the Saturday half holiday with full pay and they requested us to send the workers of one shop who were already on strike, back to work.

Local No. 8 was the first to go over the top. Go you and do likewise.

Minimum Wage for Women \$15.50 Per Week

Washington. — The first wage conference held under the new minimum wage law for women in private employ in the District of Columbia has reported a minimum wage of \$15.50 per week. This conference was organized in March to consider the wages of women employed in private printing and publishing houses, and if its recommendation is accepted by the Minimum Wage Board, as is expected, every woman employed in such establishments in the District of Columbia must be paid not less than \$15.50 per week after the decision goes into effect. At present, the board found, about 75 per cent of the women in this industry in the District of Columbia are paid less than \$15 per week, and nearly half of them are paid from \$12 to \$8 per week.

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FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

A Word of Sympathy to Our Old Labor Champion Samuel Gompers

Samuel Gompers, for many years president of the American Federation of Labor, who was hurt in an auto accident, surely has the sympathy of labor the world over, in spite of the fact that a considerable number of workers have never been in accord with his policies and views, and still less so during the last few years of Babylonian confusion, when, stirred up by evil passions, workers unlearned to understand one another.

Now, when Gompers has met with an accident which might have very grave consequences for the 70 year old veteran, we cannot think of that which divides us from him, but rather of our common ties, and embittered as we may be against him, we recall with profound feeling that all his life has been devoted to the workers, and that his personal career as labor leader has been spotless. He may have committed many faults of judgment, but his heart always beat true for labor. We disagree with him on many things but we must recognize his indomitable will, his marvelous energy, his great organizing power. We must recognize in him a man of unusual caliber, a man who may be the just pride of American labor — blood of its blood and flesh of its flesh.

We extend our heart felt sympathy to the old labor champion and with it our sincere hope for his complete and speedy recovery, so that we may once more openly disagree with him, not so much with his views as with his action. For it must be stated, that in his actions as representative of labor in its struggles, Gompers has always been more consistent than in his utterances, which we justified this week to attack very sharply. We will postpone our criticism of him, for we consider this moment as altogether inappropriate. We want to dwell on the great and lofty aspects of Gompers and his activities and forget, for the moment, his casual utterances about harmony between capital and labor and similar views which we consider superficial and unfounded.

Our Sympathy to Ab. Baroff

We reported in the last issue of the Justice that the general Executive Board held its quarterly meeting at Philadelphia. The meeting was attended by all the 13 vice presidents as well as B. Schlesinger, president of the International and Ab. Baroff, its general secretary. The meeting was marred by the sudden illness of Ab. Baroff, who suffered an

acute attack of appendicitis and had to be taken to a hospital to be operated on. The strain of the last waist maker strike was too much for him. He broke down at the end of the session after having read his very careful and conscientious report.

Brother Baroff may be sure that the hearts of all the members and officers of the International go out in sympathy for him, and on our part express our hope and firm belief that he will recover before very long and will again be at his responsible post — an invaluable figure for the International and the labor movement as a whole.

Work of the General Executive

Barring this sad incident the meeting of the General Executive Board was highly successful. Every important question was discussed thoroughly and to the point, and as a result of this thoroughness there was not a question that caused a majority and minority division of the Board.

Unanimity was particularly striking and enthusiastic in the case of the Cloak Makers' Union and the decision to begin an early fight for the week-work system as well as other demands of the cloak makers. The delegates were so enthusiastic about the impending struggle that it is quite possible that it will begin simultaneously in all American cloak centers — New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Toronto, etc.

Elsewhere in this issue we will give our impressions of the deliberations of the General Executive Board at which we were present. Here we want to state that there was not a single report of any of the 13 vice presidents which contained a shade of pessimism or discouragement. The prevailing spirit was one of great hope and expectation, and these veterans, aged in the struggles of labor, were imbued with the enthusiasm of youth that knows not what disappointment is. As to the impending cloak maker struggle the opinion was unanimous that the victory is assured and that it will open a new page in the history of the Union.

Further Arguments in Favor of Week-Work.

Full of impressions of the meetings of the General Executive Board at Philadelphia and the firm determination to see week-work established throughout the cloak industry, we almost lost our desire to continue with our argumentation in favor of week-work. Why take up space in our publication? Why waste effort in convincing those who are convinced as it is! But once we undertook to present our comprehensive views about week work we want

to carry it out even if the readers will feel annoyed. Perhaps there still are some who believe that piece-work is the more advantageous arrangement.

In our last issue we touched on the connection between freedom and piece work. We think we succeeded in showing that freedom has as much to do with piece work as Chinese lore has to do with doughnuts. We showed that the piece work system subjects the workers to a most disgraceful form of slavery, for the worker must be his own slave driver.

We did not, of course, for a moment want to convey the idea that week work means absolute freedom. Far from it. As we stated then, there can be no question of freedom in connection with work for wages. But it is easy to see that under the week work system the workers is at least assured a definite weekly wage, and this in itself frees him from worry as to how much he will earn from fear he will not earn enough for himself and his family.

The advantage of week work is obvious and indisputable. But we are told that the piece worker will have to pay for these advantages is such that it pays him better to continue under the old system. We are told (we quote here from the advertisement of local 17 on the eve of the conference between the Joint Board and the manufacturers) that, to begin with, "week work will bring with it a unbearable discipline in the shops"; secondly "it will lessen the chances of the worker to get a new job"; and thirdly, "that it will decrease his earnings. The scale that will be obtained will never be as high as the present earnings of the piece workers."

Let us consider each argument singly and then together and we will see to what extent they contradict each other.

"Week work will lead to unbearable discipline."

Unbearable discipline means a discipline people cannot stand. Now, how long can a discipline last if it is unbearable?

We know from experience that a modern worker can stand or tolerate discipline much less than a worker of the past. Yet every one at all familiar with facts of history knows how often laboring people rose to cast off the yoke which was unbearable. Is there really any fear that the modern worker who is at least to some degree imbued with ideas of freedom, will long tolerate a discipline that is unbearable?

It is true the employers are not the best of men, but they are no fools either. They know better than the champions of piece work that with an unbearable discipline they will not go very far, that an unbearable discipline may lead to frequent strikes and stoppages. Can it be believed that in the interests of the sacred "unbearable discipline" the employers will cut their own throats?

And when we take into consideration the fact that the workers belong to a powerful Union which has time and again proved its power to protect its members when they are wronged in the shops, this argument loses even the semblance of validity, and fails to appeal even to the least intelligent workers.

Yes, this argument is simply foolish. There is and there must be discipline in a shop both under the week work and the piece work systems. And the rigidity of discipline depends upon the degree of unity among the work-

ers of the shop. Under the piece work system, as we showed last week, each worker must look out for himself, and the devil may take the rest. The workers are thus divided against themselves. They are actuated by motives of envy and jealousy. Under these circumstances the employer can tighten down on the discipline in the shop. The disunity among the workers is his strongest weapon. On the other hand, where real solidarity exists as a result of common interests, which must be the case under week work when most of the workers get the same wages and work the same hours, and all of them belong to the union, the employer will be careful not to tighten the discipline too much lest it snap. He can no longer use the disunity of the workers for his ends, and it stands to reason that the discipline under the week work system will have to be very lax, at any rate far from "unbearable."

"Week work will lessen the chances of the worker to get a new job." This is remarkable reasoning. Under the piece work arrangement when one man does the work of three it is easy to get a job. But under week work when every one works a set number of hours at normal speed it will be hard to get a job. We confess our inability to see through this.

Now try to put these two arguments side by side and you will see the absurdity of both. If it is hard to get a new job it means that the workers are so comfortable in their jobs that they would not budge. But if unbearable discipline exists in all shops it may be expected that each shop will have at least a few vacant places every week. It is clear that only one of the two things may be the case: either the discipline is unbearable, and then there are plenty of jobs; or the workers are so well off in their jobs that they would not quit and there are no vacant jobs. In this case there is, of course, no "unbearable discipline, either. This is elementary reasoning. One or the other of these two things are possible. With them unbearable discipline harmonizes well with a total absence of jobs.

"Week work will decrease the present earnings of the workers. The scale that will be obtained will never be as high as the present earnings of the piece workers."

Never is really too comprehensive a word. But is it true that the scale is not as great as the present earnings of the piece workers? It is, but with a slight change of wording. Instead of "piece workers" you must read "some workers". The union now demands 50 dollars a week for each operator. It is true that some workers earned more than that sum in the last season. But this does not mean that their earnings will be decreased by the 50 dollar scale. Why should these few workers deceive themselves and others? Are there really many operators who earned \$100 within a normal week's time? It is a known fact that the 100-dollar a week operators put in more than two weeks time in one week and they worked like beasts of burden. It is to this state of affairs that the Union really wants to put an end. The union does not want a worker to earn 100 dollars one week and spend it on physicians' fees and druggists' bills the next week. The union wants his earnings and his working conditions to be such that he may earn enough and be in a posi-

RIGHT AND LEFT WING

By N. BUCHWALD

I.

The Background

Socialists of America as well as of the whole world are watching with the closest attention the stir that is now going on in the American Socialist party. Most probably the party will soon split in two or three factions. It seems that it is impossible to find a common basis upon which all elements and tendencies in the party could work, as until now.

Grave as the crisis is, it did not come as a surprise to any one. The inflammable material had long been stored up, ready to burst into flame. The favorable moment was only needed.

The war split the socialist parties of all the European countries, especially in Germany, Russia and France. To the old theoretical controversies concerning methods and tactics, in themselves sufficient to give birth to various "wings" and factions, was added the very burning question as to the attitude toward the war. This was no longer an academic question. It called for action, immediate and decisive.

The fact may be regretted or not, but in all the belligerent countries the great majorities were carried away by the general sentiment of nationalism and official patriotism, and under one pretext or another, and with various modifications, the socialists hurled themselves into the life-and-death struggle with the enemy, — some against mediaeval Prussianism, others against the "barbarous Cossack," the "degenerate Frenchman" and the "cynical, greedy" Englishman.

But in many of the belligerent countries there remained a minority of socialists who failed to see in this war anything to justify a revision of the traditional, fundamental socialist point of view, according to which all wars are capitalist wars. These socialists came out against their governments and against the "social-patriots," as the loyal socialists were called, as strongly as it was possible under martial rule.

Also in the United States the socialists disagreed as to the war. But here the exceptional happened: the party as a whole, in the famous St. Louis resolution officially condemned the war as a capitalist, imperialist adventure. This was before the Russian Revolution.

When Germany began crushing the Russian revolution with her bel, when she began displaying so much brutality and cynicism toward the Russian people and other defeated peoples, many socialists here became loyal supporters of the war. Though officially the party was opposed to

the war it was internally torn with strife, and many of the leaders and of the rank and file refused to be bound by the St. Louis resolution.

A split would surely have taken place in the party if it had been possible to discuss the question openly at a party convention or in any other way. But our legislators passed the Espionage Act, and our judges pulled the rope around the necks of all kinds of war objectors so tight that not an open word could be spoken. The American socialist party remained "united" only because it had no chance to split officially.

But important as the attitude toward the war was, it was in itself not sufficient to cause a permanent rupture in the party and surely would not be a sufficient cause now, when the war is over, and when most of the loyal socialists realize their self-deception. Never have the social-patriots of America had so much cause to do penance as now, when reaction is raging throughout the country, when they see that the Wilson idealism has burst like a soap-bubble in the cold, cynical atmosphere of Versailles.

If the party will be torn asunder

— and there is little doubt that it will — it will not be because of the war attitude but because of Bolshevism.

Russian Bolshevism put to the fore questions which had been considered merely as academic. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the destruction of the bourgeois parliamentary system of government, the complete suppression of the bourgeois class, the immediate establishment of communist forms of production under the direct control of a proletarian government, — these were all questions that were much debated and written about in the socialist circles. But the Bolsheviks took these questions out of the realm of debates and made them problems of the immediate actuality.

We will not dwell here on the faults and merits of Bolshevik theories, but it is clear that they categorically differ from the accepted principles of the socialist parties which, together with the bourgeois parties, participated in political campaigns to win offices and seats in the legislative bodies, and sought to gain for the working class partial reforms and concessions.

If there is but a slight, if any difference in the ultimate aims of both brands of socialists, their methods and tactics differ so radically, there that can be no question of reconciliation.

Of course, the whole matter may be vulgarized. The socialists of the Bolshevik school, may be glorified as revolutionists and true socialists, and those of the old school may be condemned as reactionaries, bourgeois reformers, etc. But this will not aid us in understanding either of them.

The new socialists, the "left" as they are called, are revolutionary, no doubt. But according to them the party has to take leave of all the activities it has been conducting in the past. The political campaigns for seats and offices would have to be abandoned. The ballot as a means of establishing the rule of the working class would have to be renounced.

It is quite clear that the socialists of the old school, the "right" cannot readily agree to this. They are convinced that theirs is the proper course; that the road to socialism lies through the ballot booth. They fail to see the necessity of renouncing that which they had been preaching for these many years. As we said, the schism is unavoidable, for there is no middle ground.

We will have occasion to return to this question.



RAISE THE BLOCKADE



By JULIET STUART POYNTZ

We pointed out to the readers of Justice last week that a terrible new weapon has been forced for the protection of international capitalism, and the crushing of the new-found aspirations of labor, that is, control of the food supply. The British workers realize the danger to the international labor movement in the starvation of whole nations which are striving to reorganize themselves on a more just and democratic basis, and they are lifting their voices with one accord in a cry of *raise the blockade!*

As the war progressed the economic weapon took on ever greater importance. The nations of Central and Eastern Europe were hedged about with a ring of steel and their ports were closed to commerce by the navies of the Allied nations. Food and raw materials were excluded from nations which even in peace time were never able to exist without importing both of these on a large scale. The final defeat of these nations was an economic more than a purely military defeat. It was the starvation of the children, the underfeeding of the workmen, the failure of industry through lack of raw materials which brought about the sudden collapse.

As soon as the fighting ceased, it was supposed that the economic war would also cease, and that the blockade would be raised immediately. The half-starved peoples of Europe breathed a sigh of relief and saw bread in sight. There was general disappointment at the declaration "that the existing blockade conditions set up by the Allies and the Associated Powers are to remain unchanged" but hope in the statement that "the Allies and the United States contemplate the provisioning of Germany during

the armistice as shall be found necessary." Now, as the English Nation remarks, "Five months have passed. The blockade has remained unchanged. It has been tightened. New trade restrictions have followed the armed occupation, including the prohibition of fishing in the Baltic. The Allies have not found it necessary to provision Germany. Up to the present time they have continued to "contemplate it."

The workers of Europe are starving under the blockade as they never starved in the worst conditions of capitalist wage-slavery. Thousands are perishing daily from lack of food. Mothers are starving themselves to keep more food for their children. In countries like Austria where the conditions of underfeeding have existed for a year or more, the physical condition of the people is truly terrible. It is stated that hardly more than one child out of a hundred born in Lemberg survives. In Vienna the bread ration has been reduced to one slice a day, while the little unemployment benefit granted by the government has just been withdrawn. When the unemployed gather to demonstrate their situation they are shot down by machine-guns. H. N. Brailsford, a well-known English writer says that there would have been literal starvation in Vienna if not for the public kitchens. Here long lines of people, ragged and emaciated, wait for hours for their meager food-allowance, "which would not soil the conscience of a vegetarian." There is a little soup without fat and without bread, which is sold for \$30. A single portion is just enough to keep a man alive if he is not working, yet it must serve as food for a family of several persons. And this is for those who can pay. There are

special free soup-kitchens for the destitute. Here soup without fat or meat is distributed, and is for many the only hot meal for 24 hours. The observer speaks of "a group of boys waiting here, all with the transparent skin that comes from severe anemia, clothed in rags under which peeps out the ashen white skin tightly stretched over the bones. This is the Viennese working quarter. They live still because they possess the tradition of this once gay city. As I returned away the boys began to laugh at some joke of their own. Well, what is it, I said. "Wir sind Wiener Kinder" was the answer.

Such has been the situation in Vienna for over a year. There are now over a hundred thousand unemployed in the city, including demobilized soldiers and discharged ammunition workers. The factories of Vienna and the iron mines of Styria cannot run for lack of coal. First the Czechs and then the Italians have prevented coal from entering Austria. If the Italians continue to insist on their demand for locomotives and cars Austria will be helpless in a few weeks. As Brailsford says, "Unless the blockade is effectively raised before another month is out, Central Europe will be economically and politically a desert of despair."

The conditions in Germany are little better, although as one Austrian expressed it: "Germany is a horse that is lying on its back and kicking hard. Austria is a horse that is lying on its side." There is almost no meat and little bread. Even the hospitals are unable to procure food to build up their patients after the shock of operations. Tuberculosis and venereal disease are increasing with giant strides. The soldiers and officers of the Allied armies of occupa-

tion *do not enjoy it.* It is common sense that it is much better for the worker to earn a little less per week and work a great deal more during the year, than the other way round.

We will consider the other arguments in the following issues of the "Justice." We hope that before our dispute with the piece-work champions is over, week work will be an established fact, and those who are slow to grasp things will learn from actual experience.

tions are protesting to their governments in the name of humanity against being compelled to witness the starvation of the people. The bread ration in Dresden due to end April 13th and that in Munich May 6th, and the people will be without food if nothing comes to their rescue before that time. In this situation the Allies have announced that they intend to withhold food from Bavaria because of the Bolshevik revolution there. When strikes broke out in Düsseldorf and a Workers' Council was established there, the American army shut off the city from the west bank of the Rhine where the food supplies of the city were located. As a result there was an immediate increase in the death rate of babies of 50 per cent.

The condition of Russia is even worse. Many of the foods used by the poorest have disappeared altogether. Tea cannot be bought by the richest. Says one English observer, "There was no such thing as we call meat in the shops. Even horse flesh had become a luxury and the places that sold it were shutting up. There was still a sale of dog's flesh but that was, too, likely to stop soon.... Under the strain a deep and savage spirit of vengeance, especially against us as the authors of the blockade, was rising in the breasts of the whole nation, and might permanently alter the character and foreign policy of Russia."

These terrible conditions are spreading over all the nations of Europe, whether friend or foe of the Allies. Rumania, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, all are suffering. The Agent of the Red Cross Commission in Poland gives testimony of the fearful state of affairs prevailing there especially among the Jews, in Kovel, Vladimir-Volynsk, Brest Litovsk, Chelm and as far east as Linsk. Thousands of children, old men and women are without clothing, warmth or food and raked by typhus which is sweeping westward from Russia thru Poland and in some places affects more than half of the population. From the testimony of the American Red Cross Commissioner we learn: "Starving and dying women and children are deliriously crying for bread. Huddled together, even in groups, men and women, all too weak to stand up or move about, piteously stretching out their hands. And those faces, emaciated, burning eyes, listless, unable to appreciate anything only begging for a piece of bread."

What is the cause of these conditions where friend and foe alike are left to starve in a world of plenty. Partly without doubt it is sheer incompetence — in capacity for seeing the vastness of the problems left in the wake of the world war. But more than anything else the cause is the desire on the part of world-imperialists to force the democratic forces of the world to their knees through starvation. If any dares lift his head and raise his voice for justice, snatch away the bread from his hungry mouth. Leave his little children to die before his eyes until he weakens and submits.

The labor movement of the world is awaking to the danger involved in the control of food by the master class. The Labor Party of England is holding vast demonstrations in Hyde Park and elsewhere with one demand: *Raise the blockade!* The French workers are uttering their protest. What are the American workers doing?

CHICAGO TAILORS WIN THEIR 44-HOUR WEEK

Chicago tailors affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers have obtained the 44-hour week and a 10 per cent increase in wages. It is gratifying to see the ladies' tailors finishing the day's work at 5 o'clock and Saturday at 12 and have ample time to congregate at headquarters at 164 West Washington St. and discuss topics of the world at large and matters pertaining to the organization. In addition to the 44-hour week they have gained a \$33 minimum scale of wages, enabling them to a certain extent to meet the high cost of living.

The present season is one of the best in several years and on account of the marked shortage of skilled ladies' tailors throughout the country this organization has grown to be one of the strongest in the needle industries. Among the firms that are still disposed to fight the ladies tailors' union are the following:

Marshall Field & Co.
Blackstone Shops, at 16 South Michigan avenue.

Leschin (Inc.), 317 South Michigan avenue.

The organization of tailors is prepared to give them a fight to a finish.

Proposed Hardships for Immigrants

A. Warner Parker of the United States Bureau of Immigration told the Boston Chamber of Commerce that the bureau has drafted tentative immigration laws which will have a number of radical provisions regarding the admission and stay of aliens in this country. The three main features are:

Registration of all aliens now in the United States or who are to apply for admission hereafter; Making the admission of immigrants provisional or probationary during their stay in this country; and

Changing the burden of proof of requirements for admission, so that it will be incumbent upon aliens to prove their fitness for admission rather than upon the Government to prove their unfitness, as at present.

"Under this law," said Mr. Parker, "new immigrants will be registered upon arrival in this country. They will also be required to report when they move from one immigration district to another. The percentage of immigrants who will be excluded from the country under this legislation will probably be much greater than the 3 or 4 per cent which have been excluded heretofore."

Letter of Warning

Dear Editor:

Please permit me to call the attention of your readers, and especially of those who are members of political, economic or civic organizations interested in the labor movement, to two pieces of legislation now pending in the New York Board of Aldermen. One of these, known as Int. No. 1440 was introduced by Alderman Kennelly on April 8th; the other, Int. No. 1446 by Alderman Collins on April 15th; both are now in the Committee of General Welfare of which the Hon. Wm. T. Collins is chairman.

Both of these proposals aim to hamper freedom of assemblage and public discussion. Under the specious pretext of prohibiting incitement to law breaking, they would, if passed, put both the hall owners and participants in meetings at the mercy of police spies and magistrates.

The pretended object of these measures is simply covered by existing state and federal laws. Incitement to violation of the law is already a penal offense. Under the state and federal laws, however, persons accused of such acts have a right to a jury trial. Under the proposed ordinances, if they are enacted, the cases would be tried before the city magistrates without a jury. Everyone who is familiar with the practise of our magistrate courts will recognize how easy it would be in the case of persons whom the city administration and its backers wish to suppress, to railroad them to jail for terms of three or six months on the most flimsy evidence.

Outrageous as these proposals are, I fear that it is the intent of the present administration to jam them through. The only hope for their defeat lies in the possibility of awakening public opinion and convincing the Mayor and the members of The Board of Aldermen of the majority party, that such legislation is as unpopular as it is unjust.

ALGERNON LEE
Chairman.

Our Judges Would Give Them 20 Years

There was an unusual scene in the House of Commons tonight. During a discussion of a labor motion on pensions two women in the strangers' gallery began shouting: "You are murderers. You have not settled the last war. You are leading the peoples and workers of another war."

They were immediately hustled but by attendants. Then a third woman, attired in a long white cloak, in the same gallery, slowly arose and exclaimed: "We want the soviet."

This woman left quietly on the request of the attendants.

AMONG THE CHILDREN DRESSMAKERS' UNION

By H. GREENBERG
Manager, Children's Dressmakers' Union, Local 150

During the last few months our members as well as the entire membership of our International have carefully watched the situation of the Waist & Dress Industry, and knowing how interested our members were in that strike, I have postponed the matter of reporting to our General Membership as to the conditions prevailing in our own local, but now I will take the liberty of doing so.

I am glad to say that the children's Dressmakers' Union, Local 50 was the first local of the International to establish the 44 hour working week, and without a strike. The Children's Dress Manufacturers, after having a number of conferences with the representatives of our local, headed by Brother Schlesinger have realized that unless they grant to the Union the 44 hour working week, there would surely be a General Strike in the industry and that it would be 100 per cent advantageous to the workers. The manufacturers, to appear as fair minded, granted our demands and a General Strike was thus avoided.

But while it is true that a General strike in the entire industry was avoided, there was nevertheless, a strike call in the Independent shops as well as for the non-union shops over which we had no control, involving about 6,000 workers. During this General Strike our Union has increased its membership over 1,000 and has organized 40 new shops which had never before been under the control of the Union. I believe this to be a great accomplishment for an organization of our size. In order to accomplish this, we have spared no effort. The officers, as well as the Executive Board members and active members of our Union have done everything in their power to make this movement a success. All financial means necessary were used in order to assist our strikers, so that they may not get discouraged.

In some of the shops the manufacturers were stubborn and we had the workers out on strike for as long as 6 and 8 weeks, paying them regular strike benefit. There is still a large number of non-organized shops, which are to be organized. As soon as the holiday period will be at an end a tremendous organization campaign will again be launched in order to bring the remaining non-union workers into line.



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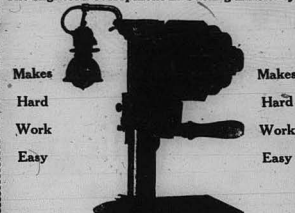
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Political Prisoners in The United States

In the bulletin of The National Civil Liberties Bureau we read the following:

William Powell and his wife on May 25, 1918 went to call at the home of one of their relatives, Ines Lefke, at Lansing, Michigan. In the course of the visit an argument arose about the war. Powell said to Mrs. Lefke (1) That the stories of German atrocities were lies and were part of a paid propaganda; (2) that he was not satisfied with the United States and could not believe in the President; and (3) that the war was a rich man's war. Somebody told the United States Attorney and Powell was indicted, tried and convicted. The judge sentenced him to serve twenty years in prison and to pay a fine of \$5000. The Powell family got together their savings, sold the liberty bonds which Powell had previously bought and paid the fine. It took practically everything they had. Powell is now serving his sentence in the penitentiary at Leavenworth. Mrs. Powell is supporting herself and five children as best she can.

Will Ask Six-Hour Day

When 150,000 anthracite miners make their next demand of the operators they will ask for a six-hour day and a substantial increase in wages, according to Thomas Kennedy, president of the policy committee of the United Mine Workers. The present contract expires next year.

President Kennedy says that the policy committee is squarely on record to use the full power and influence of the organization to retain the present war-time increases. If peace is officially declared before September, a special international convention probably will be called to handle the situation. Under the agreement the advances granted during the war are to run only until the official signing of peace.

Can't Stop Unionism

Waukegan, Ill. — When the American Steel company discovered that trade unionists were arranging to hold a mass meeting that might "affect" its employees it hired the largest hall in the city, secured all the music possible and advertised an evening's entertainment. About 50 men and boys enjoyed the show. The unionists secured the next largest hall which was packed by nearly 1,000 workers and over 150 joined the trade union movement.

Want \$1 An Hour

The new scale of Bricklayers and Masons' union in Toledo, Ohio, calls for \$1 an hour, with an additional 20 cents for foremen.

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