



VOL. I

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No. 6.

AS TO THE DUTY OF PICKETING.

What is the meaning of the word "picket," which the President of the International keeps repeating all the time? What does he mean when he says that it is the duty of every striker among the ladies' waist makers, the kimono and wrapper and the children's dress makers, to picket?

He means that every striker must be a striker in the real sense of the word, a fighter not only in name, on paper, on the payroll, but a striker, a fighter in deed. He means by this that the striker dare not look upon the period of the strike as upon a holiday, but on the contrary, he must regard it as the most serious, the most sacred time of his life and he must not permit a single moment to pass in idleness.

To picket means to be on guard every minute of the time that you are awake...

To picket means to remember that the enemy never sleeps and is waiting for the moment when the opponent is off his guard so as to attack him unawares.

To picket means, strikers, that when the strike is

won you will be able to say to yourselves, with pride, that you, too, did your share!

To picket now when the fight is on, means that when the strike will be over and victory will be assured, every striker will feel that the victory was not easily won and that, therefore, he must hold firmly to his gains and must see to it that his union shall grow all the stronger.

All this is included in the term "picket". All this is what your President means when he keeps on calling to you to picket, picket and keep on picketing.

And for this reason the picket demonstration of next Monday must be greater than all those that went before, and for this reason your picketing next week must be carried on more energetically than ever before.

Remember that next Monday you will come to the picket line in full force... count your divisions... see that everything is complete... and with great determination carry on your fight to ultimate victory.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE ASSOCIATION BOSSES OF THE LADIES' WAIST INDUSTRY

To spare the bosses the trouble of trying to deceive themselves and others, let it be written down here, black on white, that an entire wall of their fortress has been broken down by the four week strike. The Association has lost one-fourth of its members—sixty-six of its members and not twenty, as Marushech, their chief clerk, would have it in his statement in "Women's Wear." The great, mighty building has now only three walls. The great, mighty structure is now a ruin through which the wind howls, freezing those who still inhabit it, so that they are not very happy there.

They twist and squirm in discomfort, they surround the ruin with gangsters whom they pay to beat up the strikers—but even this is not such an easy job for them. The gangsters take the money given them but do not "deliver the goods."

It is their misfortune that Schlesinger wields his pen and keeps writing to the papers telling them the truth about the gangsters; protesting against the unjust action of the police, and, in this way the bosses find themselves cheated out of their very last hope. The whole press is with the strikers and the "Evening Sun," to whom Schlesinger wrote, says in an editorial that "if there are grounds for Mr. Schlesinger's charges that the striking girls have been mistreated by the police simply because most of them are Rus-

sians, then the matter is a serious one, so serious that it should be carefully investigated either by the District Attorney or the Governor. If the police is too friendly to any organization of private detectives and of hired thugs, then this must stop at once!"

No, it will not help! All the protection that the bosses are buying will do them no good. And knowing this, they seek other means. They hire provocators who secretly distribute handbills stating that the leaders want to betray the workers and are making compromises with the bosses. Their purpose is clear: to cause friction among the strikers. But this does not work. The strikers have always had and still have the fullest confidence in their leaders and no kind of propaganda can influence them.

Many other tricks are being tried, as for instance, the attempt to convince Jonathan Day, controller of the Food markets, that it is Schlesinger who does not want to settle the strike because he does not want to yield in the matter of discharges. But Jonathan Day is not a fool, and he understands that the people who wrote to him are not friends of the union.

The bosses are seizing at all straws because they feel that they have lost out. But nothing will be of any avail except a complete surrender, like that of their former sixty-six collea-

THE STRIKE WAVE

On another page of this issue of "Justice" our readers will find complete reports about the other strike divisions that have joined in our fighting army. With the ladies' waist makers there are now on strike the kimono and wrapper makers, a few thousand strong, and the children's dress makers of the independent and non-union shops.

These are new recruits but yet there is no doubt that they will distinguish themselves in the struggle like veterans. These recruits have had a good example set them which they will follow. A few more days and the divisions of the White Goods Workers will join the ranks bringing reinforcements of many thousands.

All these divisions are impelled by the same force, which animates the workers of America, the building workers of the whole country, the weavers of Lawrence and of Paterson, the miners of Butte, Montana, and of many other cities, and also the workers of England, France, Germany, etc.

What is this force which is impelling men to leave their shops and go on strike? It is the awakened consciousness which has come at last, the determination that they will not go on living as they have been living and that rather than do

guess, who employ about twenty thousand workers now working under full union conditions.

so they had better not live at all. It is the consciousness that the worker does not get his just share; that whereas a small number enjoy, the finest and best that life has to offer, they, the workers, must be content with the leavings from the tables of the rich.

And the workers will not longer tolerate this.

The carpenters, therefore, are demanding an increase of a dollar a day. Instead of \$5.50 they want \$6.50. The weavers, Lawrence and Paterson have, same point of view and so have our own strikers of the International. And, by God, we shall fight and fight on, until the fight is won!

OBSERVE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY!

Washington's Birthday, Saturday, February 22nd, is a legal holiday to be observed by every member of Local 10 with full pay. Any cutter found working on that day will be heavily fined.

In order that this day of rest shall be observed by every cutter, the Executive Board has assigned every officer of the union, including a large committee of active members, for the purpose of picketing the factory districts with the view of apprehending any and all cutters violating this provision of the constitution.

THE IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

By Hillel Rogoff

A committee of senators in Washington has been conducting an investigation of Bolshevism in Russia and in America. At the outset this investigation attracted little notice, because the witnesses examined all told the old story. They described the "Red Terror" in Russia about which our papers had already written volumes. One cannot possibly imagine atrocities worse than those attributed by our press to the Bolsheviks in the year and a half that they have been in power.

Suddenly a bomb exploded at the investigation. One of the witnesses, a minister, a missionary who had been in Russia, said that the leaders of the Bolsheviks in Russia are free-thinking Jews, Jews who, before the Russian revolution, lived on the East Side, here. By his revelations he hoped to give the impression that Bolshevism is a product of the East Side, that the Jews brought it to Russia from the East Side, and that one might easily see that this very same danger now threatens America because of the East Side.

The minister set the pace and the witnesses who came after him followed in his footsteps. The senators on the committee asked each one of them about the East Side Jews among the Bolsheviks and they answered that the priest had told the truth, that the East Side Jews, the free-thinking Jews, played first fiddle among the terrorists in the Bolshevik movement.

This news, of course, was seized upon by the press and was made the sensation of the day. The enemies of socialism and radicalism made use of this and dragged into the affair the Rand School and the whole radical movement. Ministers, on Sunday, preached about the "unbelieving" Jews who sit in "kosher" restaurants and discuss Bolshevism.

But it must be said that in their editorials the New York papers defended the East Side Jews. They pointed to the fact that the East Side had done its duty during the war, had bought war bonds, proportionately, and other sections of the city and had sent more soldiers to the army, etc. They admitted that some Jews are radicals but they denied that there is any danger that the East Side will cause a revolution in America.

But the storm called forth by this event has not yet passed over. The investigation in Washington is still going on and the senators still keep dragging the Jews of the East Side into the affair at every opportunity.

One of the results of these charges against the East Side is the bill brought into the legislature at Albany forbidding the publication of all foreign language papers in the state of New York. This campaign against foreign papers in New York has been going on for a long time. Months ago the Board of Education did away with all Jewish and Italian lectures in the public schools. Neither does it permit the making of speeches in any language but English in the public schools.

But to go so far as to try to forbid the publication of papers in foreign languages—this no one ever dreamt of as possible. But tales about the immigrant sections being full of revolutionists and Bolsheviks have given the chauvinists the courage to take even this step. It is, however, hard to believe that their efforts will succeed. Even if the legislature should pass this bill the governor will veto it. The legislature is controlled by reactionary Republicans; the governor is from the East Side and knows that these tales are false. He knows also that he gets his support from the city of New York which is populated mostly by immigrants. He will surely take into account the views of the city which elected him to office.

Another great sensation connected with "Bolshevism in America" came from the west. One fine morning it was learned that the immigration officials were bringing a train from the west, filled with revolutionists to be deported from America. These men had been arrested in various cities of the west where strikes were taking place. The immigration officials made use of the law which states that any immigrant, and non-citizen, who preaches revolt and revolution, may be deported. On the strength of this law they arrested 58 agitators, strike-leaders, and sentenced them to deportation. The immigrants had no hearing in court. The law gives the immigration authorities the right to decide upon such cases and the department convicted the 58 men.

The Socialist Party protested against this act on the part of the department and at present steps are being taken to force the immigration authorities to bring the cases of the 58 to court so that they may get a public hearing. But the prospects for success in this project are not very promising.

From the various sources it is reported that this case of the 58 who have been sentenced to deportation is a test case. If the authorities are successful in this test case, it is thought they will go further. It is said that the officials have a list of about seven or eight thousand radicals whom they will gradually oust out of America. It is reported that this list names not only anarchists and those who preach sabotage in the unions, but also Socialists, moderate radicals—every non-citizen who preaches or works against the capitalist system.

The strike wave which swept over the country has somewhat abated. The general strike in Seattle was called off after the workers had been idle for about three or four days. Of course they did not succeed in the strike. The real reason for this failure is not yet known. As far as reports show, many of the union leaders were from the very beginning against the general strike and they gradually influenced the workers to give it up.

But the important point here is the fact that the workers all

went on strike together and stuck together during the strike. They returned to work together, after they had decided to call off the strike. The strike made clear to the employers of Seattle, that the workers in the various trades can stand together and can fight for one another. The Seattle strike was the first of its kind. As far as we know, the workers were prepared to strike as long as necessary. They returned to work only because their leaders urged them to do so.

The weavers' strike also ended on the advice of the more conservative leaders. The workers themselves were ready to go on with the strike. This was the case in Paterson. The workers demand a 44-hour work week. The employers agreed to submit the question to a committee of the War Labor Board. For the present they would like to keep the factories open only five days a week, for eight and a half hours each day. The workers refused to agree to this. They insisted upon their demand for an eight hour day and a half day on Saturday. But the union leaders accepted these conditions and the majority of the strikers obeyed them and returned to their factories.

But in the other cities the strike is still going on, especially in Lawrence where 35,000 are on strike. There the demand is a 48 hour work week. Up till now the Lawrence employees worked 54 hours a week. The bosses are willing to shorten the hours but they also wish to decrease wages and the workers refuse to agree to this. Their motto is: 48—54. This means, 54 hour wages for a 48 hour week.

The Lawrence strike this year reminds us of the historical Lawrence strike of seven years ago. The workers are now as united as they were then, in spite of the fact that they belong to about fifteen different nationalities. Class consciousness unites them.

The Congress in Washington has as yet done nothing to solve the problem of unemployment, even among the released soldiers. Bills have been introduced in congress; War Secretary Baker has urged us that the government will not neglect the soldiers who are returning home. But so far nothing has been done. Congress is occupied for the most part in playing politics. The Republicans are seeking pretexts for criticising President. The Democrats are trying to push through bills granting certain sums of money to certain undertakings, because they know that soon they will lose power.

And in the meantime the army of unemployed grows daily. The various capitalist organizations are doing all in their power to influence the government not to interfere in this matter. They don't even want the government to keep an eye on the situation for fear that it may know how serious conditions have become. Here is an example of their activities:

During the war the Washington government organized Employment Bureaus of the Labor Department all over the country. It was the duty of these bureaus to find work for the unemployed. At that time it was their duty to see to it that the various war industries should have enough workers.

Now that the war is over, the

question has come up whether these bureaus are to be continued. The leaders of the bureaus declare that they are now just as necessary as before because of the large number of unemployed. They may help all these people get jobs. They can also keep an eye on conditions and inform the government about the seriousness of the situation. For these reasons the bureaus ask congress to grant them the necessary sums to cover their expenses. The amount needed is comparatively small.

The capitalist organizations are fighting this demand. They, seemingly, are seeking to save the government money. In truth their aim is many-sided. First they want the workers to feel themselves helpless; to be in constant fear of unemployment. Then, they do not want the Washington government to get a correct view of the condition of the workers, as to the numbers of the unemployed and about the possibilities of employment. One of the reasons why the government here is always backward in the matter of labor reforms is, because it is not well acquainted with the conditions under which the workers live. The capitalists are always afraid to have all these facts brought to light.

The Bureau of Mines made public its report on the mining industry in this country in the last few years. One point in this report is very interesting. It states that in 1918, 2575 workers lost their lives in the mines. This number of victims is 233 less than in the year 1917. The reason for this decrease is as follows: because of the great demand for coal in 1918, all efforts had to be made to get as much coal as possible out of the miners; and therefore the companies took better care that the miners should be well protected. This means, in other words, that because they could make more money it was worth their while to take better care of the miners, and for this reason there were fewer deaths.

Not out of regard for human life but for the sake of profits, were there fewer victims in 1918 than in 1917.

BROWNSVILLE UNITY CENTER

Particular attention is called to the Entertainment and Dance arranged by the Brownsville Unity Center, at Public School 84, Glenmore and Stone Avenues, which will take place Saturday evening, February 22nd, 1919. Mrs. Marie MacDonald will speak, Elmer Rosenberg has been invited and he is expected to be present, Miss Fannia Cohn, Secretary of the Educational Committee will be chairlady. Miss Mary Ruth Cohn the local director has prepared a special Minuet Dance and a very excellent musical program. Admission is entirely free to all members of the international and their friends.

WHAT DO YOU WITH LEISURE?

By JULIET STUART POYNTZ

The heat of war offers little opportunity for thinking out the problems of peace. In the midst of the struggle for leisure of which we have spoken, it is natural that the workers have had little attention to devote to the question of the utilization of leisure. What shall we do with our victory when we get it? That is a question which unfortunately does not occupy the attention of the fighters in the front-line trenches. I say "unfortunately" because it is intelligent organization of conquest and not mere triumph that constitutes our victory. Now that large new conquests of time are being made by the workers in the needle trades and elsewhere, the question must arise, "How shall we use these five hours?"

Did I hear someone say, "I should worry. With the little time that I have to myself a few more hours will go without thinking about them." Yes, they will go. That is the trouble. It is just because you have so little time that you must manage it economically. A millionaire can sign checks all day without worrying about the wherewithal. The worker must watch every dollar. And likewise he must watch every hour. Money is only the means to life—while time is life itself.

Work-time is too often thought of as accomplishment and leisure-time as idleness. Work is doing something. "Time off" is doing nothing. This idea is fundamentally wrong. We need to revise our whole attitude to work and to realize that in "time off" we are accomplishing something for ourselves and humanity, while during the hours in the shop we are only playing the part of a machine. As the hours of work are lowered the chance of life that comes with leisure becomes greater and greater.

The first demand upon our leisure is rest. So great is this need, especially for growing girls, that Miss Margaret Bondfield, one of the leaders of the women's trade union movement in England, states that it is extremely important to secure for all working girls up to the age of 18 a reduction of the total hours, worked, including educational work, to 30 hours a week, coupled with a plan of physical and technical education. While rest is important it is well also to know how to rest. Resting is an art in itself to be undertaken in a purposeful and business-like manner. Mere "flopping" is not resting. How often we come home so wearied from the shop that we throw ourselves down without even eating. Such exhaustion is caused not only by the hard labor in the shop but by lack of thoughtful use of our free time. "Did we spend the previous Sunday walking in the sunshine and fresh air, or sitting at home in a close room and bending over that new dress we wanted to finish? Did we remember the need for at least eight hours sleep every night? Or did we encroach on our physical capital by reducing it to seven or

six? Had we been spending our nights like little Eva whom I know, laundering those white waists that look so spick and span, and polishing up the house until it shines, or like sensible Clara, did we choose clothes of dark material that do not need constant attention, and limit the time spent on housework? In six months Eva's cheeks were as white as her waists, and she seemed to live for the most part in doctors' offices. Machinery that is under a strain needs special care. Long and hard work in the shop demands that one refrain from over-exertion during the few hours of leisure.

Resting does not imply complete inactivity, however, though at times we do need complete physical relaxation, which a physician will instruct one to take, lying flat on the back with every muscle, and the brain itself, loosened and relaxed and the breathing slow, deep, and regular. Even ten minutes of this scientific relaxation revives one wonderfully.

A change of occupation is often as much of a rest as complete cessation of activity. Particularly in sedentary occupations, like those of the needle trades where the blood has little chance to circulate and the vital organs are cramped, vigorous exercise is most important. The outings that have recently been organized by members of our unions have added to health and good spirits as well as the sense of fellowship. For the price of carfare groups of workers in the shop can go tramping along the Palisades or through the hills of Jersey in a hundred wonderful places. An automobile is a superfluous encumbrance. The human legs are a much superior conveyance for physical improvement and the enjoyment of Nature. Collect twenty of your friends or shopmates, take your lunch, go off to the hills and read Walt Whitman and sing your songs under a camp-fire. That is the road to health and happiness!

In England a very vigorous off-shoot of the Socialist movement has developed in the Clarion Fellowship, whose policy is just this, comradeship and the open road. When Robert Blatchford wrote Merrie England he stirred the country from end to end with a vision of what co-operation could accomplish for the workers. Around his weekly newspaper, the Clarion, there sprang up bands of young Clarionettes who found in bicycle and tramping clubs the opportunity for physical exercise and spiritual recreation that they so much needed, infused with the ideal of brotherhood. If such institutions have a place in London or Manchester, how much more here in New York with its terrific congestion of population and its unwholesome living conditions? The English as a people have a much more intelligent appreciation of the value of exercise and open-air life than have the Americans with their noses to the edge of the industrial grindstone. The gospel of work has been a very useful implement in the hands of the American capitalist. It

has been said that the American reveres business as others do religion. True it is that the idea of "making good" has been the center of the ethical creed in this country, and that work, work, work, has been the watchword in life. Our handbooks on efficiency are bound like the Bible in black leather with gilt edges. Fortunately however the workers have not been completely led astray from their own interests by the new gospel of busy-ness; they have a religion of their own, a religion of life, not of work. And the essential basis of a full, free and joyous life is abundant physical health.

After physical health comes mental health. The hope of the labor movement is that the woman movement lies in the increasing intelligence of its members. The hope for happiness and satisfaction in life for the individual comes with greater understanding. An independent mind and the ability to form one's own judgment do not come with mere attendance on lectures and the drinking in of what others have to say. Self-activity is essential for growth.

Observers have remarked the rapidly increasing intelligence of the British workers for example, and have pointed out how Spencer and Darwin are found in the little library of many a Lancashire weaver. Whether women are sharing with men the new enlightenment seems hard to determine. Sometimes they seem to move even more rapidly, as in New York where the girls in the needle trades have been more responsive and enthusiastic in seizing upon new educational opportunities. But the libraries and reading rooms are populated, strange to say, overwhelmingly, almost exclusively, by men. We may console ourselves with the thought that perhaps the libraries are not yet adapted for the use of working women or indeed for the working class as a whole. When the libraries are taken over by the people, as they have been by the Soviets in Russia, they will be made real instruments for the development of the intelligence of the people. The workers will be supplied with books written in their own language on subjects of importance and interest to them, and the dead hand of bourgeois control will be lifted from the very center of enlightenment. Libraries will be organized and endowed by the unions of the workers, for themselves and not by Mr. Andrew Carnegie for the listless middle class. But to accomplish these great things for themselves the workers must learn to read and think for themselves here and now. And so we register a vow that some of our new-found leisure will be spent in reading.

And let it be solid and thought-provoking. Novels and poetry are beautiful and interesting, but we cannot eat cake all the time without spoiling our digestion. A little solid food and meat should be added to the diet. Books on science, economics, sociology—yes, and philosophy too.

Bernhard Russel, the English philosopher who has become the prophet of the English labor movement during the war writes as follows: "It will be said that the joy of mental adventure must be rare, and that ordinary education can take no account of its aristocratic a-

good. I do not believe this. It is rare in later life because everything is done to kill it during education. Thought is subversive and revolutionary, destructive and terrible; thought is merciless to privilege, established institutions, comfortable habits; thought is anarchic and lawless, indifferent to authority, careless of the well-tried wisdom of the ages. Thought looks into the pit of hell and is not afraid. Thought is great and swift and free, the light of the world and the chief glory of man."

Education must therefore be the cornerstone of the structure which we plan for our leisure time. For women workers education is even more necessary than for men. In general they are younger and more immature than the men workers. In looking at our great waistmakers' shops on strike one is impressed with the youth and inexperience of so many of the workers. Small wonder that complaints are heard from chairladies that the workers in the shop do not always understand what is at stake. How should they? Especially our Italian sisters who are still suffering from the age-long seclusion of women in the home need a long and serious education to enable them not only to develop their own fine capabilities but also to prepare them to function intelligently as members of the working class in the shop and in the political field.

It is true, dear sisters, that the educational opportunities provided for the workers are still very scant; however it is also true that many are not yet awakened to the importance of taking advantage of those opportunities that do exist. Use a good part of your new five hours for education. You could not make a better investment, for those who learn in the spirit of the society there is to be "will be filled with life and hope and joy, able to bear their part in bringing to mankind a future less sombre than the past, with faith in the glory that human effort can create."

CUTTERS PREPARE FOR BIG VICTORY BALL

Considering the rate at which the Dress and Waistmakers' Union is effecting settlements—and considering the fact that the way is now being paved for the institution of the 44-hour week in every branch of the women's garment industry—the Ball Committee of Local 10 feels justified in naming the 10th Annual Ball of the Cutters' Union the "Victory Ball."

Together with the dress and waist cutters who will celebrate victory will be the Children's Dress Cutters. These workers have won the 44-hour week through conferences. The cloak cutters too, will shortly submit changes in the agreement with their employers. The victory of the dress and waistmakers will spell "victory" for the cloak and suit cutters. Is there any reason therefore why the Cutters' Ball should not be termed "victory" ball?

The affair will take place Saturday evening, March 8th, 1919, at Palm Garden, 58th Street, between Third and Lexington Avenues. Tickets are 50 cents per person. Prof. Schiller's famous Jazz Band will supply the music. Members of the International are urged to attend.

JUSTICE

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FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

If the Bosses Can Wait So Can the Workers

The fifteen to twenty thousands ladies' waist makers are still on strike for their union, for their rights as workers and as human beings, entered the fifth week of their battle with the same enthusiasm as that which marked the day when they threw up their work at the call of their union or, in other words, when they made up their own minds that they would no longer work in the shops under the shameful conditions which their bosses imposed upon them; conditions which might be put into the terms of an ultimatum like the following: "either you are our slaves from this day on and submit to all our wishes or you can no longer do work for us. As might be understood, the workers, women as well as men, chose the latter course and they are as firmly determined today not to yield to the slightest degree as they were on the first day of the strike.

As a matter of fact how could it have been otherwise? The strikers of both sexes can say with complete justification that if the bosses can afford to take their time, if they can afford to go on slowly, surely they, themselves, can equally well afford to take their time. You can say anything you please, and it's a sure bet at that, that not one of the bosses of the Association has made a deposit of one cent in the bank since the calling of the strike, but that on the other hand, each of the bosses is drawing on his bank account. You may be certain that very many of them look with great concern into their bank books each day and put to themselves the question: How much longer can this go on—my drawing on this account without making any new entries?

In the matter of watching their bank accounts, the strikers have the least to worry about. They never brought any money to the banks while they were at work, and they need have very little fear that their bank accounts will lose any weight now that they are striking. The one good investment which was theirs, was the paying of dues into the union, and this is now paying good returns in the nature of strike benefits. Then why should they hurry? Why should they lose their patience, with the fight only four weeks old? Nonsense, if the boss does not hurry in this matter surely the worker need not be in a hurry.

And Why Is It That the Bosses

Are Not in a Hurry?

And then the strikers think the following: If the bosses

were getting large orders now, is it likely that they would keep their shops closed? They may put up a bold front before the world, to create the impression that they are fighting for a principle, but we, the workers, know the truth and know that this sole principle is covered with dollars and cents; then if they actually had work which would bring them profits, would they keep their shops closed and would they content themselves with the little bit of botch-work which is made up on the sly in some of the shops by some foolish strike breakers? No, such is not the nature of the bosses. To let slip a good opportunity for making money—no, no boss is strong enough for that. Therefore, when the bosses seem to be most firm, it is just a sign that there is no work. And since this is so, thinks the striker, and since there isn't any work anyway, then surely we may as well treat the matter philosophically, because even if we were not striking now, we would not be earning anything. Since we'd face the same difficulties, then it is better to strike and wait until the boss comes and asks us to return to work at our own terms.

Former Strikes and the Strikes of Today

There is another view of the same matter, which I think may be interesting. Formerly, strikes did not last a long time. Either the bosses or the workers would yield. And this was because of the following reasons: If the workers yielded, then it was because they felt either that they were not strong enough to wage a long fight, or that their demands were not important enough to warrant a great sacrifice in attaining them. If the bosses yielded, then it was because they knew very well that the gains made by the workers would last a short time and that soon everything would return to the old status. Then why argue about the matter? This was the way they looked at it. For this reason, former strikes, at least in our Jewish trades, did not last very long.

But in the last few years conditions have changed. In the first place the weak, unstable labor organizations have become large and powerful, with memberships of tens of thousands, with comparatively large resources; organizations which have withstood all tests. When such workers enter a strike it is no trifle. They mean business.

Neither do they go out on strike without deliberation. They know what it means when they decide to call a strike of from thirty to fifty thousand people and they consider the matter

very carefully before accepting the challenge of the bosses. They compare and measure their strength with that of the enemy. Nothing is left to chance. The army of workers enters the fight fully armed and its strongest weapon is its consciousness that the strike has not been called because of a trifle, but because of some highly important matter. Thirty thousand people do not go into a conflict because of a whim, because of some trifling annoyance that might either be overlooked or rectified in some other way. In these times, every fight is fought over some matter of grave importance, as is the case at present in the strike of the Ladies' Waist Makers. This fight is a fight for the life of the union, for the right of the worker to make use of his only weapon—the strike; and if he is to give up this right then he wants to return the right of protection against summary discharge by the boss. Great and important as the demands for a forty-four hour work-week and for increased wages, they lose all significance as compared with the fundamental right of the workers either to strike or to demand protection against discharge at the will or caprice of the employer.

All these reasons—the stability of the labor organizations, the deliberation of the workers before entering on a strike, these are the fundamental elements in a modern strike.

And just as conditions have changed in the ranks of the workers so there has been a change in conditions among the employers.

The bosses have learned a lesson from the workers and they, too, have united in a union, or, as they call it, association. Just as the workers have united among themselves not to allow themselves to be exploited, so the bosses have united to fight for their former sacred rights of exploiting the worker.

They know from experience that the worker of today is not the worker of former times; that he does not readily permit himself to be swindled out of everything which he has won by fighting; that once he wins something he holds on to it with all his might. They know, therefore, that to yield anything to the workers in these times is not a trifle, but may mean a great deal. Besides this, they also know that something very earnest is at stake, now. It is the right of the worker to be, and to be regarded as a human being even in the shop, so that the boss shall no longer be the slave-driver and "little czar" of former days. For these reasons the bosses are fighting tooth and nail in the hope that perhaps the race is not yet lost to them.

It is, of course, a foolish and vain hope, because the workers consider all these things long before they go into the fight, and make all necessary preparations. But all this is the reason why strikes within the last few years, drag on, must do so in fact, for a longer time than before, and why it can no longer be said that the strike which lasts a long time, is practically lost.

Remember that the fight of the Amalgamated lasted thirteen weeks. Yet how foolish it would have been for anyone to have declared that strike lost in its sixth, seventh or eighth week because it was taking so long.

We are certain that if the tailors' strike had lasted two or three times thirteen weeks, it would have been won anyhow because the tailors had the determined, unfaltering will-to-win; because they knew what they were fighting for and because they knew, before entering the fight, that this would be a difficult struggle. The same is true of the strike of the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union. In this case also, it is not a matter of days or weeks, but one of the firm determination of the strikers to win. And even if the strike should last twice or three times as long as it has already, the strikers will each week become more determined and more firm, if such a thing is possible, so that in the end they will have to win.

What the Union of the Bosses Indicates

Well, and what of the bosses? They too are united, and they too are determined. It would seem then that they too ought to carry on a long fight. But this, this thought, we oppose the undeniable fact that the union of the bosses, organized for the sake of exploitation, can never hope for such power as that which marks the union of the workers who join together, in the first place, because of their primary need and interests, and in the second place, because they are inspired with the ideal of solidarity, fraternity and liberty. The union of the bosses! They unite only because of a common thirst for money; they lack the true feeling of comradeship and their union can last only as long as the proverbial friendship of the two dogs: until they are shown that their friendship is only a pretense. This explains why the bosses' association is already in a state of semi-collapse and is bleeding from many wounds.

And still another thing must be considered. If a boss must keep his shop closed for a certain length of time, let us say for an entire season, this puts an end to his bossism. It means that his factory is completely shut down. He must therefore begin work as soon as possible, if he does not wish to get out of business altogether.

But the situation of the worker is quite different. His business—his working-power stays with him as long as he manages to get on. And he is sure of getting on as long as he has the protection of a boss. The solidarity and the entire labor movement. And therefore he can and must hold out until he emerges the victor in the fight.

Another Branch of the International in the Fight

Last Monday the thousands of ladies waist makers now on strike were joined by a few thousand kimono and wrapper makers. These new strikers put to their bosses the same demands as those made by the ladies' waist makers. And their bosses too think that they can evade these demands and therefore they took a chance and allowed their workers to strike.

The blindness of the bosses is truly a thing to be marvelled at. If this were a question of very good jobs sought for by all workers, one might understand why the bosses were inviting the strike. It's easy enough to get people to fill a job paying from forty to fifty dollars a week, but this is not the case here. Would the workers strike if the jobs

DEMOBILIZATION AND THE UNEMPLOYED

By M. Koltchin

Our great economists of Wall Street, during the time of the war, kept on promising us a great period of prosperity immediately after the coming of peace. They hoped, that on the morrow following the close of the war, Europe would begin demanding wages of America for which she would send us ships filled with raw material and money; and then everything would go along beautifully.

But they overlooked one detail: Such a demand for war materials could not arise at once. Many months have passed since the armistice was signed and still one sees no great prosperity. Again, some time must elapse before the transportation means of the world, without the shipping of much merchandise. At present we are using a great number of our ships for bringing back our soldiers and also for carrying provisions for those who are still in Europe; and in the third place, and this is most important, the European countries need American war materials. They have not the means with which to pay. Europe is impoverished and owes more than she can pay. The European countries will have to pay large interests on their debts and taxes will, therefore, be high, and so these countries will not be able to furnish America with the prosperity for a long time to come.

One cannot, therefore, rely upon the good years to come. It will take a long time before we shall be over the crisis which is now on. It is futile to expect that prosperity will all at once descend upon our industries and furnish work to millions of workers. And this should have been kept in mind; we should have prepared for this and have prepared plans for demobilization, with this in view. Not that any one plan could have averted the crisis in America altogether. I have already pointed out that modern society is not strong enough to avert the pres-

ure were really such fine ones? The truth is that the kimona and wrapper workers barely earn a living; they are the poorest paid of all the workers in the needle industry. Where does the kimona and wrapper manufacturer expect to find workers when a Negro woman, working six hours at house-work, gets \$2.50 a day? And even if there should be people willing to take these jobs, don't the bosses know that the union of kimona and wrapper makers has a say in the matter and will not permit anyone to take the places of the strikers? But the bosses are surely blind. They do not know that it is happening to them. The attitude of the bosses reminds one of the obstinacy and blindness of Pharaoh when Moses came to him and asked him to give the Jews, his slaves, a few days in which to offer up sacrifices to God. And God made hard the heart of Pharaoh. Let the bosses read this interesting chapter in the Bible. Perhaps they will draw a moral from it. Perhaps the plague which visited Pharaoh will have the necessary effect on them? Let them read the story of the Exodus from Egypt. It won't hurt them any.

ent crisis. But a well-planned demobilization would have lessened the extent of the crisis, whereas demobilization without any plan may even turn prosperity into a crisis.

Let us imagine that everything is going well, that business is good and that there is a great demand for workers. But yet it may happen that when there is a need for workers in Chicago, soldiers are being demobilized in New York who know nothing about Chicago. Then again it may happen that whereas today there is a great demand for machinists, farmers are being demobilized who have little to do in the winter. Or there may be need for machinists and if too many of them are demobilized they rush to the shops and again compete with each other for jobs, thus lowering wages and giving the capitalists a chance to set up labor conditions that are best suited to them and not those desired by the workers. But this is not the only outcome of a planless demobilization.

The fact that for a while we have a large army of unemployed is not the worst phase of the situation. But the unemployed are also without money, they buy little or they buy nothing at all. The demand for merchandise grows smaller; production is lessened, and there is still more unemployment. When this occurs it creates a crisis like the one we are now having, when times are so bad. The millions of demobilized men make conditions worse. They so complicate the situation, so increase the crisis, that it will be years before we shall be able to get out of it.

In England the Labor Party worked out a plan for demobilization which, if the party had now been in power, or if the plan had been carried through by the present government, would have helped much in settling the crisis. The government adopted a certain portion of the Labor Party's plan. First the employment offices, long before the soldiers were demobilized, estimated the numbers to be demobilized, and now they know what they are about. These exchanges stand in close connection with the employers and the labor unions; they always know where jobs are to be found. Now many workers are needed in the various trades. We, too, have employment offices, but they have no power to do anything. They are not connected with the employers or unions; they work independently, without even any communications with the war department. In England the name and trade of every soldier is registered in the exchanges a month before he is demobilized.

Of course the exchanges cannot accomplish much. When there are no jobs to be had, they cannot invent them. But the government can create many jobs. In America, for instance, the federal government appropriates each year about \$40,000,000 for the "pork barrel," that is, for so-called public improvements—to clear streams, to repair harbors, to build postoffices. It is impossible to know how much the individual states ap-

propriate for this work but yet it is known that the "pork barrel" money is not an imperative expenditure—at least not all of the \$40,000,000. But yet this is done every year.

It would certainly be possible for the federal government together with the state governments, to assign a few billion dollars for building houses for the people, of which there is great need. It would also be possible to assign a few more billions for other public works. We need schools, hospitals and libraries. We would have all these and would also be able to supply work for a few million workers at this critical time. The English government is doing this. Of course it is not doing it energetically enough and is not doing as much as is necessary, but yet it is doing something in line with such a plan. It may be that this will be done when it is too late. In the meantime they are talking about it just as they are still talking about a "job for every soldier."

But they say nothing about unemployment insurance. Hundreds of thousands of workers have been thrown into the labor market; soldiers are being demobilized; munition workers are being discharged. They return home penniless, out of work, but as yet we hear nothing of insurance. In England the capitalists are forced to give the war workers three weeks' notice before discharging them from their jobs. And if the workers do not get notice they are paid for three weeks. In our country this was practised even in times of peace.

And we hang out a sign on Friday informing the workers that Saturday is their last day on the job. It is clear that at a time when war industries are shutting down the peace industries are not yet working and hundreds of thousands of men are looking for work, the workers who have lost their jobs cannot possibly find other work. They swell the army of the unemployed; they are a menace to the workers still at work and are a weapon in the hands of the capitalists, to use in the union struggle. They are helpless and are ready to do anything even against the interests of the working class, against themselves. There are no born scabs or strike-breakers. The strike-breakers are the products of hunger and want.

The workers of all countries (with the exception of America where the A. F. of L. is again) have for a long time been demanding unemployment insurance. The English government was forced by the labor party to introduce "benefits" for the unemployed munition workers. In case of unemployment the government pays 24 shillings to a man and 20 to a woman in the first six months. This, of course, is not sufficient, and what is more important, it does not eliminate unemployment. However, it helps the unemployed, lessens competition between the workers, does not permit the development of strike-breaking among them and weakens the power of the capitalist to stir up workers against one another.

Of course even in England things are not running smoothly, as can be seen from the strikes which are now going on there and which the workers are preparing for. This was certainly to be expected. I have already pointed out that modern

society is not strong enough to solve the problems of unemployment and demobilization.

In demobilization, as in unemployment, there are two problems: to help the unemployed and to do away with unemployment. Modern society can, if it wishes, solve the first problem—help the unemployed through insurance, etc. But it cannot solve the other—do away with unemployment! It could do this to a certain degree, but only to a certain degree, by shortening the labor week. But even England is not doing this.

And here we must point to a very curious phenomenon. When the workers of the whole world demanded a shorter workday, the capitalists of the whole world argued that this was economically impossible because a shorter workday would decrease production. Now, however, when the workers demand a shorter workday so that the unemployed may have a chance to get work, the capitalists argue that a shorter workday would not give work to more men because when the workers work shorter hours they are in better condition and produce more. And this is just what the workers always said.

In England also, demobilization caused great unrest among the workers. It had to be so because the English government (although it had a plan) could not solve the problem of unemployment. Employment offices seek jobs for the workers but they do not create jobs; benefits help the unemployed but they do not create work; public improvements do furnish work, but not enough of it. The English government did not make use of the best method for dealing with unemployment—it did not shorten the workday, and so the workers were forced to take the matter in their own hands. This is the main cause of the strikes in England and not, as some say, the discontent with the trade unions.

When men are dissatisfied with the methods of the trade unions and their leaders, they do not strike against their employers. They change the methods and depose their leaders at their convention. The workers of England had to strike because otherwise they would have had a lockout—they would have lost everything which they had gained during the war. The army of unemployed would have forced the workers to give up many of their advantages.

A shorter workday is the best remedy against unemployment. Shorter workdays would make place for many of the demobilized men. But this is a demand which would not have been included in any plan. So the soldiers are being demobilized, and the munition workers are being discharged. And unemployment grows and with it reaction increases. In one place wages are lowered one dollar a day, and in another the "open shop" is introduced. Thus things go on.

Fania M. Cohen

It is hardly necessary to dwell any longer on the importance of the payment of the \$3 tax. It is the paramount duty of every cutter to pay this tax without

OUR CAUSE SPREADS OVER LAND AND SEA

By William Morris Feigenbaum

The Berne Congress of the International Socialist Bureau has adjourned without any tangible result except the appointment of a secretariat, to sit while the international situation is being worked out in some sort of form, pending the holding of early additional congresses.

No one, not even the most enthusiastic delegates to Berne, pretended there would be any final result from the meetings of this congress. It was to be the first of the sessions to re-integrate the international labor movement. One result has been the breaking down of the resolve of men of the "social patriotic" group—that is, Thomass, Vandervelde, and others of their type—not to have anything to do with the Germans. The Germans, likewise, showed that they were more anxious to re-constitute the International than they were to fight the war over again. That is a real achievement.

When Karl Kautsky and August Mueller agree on fundamental international questions—and when Albert Thomas and Hjalmar Branting hold the same opinions—it is certain that the various parties have gone a great way towards rebuilding the world.

The great question mark in the international labor situation are the Bolsheviks of Russia and their attitude towards their fellow workers.

At first, it appeared that the Russians would not meet with any group except the Spartacans of Germany, the "Young Socialists" of Sweden, and other left wing groups in various other countries. Indeed, they announced that they were no longer Socialists, but they went back to the old name of Communists, used in the days of Marx and Engels.

The Berne congress, at the

question. The provision made by the Executive Board against slackers will be enforced. As stated, every shop chairman has been instructed to collect this tax from the cutters in his shop. Should he experience any difficulty in collecting he must immediately report this to the office, and the managers have recommended instructions as to what steps to take. Independent shops in which one or two cutters are employed will be visited by the business agents. Should it be found that any cutter has failed to pay his share of the tax for the dress and waist fight he will be immediately taken off his job, and will be forced to comply with the order.

Members of Local 10 reminded that Monday evening, February 24th, will be the regular general meeting of all branches of the union, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Pl.

A number of special meetings of the Executive Board have been held lately. Reports of these meetings will be submitted to the body for the necessary action. Other important matters will also be taken up. The officers will render reports of what has taken place during the past month.

same time, for a while seemed to be on the point of passing a resolution condemning the Bolsheviks and their rule in Russia. Several of the most reliable and most devoted of the International Socialists denounced the Soviet regime.

But later and more mature thought caused them to withhold that vote and with adjournment, the way is open for the union between the Russians and the Socialists and workers of other countries.

The western nations do not like the Bolsheviks, and they do not like the rule of the Soviets. But they cannot get along without Russia, and they cannot see how they can fail to recognize the Soviets as the real government of Russia. And the conference that is to be held at Prinkipo will have a great bearing upon the future of the world.

Meanwhile, the League of Nations has been launched, and the governments of the most important nations of the world—with several marked exceptions—will soon be leagued in the first international organization of governments in the history of the world for other than war purposes, and covering all the continents of the globe.

The League, as described in the draft read by President Wilson to the peace congress, is to be composed of fourteen nations to start with. France, Italy, Japan, Great Britain and the United States are the "great" powers, and the "great" powers. The delegates from these five nations are to be the League—that is, they are to hold the powers of the League in their own hands.

Together with them, there will sit at an annual congress delegates from nine additional "minor" nations, who also join the league. They are Belgium, Brazil, China, Poland, Serbia, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Roumania. These delegates will be selected in the way that each nation desires to employ. They will have the rank and immunities of ambassadors, and they will be the Parliament of the world.

The Parliament, sitting at some designated city, probably Brussels, will have the right to admit other nations. This, of course, refers to Germany, Austria and Russia, as well as to the neutrals.

The league is to try to preserve peace among the nations, and it is required that the members are to submit all disputes among themselves to arbitration. But no provision was made in the first draft for an international police to enforce the decrees of the league. The question of gradual reduction of national armaments is incorporated, however.

In Germany, a government has been instituted with the first elected Socialist president in the world. The Weimar Assembly has met and has completed its labors. The form of government drawn up is highly democratic, with popular rule everywhere apparent. The Assembly elected Friedrich Ebert as President to serve until the

first election, and Ebert selected a cabinet, with a majority of Socialist members.

Ebert is a veteran Socialist, and is conceded by all to be a very able man. He is, however, conservative for a Socialist, and he takes the stand that the first requirement of Germany today is a formal treaty of peace, to permit the nation to develop in all directions. Meanwhile, the Spartacans, or the extreme revolutionary wing of the party in Germany, is still trying to establish the immediate dictatorship of the Proletariat. There are strikes in Berlin, in Hamburg, and in many other cities. In Bremerhaven, there was a Spartacan republic for a few days, while at Kiel, another seaport, the revolutionists are likewise active.

The Spartacans have as their program the immediate overthrow of all vestiges of bourgeois rule, and the immediate institution of the rule of the workers. They were unable, of course, to prevent the holding of the Assembly, and they have been thus far unable to nullify its work. They are now trying to permeate the masses with their ideas and thus to establish a Soviet regime as early as possible.

The Ebert government begins well by establishing the 44 hour week as the legal working week throughout the nation.

The "unrest" that ignorant commentators loosely call "Bolshevism" is spreading. A message comes that for some time, 120,000 cotton mill operatives in 84 shops have been striking in Bombay, India.

A good deal of light upon the causes for the "unrest" of the workers in foreign lands is shed by a bulletin of the American International Corporation, an organization said to be connected with the National City Bank and the Standard Oil Company organized to exploit the resources of Latin America for American capital.

The bulletin, which is dated last May, tells of opportunities for making money in Uruguay.

Under the heading of "Labor," the American capitalist with money to invest is told that Uruguay is "not a lazy man's land. Labor is paid a peso, or a little more than a dollar for eight hours of work, and every centavo of it is earned. The peons are mostly Italian and Spanish mixed with Indian blood, and they make excellent workmen. It was wholly native workmen, bossed, very largely, by native foremen, who dug the 170 miles of trench for water and sewer lines. With coal at \$30 and \$40 a ton, trenching machines and steam shovels found it hard work competing with labor, and did comparatively little.

"The progress of the work was not impeded by labor troubles. Two of the most important contributing factors to uninterrupted progress were the very efficient policing of the work by the government, and the enthusiasm of the better class of workmen for the job."

This is interesting. It is also enlightening. It is foreign money here that is employing the native workmen at a dollar for a day's work that is so hard that steam shovels cannot compete with them.

And a few months later, these workers went on strike, and

with their fellows in every country in South America, they tied up industries everywhere and in every way.

The answer of the government was—not the expulsion of the foreigners who made the investments and thus caused the fearful labor conditions which created the distress, but attempted to suppress the strikes by armed force, and the general denunciation of all the strikers and their leaders by the capitalist press in all countries as Russian Bolsheviks and Maximalists. It is all very interesting and enlightening.

FORESTERS OF AMERICA COURT PRIDE OF ITALY, No. 447, CHIEF RANGER AND BROTHERS OF COURT

A committee of organized brothers came to Mount Vernon asking for help in their strike which has continued for the past five weeks.

Naturally we brothers of the Foresters of America, each have either a friend, sweetheart, mother, sister, father or wife working in these factories, therefore it is our duty as brothers and laborers of the Foresters of America to proclaim our rights and avenge our women who are working for better conditions, a raise in salary and shorter working hours. Why the salaries received here in Mount Vernon are not even half compared to those the girls in New York get.

No doubt you know most of the Waist and Dress shops are in Mount Vernon. The majority of the workers are Italians who have never recognized the good work of the union, while on the other hand the Jewish girls on hearing of the strike ceased work immediately with a firm determination to succeed, to work only 44 hours instead of 50 or more.

Why should not the Italian girls co-operate with the Jewish girls in their fight for the 44 hour week?

Our women do not seem to understand what is good for them; they haven't as yet come to the understanding that the statements and agreements made by the employers are false and yet the workers have always lived up to these statements. Yet the employers seek nothing but to rob the people of the results of hard work.

Therefore, brothers of the Order of the Foresters of America, I do not wish to ask of you too much but I call for your co-operation to make our women understand the truth of which they are still ignorant of. My only hope is that once for all there be no more false statements and agreements made by the bosses, such as to deprive the workers of their rights.

Come to my office of the Union and write yourselves amongst those who have already agreed themselves to fight for their rights. I will say here that the women who belong to the Union and are on strike receive from the Union almost the salary they actually received in their factories.

After all, don't you think it worth while to come to the Union office and ask for MIKE MARICONDA, representative of the Union who will only be too

glad to cooperate with the strikers.

I need not prolong this, for I am sure that you, brothers and companions of the order, will cooperate in this undertaking for victory and better conditions. I close with best wishes from all the brothers of the Court Carlo Alberto No. 443 with my greetings

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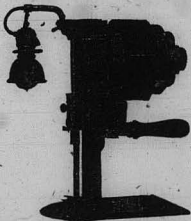
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All members of Local 10 employed in trades not on strike, or in settled shops, are urged to pay their Work Tax of \$3 per week beginning February 3, 1919, and for the duration of the General Dress and Waist Strike. This decision was passed at the Special General Meeting held on February 1, 1919.

SAM B. SHENKER,
Secretary.

HARRY BERLIN,
President.

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