

"My righteous-
ness I hold
fast, and will
not let it go."
— Job, 27(A).

JUSTICE

"We ought to
be just even to
our enemies."
— Pres. Wilson.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION.

VOL. II. No. 11.

New York, Friday, March 12, 1920.

Price 2 Cents

WORKERS TO WELCOME PRESIDENT SCHLESINGER IN CARNEGIE HALL

Samuel Gompers and Ab. Cahan Among Speakers.—Mme. Matzenauer and Modeste Aitschuler Will Particular in the Rich Musical Program.

A message of greeting from the European workers will be conveyed to the American workers by President Schlesinger at the reception and welcome to be given him by the large membership of the International of Greater New York on Friday evening, March 12, at Carnegie Hall, 57th Street and Seventh Avenue.

President Schlesinger returned to New York March 2 after a three months' sojourn to Europe visiting and studying the most important industrial centers there. He originally went to Europe as a delegate from our International to the Congress of the garment workers' unions held in Amsterdam, Holland last December, from where he proceeded to England, France, Poland, Austria, Germany, etc. President Schlesinger paid particular attention to the conditions prevailing in the garment industry, and as is seen from his articles appearing in 'Justice,' his contribution toward an under-

standing of European conditions is of utmost significance. The unusual opportunities offered by the labor and Socialist organizations in Europe made it possible for him in a relatively short time to collect a tremendous amount of information which is illumined by a warm and sympathetic intelligence.

Among those who will greet President Schlesinger will be Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Ab. Cahan, Editor of the "Forward", Morris Sigman, Manager of the Joint Board, will deliver the opening address. Secretary Ab. Baroff will be the chairman. An unusually rich musical program has been arranged in honor of the guest. Modeste Aitschuler, director of the Russian Symphony Orchestra, and Mme. Matzenauer, famous Metropolitan Opera House soprano will participate.

DRIVE OF THE CLOAKMAKERS' MILLION DOLLAR FUND IN FULL SWING

Joint Board Decides First Payment of 5 Dollars To Be Made on March 15.—Membership Enthusiastic for Fund.

The drive for the Million Dollar Defense Fund launched by the Cloakmakers' Union of New York to issue a call of its members to the Joint Board at its last meeting is in full swing. The decision to make their first payment of 5 dollars on the Fund was unanimously endorsed by the locals, according to the report of Brother Langer, Secretary of the Joint Board.

A large number of the cloakmakers have promptly responded to the call and are making their payments now. Among the first to pay their shares were the pressers, members of Local 35. Others are following their splendid example.

Individual members as well as entire shops are sending in their shares. Brother Kaplowitz, treasurer of the Union will publish the names of those who will be on the top of the list. The shop chairmen are collecting the moneys in the shops. Many of the active members have volunteered to organize shop committees to assist the shop chairmen in this work.

There is a lively and vigorous activity among the members of the Cloakmakers' Union. The machinery for raising this fund has been set in motion. The workers are determined that their payments be made before March 15.

APPEAL OF GERMAN SOCIALISTS TO AMERICAN WORKERS

Kautsky and Bernstein, Spokesmen for Independent Socialists, in Messages to President Schlesinger, Plead for U. S. Workers.

Karl Kautsky and Edouard Bernstein, veteran spokesmen for the Independent Socialists of Germany, have transmitted through Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, appeals to the American working-class and Socialist movements to re-establish the Socialist International.

Kautsky's message follows:

"Dear Comrade Schlesinger:

"You are the first representative of an American union to visit me since the beginning of the war. I must tell you with what pleasure I greeted you as the messenger of overseas internationalism. Old Father Noah could not have greeted the dove with the olive twig more joyously after the flood. Not the least of all the painful hardships that the war brought us was the fact that we Socialists in Germany were so completely cut off from our brothers in the rest of the world. Chiefly from those of America; for English and French papers did occasionally come to Germany during the war, but no American papers.

"The war has temporarily completely destroyed the brotherhood of the peoples, which before 1914 had become very close through international association. It has isolated the nations and yet has increased greatly the desire for an international community. It has freed England from its insular position, and has made it a piece of the European continent; it has joined the English dominions more closely to the motherland; it has made America a participant in European development. America has decided the war, now in times of peace the saving of Europe depends upon America. And Europe cannot burst out into flame again without including America.

"Europe cannot starve and freeze, cannot die, without perceptibly lowering the scientific, ethical and economic temperature of America.

"Never was the need for international relations, international exchange, international aid, international solidarity, greater than now. But on the other hand, never since higher civilization has existed have the obstacles to internationalism between civilized nations been so great as now partly because of the destruction caused by the war, particularly in the field of transport and on the money market, partly through the war's after effects on the human

mind through fear, mistrust, hatred.

"These obstacles to international relations and international organization in the face of such a great desire for international rapprochement and solidarity form the worst hindrances to the healing of the several wounds which the war has inflicted. To overcome them, to restore international solidarity to its rightful position, is one of the most pressing problems of the present.

"It is above all one of the tasks of the proletariat, for his class, the class of the property-less and the exploited, pursues no plan of national dominion. And as the class of the weak, who are not able to assert themselves as separate individuals, which is a power only as an organized mass, the proletariat has greater need of international organization than any other class.

"The League of Nations, which was created in Versailles, testifies to the strength which the desire for international organization has gained, even in the upper classes. But it also testifies to their inability to make allowances for this need, even for themselves. The League of Nations which those at Versailles formed is only an international instrument for the hegemony of international falsehood, not a league of all peoples for common, peaceful work.

"Whether the League of Nations can be made a tool for international social progress depends on the extent to which it is possible to change it from a union of governments to a union of peoples, and on the extent to which the proletariat gains power among the peoples.

"First, the International of the proletariat must be re-created before one may hope successfully to attack the task of creating a useful League of Nations.

"Unfortunately, even the proletariat International finds great obstacles in its way. Already there are two Socialist Internationals in existence; a third is in process of construction. The International idea threatens to change from a means of uniting the proletarians of all lands to a means of growing the breaking-up of the proletariat into sects in all nations.

"In the face of all these great obstacles to international rapprochement, and to the organizing of the proletarian masses — hindrances which seem to grow almost in proportion to the growth of the desire for internationalism

— it is the more important that at least the means for international exchange of thoughts should at once become active again and should be used more freely, and that in this way, through the efforts of individuals, the bringing together of the masses should be prepared.

"Therefore I greeted your coming, dear Comrade Schlesinger, joyfully, as the forerunner of a more active intercourse between the proletariat of America and of Germany, an intercourse through which both will gain and grow.

"With best regards to you and my-Socialist friends in America, I am,

K. Kautsky.

Bernstein's letter reads:

"Dear Comrade, Feb. 4, 1920.
"Dear Comrade Schlesinger,

"I gladly take the opportunity afforded me by your friendly visit to ask you to transmit to the American Socialists and Socialist-minded workers a heartfelt greeting, for the transmission of which you, as the representative of a great, and in an international sense, a leading union, as a member of the Socialist party, and as an adherent of the great American Federation of Labor, are fitted as only a few people are.

"The Internationale of the Socialists and of the unions, on which we, before the war, placed such great hopes in reference to the maintenance of international peace, has unfortunately not fulfilled our expectations. Nevertheless, only shortsightedness can condemn therefrom that the thought to safeguard world peace through the politically and industrially organized workers — one of your ideas — was in itself Utopian. The idea was sound, but the preparation of people's minds for its practical execution was insufficient. The decisions of the congresses of the Internationale were too general, and left concrete possibilities among them many very probable cases out of consideration. The warning of Karl Marx in the inaugural speech of the first Internationale carefully to study and to follow up the foreign policies of governments, has not been sufficiently heeded by us. This oversight has been heavily paid for, and should be a warning to us in the future.

"Now the war has caused whimsias among the people, some of which will require a long time before they are overcome, and the conclusion of peace, which is apparently still in doubt, finds the Internationale also split — split in individual countries. The whole association whose unity today is more necessary than ever, is split. Is it entirely hopeless to restore its unity as it existed in spite of many differences in opinion among its members before the war?

"I do not want to give up hope of a restoration of the old Internationale, and so long as I am able

to fight I will fight for it. In this fight the labor movement of the United States, inspired by the spirit of Socialism, can give us great support. The necessity of reaching an understanding, the necessity of fraternal co-operation among the members of various nationalities, is evident to the American labor movement of the war the nationalisms of old Europe have fallen a prey to disintegration, and in the newly-founded national states an artificially maintained nationalism has taken hold of parts of the working classes themselves. The United States is not a national state after the European model. Members of the most diverse nationalities are as citizens of the great Federal republic, members of one nation — they feel themselves such, and in this respect they learn how to deal with one another.

"So the powerfully growing labor movement of this great commonwealth may be a good model for us, and in its favorable political position may afford us much practical help. For this reason, in the first place, a much more intimate and much more frequent exchange of ideas is necessary than before the war.

"We must come closer together. In consequence of the different industrial conditions, this can happen in the near future only if you Americans come over to us more frequently; if you acquaint yourselves with the condition and the position of our movement on the spot, and if you tell us how things are done among you.

"This last year, dear Comrade Schlesinger, you have done in the last few days. You have taught us about much in the American movement better than we were able to know from a distance, and you have investigated the domestic struggles with which old Europe, and especially Germany, has to contend, to the best of the possibilities that your short stay afforded.

"Tell our friends and comrades what you have observed. I cannot speak for the whole of the German movement, but this much I can tell you, that no matter how much the contrary seems to be the case at the moment, the thought of the reorganization of the German Socialist workers' movement lives in the heart of the German people, and the number of those is not small who, although they work in this or that organization, do not lose sight of this idea.

"With this assurance I offer the comrades on the other side of the ocean my best wishes for the successful material and spiritual progress of their movement. May it offer a picture to the old world which strengthens our heart, when stormy days break upon us.

"With best greetings in the international brotherhood, I am,

Yours,
Eduard Bernstein.

Topics of the Week

The Allies and Turkey

"ALIES Prepare to Overawe Turks: 'British to Seize 'Tus' Capital,' 'French See Grab in British Army At Constantinople,' 'French Send Troops to Constantinople,' etc. These are some of the suggestive headlines appearing in our press these days. They have a familiar sound. But they appear after the machinery of the League of Nations had been set in motion, and after the peace treaty had been signed by the European Powers.

Turkey, before the Russian Revolution of 1917 had been a settled problem to the Allies. It was their solemn decision to clear Europe of Turkish rule, and divide up the most strategic points of Asia Minor among themselves. Constantinople, of course, had been given to Russia. It was the prize to be paid Russia for her entrance in the war. No one seemed to dispute the right of Russia to Constantinople.

But who shall inherit the right to that city today? It is a vexatious question. The Allies decided to make no decision. They began to prepare public opinion for the inevitable step of admitting Turkey among the civilized European nations. During the war it was an admitted fact that the Turks were incompetent, barbarous, ferocious, almost inhuman. But if there were no Turks now they would have to be created in order to free them from taking decisive steps toward this problem.

Apparently the Turks have not behaved. The Turks have a problem on their hands. It is the national problem. There are Armenians who annoy the Turks. And the Turks deal with the Armenians as other Powers deal with their nationals. They massacre. They kill. They exterminate. The Turks, so the papers say, are now engaged in massacring Armenians. Hence the troops and the notes that were despatched to Turkey. But the situation is not as simple as all that. A question arises, why have the Turks indulged in massacres on the eve of gaining the grace of the Allies? Why this suicidal act of the Turkish government? The French press states that the stories of the Armenian massacres emanating from London are grossly exaggerated for the purpose of creating the impression that the French are unable to handle the Armenian situation as well as the British handled it. It is held that Great Britain in pursuing her old-time policy sees the necessity to convince the world that she is the only power able to cope with the situation. The French press also hints at the secret agreement between Premier Lloyd George and Premier Nitti, whereby Great Britain is to have complete domination of the Orient, with Italy receiving British support in her Adriatic aspirations.

The conflict between England and France is now coming out in the open. Arthur Evans is asking the question, who is going to put the British out of Constantinople. France is not in a position to bring pressure on Great Britain, and Italy is not disposed to do so. Hence, if anything is to be done to thwart the British ambition, it is up to the United States.

Poland and Russia

ON the eve of the Allied peace with Russia, Poland has started a war. The Allies have on several occasions warned Poland against her military occupation of territory beyond the frontiers laid down by the Peace Conference. General Pilsudski has declared, two weeks ago, that Poland favors peace with Russia. Russia is begging for peace. Yet the Poles have undertaken military operations against Russia. The Soviet Army has been forced to concentrate on the Polish front. French gunboats have attacked Bolshevik cavalry. The Poles evidently count on the support of the Allies.

Preparations are now being made by the Allied (Commission to visit Russia. Virtual decision has been reached by the American government to permit resumption of trade relations with Russia. Poland is fully aware that she cannot undertake war with Russia without the support of the Allies. Is it possible that the Allies are now pursuing a double policy of warning Russia through Poland and trading with her at the same time? In the statement issued by the Allied Premiers formulating their new policy toward Russia it was explicitly stated that they would support no border country to war on Russia. And a few weeks following this announcement we find French gunboats shooting down Bolsheviks. The war between Poland and Russia is in the incipient stage. It is a preliminary military engagement which may bring grave results. It is certain that Poland alone without the support of the Allies will not undertake war against Russia. Will the Allies give support to the Poles and begin a new war on Russia?

Labor and High Rents

THE Central Federated Union of New York have taken up the question of high rents. After one of the longest and most turbulent meetings last Friday a Legislative Committee was selected to work out details for the campaign to reduce rents. It will report at this Friday's meeting. The urgency of this question was seen from the flood of speeches at the meeting. Speeches were made by more than forty delegates representing various affiliated unions and 165 delegates asked for the privilege of more speeches. Direct action was urged by most of the speakers. They insisted that unless there was an immediate change in the rent situation the organization should vote to instruct its membership of 350,000 wage earners to break all existing contracts and wage agreements and to make demands for additional pay to meet the higher cost of rent.

The Socialist delegation of the Board of Aldermen has introduced a bill regarding the housing shortage.

Ed. J. Hanna, president of the Central Federated Union and chairman of the legislative committee is conferring with Mayor Hyman on measures to relieve the present situation. The actual measures of the Central Federated Union will be announced at its next meeting.

MEMBERS OF CUTTERS' UNION, LOC. 10

ELEVENTH ANNUAL BALL

will take place

Saturday Eve., March 27th

at Hunts Point Palace

162nd ST. AND SOUTHERN BLVD.

MUSIC BY PROF. SHILLER'S JAZZ BAND

TICKETS ARE 50c. INCLUDING WARDROBE

Forget discharged and lay off once a year and make merry.

THE WEEK'S NEWS IN CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

By I. LEWIN

General News

Members are reminded that the Eleventh Annual Ball is but two weeks off. Those of the members who have not yet purchased their tickets should do so at once as they are selling fast. Preparations to make the affair the finest and the biggest have been completed. According to all indications, the attendance will be unequalled, as the present situation in the trade has solidified the membership of all branches, who will make the occasion one of celebration for the wonderful strides that Local No. 10 has made towards bettering the conditions in the trade.

The affair takes place on Saturday evening, March 27, 1920, at Hunt's Point Palace, 163rd St. and Southern Boulevard.

Cutters should bear in mind that on Saturday afternoon, March 20, the election of delegates to the International convention, which will be held in Chicago on May 3rd, will take place. There are 21 candidates who aspire to represent the membership. Local 10 is entitled to 9 delegates.

The election will be held in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place. This opens at 12 o'clock noon and closes at 3 P. M. Only members who are in good standing and hold membership for six months or more are entitled to a vote. To be in good standing a cutter must not owe more than 12 weeks' dues.

Cloak and Suit News

In an effort to evade the payment of the back pay awarded the workers in the Cloak and Suit Industry by the Governor's Commission recently, the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Protective Association has resorted to a means of evasion yet unheard of.

From all appearances and from the manner in which the matter of the request for the increase was presented by the Union to both the Association and the Governor's Commission, it was plain that the Union meant, and so the workers understood, that whatever increase might be secured would be effective as of the date of presentation of the request. Had the employers the slightest idea as to what the Commission's decision would be, they would probably have made an effort not to pay the back pay right then and there. However, the employers, thinking that they had a strong case against the union, made no such effort. And now the Association has prepared an elaborate list of questions and answers for its members as to how they may evade paying the back pay.

Briefly, they propose to pay only those of the workers the back pay who were employed after the date of the granting of the increase. Those of the workers, on the other hand, who were not employed on or after that date, are not to receive the Commission's award. The Association bases this stand on the fact that workers who were not employed after the award was made could not absorb the increase in higher production. The only increased production that the Association further claims justifies the back pay.

Thus far, Manager Gorenstein states a number of conferences were held in which the Union tried to show the employers the fallacy of the stand they are tak-

ing; that the workers are entitled to the back pay and that they must get it.

At the present writing, a call has been issued for another conference at which Benjamin Schlegel, President of the International, will be present, and where this matter is expected to be finally disposed of. In the meantime, Manager Gorenstein insists upon the back pay as the workers understand it and as it should be understood. Members are asked to report failure to receive back pay.

Waist and Dress News

The membership is familiar with the present situation in the Waist and Dress industry. Little difficulty has been experienced in securing the invoices from the Contractors' Association shops and independent employers. Members are also acquainted with the fact that the Union is carrying out the resolution adopted by the workers at a mass meeting recently held at which the officers of Locals No. 10 and 25 were ordered to enforce in all shops the award made by Dr. Magnus.

It may be surprising to state that far less difficulty has been encountered in Association shops with regard to this enforcement than was expected. Thus far, about half of the Association employers have given the increase with back pay, some of whom are "high lights" in the Association. Of course, every effort is being made by this Organization to keep up the courage of its members. They have been instructed to wait for the final settlement and have been told that no more than half a dozen have granted the increase. This can easily be approved, since the Union has record of every employer that has given an increase.

The office is being besieged with requests on the part of the cutters working in Association shops that it take up this question with their employers. Shop meetings are held in order to determine the number of workers employed in each shop and their earnings.

Miscellaneous News

Manager Perlmutter reports that the General Strike in the Wrapper and Kimono trade is still on. During the last six weeks since the strike was called, practically all the Independent manufacturers have settled with the Union under the terms demanded by the Union. Also, the President of the Association has resigned and settled with the Union.

At the very last conference, the Association offered a \$3.00 increase. A challenge had been made by the conference committee of the Association that it was the Union officials who, for the sake of their own dignity, deliberately kept the workers out on strike. This challenge was thrown back at the Manufacturers' Association, and the \$3.00 offer was submitted to the strikers in the three different halls where they meet, in Brownsville, Brooklyn, and New York, but the strikers in all three refused the \$3.00 offer unanimously. The strikers, after voting on the question, adopted a resolution pledging themselves to continue the strike until they force the manufacturers to concede the \$5 increase demanded by the workers.

Report of the Unity House Committee

The Unity House Committee of 1919 has submitted the following report of the Unity House to the Executive Board of the Ladies' Waist and Dress Makers' Union, Local 25. Due to unavailability conditions the report has been considerably delayed but its interest and importance has nevertheless remained urgent.

No doubt you remember that the whole transaction of getting a Unity House was simultaneous with our very trying strike, when every one connected with our Union had concentrated and exploited all his human energy on the battle for our very existence. As we look back to that time, it seems almost miraculous that any of us should have had enough energy to spare for the securing of a summer resort; a thing that then seemed a petty luxury. Fortunately the committee mustered up enough courage and foresight to remember that the struggle would come to an end, and that our members would, that following summer, be more in need of rest in just such a place than at any normal time. Without neglecting any of their duties, the Unity House Committee renewed its efforts to secure the present estate.

It was no easy task to find a ready built and equipped summer house to suit our members. Our committee had been on the look out these past three years, and almost despaired to find one. Institutions of this kind have so far been built for profits, not for Unions. Our committee refused to give up the ship and finally came across Forest Park. We became at once fascinated by the combination of the practicability and beauty of the place. But the price asked for, namely \$150,000.00, made it seem beyond our reach. However, we were ambitious and determined to make every possible effort to find out the real value of the property, and then reduce the price to its minimum. Accordingly, we engaged expert advice to estimate the value of the estate and inclusive machinery. The reports were so favorable that we became more anxious than ever to obtain it. They reported that with \$100,000.00 the bargain could not be duplicated, and we felt ourselves in the position of the barefoot man who saw a pair of shoes reduced to two dollars but couldn't buy it even at that price.

Because of the strike we notified the owner that we couldn't consider the offer, and we dropped the matter. What we then considered our misfortune turned out to be our very good fortune. Our loss of interest made the owner reduce his price considerably. After long deliberations the committee succeeded in reducing the price to \$85,000.00, and then submitted it to the then General Strike Committee for consideration. You notice we bring to your attention the fact that it was our loss of interest in the matter that compelled the owner to come down to almost half his price. We dared not boost the proposition until the deal was closed. For this practical reason we were in a position

where we could not even come to our membership for consultation until the property was securely ours. Finally the Executive Board agreed to purchase the property in Forest Park on the following conditions:

Cost value—\$85,000.00, of which \$10,000.00 was to be paid at the drawing of the agreement that took place on May 8th, 1919. \$10,000.00 more to be paid when title was taken—September 7th, 1919. The balance of \$65,000.00 was given to the owner on a first trust mortgage to be paid semi-annually—\$8,000.00 and interest annually to be paid each of the first two years, and \$10,000.00 per year until the balance will be paid. The interest to be 5 per cent.

These sums, small enough in realm of real estate, were staggering to our strike-ridden treasury, and once more it seemed beyond the reach of the Union to advance that sum, even though we knew that the members would assume the responsibility of collectively paying for it. Hence our International came to the rescue and advanced the first payment for us. The second \$10,000.00, the General Executive Board of our International advanced as second mortgage without any interest. We want to take the opportunity to publicly thank our parent body for its generous assistance toward this movement.

Unity House became ours on May 5th, 1919, and it was opened to our members June 14th, 1919. The very short time between buying and opening of the house placed another very difficult burden upon your committee. We realized that we were waist and dressmakers, and that our knowledge of running a hotel was limited. We made every effort to engage an expert to assume charge of running the entire institution, but up till the writing of this report we have failed to find a qualified person in the professional world, and under the circumstances we resorted to the only alternative we had. The Executive Board appointed a committee of three of our Unity committee to assume responsibility of transacting this whole gigantic enterprise. Your committee fully realizes the shortcomings of such arrangements, yet we are proud to report that the devotion of our people fully made up for the lack of experience.

Within the limited time it was up to the committee to make all practical arrangements, take inventory, engage people ranging from an engineer to kitchen help make proper arrangements for the transportation of freight, and provide for the best and most wholesome food for as many as five hundred people daily. It was the duty of this committee to calculate and plan every detail, not only for the comfort of the members, but also for economy and efficiency of running this co-operative enterprise on a self-paying basis.

A careful analysis of the attached financial report will convince you that the results are better than the most optimistic of the committee had hoped for. We

(Continued on Page 6)

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly.

Published every Friday by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union of America, 51 Union Square, New York, N. Y., Tel. Stuyvesant 1126

B. SCHLESINGER, President
A. BAROFF, Sec'y-Treas.E. TANOFFSKY, Editor.
E. LIBERMAN, Business Mgr.

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

VOL. II, No. 115

Friday, March 12, 1920.

Entered as Second-Class Matter January 28, 1919, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 4, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103 Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1919.

EDITORIALS

LABOR IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

The readers of "Justice" have now an excellent opportunity to get an insight into European labor conditions. The facts disclosed by the articles of President Schlesinger in regard to this matter are highly interesting and instructive.

Not a few will be amazed to read that, while the buying capacity of the frame is so low, the minimum scale of the Paris operators is 60 francs. What a poor figure do these 60 francs cut when put side by side with the 50 dollars of New York operators! And even if the frame retained its former buying capacity, even if 5 francs had the same value as 5 dollars, still 60 francs would be no more than 12 dollars, that is to say, no more than a fourth of the wages obtained by the New York operators.

The manufacturers may perhaps argue upon these facts an interpretation of their own and, consequently, turn them as a weapon in their fights against the demands of their workers. Compared with the wages of the French workers those of the American seem indeed to be royal. The French workers are doubtless members of a highly civilized country and have to manage to meet with their miserable 50 francs the demands of civilized people. May not then the American manufacturers say in the case of a conflict that the Americans are classed by a spirit of rebellion, that the more they get the more they want, that, instead of coming constantly forward with new demands, they ought to be rather happy with what they have, especially when they see the example of their French colleagues before their eyes.

Of course such an argument, if the manufacturers ever decide to make use of it, may prove to be a double edged sword which cuts both ways. The workers might with equal reason express a desire to make a comparison between the profits of the American manufacturers and those of the French as well as between the number of cloaks produced here and that produced in France. The Americans might accordingly argue whether their generous employers would feel satisfied to pay French wages to their workers and make French profits. It is easy to foretell which alternative the manufacturers would choose. We are certain that in any case they would lose their enthusiasm for similar statistical data.

We are after all very little concerned about the use the manufacturers could make of the miserable wages of the French garment workers. Our strong union may pass as the best answer in case we

had no other. What interests us in these facts is the lesson the workers could draw from them. And the lesson which the workers have to learn from these facts is doubtless a very important one.

∕ We must not believe for a moment that things may go on in Europe without affecting conditions in this country. Low wages in Europe may make wages in this country sink far below their present high level. America is no longer separated from the rest of the world by a Chinese wall. The ocean ceased to be a barrier between this country and Europe long before the war. And the war seems to have destroyed whatever semblance of isolation there might have been in the past.

It is precisely because the labor conditions are so deplorable in Europe that America will become as soon as transportation difficulties and restriction are removed, to the half or wholly starved workers of Europe the land of promise. The difference between 50 francs and 60 dollars is clear and striking enough to make the garment workers of Europe flock in masses to the shores of this country.

It is true, one may claim our immigration laws are a good safeguard against mass-immigrations. Besides, the European workers are so poor that they cannot even dream of coming to this country. But it is necessary for the European workers to come face to face with the American workers in order to compete with us! They may remain where they are now and yet overflow the markets of this country with the cheap goods produced by them, and in this way to force out the workers indirectly from the shops. The important thing in this connection will have to pay on imported goods will hardly be able to counterbalance the enormous difference between American and European wages, a difference, which is, moreover, tending to grow more acute.

It is obvious that the facts disclosed by Schlesinger's articles have for us a value which is not merely sentimental or educational. The bearing which conditions in Europe may have upon conditions in this country is for us far more important than information that can satisfy curiosity. What the facts bring home so clearly to every one of us is the problem how to retain our present standard of wages in the face of a possible European competition. The bitter misery of the workers in Europe is of course in itself a sufficient reason for all friends of humanity to awaken from their indifference. But for us it is not only a matter of sentiment, not only a question of how to help our brothers and sisters, but also a problem deeply affecting our own

interests. And it is because of this that even those among us who only care for things which concern us immediately and personally would be compelled to reflect over the European state of affairs.

The coming convention of the International will have devised a great deal of its time and attention to these facts. Henceforth Europe must become an important factor to be reckoned with in all the plans which we may frame. Of course our chief concern has to be now as always to keep our front internally as strong as possible, so to fortify our organization as to enable it to withstand successfully the onrush of any immigration tide. But at the same time we must not forget that the fate of Europe is as closely connected with us as the situation of Boston, Chicago or San Francisco is connected with that of New York! Until the economic situation of the European garment workers is made uniform in accordance with the specific conditions of every country, to that of the American worker, we will not be safe here.

To accomplish this end the International must extend its influence to Europe and become there a big organizing and constructive factor. Schlesinger's trip to Europe was the first step in this direction. The work started by him must of course be continued. The International must not shrink from allotting a large part of its funds for this task.

We are sure that the European workers are as class conscious as

we are. Do we not for a moment cherish the idea that we are called upon to build unions and organize labor in Europe because the European workers are not mature enough to do such work themselves. They are doubtless as mature as we are. Fortunately we were spared the hell in which they had to live for the five years of war. Their resources are so exhausted that it is hardly possible for them to restore their organizations without our help. And even if our interests were not so intimately connected with theirs we ought to extend to them a helping hand for humanitarian considerations. But as a matter of fact we do nothing but insure our own existence in allowing them to share in our resources. There is not the slightest suggestion of philanthropy in this.

This restoration work is a matter of concern not only for the American garment workers but also for all those who are employed in the needle industry. We must keep in mind the fact that when Schlesinger is talking about the garment industry he does not only mean the workers employed in the ladies garment industry. He means all those that are employed in the needle industry. For cap makers as well as furriers belong to the garment workers' organization. It is therefore of importance that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as well as the cap makers and furriers who are directly concerned in this industry to contribute their share and join the International in this great work of reconstruction.

Our Strikes in New York

THE LADIES TAILORS STRIKE

The strike of the Ladies' Tailors' Union against the firms of Milgrim Brothers and Hickson & Co. is conducted with undiminished energy and determination.

These firms are employing Pinkerton detectives, thugs, slugs and gangsters who are terrorizing the pickets. One striker who was picketing Dickson's shop was beaten up by gangsters. He is now in hospital and is in danger of losing an eye. Eleven strikers were served with summonses for disturbing the peace, while the thugs and gangsters are free to exercise their prerogatives of beating strikers.

The Union, however, is determined to bring this strike to a successful issue. For this purpose it was unanimously decided by the members of the Union to give 10 per cent of their earnings for the strike. Members are requested to give this money to their shop chairman, or to bring it to office of the Union.

THE STRIKE OF THE HOUSE DRESS WORKERS

The strike of the House Dress Makers' Union, Local 41, is conducted with undiminished energy.

∕ Negotiations between the workers and the employers seemed for a time to lead to an amicable settlement, but the employers stubbornly insisted that they would not offer more than a 3 dollar wage increase. The workers have submitted incontrovertible data showing that the present high cost of living calls for an increase in wages of 5 dollars. But the employers are determined not to give the workers a living wage.

The Union has taken up the challenge and will fight on until the workers will secure their demand.

THE PETTICOAT MAKERS' STRIKE

The strike of the petticoat makers is a bitter struggle of the workers against manufacturers who cannot tolerate any other conditions than those of a sweat shop.

The petticoat manufacturers have tried to secure an injunction against the International. But they failed. Judge Mitchell E. Engler has refused to issue an injunction against the Union.

Mr. La Guardia, President of the Board of Aldermen, who was for a time Acting Mayor of New York, offered his services to settle the strike through arbitration. But the bosses rejected this offer and thereby turned public opinion against them.

Industrial Conditions in France

By B. SCILLESINGER

Paris is a city of hard toil. The great majority of the Paris population works very hard to earn a livelihood. The beauty and liveliness of Paris is no more than a background of a picture. In Paris the whole family is at work: the father, the mother and the children go to the factory and mother takes out work to the house for herself and the youngest children. And when father does not find any factory work in his lot, takes out work to the house. Practically in every tenement house in Paris there are as many workshops as there are tenants.

Tailoring is the chief industry of Paris, and of the 250,000 workers employed in this industry 90 per cent are women. About 135,000 work at women's wear and 115,000 in men's clothing. The women work not only as operators and finishers, but also as cutters and pressers, and not only in ready-made, but also in white goods, but also at the very best of custom work, and the most expensive models.

I visited the largest tailoring establishments in Paris, and wherever I came I found only women. I passed through all 16 departments of the famous model firm, "Madam Poehene," and I saw there remarkable work — cloaks, suits, waists and dresses of the most fabulous styles, and everything is made by women.

Among the 400 workers employed by Madam Poehene there are no more than 30 men. The most is also true of the firm, "Bernard & Co.," which is the second largest model firm in the world. This firm employs 350 workers and only 25 are men. The same thing is true of the large firm, "Gallerie Lafayette," which makes the best ready made ladies' garments in the world. Thousands of workers are employed there, and not more than 50 are men. In other large factories you cannot find even so many men. There are only girls — girl cutters, girl operators, girl finishers and girl pressers!

But where do the some 20,000 men employed in the needle industry work?

Most of them work either for small contractors with which Paris is rich, or they take work to their homes. As far as I could find out, no less than 70 per cent of the needle work is done in the home of the workers. In other words, of the 250,000 people employed in the needle industry in Paris, 175,000 work in their homes. The war left its traces throughout the world, and it made no exception with the beautiful Paris. The high cost of living is frightful. The present value of the French franc is ten cents, and for most things you must pay as many francs as you would pay in American 10-cent pieces. Most of the necessities of life cannot be bought here at all. The population got used to getting along without cream, butter, sugar and without light and fuel.

The New York shoe firm, Hannan & Co., has a branch store in Paris, and I was curious to find out how its Paris prices compared with the prices in New York. I went into

the store and asked for a pair of shoes of the same brand that I wear. In New York I paid \$18 for them and here the price was 180 francs. A package of Pall Mall cigarettes cost 23 francs in New York, here — two francs 30 centimes. The same Gillette safety razor, which cost \$5 in New York, is priced here in 50 francs. For a decent room in a New York hotel you pay \$3 — here 30 francs; a post stamp in America costs two cents, here 25 centimes; a newspaper, 20 centimes; coffee, 50 centimes; a cup of coffee, 50 centimes; a roll, 50 centimes; the cheapest seat in a moving picture, a franc and a half, etc.

If wages were to rise in the same proportion, the Paris workers might get along in the present high cost of living as well as the Americans do. But the trouble is that the means of livelihood have been increased in price 300 per cent, whereas wages did not rise any more than 120 per cent. The result is that the French worker must be satisfied with the worst of food and very often he goes altogether hungry. As to clothing, most of the workers have not bought a new suit for the last few years.

In America, when a cloak cutter buys a suit for \$40, it means that he spent a week's wages for it. In France, if a cutter should spend \$40, it would amount to 400 francs, and the suit would represent approximately four weeks' wages, because the scale of a cutter is 108 francs a week (this scale, by the way, is only for men; girl cutters receive only 63 francs a week.)

France has no coal at present and the people are freezing, and when there is no coal there is no gas and no electricity; the railroads do not run regularly.

You must wait quite some time for a street car, the streets are not lighted, and accidents are frequent. Compared with New York, Paris is pitch dark. Along the boulevards you occasionally see a gas lamp. But the ordinary streets are very dark and it takes quite some time before an American gets used to such conditions.

No, one certainly does not live here like "the Almighty in France." This was true in the olden times, before the war but now it is much more convenient to be in the Bronx than in Paris.

The eight active days that I spent in Paris I made use of to get acquainted with the labor movement in general, and the tailor unions in particular. I met the leaders of the Socialist party, the leaders of the trade unions and all the officials of the tailors' union in France. I had long interviews with Longuet and Cachin, the editors of the Socialist organs, *Le Populaire* and *L'Humanite*; Jouhaux, secretary of the French Federation of Labor; Demelin, the secretary of the Metal Workers' Federation; Joni Gabou, one of the leaders of the co-operative movement, and with many others. They all received me very cordially. With Longuet and Cachin, I got along in conversation without any help as Longuet speaks English, and as does Cachin's wife. With the others I conversed through an interpreter,

a very intelligent Jewish young man, a ladies' tailor, by the name of Alexander Zimerman.

In France the unions have little in common with the Socialist party. They do not fight the party as the case is in America, but they do not work together with it either. Among all the Socialist deputies in the French Parliament there is not a single leader of a union.

"Since Millerand, Briand and Viviani betrayed the labor movement, no union leader will dare to run for a political office, even on the Socialist ticket. If he should he would be forced to resign his office in the union."

Such was the explanation of one of the most prominent union leaders, who is also a member of the Socialist party.

To me this was new. It appeared strange that the French, who fought for the commune 43 years ago, do not take a determined stand against the policy of the government, to annihilate Russia through hunger. This appeared to me somewhat inconsistent. I wanted to learn the reasons why the French trade union movement is comparatively weaker than in other countries (altogether there are only a million and a quarter of organized workers in France), and also why the Socialist party did not have in the last elections the success prophesied by the leaders. I was also interested to know how the French Comrades are lined up on the question of the "International." I was told that Cachin and Longuet intend to form a fourth international.

Not all explanations were satisfactory to me, yet I learned very much from the interviews, and if I will only have the necessary time I will report the substance of the interviews in a special article.

As to the needle industry and the tailors' organization, the situation is such:

In France, there are about half a million people employed in the making of clothing, about 300,000 at women's clothing and about 225,000 at men's clothing. Of these there are in Paris a quarter of a million and the rest are scattered throughout the country. The next largest clothing center is Lyons. Then comes Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lille, Toulouse, Nancy and other cities.

In Paris there is one union for all workers in the tailoring industry — "The Big Union" — as it is called in America. It is known as the *Federation Industrielle des Travailleurs de l'habillement de France et des Colonies*. It consists of 160 local unions throughout the country and its membership including the 10,000 who have taken out books but never paid dues, is 50,000, 25,000 in the men's clothing trade and 15,000 in the women's clothing trade. That means that the men's clothing industry is better organized. There are in France about 6,000 Jewish tailors and most of them are in Paris. But no more than 250 belong to the union, (100 are employed in the men's custom trade and 150 in the ladies' tailoring and models.)

This is the membership in the union throughout France. The membership in Paris is 25,000.

About 15,000 in the men's clothing trade and about 10,000 in the women's clothing trade. Until last May the membership of the union in Paris was even smaller, altogether 12,000; but on the 19th of May the tailors' union called a general strike in Paris in which 70,000 workers from both industries participated, and although work for the most part stopped, the union did not gain any more than 13,000 new members. Due to the strike the union reduced the hours of work from 60 to 48 a week and obtained for all workers a raise of 100 per cent.

As I have already mentioned, the tailoring industry in France is a woman's industry. The small percentage of men employed there work for the most part either in the small outside shops, or in their own so-called "work shops," where they work with a few girl assistants. I have already said that no less than 70 per cent of the workers work in their homes. In men's clothing the percentage of home workers is so much smaller. The cloak, suit and dress trade is practically in its entirety in the hands of home workers, and little "masters" who employ from three to 10 workers.

Under such circumstances it appears quite natural that the organization should be so small. It is practically impossible to organize home workers. The 135,000 ladies' garment workers of Paris are scattered throughout the following trades and in the following numbers:

Model and custom work	25,000
Cloaks and suits	35,000
Hand-made dresses	20,000
Waists	10,000
Underwear and corsets	30,000
Raincoats	10,000
All sorts of embroidery	5,000
Total	135,000

The 10,000 organized workers are scattered through the following trades and in the following numbers:

Model and custom work	5,000
Underwear and corsets	4,000
Cloaks, suits and dresses	500
Waists	300
Embroidery	200

Total 10,000

Yet, although the membership is so small, the union, exerts a great influence on the entire trade. The manufacturers respect it because they know from experience that even a weak union can make trouble, and the home workers respect it because they understand that it is through the union that they get a raise from time to time. Through the strike of last May tens of thousands of home workers suspended work during the whole week. The union paid their strike benefits and treated them as if they were members.

The tailors' union maintains an office and three paid officials; a general secretary, a general treasurer, and a bookkeeper. The Paris local also maintains an office and three paid officials. They have no business agents and there is no need for them, because the workers rarely come to the union with complaints, and if they sometimes do one of the secretaries attends to it. The offices of the union and of the Paris local are in the same building, in Bourse des Travailleurs. (This is a structure built by the city many years ago for workers' organizations to meet and to have their offices.)

The dues in the union are two

frances per month for men and one franc 20 centimes per month for women. The union receives 50 per cent of that, and that is why it is 20,000 francs in debt.

The agreement of the union with the bosses relates only to wages and to the question of discharge. Not a word is mentioned about the union shop, and the boss employs whomsoever he likes. No worker can be discharged without a week's notice. When a worker wants to leave his place he must also give a week's notice. The 48-hour week work is mentioned in the agreement, but since the union permits its members to work 160 hours of overtime without extra pay, I consider this provision of little importance.

Practically all the work is paid for by the piece. Only in a few shops do they work by the week. But the scale of wages is the same for week workers as for piece workers, and when a piece worker has earned less than the scale, the boss must add to his wages up to the scale. Of course, before a boss will add to the wages he tries to find out the reason why the worker did not earn the scale, and if the reason is not satisfactory, he may give a week's notice and discharge the worker. During this week's notice the worker is permitted to leave the shop for an hour every day to look for a new place.

A worker who earns more than that scale gets everything he earns. But such cases are very rare, unless one works extremely hard.

The following are the minimum weekly scales for wages in the cloak and suit trade in Paris:
 Cutters (men) 108 francs
 Cutters (girls) 63 francs
 Operators (girls) 60 francs
 Finishers (girls) 49 francs
 Pressers (men) 108 francs
 Pressers (girls) 63 francs

In very few shops the machines are driven by electricity. Even in the shop of the "Gallerie Lafayette" the machines are operated by foot power. The press irons that are used in America are not known here. The girl pressers lift the 18 and 20 pound irons just as the pressers of Local 35 of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union used to do before 1910.

"While in Paris I addressed a mass meeting of Jewish workers in the Bourse des Travailles. The meeting was arranged by the Cap Makers' Union, which, by the way, is one of the strongest unions in Paris. The members are all Jews, and when they found that I was in Paris, they lost no time in arranging a sort of welcome meeting. The meeting was very well attended, and it was an enthusiastic one. Besides the cap makers there also came to the meeting many non-organized tailors. The meeting was also addressed by the business agent of the Cap Makers' Union, a young man named Gompers, and also by Comrade Leo Glaser, the Paris correspondent of the Jewish Daily Forward."

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REPORT OF THE UNITY HOUSE COMMITTEE
 (Continued from Page 3)

take pride in pointing out that this time the Union did not lose on the running of the Unity House.

The most conspicuous characteristic that distinguished our summer home from any ordinary summer home, is not only the fact that it is more luxurious, or that the food was more wholesome, or even that it is a co-operative, working class understanding. All these features appeal to the practical men and women. The important fact that the spirit, the atmosphere was so pleasant. Here our vacation was not marred by the grotesque emptiness that prevails in most vacation resorts. Our members were provided with constant entertainment and physical fund. Miss J. S. Poyntz was the director of publicity and education. She arranged for lectures, concerts, readings and other intellectual entertainments. Mrs. Lucy Letting directed the physical sports. Under her supervision our members learned swimming, rowing, basket-ball, tennis playing and dancing. With the assistance of Mrs. Lipshitz, one of the committee's co-workers, the members built up a well-chosen and admirable library. No less important was our "Department of Health." We had a trained nurse, Mrs. C. Ebbs, who was kept working overtime on all ailments ranging from a cinder in the finger to a sprained ankle. In fact during the short stay in Forest Park our members enjoyed every moment of the city, and the joy of the country.

No undertaking that deals with human beings can be perfect, because its reception depends upon the various likes, moods, whims and tastes of the people to whom it caters. Our "Department of Health" is no exception to this rule. Due to the newness of this field of activity there were shortcomings, of course, and we are happy to say that most of our members were broadminded enough to overlook unavoidable and unpleasant annoyances. Comparatively speaking, things ran more smoothly than we expected in so new and gigantic a movement. There were at times groups of dissatisfied members who were critical of real and fictitious details. It should be remembered, however, that the wave of dissatisfaction has perturbed the entire labor movement, and of course, it has penetrated here into the Unity House, the offspring of our Union, to some extent.

That there is a demand for such a movement is proven best by the amount of applicants we have had. In our Pine Hill experiment we accommodated nearly 300. In

next year, in Bear Mountains, we had nearly 500 members. The year after that we had almost 1,000 members, and now in Forest Park we accommodated over 1,700 members.

We feel that Unity House has become the soul of our union, and as such it deserves the attention and co-operation of every one interested in our Union in general, and in this branch of the work in particular. We have demonstrated to the entire labor movement of America that a Union has functions other than the limited present-day activities, under the conditions in the shop. We are proud that our Union has been the first Union in America to start social and educational activities on a large scale. Our recent activities have given us more inspiration and energy for the bigger and higher things in life, and that the example set to the rest of the labor movement has borne fruit, we see from the fact that Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago have similar movements, and in other cities where they have nothing concretely yet, there is a strong agitation for a social and educational program to be instituted in their regular program.

In conclusion we wish to thank the Board for having entrusted us with executing this most important work, and we most sincerely hope that our succeeding Unity committee will receive the full co-operation of the Executive Board and members in order that they may continue and improve on our work. We hope the new committee will not only carry on the work of the already established institutions, but that it will reach out successfully into other and large parts of the co-operative movement.

Fraternally yours,
 UNITY HOUSE COMMITTEE
 Rebecca Silver,
 Anna Kronhardt,
 I. Liebowitz,
 M. Guzman.

GARMENT CLERKS' UNION CONDUIT ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGNS

The Ladies' Garment Clerks' Union, Local 130 of the International, are actively engaged in an organization campaign of shipping clerks, packers, receiving clerks, stock clerks, piece goods men, assessors. If all other clerks employed in the factory.

The Union is receiving the support and co-operation of the Joint Board of the International. Brother La Porta will soon be on the job as organizer of the clerks.

New members are daily joining the Union which has its office at 228 Second Ave. Regular membership meetings are held every Tuesday evening at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth Street.

LADIES' TAILORS AND ALTERATION WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 80

A GENERAL MEMBER MASS-MEETING

will be held on
Wednesday, March 17th
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A full report of the strikes of Hickson and Milgrim Brothers will be given. Also nominations for delegates to the convention will take place.

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"The New York Evening Mail," in its issue of February 7, 1920, says the following:

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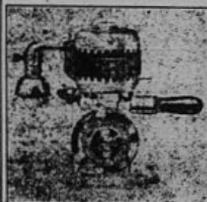
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