



VOL. I

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No. 2

## TO THE 35,000 STRIKING LADIES' WAIST MAKERS

—On Tuesday, the 21st of January, at ten in the morning, you left your shops at the call of your union.

What is your union? Is it an external force which can make you do something to which you are opposed?

No! You, yourselves are the union, and it was your own will, your own decision, that you obeyed last Tuesday, a day which will always be remembered.

You did not do it through some caprice, because you were suddenly seized with the desire to enjoy a holiday. You, more than anyone else, know the truth — that you left your shops, stopped off working, because the demands which the bosses put before you, as conditions for your continuing to work for them, were outrageous, humiliating, to such a degree that no man with the least bit of self-respect, could have accepted them.

No, you did not leave your shops through your own free will. You did not want to strike. You were ready to bring your just demands before any honorable, impartial judge, and were willing to abide by his decision. But your bosses rejected your demand. Then what other alternative remained to you but to go out on strike and in that way to force your bosses to act not like wild barbarians but like civilized men.

You all know well just why you went out on strike last Tuesday morning. You know that if the boss should actually get the right to discharge whomever he wishes, and whenever he wishes, then it must sooner or later come to such a pass that the best and most active union members will remain without work; it must come to such a pass that your wages, no matter what the agreement, will be lowered and that the working hours will become longer and longer and the sword of Damocles, the fear of being sacked, hanging always over the heads of the workers, will in the long run make of the bravest and most courageous, the most abject slaves of the boss.

You, ladies' waist makers, know better than anyone else, what a terrible weapon the discharge-whip is in the hands of the bosses. And you know that this whip which was taken out of the hands of the bosses about ten years ago after your heroic

fight, must never be returned to them, and become in their hands the most terrible weapon against the workers.

You, ladies' waist makers know better than anyone else, what an ugly bluff it is when the bosses, in their sly manner, come out before the world trying to fool the people that you are seeking a life claim to your jobs. The truth is that no greater punishment could be invented for you, for truly free workers, than that you should have to be bound to one factory, to one job, to one boss, who gets so much on one's nerves that one yearns for the moment when he will be rid of him. You know how often, of your own free will, you leave your shops, of which you have become so tired, and run to seek other positions, in the hope that perhaps there you will find things a little better; then you must surely know how foolish is the claim of the bosses that you are so enamoured of your jobs that you cannot tear yourselves away from them, and want nothing more than to remain ladies' waist makers for the rest of your lives.

Of course you do not wish, and rightly so, that the boss should be able to discharge you whenever he pleases to do so, but how different this is from the stories which the bosses are telling the public, that you want to spend all your lives in their shops! This bluff the union made clear to the public by its statement that it is ready to grant the bosses the right to discharge whomever they wish, only that the workers shall also be able to make use of their legitimate right to strike. But the bosses do not want this. They want to have two whips over the workers: they want to be able to discharge them whenever and for whatever reasons they may choose to give, and they also want that the workers shall never be permitted to strike.

You know that your demands which you put forth, are fully justified, that they are an absolute necessity for you. There are three demands: a forty-four hour week, a 51 per cent increase in wages, and the right of your representatives to visit your shops from time to time in order to find out whether the boss is giving you the proper sanitary safeguards in your shops so that you may not in

a short time fall victims of tuberculosis.

You know, therefore, how justified is your fight. And in this consciousness of your full rights, you left your shops last Tuesday in order to fight for these rights.

Fine! You could not have acted otherwise. It would have meant the placing of your necks under the heels of your bosses; here, step on us, do as you wish with us. We are your slaves, body and soul.

And you went into the conflict, knowing well what it meant: that it may be that the fight will be a very difficult one, that you may have to suffer all kinds of discomforts, and even worse than that. But you had decided upon this: let the sufferings be great, but the goal for which you are fighting, is great and holy and you are prepared to sacrifice all.

Splendid! The first condition for a good, courageous fight is the consciousness that you are fully in the right. This condition exists; it is clear to everyone. But there are other conditions which are very necessary for the winning of a victory. Let us see what they are.

1. Unity, solidarity, all together. All greater or lesser differences of opinion that exist among you must be forgotten altogether in this fight. In times of peace diversities of opinion are a good and necessary thing for the further progress of mankind. But in time of conflict, when you stand face to face against a united enemy, differences of opinion are a luxury which we cannot allow ourselves to indulge in, because they endanger our final victory. Remember that the enemy is only hoping that there may be dissension in your ranks; that he keeps sending out his hired agents, in some form or another, in order to create discord among you. You must therefore, be on your guard against his tactics. Remember that every such attempt may bring about that your best and strongest efforts shall be of no avail. Therefore every faithful union member, during the time of the conflict, must put aside his personal grievances against some one or other member. The whole fighting labor army must present a united front.

2. You must have the fullest, the most unconditional confidence in your leaders, in those

whom, you yourselves have chosen to lead you in the fight.

Through your choice you have placed upon their shoulders a tremendously difficult responsibility. Do not make it more difficult by complaints which are often quite unfounded, because you cannot know everything as well as the leaders do, who have all the various threads of the conflict in their hands.

There is not in all of America, nay, not in the whole world, any more devoted, better, more tactful leaders than those you have. You know them all. They have grown up with you. Their honesty is beyond all doubt. More than once they have led you to victory. Remember this! The greater the confidence in your leaders, the sooner and the most easily will your victory come about.

3. Do nothing which may of the entire "International" and hurl all kinds of horrible accusations at your door. Be strong and courageous in the fight. But courage and bravery do not go hand in hand with wild shoutings. Dignified, calm and calculated action brings one more quickly to the goal than action which is accompanied by much noise and confusion but in which there is very little reason.

Act, fight in such a way that the whole world will have to admit that the bosses slandered you when they told the public that you were irresponsible people.

These three conditions are absolutely necessary for the conduct of a victorious fight, and with the consciousness of the full right on your side, with a solidarity which no power can break, with the fullest confidence in your leaders, with public opinion on your side, with the aid of the entire "International" and of the whole labor movement, of which you are an inseparable part, so that your victory will also be a victory for the whole labor movement, you cannot do otherwise than win if only you will not for a single moment lose your will to win.

And with a heart full of enthusiasm for you, for your unity, for your union, for your victory, we cry out to you: Luck to the great conflict and earnest wishes for a great victory! May every step, every move of yours in the great struggle, bring you nearer and nearer to the triumph of your great cause.

# KARL LIEBKNECHT

By Dr. Esther Luria

According to telegrams received from Berlin, Karl Liebknecht has fallen in his struggle with the Ebert government. But who knows? (Unfortunately the news of his death is too true. So is the death of the heroic Rosa Luxemburg. Both met their death at the hands of an infuriated mob. — The Editor.) One cannot place much faith in reports which are received nowadays. More than one dead hero, has been resurrected from the dead of late. We are, therefore, hopeful that Liebknecht is still alive and that he will continue his important work, his fight for a Socialist government in Germany. We shall therefore, not write any epitaphs for him. But we shall rather review the activities and talk about the personality of the great German popular hero. Liebknecht is the real leader of the Spartacus group. Even the name of the party belongs to him. Because of the persecutions of his government, Liebknecht could not do his work openly. He was therefore compelled to adopt the old Russian methods of working in secret. And in his pamphlets he would sign himself, "Spartacus."

We are living in the twentieth century. For us, nothing supernatural exists. As we understand it, great people are endowed by nature, with extraordinary gifts. But formerly this was different. Imagination would endow its heroes with supernatural forces. Heroes were not born like other children; neither would they grow up like other children. The hero of a Russian ballad is wrapped not in ordinary swaddling clothes but in iron armor. Had Liebknecht lived in those times, the legend would have put into his mouth the following words: "Mother, wrap me in conflict, do not feed me with milk but with the spirit of opposition." And in the twentieth century we do not wish to say that Liebknecht sucked in the spirit of opposition, we may however say, that he was raised in this spirit.

Liebknecht was born 47 years ago. His father, the well-known founder of the social democratic party in Germany, was in prison at the time of the boy's birth. He has been confined for refusing to vote for the war budget. His mother used to say that she had passed on to her son the sufferings which she had had to endure, the courage and energy, which she had had to display in those difficult times. She also instructed him to stand, like his father, for the people, and, to fight for a brighter future.

Liebknecht began to be interested in the life of the people while yet a student. At that time he organized literary clubs for the study of social problems. While a lawyer, Liebknecht had an office in Berlin with three partners, two of whom were his brothers. The office was always filled with various kinds of people. All wanted to see "Our Karl," as he was called. An American journalist, a personal friend of Liebknecht, de-

scribed the office as follows: "Some wanted to get his advice in matters of law, others, German or foreign students, wanted to get his personal advice or material help. One sought employment, the other wanted to get some of Liebknecht's articles for the press; one wanted to get some information from him, another wished to find out what was the entrance fee to the university. Still another wanted to know how to rid himself of the persecution of the police. And all received the needed advice from "Our Karl." Liebknecht himself was one of those men whom one must love when one gets to know him. His home life was a very happy one. His second wife — the first one died — is a Russian woman. She is a graduate of the University of Heidelberg. She is an ardent social democrat, and supported Liebknecht in all his plans. In her, Liebknecht had a wife, a friend and a comrade. Personally there is very little that can be said against this lovable man. But the bourgeois press does find things against him: Today one can read on the first pages of the American press, about Liebknecht's great transgression because he sent his family to Switzerland, knowing that there would be trouble in Berlin. A great crime. . . a father wishes to keep his children in safety during times of unrest at home.

Inventions, revolutions, new parties are not made in a single moment. They are created slowly, gradually. The same was also true of the work of Liebknecht. Not in a moment did he become the founder of a new party, not in a moment did he place himself in opposition to the official social democratic party in Germany, and not immediately did Wilhelm's government see in him his bitter enemy. Liebknecht began his fight about ten years before the beginning of the great war. Karl Marx and the old Liebknecht had foretold the evil outcome of militarism. These results were also seen clearly by the social-democratic party. But it took no definite step against this evil. Karl Liebknecht was the first one to take up this work. At the meetings of the social-democratic party he brought in resolutions calling for systematic work among the soldiers against militarism. But Liebknecht's resolutions were never adopted. He, however, did not lose courage, and himself took up the work. He lectured to the young men against militarism. He printed this lecture in book form. At first the government did not take notice of his book, but later it was confiscated and its author was indicted for treason. At his trial, Liebknecht uttered the following words: "The aim of my life is the overthrow of the monarchy. Like my father, who stood before a judge, just 35 years ago, and who was acquitted of the charge of treason, so I, too, hope that the time is not distant, when the principles

which I stand for will be recognized as practical, just and honorable." Liebknecht was sentenced to a year and a half in prison. While he was in prison, the workers nominated and elected him as member of the Landtag. On the day of the elections, tens of thousands of workers gathered about the building of the "Vorwärts." When the news of Liebknecht's election was announced, there was a great demonstration of joy. One worker said to the other: "Only now will there be heard here true words of justice." And these were prophetic words. Liebknecht fought whenever and wherever he had the opportunity. Not being able to fight against militarism in his own party and in the press, he nevertheless, found a way. He disclosed a number of friends in the army. If Wilhelm had a personal friend, a general who was about to become a secretary in the war department, Liebknecht would come along and discover that Wilhelm's friend was an impostor, and the latter had to withdraw from public life. Liebknecht even clipped the wings of the great Krupp. He showed the real worth of the great "patriotism" of the big manufacturer. The latter kept many spies in many of the European countries and also in America. With the aid of bribed diplomats, he would try to incite one country against the others, in order to call forth wars and get large orders. This German "patriot" would sell munitions in France at a lower price than in Germany.

In his activities against militarism, Liebknecht stood alone, both his party and also in the legislative bodies. Liebknecht also fought against the monarchy whenever he had the chance to do so. Once the Landtag decided to set aside a certain sum of money for an opera house. Liebknecht said: "The opera house, for which we are to set aside the necessary outlay will outlive several generations. I hope that the time will come, when the institution will cease to bear the name, 'The Imperial Opera House.'"

Of course, it is self-understood, that when the war broke out, Liebknecht was not one of those who suddenly became "patriotic." From the very start, he was opposed to the war. The first time he voted for the war budget in the Reichstag because the party had not yet come to any agreement, and he did not wish to be an exception, a thing which would have been against the party discipline. But shortly after that he did vote against the war budget. There was a time when he was the only one in the party to do this. Then the number of war opponents increased. This increase was a slow one during the first years of the war.

Liebknecht came out openly with his convictions. If they tried to throttle him in the legal press, he would make his utterances illegally. Liebknecht could not be silenced. He found a new way of attacking the government, a method which had

been adopted in England but which did not exist in Germany. He would put various questions to the government and thus force it to speak out. The social-democratic delegates were not pleased with his conduct in the Reichstag. But they could do nothing against Liebknecht. He was finally expelled from the party. This could not be done officially because for this it was necessary to have a party meeting, and this could not be called. Liebknecht would oppose all evils of the government, the iron discipline in the camps and in the trenches, the atrocities in Belgium and in Poland.

Two years ago, in May, Liebknecht called out a demonstration. He held a speech before a large gathering that listened to him as if spellbound. In this speech he said: "We have special privileges. . . we may be soldiers, we may pay taxes, and we may keep our tongues between our teeth. . . Through a lie the German workers were forced to take part in the war, through a lie, they are being forced to continue the war. We do not want any more war. . . we want peace."

The German revolution freed Liebknecht from prison. The number of his followers is ever on the increase. In vain does the press rejoice that with the death of Liebknecht, the Spartacus party will cease to exist. It will cease to exist just as Bolshevism ceases to exist in Russia.

It seems incredible that Liebknecht is already fifty years old. His courage, his energy, and his fearlessness are those of a much younger man. It seems that there are men who never grow old.

**The Cloakmakers in Line with the Ladies Waist Makers.**

Jan. 22nd-1915.  
General Strike Committee  
of Local No. 25,  
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union,  
16 W. 21st St., N. Y. C.  
Sisters and Brothers:

The struggle which was forced upon you by your impudent employers is our struggle and the struggle of the entire labor movement of America.

Your manufacturers have tried with all their efforts to distort the real issue involved in your fight. They ventured to picture you as the terror of this community in order to veil the pack of grievances which have been piled up as a result of their narrow-minded view of the social life. So far, they have not succeeded in convincing the public that they are just the contention and the workers are unjust in their demands.

Although everyone in our community is sympathetic toward your fight, it is obvious that you must rely upon your own strength in order to achieve VICTORY which is certain to come.

The Joint Board with its affiliated Locals is ready with its moral force and financial resources to assist you in your fight. We feel confident that your flagrant manufacturers will soon acknowledge the mistake they have made and their hopes will not be realized of bringing you back to conditions which prevailed before you have realized the great value of unity and class solidarity.

(Continued on page 6.)

# EGGERS FROM THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

By W. M. F.

The great Mooney Convention, called by the labor movement through the International Workers' Defense League, to meet in Chicago to take some action upon the case of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, the "framed" labor leaders of San Francisco, has passed into history.

Between 950 and 1,000 delegates attended from practically every section of the country. There were over 100 delegates from Pacific Coast unions alone. Socialist party organizations and I. W. W. locals sent delegates, and the largest part of the first day's discussion was upon the question of admitting or declining to admit delegates from organizations that are not strictly labor union locals. The convention decided not to admit them as delegates from such organizations but inasmuch as most of them were likewise delegates from other labor organizations also, no one was worried.

The sentiment of the convention was resolute in the extreme. During the four days of its sessions, every phase of the labor situation was discussed. The Italian "Labor" Delegation, traveling in America with a number of the Government, was asked, by an overwhelming vote not to attend. A tremendous majority of the delegates voted to invite Eugene V. Debs to address them, but as soon as the vote was announced, Judge Westerheaver, who sentenced Debs, wired that if he appeared and spoke, his bail would be cancelled and he would be committed to jail at once. Debs, however, sent a vigorous message, which was read amid cheers.

The Convention elected a delegation to go to Washington to intercede with the Government, in an attempt to break the deadlock that keeps Mooney and Billings in jail. In addition, a million dollar fund was launched, and it was voted that the only feasible thing to do, in the event that Mooney and Billings are still in jail by July 4, would be a general strike to be called on that day. A committee was elected to attend the A. F. of L. convention at Atlantic City next June to secure the cooperation of that body in such a move. It is anticipated that there will be some opposition among the convention to this radical action at Atlantic City, but the Chicago convention was unanimous upon that point.

The case of Tom Mooney is getting to be an international scandal. It will be remembered that a bomb was exploded at the time of the "Preparedness" parade in July, 1916, in San Francisco. Mooney has been convicted of murder in the first degree for the crime, and has been sentenced to hang. Labor throughout the world has been aroused by the case, and resolutions have been transmitted to the Government from workers in Scotland, Russia, Italy, Switzerland, and many other countries, demanding his release.

It is admitted by all that the Mooney convention, a thoroughly representative body, took a long step forward in the labor

movement of America. It is the first time that a representative body of this kind took such a forward looking stand.

The navy yard workers and shipyard workers are getting the prevailing labor fever. It is reported that 15,000 men in one shipyard and 25,000 in another in the state of Washington are on strike, demanding better conditions, higher wages and recognition of their union.

A number of sailors who had sailed from New York via the Panama canal from Seattle, report conditions on the government fabricated ships as appalling. In the first place, they say, the building of the ships was done under circumstances that were more favorable to the welfare of the shipyard owners rather than of the ships or the workers. The workers were sweated in the building of the ships and the sailors were sweated on shipboard. Out of 56 sailors who set sail from the Coast city over 35 became union members by the time the trip was over. These conditions they say, are typical.

The sailors were emphatic in their assertion that the unions of the seafaring men were depressed and a very great growth in the near future. With the development of the merchant marine, the seafaring profession is coming into its own.

The 46 I. W. W. men, indicted for violation of the espionage act in California, have been found guilty by the jury in Sacramento. The men felt that they had no chance of acquittal and refused to talk during the trial. They made a "silent" defense. One of the sensations of the trial was the springing of three Government witnesses, who had been sitting with them, and who had been talking with them, and who had been government spies all along. They betrayed the confidence reposed in them, and swore away the liberty of the men, who all received long sentences.

At about the same time, Dr. Morris Zucker a Brooklyn Socialist was found guilty of violation of the Espionage Act, and sentenced to 15 years at hard labor. His offense seems to have been parts of speech in which he denounced the riotous soldiers at Madison Square Garden a few days before. Although the speech was made some 17 days after the President had declared that the war had come to an end, Zucker was indicted upon the ground that he had violated a law that was designed to punish those that had hampered the military operations of the United States during the war. The Government strenuously objected to the introduction of evidence showing that there had been riots at the Garden and the record therefore falls to show anything to that effect.

Zucker was convicted, therefore, for denouncing the soldiers for doing something that every newspaper in the city was denouncing them for at the same time, and for which the Police Commissioner threatened

to shoot them down with machine guns.

The unemployment situation is looming up as the most ominous menace to the well being of the country. The financial districts of the city are plastered over and liberally besprinkled with signs to the effect that every soldier is worth a job. "Every star means a job," or words to that effect, appear in store windows galore.

Nevertheless, the situation is getting to be appalling; signs are not jobs, and with tens of thousands of soldiers debarking each day, the situation is getting to be worse. Boys are sent to the Y. M. C. A. where they are said to be sent to break strikes.

A number of radical soldiers, sailors and marines in New York formed an organization to fight the conditions that seem to be impending. They called upon Mayor Hylan, asking that he do something for them.

The answer of that dignity was a denunciation of the people who are attacking Hearst, and a eulogy of that publisher. There is a committee sitting in one of the public buildings in New York, whose purpose it is supposed to be to aid discharged soldiers and sailors in getting jobs. Thousands of men apply to the committee; very few of them get jobs.

Frequently it is said, that the line of men reached from the sixth floor of the Hall of Records Building to the street and then around the corner. The Committee does all in its power to get the men to enlist in the merchant marine. Most of the men have city connections; many of them have families. The chairman of the committee, after announcing that he had nothing as good as \$20 a week, said one day under his breath, "I don't know what in h—l I am to do with these men!"

A great deal is being said about giving jobs to soldiers and sailors. Very little is being done. A number of the unions are starting a move to get a universal 44-hour week, in order that with the oncoming of great masses of uniformed men back into industrial life, the problem of unemployment might be kept down to the minimum.

The school system of New York city is getting into the limelight again. The salaries paid to the teachers are miserable. If shop girls got no more than teachers received, there would be a revolution in their industry. After years of training, teachers are employed at something like \$16 a week. Increases are slow and small.

The Teachers' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., organized some time ago, is trying to organize the teachers in their fold. The principals and superintendents insist on discouraging the teachers from joining because, they say, a union is so "unprofessional."

During the war, appeals were made to the teachers not to give up their \$16 and \$18 jobs and take better ones, as a matter of "patriotism," because it

would be more "patriotic" to stay in the system, take the lower wages, and prevent the deplorable event of a raise in pay, to attract new blood.

Ludicrous as it seems, that is the appeal actually made to the teachers. But Mayor Hylan, when representations were made to him at a meeting of the Board of Estimate, of which he is chairman, that it is impossible for teachers to live on the pay they get, said gruffly, "If you don't like your pay, get other jobs." But the principals and superintendents say that it would be "unpatriotic" to do that, and "unprofessional" to join the union.

The Board of Education is composed of seven members, appointed by the Mayor, and it has complete power over everything in the system. Its latest escapade was the discharge, without any hearing, of a teacher in one of the high schools, for "teaching Bolshevism." That is, the teacher in question was asked by a boy who was "planted" to do this by his principal, what he thought of the Bolsheviks. The teacher, who knew that there was a trap being prepared for him, answered that he thought the Bolsheviks are not as bad as they are painted, but that he thought it dangerous for a teacher to express his opinions freely. So he declined to answer. A few days later, he was suspended without pay, and without a hearing as to the accuracy of the charges, or the validity of the charges, if proved, as an excuse for getting him out.

The real explanation is not the teacher's answers upon Bolshevism, but because that man is an active member of the Teachers' Union, its delegate to the C. F. U., and one of the editors of its excellent organ, the American Teacher.

The mayor of the city boasts of his union card. But he is making it known by his actions in the boatmen's strike, and by the actions of his hand-picked Board of Education, that he is a bitter foe of unionism.

The case of this school teacher has stimulated the Teachers' Union to renewed activity, and it is likely that its result will be the building up of an organization in time to end the intolerable conditions in the school system.

## To "Justice."

With the appearance of this paper we expect that the feeling of justice should prevail not only in the paper but in our union and all over the world.

We hail the new paper and with that it may fulfill what we expected when we gave up all our former organs and merged them into one powerful organ, with the object of strengthening our union and evoke the brotherly sentiments of all who are affiliated with our International Union.

PHILIP KAPLOWITZ,  
Treasurer of Joint Board Cloak makers' Union.

# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly.

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## FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

### IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

One does not often have the opportunity of witnessing such a demonstration of power, enthusiasm, and determination. The workers, men and women, came in thousands, from their shops, to give vent to their feelings of indignation and bitterness against the conditions under which they have been forced to work up till now. And if you had gazed into their faces, and heard the thunderous applause with which they received every thought, and every passionate utterance of the speakers which found an echo in their hearts and minds, you would have been certain that the battle which began last Tuesday at ten in the morning will be an epochal one—the most determined battle which the workers have ever waged.

At this meeting in Madison Square Garden it would have been obvious to you that if ever there was a mass conflict in the proper sense of the word, it is the present strike of the Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers' Union. No person of any mentality, seeing this meeting, would have dared to say that this is one of those strikes of which one might possibly think that it is one called forth by the leaders. All impartial observers would have been forced to admit that here was an instance where the masses—more than their leaders—had desired and waited impatiently for the hour when the battle would be called and that the leaders in everything they did have simply expressed the wishes, the earnest demands of the masses.

If the bosses had understood this, they would not have made themselves ridiculous on that very Saturday by circulating a handbill among the workers, telling them that their leaders were misleading them by hiding from them the truth, and that they were calling the strike because of their own personal ambitions. Foolish bosses, how little they know that in the present case it was the leaders who exerted all their efforts to avert the struggle, a thing which caused more dissatisfaction among the majority of the union workers.

They could have learnt all this at the great meeting in Madison Square Garden. And above all they might have learnt that their most determined and secret hopes of breaking the Union through the strike which they so unblushingly provoked, cannot and will not ever be realized; that sooner will many, many of those who are now manufacturers in the

ladies' waist industry and who brag about themselves as though they were really of any account, be completely wiped out, the ongoing battle will mean as manufacturers that no trace will remain of them.

All this the bosses could have learnt at the splendid meeting at Madison Square Garden last Saturday if only their eyes could see things as they really are. But I am afraid that even this meeting would not have helped them very much. Their eyes are blood-shot. They see everything reversed and they commit one stupidity after the other—something which can only please us and we all wish them to continue in the same way.

**The Blindness of the Bosses**  
I could fill the whole paper with this topic and could prove by a host of facts how foolish, unthinking and base the bosses are in their actions. But here I wish only to draw attention to one fact which is self-evident. B. Schlesinger, president of the International visited Mayor Hylan, explained the entire situation to him and asked him that in the coming conflict the police should be neither on the side of the bosses nor on the side of the workers and that "it shall not hinder the workers in the exercise of their legitimate rights as citizens." The following day a letter was sent to the Mayor restating this view in a very convincing manner. Immediately the bosses come out with a long letter to the Mayor in which they inform against the workers of the Union, charging them with being Socialists, Syndicalists and anarchists who have a record of violence, and these people, say the bosses, dare ask for the protection of the police! How stupid it is to slander the workers and how foolishly are stated the demands of the workers! Can Mayor Hylan now think of the bosses as being anything but common liars who hope to carry on the fight by means of lies and mud slinging? Can and will Mayor Hylan now help them after he has seen them in their true light? It is so simple and clear. But the bosses do not see this and with every word they utter and with every move they make in this fight, they make themselves more disliked and more despicable in the eyes of every right-thinking person and in proportion the claims of the workers win more and more favor.

**What the Press Thinks of the Bosses**  
I do not need to tell the readers that the English press of New York is not especially friendly to Labor. This may be said more properly regarding the New York Times than of any of the other papers. And for this very reason this paper obtains big advertisements from the manufacturers so that it might be expected that the Times, if it cannot say anything in favor of its advertisers because their case is so ill-founded, would at least remain silent. This, however, is not the case, for the Times deals with the bosses according to their deserts and says to them: "but let us rather give a literal translation of at least one paragraph of this very strong editorial. Says the Times: 'The bosses cannot be surprised at the demands which the workers put to them as human beings. If they (the bosses) are impatient or even not indulgent to a certain extent, they are wrong in entering a business for which they are not fitted and which public opinion will not permit them to conduct in a heartless manner. It would be easier for them to invest their money in some other business than for the workers to change their nature or to find other employment.'"

These words are clear enough. They need no further explanation. Even the Times realizes that the bosses by this fight hope to bring about a state of affairs in which they shall be able in their usually cruel manner to exploit the workers and it warns them that public opinion will never permit this. And if they cannot carry on their business in any other way, then let them seek another means of earning their livelihood. They are not fitted to be manufacturers of ladies' waists, a business where the boss must be a man of common sense and a man with a heart.

This is what the Times says. The other papers, such as the Globe and The Evening Post carried still stronger editorials. But whereas these two are known to be papers which have been somewhat infected by radicalism, this cannot possibly be said of the Times. And yet here comes their very own Times and gives them such a lashing. And yet the bosses do not realize that they have already been beaten.

For it is clear that with the whole of public opinion lined up on the side of the workers and against the bosses it is impossible to expect that the police will offer them protection, a thing which is perhaps the only hope of the bosses.

**The Police Will Not Have Anything To Do**  
Among the many stupid lies contained in their letter to the Mayor the most despicable was the statement that "A large section of the membership of the Union is against this unjustified strike and the Union expects that a significant number of the workers will refuse to participate in it and methods of compulsion will have to be used and for this they need the protection of the police."

How despicable is the lie that a significant part of the membership is against the "unjustified strike" can be seen from the fact that during the only two days of voting for or against the strike, 12,000 voted for the strike and only 105 against it! One sees what the bosses mean by a large part of the Union. But the best

proof of all will be seen in the next few days; then all will be convinced that practically the whole Union has gone out in this fight against the bosses. Not a single worker will remain in the shops. Then all will see what a despicable and two-faced lie the bosses have invented: first that a large part of the Union is against the strike, and then that the Union has applied to the Mayor for police protection.

I am sure that if the police will not take upon itself to help the bosses then it will have nothing to do because the workers, on their part, do not need the assistance of the police, and surely do not expect any assistance. All that the Union demands is that in this strike, too, the police shall act as squarely as in 1910 and 1916 when Gaynor and Mitchell were Mayors of New York.

**NOT EVERYTHING RUNS ALONG SMOOTHLY**  
I am speaking about the paper. Not that I have heard that the paper did not find favor, on the contrary I have received very many congratulations and from very high quarters. But the trouble is that most of the readers at the time of this writing have not yet received this paper. And all because of such trifles that it is really very annoying. The paper left my hands and the hands of the setters and printers just in time. But at the Post Office they are never in a great hurry. It is a new paper and so they must have become very much interested in it and began reading it very carefully. And while reading they discovered in one article a few words which referred to the happenings of the last four years. Such an article must of course be entirely translated and therefore the paper was held up until Monday afternoon and I am still not certain as to whether it has been sent out already.

And when once things begin going wrong they go with a smash. We advertised in the daily papers that the paper could be bought at all newsstands. But because of a misunderstanding with the Metropolitan News Company, the distributor of the papers, they were not on the stands before Sunday and even this was not done very carefully. And because of this almost all of our readers have not yet had a chance to see our paper.

I hope, however, that from now on everything will go along more smoothly and more quickly and that the paper will reach the readers in time on Saturday morning so they may have a chance to read it carefully.

**A Good Guess.**  
Most of the Unions took very little interest in the Jewish Labor Congress which was held recently in New York. A few locals of the International sent delegates believing that this could do no harm. But the International as a whole and the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers did not send any delegates. This was true also of the Cap Makers' Union and of many others. So that the Congress was a labor congress in name more than in fact.



# THE FIVE DEMANDS OF THE LADIES' WAIST AND DRESS MAKERS UNION



By Elias Lieberman

A strike of tens of thousands of workers has begun in the waist and dress industry in New York City. A thousand factories are shut. The strike may be long and bitter. That is why it is important to understand the questions involved in the strike, its direct causes, and those responsible for the strike.

The last agreement or protocol between the Waistmakers' Union and the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association ended January 1, 1919.

With the beginning of the New Year a new agreement between both organizations should have been signed. It is quite natural that the Union should submit new demands on the occasion of renewing an agreement. It is the purpose and duty of the trade unions to improve the conditions of their members. That is why unions are founded, the occasion for renewing an agreement is the most opportune time for such things.

Employers, at least decent employers, expect it, and are accustomed to regard it as a natural occurrence.

In this case the Waist and Dressmakers' union acted as was her duty and has submitted demands which the present conditions make imperative.

The most important demands are, first, that the working hours should be reduced from a forty-nine to a forty-four hour week. Only the present time is responsible for such a demand. The war is at end. Many who worked at gas masks, and other war industries, as shirts, clothing, mosquito nets, etc., will now return to the waist and dress trade. Experience has shown that those who worked at this trade during the war were going around idle during the last several months. What will happen, then, when all workers of all trades will return? The only solution to this question that the union found is the reduction of the working hours so as to make place for the newly returned workers in the trade. The union feels that it is the duty of everybody to

prevent, or at least, to lighten the course of unemployment by reducing the number of unemployed.

The second demand made by the union is the wage increase of fifteen per cent. And it is important that the workers as well as the public at large should understand the importance of the demand and not be misled by the clamor of high wages during the war.

It is true that during the war many workers in some trades earned high wages. But it is false and misleading to assert that the conditions of the workers have improved. Only those in trades directly connected with war work have profited by this improvement for the duration of the war. The shipbuilders, iron workers, munition workers are good examples. But the conditions of many workers in other trades, has not only remained the same, but has grown worse simply because there was not enough work. The waist and dress trade is a good example of such trades.

Theoretically the labor market was very high so that it was impossible to secure workers. But actually this was not the case regarding many trades. What is more, the employers have complained that they could not secure the necessary materials due to Government control and because the industry was considered non-essential. But the best evidence are the living facts that during the last several months the waist makers were going around idle.

The cost of living is ever mounting so that it is becoming more difficult to make ends meet. And that is why the waist and dress makers are compelled to demand an increase in wages.

In addition to this the following facts must be considered. Most of the waist and dressmakers are piece workers. Their earnings are limited by the number of hours they work. In demanding the reduction of hours, then, they were also compelled to ask higher wages. If not, this would mean a reduction in wages in proportion to the reduced

hours leaving the workers in relatively worse conditions than before.

The third demand is that a union representative should be permitted to visit the shops of the employers belonging to the Association in order to be certain that the terms of the agreement are observed. The demands grew out of the experience the union had with the association employers.

Many of these employers look upon the agreement as a nuisance which must be gotten rid of whenever and however possible. Their conception of the rights of the workers has not reached the stage where they should feel that an agreement with the workers is just as binding as their contracts with business men. As a result of this way of thinking the employers are ready to violate their agreement with the union in every way. And if the workers want their agreement to be observed they must have somebody to visit the factories and be convinced, at first hand, regarding the conditions in the shops.

This demand of the union is not new. It has been submitted three years ago. The Board of Arbitration has dealt with this question and attempted to solve it. For instance they have emphasized the point of preferential union shop, declaring that the employers must discharge members of the union not in good standing provided the union can replace these workers. But this attempt of the Board of Arbitration was not successful. The number of non-union members in the Association shops is now larger than ever before. It is a good rule that wherever the number of the non-union members is growing the agreement is certain to be violated. If the firm had intended to maintain the agreement she could not have been interested to increase the number of non-union members in her shop.

The union feels that there must be an end to this irresponsible state. That is why the demand for the creation of a machinery to enforce the agreement is renewed, namely, to permit a union representative to visit the factories. This is observed in all independent shops, that is, in the shops which do not belong to the association, and so far no one ever heard that this practice should ruin the business.

But the waist and dress manufacturers do not want to listen to this, simply because it does not pay them. They were never serious in their promises to observe their agreement with the workers and that is why they are opposed to any control on the part of the union.

There are two other demands deserving consideration. The contracting question comes first. This has been a painful question for many years. The number of shops in the trade is steadily increasing while the number of workers in each shop is decreasing. In other words the industry is being indefinitely subdivided. The trade is scattered over

bed room shops, thereby making it more difficult to control the conditions of the workers. This evil is well known in the waist and dress industry as subcontracting.

This is not the place to enter into details. But its influence is keenly felt and the union was compelled to look for means of combating the curse of subcontracting. The union demands that the employers should assume responsibility for the conditions under which their work is being made as under the sub-contracting system the work is being made elsewhere under conditions which are of no concern to the employers. In other words the union argues thus: "You employers agree with us that certain conditions must prevail; you undertake to enforce them; what good is this to the workers if you send your work elsewhere where there is no sign of union conditions? Your workers have the agreement and other workers have the work."

That is why the union demands that the employers should assume responsibility for the conditions in the shops where the work is sent; that the work should be made under union conditions, then perhaps it may not pay to stare their own workers and send the work elsewhere. What is the value of an agreement with a boss who observes his agreement regarding 20 per cent of the work made in his inside shop while he is not bound to observe it regarding the 80 per cent of the work made elsewhere?

I must remark here that the union is not at all sure that this demand will completely do away with the evil. Perhaps not. But this is the only means which the union can propose, and hence this demand. Let the employers propose another feasible means and the union will gladly adopt it.

The fifth demand of the union does not involve any cost to the employer yet it is one of the most important for the workers. And that is that all their grievances should not be indefinitely prolonged but speedily settled.

As it is the case now, workers' complaints are uselessly delayed. The worker gets tired waiting for a decision. He becomes disappointed with the union and with all her procedures. And when he finally gets justice it is delayed justice, lifeless and dull. That is why the union demands that all grievances should be speedily adjusted, no matter what the decision may be. In other words the machinery to settle disputes should be improved and enlarged.

These are the demands that the union submitted and was ready to arbitrate. In the letter sent by the International to the employers the justice of these demands has been repeated and it was officially proposed to arbitrate these points. The reply to the union was: "Nothing doing." This makes a strike inevitable.

The employers understand this very well. Their lawyer

Now it is no longer necessary to repeat the reasons why the Unions as a whole did not participate. One reason and the chief one was that such a Congress was entirely superfluous because the Jewish Question had been thoroughly discussed at the American Jewish Congress in Philadelphia, at which the necessary resolutions were adopted. As to this special labor problems of America, most of them are labor questions and not essentially Jewish problems. For this reason most of the big unions did not take part in the congress. From most of the reports which I have read and heard it seems that in this case the unions had guessed aright; that the assembled delegates had nothing to do, that they spent their time in empty talk which bored those who were assembled there.

After this congress, may it be expected that another such will

not be called very quickly and that at least until the people shall forget about it, they will cease holding congresses? In truth this would not be such a bad thing. And if the congress shall have accomplished this it will have served a very good end.

## Credit to Those to Whom It is Due.

Our paper, "Gerechtigkeit" is set up and printed at the Up-To-Date Printing plant and it is only due to the good-will of those who work there that the paper came out so promptly and made such a good appearance. The owners of this printing house are themselves the workers. It is a kind of cooperative. And they are all old friends of mine with whom I have worked before, and only for this reason was it possible to get out an entirely new paper and in such a fine form in such a short time.

# PREPAREDNESS IN THE CLOAKMAKERS' TRADE

By MORRIS SIGMAN

The agreement between the cloakmakers' union and the cloak manufacturers of New York will end on the fifth of August, 1919.

The present agreement, as it is known, was drawn up in 1916, after the cloak manufacturers had made an attack upon the cloakmakers' union by declaring a lockout of the workers which ended in a general strike that lasted fourteen long weeks.

Of course, at that time the manufacturers thought to break the cloakmakers' union, or at least, to make it weaker than it was. They did not succeed in this attempt, and will never succeed in any like attempts. The cloakmakers' union emerged from the strike victorious and much stronger and mightier than it had been.

The present agreement was drawn up at that time, and we live, so to speak in peace ever since then.

It is not necessary at this time to dwell over the bad and good points of this agreement, because even before the agreement comes to an end, conditions in our trade have changed so radically, and we shall, therefore, have to draw up an agreement which shall be fitted to the new conditions and which shall be able to solve all the new problems which have sprung up in our trade.

Let us now take up the chief demands which we shall have to put before the cloak manufacturers, even before the present agreement comes to an end. What are they?

The first and most important of these demands will be—the converting of the present system of piece work to one of week work. In other words this means that we shall demand of the bosses that the workers in the cloak industry who have up till now worked on piece work and have had to agree upon prices for every garment separately, shall, after the conclusion of the present agreement, work by the week, that is they will be paid by the week and not by the piece as was the case up till now.

The introduction of the week work system is an absolute necessity for the workers and the cloakmakers' union is prepared to fight with all its might in order to carry this through.

The cloak manufacturers, on the other hand, and especially

alma at this. Their chief plan could only be understood when the demands of the employers are considered. I shall deal with this question in another article.

The employers have prepared their dose and now they have to take the medicine. The brave waist makers will be good and brave strikers. They will make the bosses feel the might of their solidarity. And when a few weeks will pass the bosses will realize how sweet peace is and how costly war. Then they will realize that their present leaders were their misleaders.

With the consciousness of right and power the waist makers will lead the struggle to victory.

Bravo, Waistmakers! On to Victory.

the association, are not prepared to agree to the introduction of the week work system in the trade. They are satisfied with the present system of piece work. Their affairs, praise be to God, are going along nicely under the present system, and they have no inclination to make any changes.

The second point, as important as the first, is the establishment of a minimum scale of wages. The cloak and suit trade is a season trade, and we must, therefore, create such a minimum scale that the earnings of the workers shall be such that they will be assured of making a good living.

The third demand, which is as important as the other two, will be—shorter working hours. The events of the past four years have created a great upheaval in the industrial field. Hundreds of thousands of new workers, men and women, have been added and they have taken the places of those who had to leave their peaceful occupations for a time. In our trade new workers have been added, who under ordinary circumstances, would never have thought of joining our trade. So the working family has been increased, and place must be made for the new arrivals as well as for those who will return and this can only be done in one way: the working hours must be shortened.

The fourth demand will be to draw up an agreement which will assure the carrying out of the conditions which have been won, and which shall solve the problem of the workers in the trade and of the trade itself. It must be an agreement without any loopholes, through which there may gradually leak out all that the workers have won.

When we study carefully the exact meaning of these four demands, we can readily understand what a great and difficult task confronts us. It means simply that we shall have to carry through a great revolution in our trade and set it up on entirely new foundations.

To carry through such a great and difficult task which entails so many reforms both for the workers and for the trade itself, we must be well prepared. Because we may certainly expect strong opposition on the part of the bosses.

The cloakmakers' union is strong and mighty and truly united. Our cloakmakers are well organized and is ready to fight till its just demands shall have been won.

But this is not enough. In order to be still more certain that the army will keep up the struggle as long as necessary, we must prepare enough ammunition. Our ammunition consists of provisions. We must see to it that the fighting army shall not have to suffer hunger and it must be protected from all other attacks which come along in time of strike.

And because of all this, the cloak and skirt makers' locals, through the Joint Board, have decided to gather a tremendous fund. The money will be supplied by a tax which every man and woman of our union will

## Why the Cloakmakers' Must Create a Tremendous Strike Fund

have to pay as soon as the present season will be under way.

The cloakmakers received this resolution with great enthusiasm, first because they are sufficiently trained, as organized workers, to understand how necessary it is for them to be prepared for the important conflict which confronts them. And again there is still fresh in their minds the great and mighty fight which they waged against their employers in 1916.

So preparedness for the coming battle is the password of the cloakmakers' union. Be ready, cloakmakers, for the sacred call, for preparedness. To be well prepared for a struggle means half of the battle won before it is begun.

Let us get ready for the great and holy day of our fight for a better and brighter life as workers in our trade.

## RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT MASS MEETING IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Saturday, January 18, 1919

We, the members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, of Locals 10, 25 and 58, employed in the dress and waist factories of the City of New York, assembled in mass meeting in Madison Square Garden on this 18th day of January, 1919, hereby affirm our unswerving loyalty to our organization.

We denounce the act of the Waist and Dress Manufacturers' Association in refusing to consider our request for a shorter work day, for a living wage and for the observance of humane working conditions, as well as the act of this Association in demanding from us that we surrender a number of standards that have been in practice in the industry for the past six years and that we, in addition, concede to the manufacturers the right to discharge workers at their discretion, as a deliberate abandonment of all pretence of fair play and civilized dealings and a willful challenge to the Union.

We realize now more than ever that our only protection against all assaults on the part of our employers lies in our organization; that our organization alone will shield us from the inhuman exploitation, to which we have been subjected in the years before we organized into our Union and we pledge ourselves with renewed determination and enthusiasm to stand loyally and unflinchingly by our Union through all the struggles that may come.

We hereby authorize the General Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Executive Boards of Locals 10, 25 and 58 to exert every effort of the organization to secure for us standards of life which will enable us and our families to live with the degree of decency becoming to American citizens and we hereby solemnly bind ourselves to support our organizations in such efforts with all the means and resources at our command.

## 44-HOUR WEEK FOR CLOTHING TRADE

The Advisory Board in the strike of 55,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the American Men's and Boys' Clothing Manufacturers' Association, announced yesterday that the commission had decided in favor of the union's demands for a 44-hour working week, and had advised the workers to return to their places in the shops. About 75,000 men and women are affected by the decision in New York City and vicinity and probably 250,000 workers throughout the country. The strike had been on for three months.

At the request of the union and the manufacturers' association an advisory board, made up of Dr. William Z. Ripley, Administrator of Labor Standards on Army Clothing; Professor Felix Frankfurter, Chairman of the War Labor Policies Board, and Louis Marshall, entered the controversy in an effort to end the strike. The board met yesterday at the Bar Association, the union represented by Sydney Hillman and the manufacturers by Max H. Friedman.

The recommendations of the board follow:

First—The adoption of a 44-hour week to begin from the date when work shall be resumed.

Second—In view of the absence of any reliable data indicating the existing basis of compensation to the employees and the cost of living to which they are now subjected, it is impossible without first obtaining the result of an inquiry and collation of facts by a skilled investigator. It is therefore recommended that such an investigator be designated by this board, at the expense of both parties to this controversy, to proceed forthwith to make the necessary inquiry and to report the facts as ascertained to the board for further action.

Third—The board recognizes the importance, to employer and employed alike, of the formulation of principles and the establishment of machinery calculated to carry them into effect, which will result in improvement as far as efficiency, discipline and production are concerned.

With this preliminary report, the board is unanimously of the opinion that the employees should at once return to their posts, and that the employers shall proceed to open their shops for regular operation.

WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY,  
LOUIS MARSHALL,  
FELIX FRANKFURTER.

## The Cloak Makers in Line with the Ladies Waist Makers (Continued from page 2.)

We extend to you our heartiest wishes. Our hearts beat in unison with the hearts of the strikers who are fighting for a worthy cause, for the elevation of the members of our International to a higher standard of living.

We again assure you our support to the fullest extent. Should it be necessary, every cloakmaker will be urged to conscript in helping you to defend your just claim and the integrity of our International.

L. LANGER,  
Secretary Joint Board.



# THE CAUSE SPREADS OVER LAND AND SEA

By William Morris Feigenbaum



Last week we had the story of the beginning of the labor troubles in Argentina. So far as the American people knew the strikes flamed up in a moment, following the general strike movement in Uruguay, the Republic across the river from Argentina; and if the reports in the Capitalist press are to be believed, all there is and all there will be to the strike is the outbreak that began at the iron works in the outskirts of the city, that blazed across the city and into the provinces, and that was beaten down by military force, all within a week.

As a matter of fact, the origins of the strike lie further back than last week or last month, and its effects will endure much longer than the General and his soldiers imagine.

Further, the strike, far from being beaten down and extinguished, is spreading over country after country, until today, its effects are felt in every corner of the great continent.

There has just come to us a weekly newspaper published in Buenos Aires for business men dated September 14th, 1918. In that paper we read that in the previous issue, the editors had commented upon "the wave of labor unrest and agitation passing over the country."

It seems as if there had been strikes affecting hundreds of thousands of workers in Buenos Aires, Cordob and Jujuy before them. The strike at that time was a walkout of sympathy with the port strikers in Montevideo, across the river.

After the end of that strike, another one broke out. The editor of the businessmen's paper speaks:—"On Friday last, another and much more serious strike became a foregone conclusion, and by Saturday, it was a calamitous certainty. This was the strike of the postal and telegraph employees of the State. These employees abandoned their work throughout the Republic at midnight on Friday with a unanimity."

It is interesting to get the details of this strike, even though it happened four months ago, and we do not know just how it ended. The workers had been promised a minimum wage of \$100 a month by the Government, but when they received their August pay envelopes, they found, that they had not received the increases promised. They protested to the Government; and they were again promised, as a special favor, it seems, that the Government would obey the law with reference to the payment of the wages of its workers.

But when the next pay day arrived, they found that the women did not get what was theirs by law.

Then they all went out and tied up the mails and the telegraph service of the nation.

"The Government," says the editor, significantly, "attributes the strike to Socialist machinations."

The report further states that every cruel and brutal means was employed to beat down the rising of the workers:

So when the great strikes of the past few weeks broke out, it was not a mad outburst resulting from the machinations of "foreign" agitators; it was part of a labor unrest that has been going on for months, if not years, for all we are permitted to know.

The strike that began with the fighting around the iron works, as related last week, spread to the entire city. Soon, every worker in every line of activity was out. Then followed what usually follows, police, soldiers, violence, and butchery.

The workers tied up every line of activity in the Republic. Red flags waved. Soldiers in many units refused to go to the city, to fire on their brothers on strike. Socialist deputies in Congress had fist fights with other members over the use of violence by the Government. The "Radical" president, Dr. Irigoyen, was powerless to meet the situation, and General Luis Dellepaine seized power, establishing a military dictatorship. The streets were strewn with dead. No newspapers were sold except Socialist "Vanguardia." And from reports today, it seems, as if the strike is over.

The stories of a widespread "Bolshevik" plot to burn up South America died a quick death. The "Russians" who were running the strike turned out to be the leaders of the labor movement there for many years, while the men who first raised the cry of "foreigners," the directors of the iron works, turned out to be Englishmen, aliens.

That is all the cables will tell us for a while. But when the local newspapers start to come and tell us what actually happened, we will probably learn that the day of the complete triumph of labor is not far off.

The tension between Chile and Peru has not lessened. The war clouds are still brooding over the two countries. A significant despatch from Santiago, the capital of Chile, gives some light that Chile, is about to take over the entire nitrate business, and to make arrangements to deal directly with other countries that need this necessary product. The provinces which are the bone of contention between the two nations, contain the richest nitrate fields in the world.

And the labor unrest also reached Peru. It is not an accident that strikes affect a country when there is a threat of war. The actual details are not yet known. The labor movement in Lima, the capital, and Callao, the port city, a few miles from Lima, is still rather weak. But the two labor papers in those cities are under Socialist editorship, and it is certain that the readers receive good sound explanations of the threatened war. And it may be that the war is the reason that 20,000 workers in those cities were recently out on general strike. The cars stopped running, the lights went out. As in Buenos Aires, mines were shut down, railroads ceased to run,

and in every way, the workers showed that when united, there is nothing they cannot do. We do not know the results of the strike as yet.

Labor conditions in Japan seem to be dangerously near a revolution. Conditions of life are terrible in that country. Wages are stationary, while the cost of living has gone up over 100 per cent within the last few years. War industries are closing down, and the unemployment terror is stalking over the land. There are likely to be serious outbreaks.

These are some of the statements made by the conservative labor leader of Japan, B. Sesuki. He is a reactionary, considered one of the most reactionary labor leaders of the world. But even he can see that high prices, unemployment, low wages, political tyranny and oppression, can lead in but one direction. He says, that if there is not soon granted equal suffrage for men, and recognition of labor unions, there will be "labor outbreaks."

Another victory for Democracy was the overthrow of the monarchy of Luxemburg and the substitution of a republic. The youthful and romantically beautiful Grand Duchess, Marie Adelaide, was removed from her throne, and the rule of the people proclaimed. But the monarchy was soon restored, with Marie's sister, Charlotte, as

monarch. It is reported in the capitalist press that American bayonets restored the monarchy in the tiny country.

Elections were recently held in Sweden, and it is reported that the Socialists received a majority of seats in both houses of the Parliament. A private letter from a French Socialist to a Comrade in New York says, the Swedish Socialists and workers have it within their power to establish a republic at once if they have the courage to do it.

News comes slowly from Central Europe,—it is impossible to get complete and authentic news from any part of the world in these days of the triumph of Democracy. But it seems as if the Republic that was established in Hungary by the workers with Count Karolyi as Premier is more than successful; that the "radicals and liberals" are out of it, and that in their place, the Socialists are making complete possession of the government.

There are rumors of a "plot" to unite German Austria with Germany in a pan-German workers' Republic. There are also rumors of an all Balkan workers' Republic. And it is possible that it will be months before we learn the real status of affairs, just as it had taken us months to learn of the great strikes in Argentina of last Fall. The Cause goes marching on!

## OUR WISH FULFILLED

By Fannia M. Cohn

At last the dream of many of us is going to be realized—we are going to have a weekly publication!

We have always wished to have an organ issued by the Int. Union instead of many organs issued by different locals, because we believed that such a publication is the best means to unite our large membership that is scattered all over the United States and Canada; and also because we believed that such an organ, under able leadership, would reflect the aims, hopes and aspirations of our large membership that composes our big International Union.

Our International Union is big, its locals numerous and the membership can populate many cities. This makes it physically impossible to be in personal touch with many of them, and the fact is that not many of them know each other.

An organ issued by the International Union will be the best medium of information of what is going on in the world of Labor; it will be the best interpreter of the present day unrest among the workers of the world, and it will explain to our members the intensive struggles that are going on in the European countries—where the workers are fighting for industrial control rather than for po-

litical control. Such an organ could be used as an educational instrument for the benefit of our members in many ways. For instance, we are spending thousands of dollars in organizing educational activities for our members and we have every reason to expect that our weekly Journal will carry on an educational campaign in its columns for the necessity of education and in such a way create a desire for it and inspire our members to get acquainted with the aims and aspirations of the different groups of the labor movement of every country.

Our International is composed of numerous trades. Every one of them has its own problems, and I believe that every intelligent worker should be properly acquainted with the character and problems of its trade. We surely expect that this will be one of the tasks of our Journal—to inform our membership on this matter.

I sincerely and earnestly hope that one of the main accomplishments of our Journal will be to thoroughly acquaint our members with the history, aims and hopes of our own American Trade Union Movement, with the American Federation of Labor, as well as the organizations that preceded it.

I am confident that "Justice" will justify our hopes and expectations and that with the moral assistance of our members we, surely, may expect that our International will be strengthened morally and spiritually. My congratulations.



# THE NEW TEMPER OF WORKING WOMEN IN THE NEEDLE INDUSTRIES

By Juliet Stuart Poyntz

Nowhere has the influence of the new currents of thought and feeling been more apparent than among working women in the needle industries. A new spirit of independence and responsibility has supplanted the old one of dependence and insecurity. It is however not merely economic. It is industrial independence which the working woman is striving for. It is extraordinary that trades where women have never before been able to combine for the improvement of conditions have since the war been the scene of vigorous and victorious struggles.

The needle industries, the age-old occupation of women, have experienced a veritable revolution within the last decade. How far we have travelled from the days when the little Cosette, as depicted by Victor Hugo, starved in a Paris garret, her eyes blinded with tears as she bent over her sewing, or the shirtmaker, Thomas Hood, pined the needle and thread in poverty, hunger and dirt, is only apparent when we read of the wonderful progress made in recent years in the organization of women in these trades.

The privations and sufferings of war-time seem especially to have aroused women to the need of organization. The sewing trades of London and Paris have been the scene of tremendous labor struggles since the war began, and of great improvement both in working conditions and organization. The sewing women of Paris learned the lesson of revolt, and demonstrated it to an astonished world at their great general strike of May, 1917. The little "indinettes" in their misery had long been a favorite subject for the poets of Paris, especially with the present cost of living. As one of Paris, especially with the present cost of living. As one of their leaders recently remarked, "It was too long believed that the midnetine lived on fresh water and love. The strikes of 1917 were needed to show that she is a worker who demands a living wage. She is now a loyal trade-unionist, but she has by no means fallen in esteem because she insists on being taken seriously."

The general strike of 1917 was the greatest achievement of recent years by the working women in Europe. As many as 20,000 thronged the streets of Paris every day, recruited from every trade in which the needle was the implement of labor, dresses and waists, furs, white goods, neckwear, corsets, embroidery, flowers and feathers, umbrellas, millinery, shoes. The strike spread also to large numbers of women in other trades such as jewelry, office work, department stores, wholesale food stores, book making, photographic and electrical establishments, and laundries, thus becoming a General Strike of Women. The result was victory for the workers, a standard scale of wages for all operations, in compensation for the increased cost of living, the so-called "indemnity for high prices," and the introduction of the Saturday half-day.

holiday, or "English week," as it was called.

The great dressmakers' strike in Paris was fought with extreme bitterness. The great costumers of Paris, whose names were known to the ends of the earth, and whose designs served as the models for the dress trade of the entire world, had exploited their workers shamefully, and were not prepared for this sudden attack on their ancient privileges.

The smaller manufacturers who produced ready-made clothing for a large market attempted to break the resistance of their workers by sending out work to the home-workers in whom Paris still abounds. While the union was unable to abolish home-work altogether, it did succeed in securing the passage of a minimum wage law which set standards for home-work equal to the wages paid in the shop, and the undercutting of the shop-worker thus prevented. An interesting provision of this law permits the union to prosecute the employer legally for violations of the scale not only for its own members but for any other workers in the industry, whether union members or not, thus giving the union the privileged position of legal protector of all workers in the industry.

The impulse for improvement of conditions of women workers in the needle trades spread to London from Paris, and we find the organized manufacturers in the dressmaking, ladies tailoring, and millinery trades coming forward with a so-called Dressmakers' Charter in 1917, in which greatly improved conditions were adopted by twenty leading firms for the purpose of both quieting the unrest among their workers and also of enlisting new workers in a trade which had lost its attractions for the English girls who could earn much higher wages in the munitions plants and other war work. The conditions in the sewing trades of London had been so bad in fact that for several years past there had been a steady decline of apprentices. Hardly surprising when one hears that for two years upon entering the trade they had been supposed to work for no wages at all! Gradually the worker had progressed to a wage of \$7.50 or \$10 per week which was the maximum. These new wages of fitter or forelady seldom rose as high as \$15 to \$20 per week. The Dressmakers' Charter offered a new standard commanding a wage of \$1.50 a week for the first six months and \$2 per week for the second, with increases according to skill there after bringing the wage up to \$7.50 per week. These new and improved standards furnish some indication of how low the previous standards must have been. In the matter of hours however the employers were more generous, granting the 48-hour week with pay for legal holidays and even for a summer vacation of a week. Provision was also made for the attendance of the workers at industrial schools on the time of the employer.

The standards of the London drapers have risen again during the last month, influenced probably by the improved conditions in the Paris clothing industry. The London Employers' Association has adopted improved rates and conditions for women in many sections of the women's wear industry. Those who will benefit are milliners' cutters, waists, white goods, children's dresses, aprons and overalls.

The Paris dressmakers had established a strong organization during their strike of 1917. The tremendous increases in the cost of living in Paris made it impossible for them to exist even with the increases they had secured, and they had laid new demands before the manufacturers in the spring of 1918 on the very eve of the German offensive, regardless of the taunts of "anti-patriotic" that were showered upon them. With Paris under fire however they agreed to postpone their demands, and they brought them up again this August.

The proceedings of the union and the tactics of the employers during the subsequent discussions sound strangely familiar. They might almost be the proceedings of our own dress industry, so similar are the aims of labor in every country, and so similar the maneuvers of the employers. The demands were framed at a joint meeting of all the needle trades mentioned above during the latter part of August and included increase of wages, increase of overtime pay, increase of indemnity for high prices, restriction of overtime, and last but not least, the eight hour day. The last demand in conjunction with the four hour Saturday won last year thus became the 44 hour week. These demands were presented immediately to the manufacturers, but received no reply until in September the workers, tired of waiting for an answer, went out on strike. The employers then conceded the increases of pay after pressure had been brought upon them by Premier Clemenceau himself, but they were unwilling to give in to the eight hour demand.

The majority of the workers returned to work under a promise from the Ministry of Labor that the eight hour question would receive consideration in conferences. Up to this time no word has been received of a satisfactory solution of this question. In many cases the employers have granted the eight hours, but have reduced wages correspondingly, which has of

course aroused great resentment among the workers and threatened to precipitate another general strike. The action of the employers, says Dumas, one of the leaders of the workers, is the best "propaganda of the deed" for the class struggle, and Millerat, the Secretary of the Clothing Workers Federation declares: "We have heard much talk about cooperative restaurants as a remedy for the high cost of living, but they are only ineffective palliatives. Those who are really responsible for the high cost of living are the public authorities. The only remedy is the fixing of fair prices on all necessities, basing these upon the average wages of the workers. At any rate the workers insist upon the eight hour day which has long been a demand in the world of labor. We demand for every worker in the clothing industry without distinction of sex the 44 hour week."

The main point at issue in the clothing industry in New York and Paris, the greatest clothing centers in the world thus becomes the 44-hour week. To the waist and dressmakers who are fighting for this demand in New York it will be a source of interest and enthusiasm that their co-workers in the sewing shops of Paris are striving toward the same end. The winning of the eight hour day in these two great centers of the garment industry by the hundreds of thousands of workers employed therein will be a victory for the entire labor movement and will have a powerful influence in securing the eight hour day for all workers.

## GARMENT STRIKE GOES ON LATEST STATEMENT BY B. SCHLESINGER.

The third day of the garment workers' strike saw little change in the attitude of either side toward the chief point of difference — the right of discharge. There is no reason to expect any announcement of the settlement of the men's and boys' clothing workers' in the twenty-two halls where the workers on women's garments were gathered.

"We shall enter into no discussion with the manufacturers' association until they recede from their position regarding the employers' unlimited right to discharge without a board to review cases of unjustifiable discharge," said Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union yesterday. "Nor is the demand by the union that complaints of unjustifiable discharge be reviewed within twenty-four hours arbitrable. There is no reason why complaints should be left to drag along for days and weeks and to become a source of irritation and stoppages."

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Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

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