

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT
WORKERS UNION

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HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS TO VICTORIOUS TAILORS

Bravo! Bravo! Bravo! Bravo! Is the shout which escapes from the depths of the hearts of the entire labor movement to the triumphant tailors.

Like a beautiful miracle appears everything that the Amalgamated has accomplished during the four years of its existence, in behalf of the tailors who, no matter what they were trying to do previously, never moved from the lowest rung of the ladder of organized labor, for years and years. And therefore it is all the most to be wondered at, that during the past four years they have gone ahead with such an impetus that they have left many behind in the race and have now reached the very top rung of the ladder.

Yes, they have reached the very top rung! They have succeeded in being the first large organization which dared to go out to fight for a 44-hour work week, in brilliantly carrying on the fight and in finally being crowned with success.

Yes, the tailors now stand on the very topmost rung. But will they remain there in "majestic loneliness?" Will they bear the distinction of being the only ones to have attained that high position? No; it is too lonely to be there all by itself. And, from the height which they have attained, they beckon to the workers of America and say: "The topmost rung, although high up, is nevertheless very wide, wide enough to hold all of you. Come, climb up! It really is not so far away as it appears to be from below. Since we have been able to reach it, then why not you?"

Of course, it is not because of their good-nature only that they are so eager for companionship. It is also the feeling of well-considered self interest. They know that the workers of one industry cannot for a long time enjoy the fruits of their triumph if all the other workers in the other industries remain backward. They know that in order that the 44-hour work week shall remain firmly established in New York and Chicago in the tailor trade, so that nothing can change it, then the same must be enacted in Rochester, Syracuse, and throughout the whole country wherever clothing is manufactured. But even this is not enough. In order that the tailors may be sure of their victory, the workers in other industries must also win for them-

selves the very same advantages.

But whether it be self interest or good-nature, yet the triumph of the tailors is a mighty trumpet call to all the workers to follow their splendid example. The tailors, triumphant, say to all the other workers: we were the first to take up the fight. We are certainly proud of this. But to remain alone with our gains, when you remain without the same advantages, will be very difficult. Therefore, follow us! For thirteen weeks we kept up the fight. And now we may tell everything: we went hungry, we and our wives and children. But no one heard us complain, we were too proud to beg, to ask help from anyone. Besides we did not want our bosses to know what this fight against them was costing us.

And so we struggled on for thirteen weeks. We have won out and now it is your chance, organized workers, to do the same. A 44-hour work week must now become the battle cry all along the line.

And it must be done right now; now when from all sides come the cries of the unemployed; when already it is reported that more than 200,000 men and women are going about without work.

And this is the case now, when hundreds of thousands of our brothers are still on the other side of the Atlantic. But what will happen when these will return? Then the army of unemployed will swell to a million or more and there will begin the horrible competition for a mouthful of bread. And this will have to bring about that everything, everything that the organized workers have won during many years, will all at once be lost. Is not this a terrible thought? And the thought will become a horrible fact if we shall not, in time, adopt all means, to avoid such a state of affairs. And the only just means for making impossible the terrible curse of unemployment for millions, is that in no industry shall the men work one minute longer than is necessary in order that all, all who must work and who want work shall be able to find it; that never shall there be a surplus of workers, but, on the contrary, there shall always be a scarcity of workers for the accomplishment of the necessary work.

This is the great lesson which all workers must draw from the fight of the Amalgamated.

And we assure you, tailors, triumphant tailors, that you shall not remain alone. Large armies are following in your footsteps. Do you see the thousands of ladies' waist makers? They are going to follow your example; to fight and win! Do you see the furriers getting ready for battle? And in this way hundreds of thousands of workers are preparing for battle to fight for themselves, for their lives and for their brothers and sisters, who will soon come and demand a place at the table.

Bravo, tailors, you have set a glorious example, which must have many emulators, like ev-

ery great, noble deed, as all our hearts, with a few genuine admirations for courage and endurance congratulate you on your victory and we assure you soon, soon, we shall you, on top; and that, in the intention of ret there, but of going on and higher, because you fighters must know that hired workers even for 4 a week only, is not a peppy state. We are pr to attain that height w are workers—but none are workers. With this feeli great hope in the many gles which still comfort u who knows how soon a come, we greet you as and as co-fighters in t conflict.

10,000 ON PICKET LINE NEXT MONDAY MORNING

Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, said last night that he would call on Mayor Hylan today to protest against the attitude of the police in parts of the city toward the striking garment workers. Many young women picketers had been arrested unnecessarily, he asserted, while it was evident that the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association had employed agents in an attempt to disrupt the picketing forces.

"I am going to ask the Mayor and District Attorney Swann to prevent unlawful interference in the strike on the part of the police," Mr. Schlesinger added. "The strikers are within their rights and there is no excuse for the attitude of the police."

"As a reply to the threat made by Morris Weiss, President of the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association, that the manufacturers will start engaging strikebreakers beginning next week, the General Strike Committee of the union has made arrangements to have 10,000 girl strikers on the picket line next Monday morning in front of his shops in the dress and waist district."

It would be definitely decided by next Monday, Mr. Schlesinger said, whether it would be necessary to call out the remainder of the union workers on women's garments. The manufacturers could either come to terms, he said, or see more than 25,000 workers on cotton goods, the Swiss embroidery workers, and house dress workers added to the original list of 35,900 strikers.

A conference will be held at

union headquarters early next week between the official representatives of the garment manufacturers, 10,000 women are enjoin this trade, making women derwear. Harry A. Gordan, legal counsel for the Dress Waist Manufacturers' Association, is also attorney for Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association. It was said yesterday that nothing had been accomplished at several conferences which have been held to a renewal of the agreement, which is expiring this week.

"Next week's conference determine whether the goods workers will have called out on strike," said Schlesinger last night, following a meeting with members. Manufacturers' Association the children's dress trade, Hotel McAlpin. It was at this meeting, he said the employers would c the demands, which incl the children's dress ind in the ladies' garment forty-four-hour work w per cent increase in wag other union conditions.

In Yorkville Court y Magistrate Douras tok men, garment strikers, been charged with d conduct, that there was objection to picket d when this measure be cause of disorder in the and congestion of sidewalk offense was punishable prisoners had been picketi store of Hickson & Co., in Avenue, between Fifty-se and Fifty-third Streets. Magistrate Douras suspended tence.

URGENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

By Hillel Rogoff

employment is now the important problem in the country. Immediately after signing of the armistice the government was discussing the danger of a lowering of wages. It came from various industrial workers saying that they were threatening to go back to pre-war conditions, and on the wage question the government was more serious—unemployment.

There are no correct figures. But it is known that the number of unemployed in the cities reaches into the tens of thousands. And it is known that this number is increasing each day by many thousands. The government is occupied with the danger of a speedy demobilization of the army. Within the last few weeks, all the soldiers sent home from the front—about three-quarters of the total—will help to swell the ranks of the unemployed. The press has characterized the situation with a pun, rather a joke. It wrote: "We are taking our soldiers from the front line to the bread line."

The duty is to provide employment? Some are asking the employers for not to rework the soldiers who worked for them. We understand how this helps. If the returned soldier gets his old job back then some other worker will be thrown out of work.

There are others who think that conditions would be improved if the women would take their jobs and make work for the men. They argue because of the war, tens of thousands of women were sent into industries in which they did not formerly find employment. This means that the women are to give up their jobs.

In the first place it is not that the number of such jobs is so large. The trouble is that with very few exceptions the women in the "new trades" were formerly also employed, but at other work. If the women remain in their jobs, then they surely will stay at work. A woman does not become a conductor or a worker in a mine use of wellbeing.

There are similar remedies to cure the disease. The government is the only doctor that means to effect a cure. But it has neglected its duty to fill now. Even while the war was still going on, it has thought about the future and made preparations to be done by the governments.

But let bygones be bygones. Let the government plan to do something. The government is to pay a certain insurance against unemployment to the soldiers. This would, of course, be the best method of saving the workers against war. There are other means so radical, for the government to undertake certain great works which are necessary; the government can install workers' arms and give them the

necessary financial means for developing these farms.

But as yet nothing has been done. Some state governments, New York among them, have appointed committees to investigate the matter and to work out plans which are to be recommended to the legislatures. Of course, before these committees will complete their work, and before the legislatures will go through discussing their recommendations, many, many months will have passed. And in the meantime hundreds of thousands of unemployed will have to wait and starve.

In Washington there is now being played one of those investigation comedies to which the country has grown so accustomed that no one takes any interest in them. A Senate Committee is investigating the meat trust. In the lapse of many years, the most serious charges have been made against this trust and now the committee wants to find whether or not these charges are true.

The chief magnates of the trust appear as witnesses; Wilson, Armour, Swift, etc. Questions are put to them and they answer. The following method is pursued: whenever they are asked about some transgression of the law, they deny it. "Are you a trust?" "No." "Do you agree among yourselves what prices to charge?" "No." "Do you bribe legislators?" "No." "Do you make very large profits?" "No." And so on, and so on.

After they so positively deny all these accusations, the government's lawyer begins to re-examine them, and proves that they lied. But they do not grow alarmed but admit that they had been mistaken, that they had forgotten, that they had misunderstood the question.

We want to give just a sample of what is going on in this vaudeville investigation. Armour is on the witness stand—the president of the big meat trust, Armour and Company. The lawyer asks him what are the profits of his company and he answers that they are about nine per cent. The lawyer asks him for figures—how much the company has invested in the business, and what were its profits in the past year. Armour answers each question like a real bookkeeper. He knows all the exact figures.

Suddenly the lawyer reminds him about the company's business in South America; and after a short debate, Armour admits that in Argentine, alone, the profits of the company were "a million dollars" last year. "This would show that your company earned not nine per cent last year but fifteen per cent!" asked the lawyer. "Yes," answers Armour, "but I had forgotten all about the ten million dollars profit in Argentine." Alas, the ten million had just slipped his memory.

The railroad question will be taken up by the next Congress which will be republican. The present administration has no

CONTENTMENT IS STAGNATION OF PROGRESS

By SAMUEL GOMPERS.

At a Reconstruction Conference called to consider industrial relations and kindred subjects now prominently in the public mind, attended by representatives of various large interests as well as men who are students of social and economic problems, President Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor, gave voice to the following thoughts upon the grave dangers confronting the American people:

"To get the men to respond to the call to arms in defense of our republic and our institutions required much effort, but it was not difficult of accomplishment. To persuade our civilian population to do service behind and for the men at the fighting front, was difficult, but not so difficult, as are the problems before us to-day.

"I am no one who believes that the wisest and best condition of the people is what is generally understood by contentment. Contentment, in my way of thinking, is stagnation. A healthy discontent is the awakening of the aspiration for better things. It is essential to-day that the people of our country shall be alert to all that is transpiring and all that is impending. Thus far we have lived our lives alone and worked out our own destinies along the line of the policies we believed to be the best for us. To-day, after either winning the war or helping to win the war, we are to have our representatives around a table where a treaty of peace is to be formulated.

"The representatives of no one government can have the controlling voice. Optimist as I am, I never fail to look upon the other side of the shield. Hoping for the best always, and striving as best I can to accomplish the right, or to help accomplish the right, I know the game played by the opponents of right. The democratic legislation erected by the Congress of the United States, by the several States of our Union, by our municipalities, granting greater freedom of thought and action of a voluntary character, the understanding of what here we mean by sovereignty of citizen-

ship and of the man and of the woman, a conception not held by any other country on the face of the globe—I appeal to the American people, without regard to their station in life, to see to it, to supervise, to be vigilant, lest around the peace table there are purloined from us, right under our very noses, many of the liberties and the freedom of our people.

"The treaty made by the United States with any other country or group of countries, that treaty being ratified by the Senate of the United States, becomes the supreme law of the land and any law upon the statute books that is in conflict with the terms of that treaty becomes inoperative and ineffective and nil. We don't want to have made in vain all the sacrifice of our boys. We don't want to have that flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood given, and all the treasure given, and all the sacrifice made, in vain, and to have to make the fight all over again for the American people in their homes. While our boys were fighting and our men and women were working here to maintain freedom and democracy abroad we ought to be alert now to see to it that we are not going to lose our liberty and democracy at home.

"I am impressed particularly with the appeal to the conscience, to the judgment, to the ideals, to the Americanism of our people for united action. You cannot get freedom, nor practice freedom, on empty stomachs. The hungry men may engage in a riot, may engage in revolt, but their course is never of a constructive character. Hungry stomachs do not make reasoning brains. It is necessary to maintain the standards of life of the American working people that they may have sound bodies, and the opportunity for reasonable thinking, with aspirations of such a character they will build up the institutions of this republic. Enlightened discontent, the higher and better aspirations of the masses of the people furnish the greatest impetus to progress and civilization. The discontent of hungry people leads to nowhere except chaos, confusion and reaction."

definite policy about the railroads. President Wilson admitted this in his message. It would like to leave the railroads in the hands of the government for five more years, as an experiment, and during that time it will be decided whether they are to remain under government control or are to be returned to the private companies.

A debate on this question is now going on in the press. The railroad companies are doing all in their power to create public sentiment against government ownership. They want the government to keep the railroads for as long as it will take to reorganize their systems, they want the government to put them into good shape, to repair them, and to do away with the laws that hampered them in the saving of expenses—and then they want the railroads back. According to the companies the

government can do all these things in two years.

If the government should very much wish it it can force the companies to agree to its plan, because the government has a whip over the companies. It can say to them: if you do as I wish, good and well; otherwise I shall return the railroads to you at once. The companies know very well that to take the railroads back now and to run them under existing circumstances, is an absolute impossibility. This would throw them all into bankruptcy.

The press is almost unanimously on the side of the companies. The sentiment against government ownership of industries is so great, that even the liberal papers tremble at any plan which may ultimately lead to this. It is impossible to tell now how the whole affair will end.

THE NINETY AND NINE

By Juliet Suart Poyntz.

What more delightful task could I have than that which our editor, comrade Janusz, has set for me, to speak with you about the problems of life as they present themselves to the women of the working class. I have lived with you; I have shared your joys and sorrows, I have seen what life gives you and what it could give you. But I trust that our correspondence will not be entirely one-sided. Some of you will write to me here in the care of Justice, and tell me what your problems have been and how you have solved them. Or perhaps they are not yet solved and we can put our heads together and give you some good advice.

Women of all classes have their peculiar problems, their difficulties in the unequal battle of life. In the age-long evolution of society woman has somehow been loaded with special burdens, has found barriers erected in the road of her free development. To be a complete woman and at the same time a complete human being, that is the problem of the modern woman. Too often woman has been compelled to satisfy herself with mere womanhood, without emerging into the open air of common humanity. But slowly and with great effort she has struggled out into the world. With a solidarity born of common sufferings, common feelings, common interests, women have banded themselves to use their collective power to prepare a better world for themselves and for humanity. Side by side with the labor movement and together with it the woman movement has struggled for a fulfillment of the promise of liberty, equality and fraternity, and side by side the woman and the worker are now reaping the fruits of victory.

The women of all classes have their difficulties in the struggle for emancipation. The woman of the middle classes wants greater individual opportunity, power, freedom and economic independence. Olive Schreiner, in her wonderful book "Woman and Labor" has well voiced their grievances when she cries: "We demand the whole field of labor for our province." The working woman on the other hand is not troubled over a chance to work and to work hard. There are too many chances. She has not too little economic freedom, but often too much. Although that freedom, true enough, usually works out as freedom for her boss to exploit her. The interests of the women of the working classes are diametrically opposed to those of the middle classes, although each is struggling for her own conception of freedom. The working woman has troubles of her own. She is not only a woman, but a worker in the shop. She belongs to the female sex, but she is also a proletarian. Womanhood, motherhood, machine, this is the trinity which controls the fate of the working girl. How much persistence, striving, is needed to live a real life under these circumstances. To be a mere machine, even that is difficult, for the wheels run down and the screws get out of order, and the driving

straps break once in a while. But to be a machine and a human being at the same time, that is the problem. The very humanity of the working woman is her tragedy. To love beauty and comfort, and find dirt and ugliness, to long for home and loved ones and find the shop with its long hours of drudgery, to love peace and find no peace and find turmoil and strife, to want to learn and grow and be stifled and suppressed. To give three-quarters of life to the machine and have but one-quarter left for oneself, and that poor fraction mutilated and crushed by exhaustion and disgust. That is the tragedy! If it were not for young limbs eager for motion, the body thirsting for sun and air; the heart thirsting for feeling and the soul thirsting for light, how easy then to sit at the machine and become one with it. But we are human! We must grow! We must feel! We must grow! With Louise, the little sewing girl of Paris in Charpentier's opera of that name, we cry, "Cursed be he who would throttle the free desire of a soul which awakes and demands its share of the sun, its share of life."

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Idea of organization began much later to penetrate among women workers and encounters greater resistance from many obstacles; woman's recent entrance into industry, her low pay and greater exploitation together with ancient traditions and prejudices tending to limit her activities. Unfortunately it is not seldom that such prejudices animate her brother worker to take up the cudgels against her and attempt to exclude her from certain fields of industry and organization. The struggle of the woman worker is with her own weakness, collective and individual, as well as with the exploitation of the employer.

It is well for us to remember, however, that the struggle against exploitation is only one side of the effort toward a new life, and that the struggle for development must go hand in hand with it. The struggle against thing-hood is negative, a conflict with slavery, while the struggle with person-hood is positive, an aspiration toward freedom. The problems of the working girl become more peculiarly her own and more differentiated from the problems of the working man as we advance from minus to plus, from the struggle for existence to the organization of life. While on the one hand the working girl is fighting for a living wage and decent working conditions, on the other hand she is seeking to work out her life problems in her cramped environment. Not

merely how to earn more money but how to use those newly-quieted leisure for growth development, these are problems of the organization of life as distinguished from organization of work. And in the woman of the working class there remain in addition to all the questions of education, recreation, of health the eternal problem of womanhood and motherhood. We are concerned therefore, not only with the "conquest of bread" but with the organization of happiness.

All these and many other questions, dear friends, I will try to discuss with you in the columns of Justice. Let us consider our lives as they are and consider what can be done with them. We should not regret that we are proletarians and seek as many as any way of escape into the small comforts and prejudices of bourgeois life. Let us rather "welcome each rebuff that turns earth's smoothness rough, each sting that bids: 'nor sit nor stand but go' for it is through the stings and the rebuffs that we have come to the knowledge and desire of a new world. We lose the world to gain the world. Straggle enough it is the worker, son of misfortune, outcast, disinherited, who is to-day about to inherit the earth. And we must not sell our birthright for a mess of pottage. We must bring to the world and to ourselves a new view of life, a new organization of happiness.

THE NINETY AND NINE

There are ninety and nine that work and die

In want and hunger and cold,
That one may revel in luxury,
And be lapped in the silken fold!

And ninety and nine in their hovels bare
And one in a palace of riches rare.

From the sweat of their brow
The sweetest blooms,
And the forest before them
falls!

Their labor has builded humble homes,
And cities with lofty halls,

And the one owns cities and houses and lands,
And the ninety and nine have empty hands.

But the night so dreary and dark
and long

At last shall the morning bring;
And over the land the victors' song

Of the ninety and nine shall ring.

And o'er the far, from zone to zone,

"Rejoice! for Labor shall have its own!"
—Mrs. Perkin Gilman.

HELP THIS ORGANIZATION

The Workers Defense Union is a working class organization formed to defend or cooperate in the defense of men and women prosecuted on account of their activities in behalf of the labor movement, and to secure the liberation of any persons unjustly imprisoned in consequence of such activities.

Under the present law situation, the business interests of this country have carried on a systematic campaign in all parts of the country against workers active in the labor struggle. Hundreds of working men and women have been jailed on flimsy pretexts and convicted on prejudiced testimony. Exorbitant bail has usually been demanded, resulting in months of imprisonment before conviction. Sentences of a severity unmatched even in Prussia have been imposed in countless cases.

With the cessation of hostilities, the time has come for the workers throughout the country to demand the liberation of all persons imprisoned during

the war for reasons directly or indirectly due to their participation in the labor movement or for acts or utterances condoned by their conscience.

It is our duty to act at once and to act vigorously, until we secure the release of these fellow workers and comrades.

While these persecutions may be attributed to the war emergency, their real cause is due to the conflict of interest between employer and employe. In addition to working for the liberation of persons imprisoned during the War, the Workers' Defense Union plans to assist in the defense of workers who have been or who may be imprisoned through the machinations of the employing class, as in the case of Mooney and Billings, in San Francisco; Ford and Behr, sentenced to life imprisonment in connection with the Wheatland, Cal., hop pickers' strike in 1912. Many similar cases arose before the war and there is no reason to suppose that they will not be repeated after the con-

(Continued on page 8.)

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FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

The Bosses Are Again Advertising.

Something must be bothering those manufacturers in whose shops everything is now so quiet, so peaceful and, ay, so depressing. And they are trying to dispel their melancholy, their sad mood, by advertising in the papers. They are trying to talk their troubles away. May they succeed in this.

With a show of great indignation they declare that Brother Schlesinger, President of the International, the leader, the very soul of the present conflict, wishes to confuse the public. He, Schlesinger, stated that in the majority of the shops of the Associated manufacturers, the sanitary conditions were miserably bad, and they, the manufacturers, swear by all that is holy that such is not the case.

What a crime!

But alas for the manufacturers wearing the "white apron" bit. Brother Schlesinger, before making this statement, had secured a report about conditions in these shops—a very detailed report signed by impartial investigators of conditions. The readers will find Schlesinger's convincing answer somewhere in this paper. It will be interesting to see what the manufacturers will have to say about it.

But here another question comes up. Supposing Brother Schlesinger to be in the wrong, then what is the good of your advertising in the papers, dear manufacturers, when you can settle the matter at a much lower cost? Just agree to arbitration and let the Board of Arbitration decide who is telling the "d" who is lying. If you are "right" then why are you so afraid of arbitration? Dear, kind, truth-loving bosses, perhaps you would take the trouble to answer this?

And Again We Have the Old Story About a Life-Job.

The bosses, finding nothing better, are still keeping up their old argument. The workers want nothing less than a permanent job; they want a job to last a lifetime. In the last number I pointed out how ungrounded and untrue is this claim of the bosses. It appears that this is the only crevice in the thick, high wall through which they hope to crawl. Well, we cannot blame them much; a drowning man catches at a straw, and that the manufacturers are drowning is beyond doubt. The 21st of January must have been an eye-opener for them. With their own eyes they saw the workers of their factories march out as though they were going to a celebration, without any

force being used, merely at the signal of their union. To this was added the fact of the tailors bosses laying down their weapons and surrendering after a three-months' fight and the tailors being granted a 44-hour work week. Then comes something else—men like Professor Ripley, Louis Marshall, great men in our community, come out with a statement that the workers are justified in their demands; and now they can no longer raise the outcry, as they did at the very outset, that the ladies' waist makers are real Bolsheviki!—Just notice, they don't mention this evil word any more—because they asked for a 44-hour work week! Then what else remains to those drowning in the sea of universal condemnation of the great labor struggle, but to catch on to a straw. Alas, our workers want nothing less than a life-job to their jobs.

I have already pointed out the stupidity of this outcry. I proved that the worker would have to be shut up in a madhouse if he called down such an infliction upon himself. In a talk with B. Schlesinger, I found out that the average period that a man works at ladies' waists is not more than three or four years—a thing which can be proven both by figures and by reasoning. I shall not bother my readers with statistics now, but shall try to reason the matter out. About 80 per cent of those who work at ladies' waists are young girls. And young girls have the habit and inclination to marry. Of course, if they were very happy in their shops, they would, perhaps not do this in such a hurry, but since such is not the case, they try to get rid of the shop as soon as possible. And for this reason it rarely happens that a girl works in a shop more than three or four years. If she does not marry, she finds, during that period of time, some easier and better-paying job. And the bosses designate these three or four years as a "job for a lifetime."

The same is true of the young men. Any young man with red blood in his veins, with a little ambition to get somewhere, will not remain all his life making ladies' waists. Why should he do this, if he can find some work which pays him much better? So one is fully justified in saying that the young men also do not grow old in the ladies' waists industry. In two or three years they find that they must find something better. And, because of this we can see so clearly through the bosses' bluff about a life job.

But let us admit that this is

The demand, the strange demand of the workers—then where is the wrong? What is the cent person, even though he be a boss, will undertake to assert that when a worker has worked in a shop for a long time, the boss has a right to discharge him without any valid excuse? The boss is, of course, legally, the owner of his shop and at present none of the strikers think of taking this property from him. But it must be admitted that from a higher standpoint, from the standpoint of justice and right, although not of law, the worker has also some share in the shop, and if for this share he demands only the right to work and earn a living, then who can justify that the worker is not justified in his demands? One who is not altogether blind, and understanding that the worker has a right to say to the boss: I have worked for you; I have toiled more for you than for myself. Through my work I only managed to earn a meager livelihood for myself; but you have grown rich through my work; I want to keep on working as up till now, and if you want to send me away (and strikers are not sent away when there is plenty of work, but only when work is slack) then I should like to know the reason why. If there is less work to be done, then I am willing to take less and share the work with the other workers. You will lose nothing by this. But if you insist on sending me away, and condemning me to misery and hunger, then I want to know why? How have I sinned?

Who, who, I ask, can accuse me, and say that the worker is unjustified and that the boss is in the right?

And this, if you please, is the strongest argument of the bosses. They are silent about all previous matters. This has remained the only crevice through which they hope to crawl. Poor bosses, your condition is fully deplorable—it goes to our hearts. This state of affairs only makes us feel contempt for you—we cannot hate you. You are too little, too foolish, to deserve anyone's hatred. Or can you only hate the strong, the brave, when these want to do evil. Weak cowards and liars—it is beyond one's strength to hate such.

Our Strikers Firm and Courageous.

On another page the reader will find some reports about what is happening in the halls where our strikers congregate. The writers of these reports received but a single instruction from me: describe what you see and hear. No exaggerations, no smoothing over that which is unpleasant. I and the readers of this paper and the whole international want to know the truth. And I vouch for the truth of these reports. They wrote what they saw and heard, and what we find in their reports? A firm determination not to give up the fight until it will be crowned with success—no matter how long its duration, no matter how great the privations, the sufferings which may come with the rays of unemployment.

This firm determination, this great courage, this readiness for everything which may come, all this is the strongest guarantee of a sure victory. This is

the iron wall against which all the arguments of the bosses must sooner or later be smashed.

I wish to say that the great courage of our strikers will never have to be put to such a terrible test. The treasury of the bureau is, in truth, not as full as it might have been. But never mind. Ten years ago the ladies' waist makers had nothing of their own and yet who won the strike? Wasn't it the workers? And now, with a strong union, with a great and mighty international, with a powerful labor movement—will the strikers to hunger now? No, no, this will not, this cannot ever happen.

And the smaller bosses realize this at the very outset and they in line, one behind the other, asking to settle, and settle, and settle. I wish to say that according to the demands of the workers. While writing these lines I am not yet certain, but still I believe that before the end of the week, about 15,000 will be back at work under their own conditions.

"BOLSHEVISM."

All who object to any change, including the one who is profited by some special privilege or opportunity, of which there is not enough to go round, must be deeply grateful to Lenin and Trotsky for having introduced or given world currency to this new world, used by them to express their meaning and to justify their objection to social justice. "Bolshevism." The least thoughtful, even, must realize that every established government in the world feels itself liable for a breach of promise, brought by its people for failure to represent the people as a whole and for too great tenderness to the few who possess most of the wealth and property of every land, country, on all the six continents. The words "socialism," "anarchy," "communism," commonly hurled by those who have, against those who have not—because the chance to have has been snatched away from them—had become a little stale. It now indeed is a relief to find a new epithet of hatred and disgust to apply to people who refuse to adopt the motto, "Whatever is, is best." We regard bolshevism as a scourge; but realize that bolshevism has never lifted its head to secure results or make trouble except in countries where injustice and government persecutions and administrators have been venial, corrupt and incompetent. When legislators and governmental executives in our country express their fear that a wave of bolshevism will sweep our country, we cannot escape the logical conclusion that "conscience doth still make cowards of us all;" that they have failed to live up to their own several duties and responsibilities. Bolshevism, as such, cannot be cured, because it is only a result. It is a disease bred by injustice, fostered by oppression, and brought to fruition in desperation. It is a dangerous of feet germ, because it so fully distracts people's minds from its causes. America is summoned to exterminate causes, if left to continue, would inevitably produce bolshevism here. To exterminate the causes is a prime purpose of America's program of domestic and international reconstruction. — The Farmers Open Forum.

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

By N. Pomerantz.

The organized workers of England have instinctively realized the need for the labor movement to be active in the field of politics. Back in 1869 a Labor Representation League was founded in England and in 1886 the Trade Union Congress chose an Electoral Labor Committee. The aim of these two bodies was to influence the political parties to nominate labor representatives as candidates and also to get them to include in their platforms certain labor reforms.

But the political parties paid little attention to the Labor Representation League of 1869; they practically ignored it. But the political parties paid a little more attention to the Electoral Labor Committee of 1886 which was an official committee of the English trade union movement. This was particularly true of the Liberal Party which is today under the leadership of Asquith. The Liberal Party nominated and elected many labor representatives. But that was as far as things went. The labor masses, however, could not be contented with the fact that they were being "recognized" by the Liberal Party and that a few of its leaders were being elected as members of parliament; they wanted to see results, actual improvements in their hard lives as workers, and this the Liberal or rather, the capitalist party, did not give them and did not even have in mind giving them.

Ker Harvie, the well-known leader of the miners, fought for a long time in the ranks of the trade union movement, for the establishment of an independent labor party. The Trade Union Congress of 1877, under the influence of Ker Harvie, proclaimed the principle of political independence. But nothing was done for a long time after that. But Ker Harvie did not relinquish his ideal until, finally, he saw it realized. In 1888, Harvie ran as independent labor candidate and was badly defeated. But he remained undaunted and in 1892 he ran again and this time he was elected.

That period was a stormy one in the life of English labor. Since the famous dock strike of 1889 there was great unrest in the ranks of the organized English workers, and they gradually began to free themselves of their conservatism and they began to act independently in politics.

In 1899 the Trade Union Congress adopted a resolution to call a labor congress for political purposes, and to this end it elected a parliamentary committee.

Very soon after this the representatives of the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress held a conference together with representatives of the Independent Labor Party, of the Social Democratic Federation and of the Fabian Society. The representatives of these organizations worked out a party constitution, and in 1900 a congress was held, at which was founded the Labor Representation Committee. That very year the Labor Representation Committee succeeded in electing three members to parliament of whom Ker Harvie was one; two others were elected in 1903, one

of whom was the famous Arthur Henderson.

In 1906 the Labor Representation Committee inaugurated its first great election campaign for members of parliament, and 25 of its candidates were elected. That year the name, Labor Representation Committee which sounded too local, was changed to Labor Party and since then this name has echoed throughout the whole world.

The British Labor Party is a party of the labor movement—not a part of the labor movement, but of the whole labor movement, of all the factions, which are willing to join it. The British Labor Party is a federation of the independent factions of the English labor movement—the trade unions, the co-operative societies, the trade union councils, the local labor parties, etc. Representatives of the organizations included in it, meet each year at a conference and there the tactics and the principles are discussed and resolutions are adopted. This federated conference, represents the British Labor Party.

During the periods of time between conferences the work of the party is carried on by the National Executive Committee of the party. The National Executive Committee is in itself also a federated body in which the federated parts are represented, each according to its size and its importance. Only the secretary and treasurer of the party are elected at the annual party conference.

The National Executive Committee does all the work of the party. It issues literature; it conducts a statistical bureau which publishes very important pamphlets about the work of the party in and outside of parliament and about the labor movement in general. It sanctions the nominated candidates of the various sections of the country and recommends various important law projects to the labor faction in parliament and also cooperates with this faction in all important legislative matters.

The same principle of cooperation, of federation, is also applied to the system of nominating party candidates. Every organization belonging to the party has the right to propose a candidate. First the organization must propose the name of the candidate to the National Executive Committee. If the National executive Committee sanctions the candidate, a conference of representatives from all organizations in that district, which belong to the party, is called, as at this conference the candidate is proposed for nomination, and if his candidacy is sanctioned by the conference, then he becomes the candidate of the party. Every candidate of the party, no matter to which faction he belongs, must, as a candidate, run under the name of "Labor Candidate."

The organization which takes upon itself the recommendation of a candidate, must also take upon itself the work of furnishing the financial means for carrying on his campaign. This

does away with the thoughtless proposal of candidates; and brings about that the party puts up candidates in those districts only, where it has a chance of electing them; and that the party does not enter the game of campaigning at which much energy is needlessly expended which might have been more advantageously used, as for the fun of it only.

From this it is easy to understand the organization plan of the British Labor Party—that it is not a strictly disciplined socialist or labor party, but a loosely-knit federation of free, independent members of one great family, of the labor family. The national spirit of the English people, of liberalism, of free cooperation, is clearly seen in the organization of the British Labor Party.

Last year the organization plan of the British Labor Party was somewhat changed. The party now accepts individuals as members among other organizations only. This was done mainly because the women of England were granted suffrage. It was therefore necessary to give the women who do not belong to any trade union or to any organization and who, therefore, could not be members of the Labor Party through any federated body, to join the Labor Party. This was also true of various other elements which do not belong to any organization and would like to join the Labor Party. Among these are professional people and other classes of intellectuals. This means that the party is no longer a purely federated body. But as yet the party is controlled and, as far as can be seen, will continue being controlled, by the federated organizations, especially by the trade unions, and not by individual members.

Such a loosely-knit federated party has, of course, many shortcomings. But it has, on the other hand, many advantages which no other socialist party of the world possesses. It is, at present, the most democratic labor party in the world. It is not only a labor party in the sense that it represents the point of view of the workers, but the working masses, themselves, are the rulers of the party; they, themselves nominate the candidates and they, themselves, decide the attitude of the party through their direct representatives. The fact that the party is still loosely-knit makes it more elastic; no matter how distant one of its sections may be from the others, this, however, does not cause any break.

This was best seen during the war. Whereas in almost all the strictly orthodox, well-disciplined socialist parties of the warring countries, splits took place in the ranks because of the attitude toward the war, such a split was avoided by the British Labor Party. Even in the British Labor Party there were many elements that, with great force, preached war to the bitter end, war to destruction and downfall, and others that preached peace at any price, even with the acceptance of Wilhelm's terms. Still the party did not disintegrate; it remained strong and united, in spite of all upheavals of the time, and the various elements kept on working together on all questions upon which they could possibly work together.

The differences of opinion about the war were not suffi-

ciently strong to break up the British Labor Party; these differences which tore into shreds almost all the socialist parties of the other warring countries had no effect upon the British Labor Party. The party lived through the war storm, and is now better equipped, more ready for conflict than ever before. The fact that in the recent elections—which occurred under such unfavorable conditions—the British Labor Party succeeded in doubling its number of delegates in parliament, shows clearly that the Labor Party is about to become the strongest factor in the life of England.

ORGANIZATION WORK IN CONNECTICUT STATE.

In connection with the great strike in New York, workers in other localities are bestirring themselves. In order that shops in other cities might not scab on the shops on strike in New York, it is necessary to have organization, and our international is going to have an air-tight, hundred per cent organization before it gets through with the employers.

Cities like Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis are well organized. Other cities are partly organized. If there is the slightest sign that shops in those cities are being used to break the strike in New York, workers in these outside cities will do their duty, as members of the international know how to do their duty.

In this connection, Brother Samuel Lefkowitz, one of the vice-presidents of the international, has been making a tour of Connecticut. In order to shut off any leakage from shops in the cities of that state, he has been organizing the dress and waist makers in New Haven and Hartford, the two cities of that state in which there is this kind of manufacture.

"In New Haven," Lefkowitz said after his first day's work in that city, "I found that there are several hundred workers making dresses and waists. They are not organized." About 85 per cent of them are Italians, the rest are Jewish girls. I called a mass meeting, and I got about 50 per cent of all the workers in the industry. They voted, enthusiastically, to organize, and to strike. That is the temper of the workers in that city.

Last Sunday night, Lefkowitz called a meeting of labor organizations, radical bodies and Socialist branches, to do what they could to aid the strikers.

The conference was a complete success. Fifteen organizations responded, and laid plans for advancing the work of the dress and waist makers. The Socialists of the city, several Workmen's Circles, plumbers, carpenters and capmakers, a labor lyceum association, and various other organizations met to take up whatever action was necessary, to vote unanimously and with enthusiasm to support the striking waist makers, and to go on strike in New Haven if necessary.

After his great success in that city, Lefkowitz is going to Hartford, where he will repeat his New Haven work.

The net result of the tour will be the complete organization of the dress and waist makers in two large cities where there had hitherto been no organization, new locals of the international

OUR CAUSE SPREADS OVER LAND AND SEA

By William Morris Feigenbaum

By William Morris Feigenbaum.

Whenever workers in any industry and in any land put up a fight for better conditions, for living wages, or for human treatment, the capitalist press instantly condemns the action as anything from "labor unrest" to "Bolshevism," "Maximalism" and "Revolution," and we have seen this tendency in our own country as well. And therefore we may discount what we read in the capitalist press about other countries and the activities of our brothers and sisters abroad.

It is the habit these days to use Lenin and Trotsky as terrible goblins to frighten the gullible people. If Lenin's name, or Trotsky's, can be connected with anything, or any movement, that is the end of that movement, as far as the capitalist press is concerned.

We learned, for example, that suddenly Lenin, who certainly has his hands full with his job in Russia, turned up in Spain, and with him were two, or twelve (the number escapes us at the moment) brothers of Trotsky. Trotsky had just jailed, hanged, shot and banished Lenin to Siberia—but that was nothing to the capitalist press. The Spanish workers were full of "unrest" and "revolution"—and in accordance with the venal journalism, Lenin and Trotsky had to appear somewhere—somehow.

As a matter of fact, the "unrest" in Spain is real. We know that the workers in Spain demand a general eight-hour day, and a minimum standard of wages, commensurate with the cost of living. In addition, there is a demand for the end of piece work, and political demands, such as the establishment of public works to alleviate unemployment, and the reemployment of all workers who were discharged during the general railway strike two years ago.

Very little is known of the results of the strikes. Whether they succeeded or not, we do not know. It is sufficient to know that the workers even in that country, backward, and with a Bourbon government, feel the urge of the world's strivings for something better, and that they throw themselves into it with all their might.

Across the border from Spain, in Portugal, something is brewing. As usual, very little is known as to the nature of the "rest" there. The press makes it out to be a great striving of the people for a restoration of Manoel, who decorated the throne in the country for some two and a half years, and

a fine fighting spirit, co-operation between the workers there and in the great city, and the excellent results of a good strike well fought.

When the strikes are over, Lefkowitz will proceed to his former task—that is, of organizing corset makers, cloak and suit makers, and other ladies' garment workers in the cities of Connecticut, from which work he temporarily rested when he took up the task of organizing the dress and waist makers for the strike.

who was removed by his indignant people in October, 1910.

There is a good deal of fighting going on in the streets of Lieben and Sporto, while warships are shelling the forts. Reports multiply that the movement is a royalist move, and the reader can take his choice.

As a matter of fact, there is no royalist sentiment in that country at all, except among the clericals. It can be said with positiveness that there never has been an uprising to restore a monarchy. Whenever a monarchy has been restored, it has been suppressed by reactionary against the will of the people.

In Germany, the greatest thing that has happened within the past weeks has been the elections for delegates to a Constituent Assembly, the provisional government, headed by Chancellor Ebert, called for elections to a Constituent Assembly, which should write the constitution of a German Republic. In ordinary circumstances, the entire radical world would have hailed this move with enthusiasm. But at this time, many felt that it would be a step backward.

The so-called "Spartacus" movement was directed to the attempt to prevent the holding of the Assembly. Headed by Karl Liebknecht and Georg Ledebour, it strove to prevent the holding of the elections.

The Majority Socialists, they argued—headed by Philipp Scheidemann, who had supported the Kaiser in the war, and who had entered into the "Burgfrieden" with him, had charge of the Government, consisting of six "People's Commissaries", were all under the control of the Committee of the "Arbeiter-Soldatenrat".

The more revolutionary of the German workmen, then, under the inspiration of Liebknecht and the others who had fought so brilliantly during every movement of the war against Kaiserism, felt that the temper of the people was not ready for a Constituent Assembly.

The "Arbeiter-Soldatenrat" met. It was an all-German Congress of Councils of Soldiers and Workers' Delegates. It was the Government. Its executive committee gave orders, to the Peoples' Commissaries, and the Liebknecht group wanted that Council to take the power that it had, and to keep it, with the expectation that shortly, the people would veer around and support the program of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

As the Russian Bolsheviks shouted war and a halt, before, so did Liebknecht, "All Power to the Soviets!" The Council had all the power but they did not want to keep it. Spartacans wanted them to keep the power, feeling that with that form of Government, it would be far easier to make the changes that the people demanded.

But the Liebknecht group lost. We know now what was the result. The elections were held. They resulted in great victory for the Socialists. The result will be, apparently, not the dictature of the proletariat,

sought by Liebknecht, but a high grade, democratic government, the most democratic that the world has ever seen—but nevertheless, a government that will recognize the property of the bourgeoisie in its war debts, and in its right to exploit the people.

Full election returns are not yet in, but enough is known to indicate that the majority of the convention will be Socialists. The Spartacans did not vote; many of the "Independents" or Haase Socialists, who were with Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, did not vote. In all districts, the two Socialist parties ran candidates against each other. And yet, there were over 200 Socialists, including 35 women, elected to the Assembly. The Socialists will dominate the Assembly.

The international-labor situation is interesting.

There is to be an international congress. As in the past, this congress will include labor unions and the Socialist parties in every land. The unions in the old country know no difference between themselves and the Socialist parties. Germans want to form a labor Internationale. But he wants no Socialists there. He wants only "pure and simple" unionists. But he finds wherever he goes that the unions are at one with the Socialists.

There will be differences of opinion, of course, at the con-

gress. Will Arthur Henderson group the band of British Socialists with Lenin and Trotsky meet Julius Guesde? Will Emile Vandervelde deal with Ebert, Helms and Legien? What will the position of the Congress be with respect to Soviet Russia? Will Socialists of the Tschikowsky be permitted to sit with the Bolshevik leaders? These are some of the countless questions that have come up and will come up.

After voting in the British elections, casting over 2,700,000 votes for the Labor Party, the British workers are now striking. There have been strikes throughout that kingdom, in London, in the coal pits of Lancashire, in the mills, the mines and in the shipyards of the Clyde, and the workers have been going out. The strike movement was tremendous. Possibly millions of workers were out. We do not know what happened. Possibly, within a week, we will have more definite information of what is doing.

The South American strikes are not at an end. Shipping is still tied up in the harbors of Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

The Socialist party of America has elected James H. Maurer President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, as delegate to the Pan American Labor Congress to be held soon in Buenos Aires, in an attempt to unite American labor on both sides of the Isthmus.

ROSA LUXEMBURG

By Dr. Esther Luria.

I can hardly take up my pen to write about Luxemburg—the wound is still too fresh. It seems incredible that we shall never again read in the papers about some speech of hers, about some proposition which she put before a conference, etc. It seems incredible that this symbol of life and struggle is dead. One cannot believe that Rosa Luxemburg, who for tens of years fought against German absolutism, fell after the overthrow of the monarchy, after the triumph of the revolution. Fell in the civil war, or rather, in the fraternal war; fell in such a horrible, cruel way. We cannot as yet grow accustomed to the thought.

The social-democratic party was the first to demand equal rights for men and women. This demand it lived up through in its own ranks. It gave high posts to capable women, and for this reason, Rosa Luxemburg occupied such a prominent place in the party as speaker, writer, theoretician and polemicist. As a speaker, Rosa Luxemburg was very popular in Germany. One need not speak of the working masses. They would always run to hear "The Red Rosa." She would inspire them, give them courage to fight, acquaint them with the problems of the day. The bourgeoisie public was aware of Rosa's biting tongue. To the German non-socialist intellectual the name "Red Rosa" was better known than the names of the famous German scholars. About the latter they had once studied in school but had long ago forgotten them; but about

Rosa they learned in the newspapers and heard about her in social circles. Rosa Luxemburg was a theoretician. She was an expert on certain questions and her writings on some of these are very valuable. A year before the war she wrote a book which proves that militarism is based on capitalist society. This work is the only one of its kind. Liebknecht's book on this subject is a historical work; that of Luxemburg is a deep, constructive study. The German social-democratic party was not lacking in theoretical forces. But Rosa Luxemburg occupied a prominent place in this circle. She was a professor in the party school. The German social-democratic party about ten or twelve years ago founded a workers' university which would instruct party workers. The party chose as teachers its very best members. Luxemburg was one of the professors. Rosa Luxemburg was one of the most prominent feuilleton writers in Germany. With her sharp, biting tongue, with her education, with her temperament and power as a speaker, she would always defeat her opponents. Rosa Luxemburg could not use up all her energy. With her power as a speaker, her popularity and her talent for writing, she could certainly have gotten into parliament. But the women of Germany had no rights and now that they have gained these, Rosa Luxemburg has perished.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in Warsaw fifty years ago. Her parents were Jews, aristocrats. Luxemburg studied in the gym-

...sitting from
de institution... went to
Switzerland to study. Switzer-
land was at that time the only
country that opened its doors to
women. The Russian women
were the first to accept the hos-
pitality of the Swiss republic.
Their struggle against absolutism
awoke in them the desire for
education. Their struggle
against absolutism also awoke
in them the desire to study,
so that they too went to Swit-
zerland to seek an education.
From Switzerland, Luxemburg
went to Germany where she
wished to work in the social-
democratic party. But here
there arose a difficulty. Accord-
ing to law, the law at that
time, a foreign subject had no
right to live in Germany. For
this reason Luxemburg was
about to be sent out of the
country. But she found an es-
cape from the situation. She
married a German. Then she
became a German citizen, and
no one had the right to molest
her. Luxemburg had no love
for her husband and never lived
with him. At that time this was
a very popular custom among
Russian and Polish socialist
women. Their work was the
most important, the most sac-
red thing to them and they did
everything to further it.

Rosa Luxemburg was not very
happy in her personal life. Nat-
urally she had to be in many
respects. She was very ugly,
lame, looked very cross and
would make a very unfavorable
impression at first acquaintance.
But her eyes made up for ev-
erything. Their brilliance
would tell of her temperament,
her enthusiasm, their expression
could tell of her intelligence, of
her exceptionally sound reason-
ing power.

For tens of years Rosa Lux-
emburg worked in the social-
democratic party of Germany.
She lived in this country all the
time. She was looked upon as
a German. Many did not know
that she was a foreigner. Many
among the socialists, even, did
not know this. I recall the fol-
lowing: Once we were seated at
a club. We were talking about
the "Red Rose." A lady who
was present told us that she had
studied in the Warsaw sym-
posium together with Luxemburg.
Almost all of us cried out: "But
that is impossible; she is Ger-
man." In spite of the fact that
Luxemburg had lived so long in
Germany, she still yearned for
her home. As socialists, the
German social-democrats were
interested in the triumph of the
Russian revolution. But they
displayed no closer relationship
to it. But this was not the case
with the "Red Rose." The Rus-
sian revolution was so near to
her that she had witnessed its
growth with her own eyes and
had to work for its progress. In
October she went to Warsaw
where she became active in the
social-democratic party. She
had a taste of the famous War-
saw prison, Paviak. In the Pa-
viak Luxemburg was closely
guarded. The other political
prisoners were not allowed to
approach her. But at the same
time great respect was shown
her. About a half year after
Luxemburg had been freed, I
found myself in the Paviak and
the guards would keep on tell-
ing us that: "This is where Rosa
Luxemburg sat; this is what she
did; Luxemburg would get her
meals from the secretary; Lux-
emburg would be interviewed

in the official's chambers; Lux-
emburg read a great deal," etc.,
etc. All this was told us by the
guards. The political prisoners
who were imprisoned at the
same time with her could tell
nothing about her, because they
had not been allowed to go near
her. At most they were per-
mitted to peep at her through
the window.

Luxemburg was interested
not only in the Polish social-
democratic party, but the social-
ist movement of Russia in gen-
eral was near to her. She was
the only German social-demo-
crat who was present at the
London convention of the Rus-
sian social-democracy. She did
this because of personal inter-
est, wishing to hear about the
work of the Russian social-demo-
crats. And since she had de-
cided to go to the convention,
the chairman of the German so-
cial-democratic party instructed
her to greet the convention in
the name of the party.

Luxemburg was a social-demo-
crat. The triumph of the
working class was her ideal. To
the realization of this ideal she
gave all her strength.

No local questions existed for
her. No special labor questions
interested her. She wrote no
books about the woman question
as was the case with August
Bebel. She edited no woman's
magazine, as was the case with
Clara Zetkin. And in spite of
this the women were very proud
of Luxemburg, were proud of
the fact that there existed an
exceptional woman.

Luxemburg was of a revolu-
tionary nature, eager for the
conflict. The general trend of
the party was too slow for her,
too calm, too watchful—she de-
manded more revolutionary
methods—she was not content
with hesitation and propaganda
alone. Because of this the com-
rades named her "Red." And to
the public she was also "the
red" because of her fight against
the administration, because of
her frequent arrests.

It is self-understood that this
revolutionist who belonged to
the left wing of the party, that
the theoretician who was so
deeply interested in militarism
because of its function in capi-
talist society, could not by na-
ture, be carried off her feet by
any false patriotism. Luxem-
burg, at the outbreak of the
war, went hand in hand with
Liebknecht. In the press and at
meetings she condemned mili-
tarism and the manner in which
the soldiers were treated in the
camps. She was tried and sen-
tenced to one year in prison but
because of her physical condi-
tion her sentence was postponed
for a time. Despite this,
however, she was re-arrested and
put into prison. Liebknecht
condemned this act in the Reich-
stag. He was of the opinion that
a woman like Rosa Luxem-
burg would not run away
from a sentence, that such a
woman did not stand in fear of
prisons. He said that only the
German police were capable of
misunderstanding and of igno-
rance.

It was only natural that this
extreme socialist should belong
to the Spartacists. She was the
leader of the party, Liebknecht's
right hand.

Luxemburg was the typical
revolutionist—fearless, ener-
getic, eager for battle. She knew
of no compromises. Courage-
ously and with firm steps she
worked toward her goal. She

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT IN OUR ORGANIZATION

A new departure has been
created and very interesting to
be sure. The Extension Service,
which means that in addition to
the activities already provided
for at the different Unity Cen-
ters at Public Schools and the
Workers' University at Wash-
ington Irving High School and
the Course for Business Agents
at the New York Public Library
we will be able now to provide
lectures and musical programs
for our members at the business
meeting places of our Union Lo-
cals. No sooner did we an-
nounce this than five locals
have applied for lectures. Local
20 was the first one to avail it-
self of this opportunity and a
series of lectures has been ar-
ranged for them, the first one
which was held at their meeting
on Wednesday, 29th, with B.
Vladak as speaker. Local 1,
Local 66, Local 23 have already
applied for similar arrangements
and very soon all the others will
fall in line. Local 48 has at our
request elected a special com-
mittee to work with us in order
to arrange Italian lectures and
classes. As fast as we can we
are enlisting all available speak-
ers and subjects of general in-
terest to a trade unionist will
be discussed from all viewpoints.
Current events will be taken up
very soon. This arrangement to
give lectures in connection with
the business meeting is doing
well, helping our members to
get instruction and strengthen-
ing the organization. It is the
general belief that at least twice
as many members come to the
business meeting if not more.

We are kept busily engaged in
doing this work but there is no
reason why we should not do
more of this kind.

Let all those locals who have
committees on education in-
struct them to start something.
Those who have not are kindly
requested to elect such com-
mittees and confer with our de-
partment. Very good work can
be done.

Any ten or twenty members
can ask that a certain class,
creating a subject that may be
of interest to them, be estab-
lished and the writer will try his
best and see that their request
be materialized.

In the meantime the Workers'
University at Washington Ir-
ving High School is doing splen-
did work. The class on evolu-
tion with Everett Dean Martin
as instructor is well attended
and is being held regularly ev-
ery Monday evening at 8 o'clock,
so is the course on social inter-
pretation of literature by Dr.
Henry Neuman every Thurs-
day evening. No one who visits
our Seminary on Co-operation
conducted by Dr. James P. War-
basse every Friday evening, re-
grets it. A very important
feature is announced with
the course on Labor and the
Law by Dr. Harry Laidler Sat-
urday afternoon at 4 o'clock,
the subject of this week being
"Boycotts and Blacklists." All

was the Sophia Spiridova of
the German social-democratic
party. Her death was a tragic
one. Sophia fell at the hands of
the Czar's government. Luxem-
burg fell at the hands of
some unknown, in the civil war.
Both shall remain in our mem-
ories as holy revolutionists.

those who joined the public
speaking class held on Sunday
afternoon at 3, by Gustaf P.
Shuits, are asked to come early.

The Unity Centers are report-
ing progress in all boroughs of
Greater New York with the lit-
tle exception that the strike sit-
uation affects a little the classes
numerically.

But this will not last and we
would advise those who have
not done so to register in their
respective center for any course
or class they want. English,
Public Speaking, Reading Club,
Literature, Drama, Science,
Gymnasium, Swimming, Cur-
rent Events, Chorus, Dance,
Labor Legislation, Forum, Mus-
ic, etc. Register either at the
center, your local or the gen-
eral office, 31 Union Square,
room 1002.

East Side Unity Center, P. S.
40, 314 East 20th Street.

Wainmakers' Unity Center,
P. S. 63 4th Street and 1st Ave-
nue.

Bronx Unity Center, P. S. 54
Freeman Street and Intervale
Avenue.

Brownsville Unity Center, P.
S. 84 Glenmore and Stone Ave-
nues.

Washington Irving High
School, Irving Place and 16th
Street 1002.

All above places something
is going on every evening.

You who read this, if you are
a member of the International,
do not hesitate for a moment to
confer with me for anything you
believe ought to be introduced
in our organization in the mat-
ter of education. Write or come
any time between 9 A. M. and 7
P. W.

—S. LIBERTY—
Educational Director,
31 Union Square, Room 1002.

Congratulations from Maurice
Sigman, Gen. Manager of the
Cloakmakers' Joint Board.

I hail the appearance of
Justice, the new organ of our
International Union.

With the appearance of this
organ is realized one of my
ideals, to which I have aspired
ever since I became a member
of this organization.

The big locals of our Inter-
national Union have been pub-
lishing weekly papers, which, if
it is true, have served the inter-
ests of the locals. But one has
always observed in their col-
umns a sameness, something
confined to local affairs and in
our International Union as a
whole there has always been felt
the lack of that which is the
general expression of the com-
bined power of all our locals.

With the appearance of our
new paper Justice, there is now
combined what was heretofore
divided. Justice will embody
and express the general wishes
of the members of our locals
and the entire force of our In-
ternational Union.

Justice will be the teacher
and guide of the workers. I
will lead them in the van of hu-
man progress.

I greet the editor of our new
paper, Comrade S. Yanovsky.
He is surely a fit man to su-
per-vise such an important labor
paper.

Watch over our new-born

ACTUAL FACTS

About Conditions of Sanitation and Fire Safety in the Dress and Waist Shops of New York City.

114 shops have serious fire dangers, 330 shops have dirty walls, dirty ceilings, dirty water closets, etc.

In an advertisement printed in yesterday's newspapers, the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association challenges the statement made by President Schlesinger of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union about the unsanitary and unsafe conditions in the dress and waist shops of New York City.

The following letter by Dr. George M. Price, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the dress and waist industry of New York City, fully substantiates the facts and figures given by Mr. Schlesinger to Mayor Hylan. We reproduce this letter in order that the public may not be misled by the advertisements of the Manufacturers' Association:

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Cloak, Suit and Shirt and the Dress and Waist Industries; Offices, Rooms 907-15 Thirty-one Union Square West, New York.

Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, President, Jan. 27, 1919.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, New York City.

Dear Sir—

I have your inquiry of January 27, asking me for a copy of the records as to the number of defective shops in the Dress and Waist Industry, as submitted to the Board at its meeting of Dec. 5, 1918. In compliance with your request I beg to inform you as follows:

There were in this industry altogether 325 shops with 25,268 workers. Of the 325 shops there were 149 in which no defects whatever have been found (62 Association shops and 87 non-Association shops.) There were 676 shops with defects, of which 175 belonged to members of the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association and 501 were non-Association shops.

As to the classification of defects, there were 114 shops in the Dress and Waist industry having serious fire danger, and 330 shops having dirty walls, ceilings, water closets, etc. Very truly yours,
G. M. P. S.

GEORGE M. PRICE,
Director.

Equally Untrue

The statement by the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association in the same advertisement that "The leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in conference with the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association, absolutely refused to consider any working agreement until the Association would agree to assure every worker employment for life after she had been in any manufacturers' employment for two weeks," is equally untrue. No such demand was ever made by the Union.

When he took up the task of organizing the dress and waist makers for the strike.

clear in the following paragraph:

The question of the employers' right to discharge workers is not as difficult as has been made to appear by the employers. The Board of Arbitration, under the chairmanship of Justice Louis D. Brandeis and Judge Julian W. Mack, has on many occasions decided that the employers have the right to discharge any worker for a fair-just and reasonable cause, but the Board has held that in view of the fact that the workers under the protocol had surrendered their legal right to strike as a remedy against abuses of the employers' prerogatives, they are

LADIES' TAILORS AND ALTERATION WORKERS LOCAL 30

Those members who were present to the election meeting on Monday, Jan. 13, noticed the means and ways of voting.

Some times such campaigns brings in life in an organization, but when it is done in a decent and fair way.

We did not have any primaries, and we left to the intelligence of the members to vote for whom they chose best, but as it is proven the meeting was a well organized one by persons in whose interest it was to get rid of the old administration for its strict control on the Union work.

The Executive Board at its last two meetings discussed the question and came to an unanimous decision that the election was carried on in an illegal way and therefore the Executive Board decided to order a new election.

For this purpose Tuesday, February 4th, at 8.30 P. M., a general member meeting will be held at Mount Morris Hall, 1362 Fifth Avenue, near 113th Street, where the question of the election will be discussed and decided by the members whether the election was legal or not legal.

We believe that it is not necessary to appeal to you to come to the very important meeting and give your honest and sincere opinion according to the facts that will be produced to you. Do not forget Tuesday, February 4th.

Rumors are going around that our local is against the amalgamation with Local 3. The only true fact is that Local No. 3 broke off the negotiations of amalgamating the two Locals, because they wanted that Local 80 should concede to their wish in a certain question to which we could not agree and our delegation acted on the instructions of the Local meeting.

We have suggested to them that this question should be arbitrated by the International amalgamation committee, by the General Executive Board or a joint member meeting of both Locals and whatever these committees of the members will decide we are willing to accept. On this, Local 3 did not agree.

We are still awaiting for the call of the International to take up this question of amalgamation and settle it once and for all.
Harry Hillman,
Secretary.

entitled to a substitute for such remedy in the form of a machinery for the speedy adjustment for their complaints against unreasonable and unjust discharges. We are prepared to meet them on either side of the proposition; they may claim absolute freedom to discharge their workers justly or unjustly, fairly or unfairly, and in that case we must reserve our right to secure redress against abuses of unfair employers by such means as we have at our command; or they may limit their right of discharge, and in that event we shall be quite ready to surrender our rights to strike against discharges. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Affiliated with American Federation of Labor, 31 Union Square.

HELP THIS ORGANIZATION!

(Continued from page 3.)

clusion of peace negotiations.

With several hundred members of the labor movement in jail or under indictment, the need for organized defense is urgent and will probably continue for many years to come. A permanent, nationwide defense organization should be built up in all industrial centers, in order to render effective labor's protest against oppression and injustice.

In the name of the fellow workers who have already gone

SPECIAL OFFER

Learn the most easily-learned system on Designing, Pattern Making, Grading and Skitching for Women's, Misses', Juniors', Children's and Infants' Cloaks and Suits, Waists, Skirts and Dresses and Women's Underwear.

We Make a Special Allowance to Trade

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3rd, 2nd & 3rd Aves. Telephone, Stuyvesant 5517.

to jail and of those who will in the future be imprisoned for their devotion to the cause of labor, the Workers' Defense Unions calls on the working men and women of America to lend their aid energetically to this movement in defense of our common rights and liberties.

MEETING

OF

BRANCH A, CLOAK, SUIT, SKIRT, REEFER AND RAINCOAT CUTTERS
MONDAY, FEBRUARY, 3, 1919, 7.30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 ST. MARKS PLACE

SPECIAL ORDER OF BUSINESS:

SUB-MANUFACTURING PROBLEM TO BE DISCUSSED.

MAX GORENSTEIN, Manager.

HARRY BERLIN, President

Fourth Grand Annual

RECEPTION AND BALL

Given by the

EMBROIDERY WORKERS' UNION

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

SATURDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1919

At Eight O'clock

AT MCKINLEY SQUARE CASINO

169th Street and Boston Road.

Music by HENRY M. KIELGAST'S JAZZ BAND
Tickets including war tax and Wardrobe 50-Cents.