

"My righteousness  
I hold fast,  
and will not let  
it go."  
—Job 27.6

# JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEADERS GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers  
of the world  
united You  
have nothing to  
lose but your  
chains."

Vol. III. No. 26

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## AGREEMENT SIGNED IN CINCINNATI CLOAK TRADE

Vice-President Sol Seidman spent the last two weeks in Cincinnati trying to bring about an agreement between the cloak manufacturers of that city and the Cloakmakers' Joint Board. The employers wanted to restore the piece work system into the shops, in addition to a number of other demands.

Brother Seidman had several conferences with the employers and succeeded finally in reaching an understanding. A settlement was effected on Monday, June 20, according to which terms the conditions in the local cloak industry remain unchanged.

There is, however, a new feature in the agreement in the Cincinnati

cloak trade. It is to the effect that the employers guarantee twenty-four weeks of uninterrupted work during the coming season.

There was no strike in Cincinnati, but the cloakmakers have, as a matter of fact, kept out of the shops. It was what we used to term in New York years ago, "a silent stoppage." On Monday, June 20, however, all the workers returned to their places in the shops feeling perfectly satisfied that their union has succeeded in realizing the attempts of the employers to restore inferior labor conditions and that the will of the organized workers in the cloak trade of Cincinnati overcame the obstinacy of the employers.

## VICE-PRESIDENT SIGMAN LEAVES FOR MONTREAL

In compliance with an urgent request from the Montreal Joint Board, Vice-President Sigman left on Tuesday, June 21, for Montreal, to take a hand in the local cloak trade controversy.

The agreement with the Montreal Cloak Manufacturers' Association has recently expired, and since then the Manufacturers' Association has tried its best to provoke a strike, in the hope that it will enable them to wrest some concessions from the workers. On May 3 a vote for a general strike was taken among the cloakmakers and unanimously adopted by the largest general member meeting had in years. The Joint Board was authorized to call the strike whenever necessary.

The Joint Board of Montreal, however, is ready to avoid a general strike as long as conditions in the shops will remain as before along the

lines the New York cloak controversy was adjusted. The task of keeping things going smoothly without precipitating a fight, however, is a very difficult one in Montreal. Recently, the firm of Lazare & Novack discharged the shop delegate for no cause whatever, though he had worked there for four years and was one of the best and fastest workers in the shop. He was at the same time one of the oldest and best union men in the city. As a result, the workers were compelled to go out on strike.

As matters stand at present, some definite and radical steps must be taken in order to bring the situation to a head. Accordingly, the Montreal Joint Board requested the International office to send Vice-President Sigman to that city to take charge of the pending controversy and endeavor to arrive at some conclusion, one way or another.

## New York Cloak Makers, Attention!

A majority of the locals affiliated with the Joint Board voted for the election of business agents, and the Joint Board is now engaged in making arrangements for these elections.

Members of Locals No. 1, 3, 9, 10, 11, 17, 23, 25, 48 and 52 are entitled to run as candidates. There are, however, several rules with which these candidates must become familiar before filing their applications:

1. Only members who belong to the union for not less than two years and are in good standing, can be placed on the ballot.

2. Members who consider themselves fit for the post must make out an application. These applications will be filed only until July 2.

3. Applications can be made out daily, from 9 in the morning until 7 in the evening, and only until 12 noon on Saturday, at the office of the Joint Board, 40 E. 23rd St., 4th floor.

As we are going to press, elections for an Executive Board are taking place in the Dressmakers Union, Local No. 22.

Local No. 22 is a new local which comprises the workers in the dress industry of New York, who formerly belonged to Local No. 25. This is the first election for an executive board in that local and is conducted under the supervision of Vice-President Samuel Lefkowitz, the Chairman of the Election Committee appointed by the General Board of the International.

Balloting will continue all day Thursday, from 9 in the morning until 7 in the evening, and votes may be cast in all the offices of the Joint Board of the Waist and Dress Industry—Downtown, Harlem, Bronx, Brooklyn and Brownsville. Arrangements were also made to vote in two public schools, No. 40 at 314 E. 20th Street and No. 45 at 225 W. 24th St.

## UNITY HOUSE OPENS IN FULL GLORY

The Unity House controlled by the Joint Board in the Waist and Dress Industry of New York, that splendid summer home of the workers in Forest Park, was formally opened last Friday, June 17. Upon this occasion, there took place in the main hall of the house a concert and celebration which was attended by almost 200 visitors who came to participate in the opening ceremony.

The reopening of Unity proved to be an event which will long be remembered by those who were fortunate enough to spend the weekend in that blessed corner of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The indescribable beauty of the place, the house itself—a veritable palace—with every conceivable convenience for comfort, makes it an ideal summer home in the truest sense of the word. There was not a dull moment for any of the visitors who came out to celebrate the event. Dull moments, in fact, are impossible in Unity House. The continuous stream of arriving visitors hastened away to the row-boats, bath-houses upon the lake, wandered into the woods, or lounged around on the numerous verandas; played piano, pool or basketball on play-grounds, or busied themselves photographing the beauties of nature in an effort to take back with them to the city as much as possible of it.

If ever an effort to bring together a gathering of congenial people was crowned with success, Unity House can boast of it. They were all there: Mr. Abraham Baroff, Secretary of the International, with an inexhaustible stock of geniality; polite, suave Dr. Price, healer of all ills, the head of the Union Health Centre; Mr. Israel Feinberg, Manager of the Cloakmakers' Union, with his quiet, knowing air, who never fails to join in every jolly song or sport; Mr. Louis of Shinkoff, President of the Cloakmakers' Joint Board, who appears to be constantly "on the outs" with ill-humor; and Vice-President Fannie M. Cohn and Harry Wander.

On Friday night, the merry crowd betook themselves to lake Unity that reflected a beautiful moon which danced the night tide away, and with dance and song expressed the joy of being in a world of charm and beauty. Saturday evening was the gala occasion—the event—and an expectant crowd gathered in the dance hall. The program was a rich one: Miss Sadie Cheliff played a piano solo in true artist style; Miss Julia Adler, daughter of the well known actor, Jacob P. Adler, delighted the audience with her singing; and the great favorite of the Jewish stage, Madame Valliere, recited two dramatic poems by Morris Rosenfeld and after insistent applause, enacted

the last scene from "Kreutzer Sonata" to a breathless audience. The rafters of Unity House shook with applause when it was over. Little Miss Halpern contributed two aesthetic dances. An hour and a half later there was a continuous roar of laughter created by Zella Cohen's very able reading of "The Schlegels," the "Punch" of Unity House.

The performance was followed by dancing—but the glorious moon lit up the night and the guests lost themselves in the woods and made merry. We venture to assume that no one slept much that night. Sunday was a perfectly "rara day in June" and everybody turned out for a hike to Lake Taminar, the Bands School camp, and soon the surrounding mountains were echoing and re-echoing the songs and merriment of theblers.

Another one of the wonderful sights, a pilgrimage to which completes a visit to Unity House, is the Bushkill Falls, a miniature of Niagara Falls. There wasn't one among the visitors who did not marvel at the necessity of departing from the house of enchantment; and many left with the solemn resolution to return as soon as possible for a longer stay—to spend their summer vacation there.

Invitations had been issued to all the locals of the International and these responded loyally. The Cloakmakers' Joint Board was represented by delegates from the Bronx locals, among them K. Shatzberg and M. Gardner from Local No. 3; Brant, Chancer and Goldstein from Local No. 11; Gold from Local No. 23, and Handelman from Local No. 35. Among the others well known in union circles was Ossip Wolinsky, manager of Local No. 66, and Auerback, Kaufman, Gerson, Resnick, Angel, Mrs. Wenzig and Myron Schaffer, the same local; N. Reisel, acting manager of the Waist and Dress Joint Board; Miller of Local No. 23, he of the baritone voice who furnished a goodly part of the singing. The Teachers' Union was represented by Miss Salzberg of Wadleigh High School. Mr. Fichtander, Director of the Educational Department of the International, and Dr. Schaefer and Cohen were also there.

As soon as you come out to Unity House you want to make the acquaintance of Miss Rebecca Silver. She is the very incarnation of the Unity House spirit. It was she who went a-hunting for a home for the workers, and it was a great deal due to her intelligent choice that the workers have acquired this beautiful summer home, which she now supervises. Miss Silver deserves the gratitude of every worker, and the only and least way we can express our appreciation is by spending our summer vacation at Unity House.

Twenty-one persons are to be elected to the Executive Committee. There are 37 candidates and the dressmakers of New York have, therefore, a considerable number of eligible men and women to make their choice from. The Election Committee of the Union has given

the event widespread notice in the daily press. The election has called forth a great deal of interest in the union, and it is to be expected that a large number of members will participate in these elections.

We shall make public the result of the election in the next issue of "Justice."

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By MAX D. DANISH

### KANSAS INDUSTRIAL COURT HELD LEGAL

**I**N a most sweeping decision affecting the validity of the Kansas State Industrial Court Law, the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas affirmed the sentencing of Alexander Howat, the President of the Kansas Miners' Union, to one year in jail for contempt. The opinion of the court is based on the assumption that "the act creating the Court of Industrial Relations is a reasonable and valid exercise of the police power of the State and does not impair liberty of contract or permit involuntary servitude." "The strike," the court asserted, "was called in defiance of the power of the State and definitely to test the new industrial law."

Howat was found guilty and sentenced to a year in jail several months ago. He appealed to the State Supreme Court and now the case will undoubtedly go to the U. S. Supreme Court for final determination.

From the very first day of its organization through a special law passed by the Kansas legislature at the behest of Governor Allen of that State, this court has become the storm center in the industrial life of Kansas. As remembered, its champion, Governor Allen, has gone about the country delivering speeches in favor of the creation of such industrial courts in every state as a cure for strikes and industrial unrest. Under the terms of the law creating this court, practically every essential industry is regarded as falling within the limits of police power and is subject to the jurisdiction of the court. The industrial court can stop strikes, order workers back to work and has other extraordinary powers.

The adjudication of this case by the U. S. Supreme Court will be awaited with great interest by the organized labor movement. If the Kansas Industrial Court is upheld it will create another bulwark of strength for the employers of the land and another great barrier for the workers in their fight for economic emancipation.

### PACKERS WIN IN HOUSE

**A**FTER a battle lasting several weeks, the House Packers Bill was passed by the Senate, last week.

About a month ago the Senate adopted a bill presented by Senator Sterling for the regulation of the packing industry in the country and sent this bill to the House. There a substitute was framed and adopted and since then the fight was waged around the features of the House bill which were obnoxious to those leaders in the Senate who wanted to put the packing industry under more effective regulations and who charged that they had been written into the House bill by the packing interests.

The bill which was finally adopted is, ostensibly, intended to break the monopoly in the meat industry. The bill makes it unlawful for any packer to engage in discriminatory or deceptive practices in commerce; prohibits preferential treatment of customers; makes it unlawful to manipulate or control prices; and prohibits the apportionment of territory of control either through conspiracy, agreement or otherwise between the "Big Five" packing concerns of the country, against whom the bill was actually intended.

The victory of the packers consists in the fact that instead of placing the enforcement of the law in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission, the

very same commission which made such a very thorough investigation of the packing industry and upon whose recommendation the present bill was based, friends of the packers in the House have managed to substitute for it the present agency of the Department of Agriculture. Senators La Follette and Kenyon battled in vain for days to take the enforcement of the law out of the hands of the Department of Agriculture.

The history of this bit of legislation proves again the assertion that as at present constituted, the House of Representatives is a more reactionary body, than even the Upper House of Congress. Instead of turning for aid, as they used to, to the Senate, vested interests now go to the House for assistance against "radical" legislation advanced from time to time by some leaders in the Senate.

### BRITISH MINERS VOTE TO CONTINUE STRIKE

**T**HE miners of England have voted on the latest proposal of the owners, last week, for a settlement and have definitely rejected the acceptance of the terms. The vote was 183,827 for a settlement, and 432,511 for the continuation of the strike.

The British miners have thus again decided against any compromising of their strike. What will happen now is speculative. Another effort may be made by the mine owners, and if such is not forthcoming, it is expected that the Miners' Federation will again appeal to the rest of the organized workers of England to aid them in their strike. Already the Independent Labor Party has called for such assistance and another congress of the British labor movement has been called for the near future, to work out plans for national assistance to the miners.

Meanwhile, English industry and the English nation as a whole is in distress through this shortage of coal and the stagnation in industry caused thereby. The owners, however, are determined not to be made the scapegoat of the policy of "reconstruction" decided upon by the Lloyd George Government and will fight to the end against the return of the coal industry to chaotic pre-war conditions. It is the longest coal strike on record in England and the longer it continues the more dogged and obstinate the strikers will become and more opposed to any deceptive compromises.

### B. R. T. AND INTERBORO CUT WAGES

**W**HEN it comes to 'cutting' wages, all employers in the country should be invited to take their cue and lesson from the interests that control the transit lines in New York City.

You see, in New York City we have no such thing as a union among the workers on the city railways. Once upon a time there was an organization on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit which lasted for a couple of years, but it was crushed in the general strike of a year ago. Now peace and contentment and conditions approaching semi-slavery prevail on the elevated, surface and subway lines of the Greater City.

So, when the managers of these lines make up their minds that it is about time to cut wages, they graciously invite before them a "committee of employees" and inform them that a wage-cut will take place on

such and such a day. Of course, they do not expect any back-talk or resistance of any sort, and the affair passes over smoothly and to the complete satisfaction of the managers.

The other day, the officials of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit called in such a "committee" and informed them that on August 6 all the workers of the B. R. T. lines will have to consent to a reduction of 50 per cent. It is said that some of the members of the committee mildly objected to such a drastic cut. But, of course, a platonic disagreement on this account will not stand in the way of carrying out this wage cut on the part of the managers.

A still more interesting confab was held between the managers of the Interborough and a "committee of their workers." It must be kept in mind that there is an agreement between the Interborough and its employees which does not expire until January 1, 1922, covering certain working conditions and wages. Nevertheless, the officials of the Interborough made it clear to the committee that they "hoped" that the men would consider a proposition for an early reduction. It would not be a risky wager that the "hopes" of the managers of the Interborough will be very soon realized.

Yes, the B. R. T. and the Interborough employees chose a year or two ago to give up their affiliation with the organized labor movement and submitted to the autocracy of the managers. They have even organized "company unions" in both of these systems, ostensibly meant for their protection. Now they are beginning to reap the harvest of this protection. These lessons of their employers' benevolence will come thick and fast upon them in the next few years.

Perhaps they will learn.

### REFERENDUM FOR WARS

**O**NE of the most interesting and forcible resolutions presented at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Denver, is the one which contains a demand that the power to declare war be withdrawn from Congress and be placed in the hands of the people, by constitutional amendment.

The proposal provides that the declaration of war must have the approval of the majority of the voters of the country and that those voting in favor of the declaration of war be compelled to take up the active prosecution of the same before those who voted against the declaration of war. The resolution rings clear and reflects the growing consciousness of the true interests of the working world.

"The natural result of our present system of business and industry," the resolution states, "especially the foreign, commercial and financial, is such as to cause at frequent intervals war between nation and nation at the behest of those who are interested to secure or protect the so-called sacred rights of profits."

The resolution also calls for the immediate limitation of naval armaments and calls upon President Harding and Congress to lead the way in bringing about a conference of the powers "with the hope and in the belief that through such conference that the billions now being expended in naval armaments may be saved to the workers and taxpayers of the world."

It is generally expected that this resolution will be adopted. Let us hope that it will be. Moreover, it is high time that the American labor movement placed itself in the van of organizations to fight on a nationwide scale against the terrific burden of militarism which are weighing down the working class the world over.

## Statement by The General Organization Committee of Local 9

As known to you, the present Executive Committee of Local 9 has obligated itself to carry out certain necessary reforms in our union, in accordance with the mandate and the pledge of support given to it by a majority of the members of the local.

Eager to observe the pledges made by it before the elections, the Executive Committee is now doing all in its power, but we can to achieve those points of our program which we appreciate, nevertheless, that we cannot accomplish our aims fully without the support of the masses of the workers comprising not only our local, but the other locals of the Joint Board. We neither can, nor do we desire to limit ourselves to activities which do not transcend the boundaries of our local and are under the immediate jurisdiction of our local executive. Of course, we are trying as best we can to achieve those points of our program which have a local character, such as, for instance, the establishment of a sick benefit fund. The more important and general reforms, however, can only be accomplished and produce the desired effects when the union as a whole will accept them.

A case in point is the problem of democratizing the union, which was one of the planks of our program. As you know, each local voted for the abolition of appointments and for the election of paid officials. The executive of our local has forwarded a communication upon this matter to the Joint Board. Local No. 1 has done the same.

As you may see therefrom, two of the biggest locals in New York City are for the election of the officers of the union and for the doing away with the practice of a committee of a few persons having the power of appointment of the leaders of a union comprising 50,000 members. The Joint Board, nevertheless, did not consider the demand of Local 1 and 9, with adequate attention. The Joint Board treats Local 1, with its 12,000 members, on par with Local 64, the Buttonhole Makers' Union, which has but a few hundred members. Each local, regardless of size, is represented at the Joint Board, as you know, through five delegates, each delegate having but one voice. As a result, three small locals can vote down two big locals, even though the membership of one of these locals is only a small part of the membership of the two locals.

Of course, this is not new. This has been the practice in our organization for many years past. Nevertheless, except for the voice of a few individual members, no protest against this regulation has been heard heretofore. It is perhaps due to the fact that the results of this inequitable distribution of power were not as palpably bad as now. When the Joint Board was first organized, the big locals played the most important part and they could very well afford at that time to treat the small locals in an unselfish and generous manner. They realized at that time that the small locals would not possess the temerity to vote down the big locals in important questions. It was felt that a delegate of a big local represented a greater number of men and women

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# AT THE DENVER CONVENTION

By HARRY LANG

## THE FIRST DAYS

Denver, June 19.

The first four days of the A. F. of L. convention are over already. We have listened to a number of speeches, received the fraternal delegates from England and Canada and in turn received the report of the fraternal delegates of the A. F. of L. to the Labor Congress of Great Britain and Canada.

The report of the Executive Council was, as customary, received without debate, and after having been divided into sections, given over to the various committees. The work, it would seem, is proceeding in rapid fashion, yet an atmosphere of indolence appears to prevail at this convention. I do not know whether it is the unusually hot sun that is pouring volleys of dry heat from the Denver skies, or the cool air that is sweeping down nightly over the city from the Rocky Mountains, or is it, perhaps, the hum-drum of convention politics and gossip that makes us all tired. One thing is certain: there is no "pep," no life to the proceedings.

The finest of speeches that I have heard here have not received one-third of the applause they were entitled to. Not even the speech of President Lewis of the Mine Workers, in which he described the wonderful fight the Mingo district miners were putting up, and the resolution of endorsement which was subsequently adopted by the convention, has stirred more than a ripple on the floor. Andrew Furuseth, the President of the Seamen, the "Sea Wolf," delivered one of his biting, fiery speeches in asking for the endorsement of the fight of the sailors and port workers on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and even his speech created no particular commotion. Furuseth ended his talk with the following ominous warning: "We sailors, the children of the sea, have nothing to lose. America, however, has a great deal at stake. If she begins to attack us, her protectors upon the sea, she surely will lose."

A resolution pertaining to the organization of unskilled laborers in several well organized industries, provoked some debate. It was brought in by a federal local from a small town in Indiana and contained a charge that skilled workers work side by side with unskilled, unorganized laborers on the same jobs and lend no assistance whatever to organize these unskilled men. The Organization Committee brought in a rather lukewarm report upon this resolution and this started an acrimonious debate, in which President Schlesinger of the I. O. O. F. U. also took part. The resolution was sent back to the committee for further consideration.

Will the convention continue to run at as slow a tempo as this right along? Let us hope not. There are a number of issues which will, doubtless, lead the convention into stormy waters, despite the rather pacific tone in which these issues were dealt with in the opening address of the chairman. Those who have witnessed former conventions of the A. F. of L. have, indeed, been wondering at the tameness of the opening speech this year. Everything was arranged to give the opening a very festive and solemn character. Prior to the opening, a parade of all the union men of Denver, headed by the delegates, took place, and every union must have had in the city took part in this parade. Banners with vociferous signs and mottoes directed against the "open shop" movement and the general reaction in the country, were carried along in the grand parade. Tens of thousands of persons lined the sidewalks and accorded a friendly reception to this march of organized labor. It was an unusually pretty morning, even for Denver, and the Municipal Auditorium, where the convention is being held, was wonderfully decorated for the occasion. Church bells were chiming, organs were playing and the gallery of the auditorium was crowded to its capacity. Nevertheless, that festive, holiday spirit which everyone had a

right to expect was missing. Why?

Of course, we can appreciate that the meaningless speeches of the politicians of the City of Denver and State of Colorado who came to greet the convention could not have inspired the audience. It must be kept in mind that only a half a year ago there was a great car strike in Denver squashed by these selfsame politicians. We also appreciate that the opening prayer did not contribute greatly to the militancy of the atmosphere on that morning. But it was Gompers' speech that was most disappointing, particularly at this time, when the labor movement of America is passing through such an acute crisis. It seemed as if the old fighting leader was somewhat confused, and his phrases were a bit rambling and disconnected. His most telling points lacked their usual force and effect. What may have been the cause?

Let me tell you now a little story which took place before the convention closed. It will, perhaps, throw some light upon the disturbed state of mind of Gompers and on the rather lame proceedings of the entire convention until this hour. You know all about the Brindell affair in New York. Brindell is a bird which nested in the camp of Hutcheson, the President of the Carpenters' Union. Brindell's Building Trades Council was declared by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. as an illegal body and the Building Trades Department was instructed by the Council to reorganize the Brindell outfit. You have already learned from press dispatches that the Building Trades Department had a convention before the opening of the A. F. of L. convention and endorsed the decision of the Executive Council. Hutcheson was very much dissatisfied with this decision but could not help it. Then there arose another jurisdiction dispute between the Carpenters' Brotherhood and the Building Trades Department decided against Hutcheson's wishes and "philosophy," as he expressed himself. Thereupon, Hutcheson with

his delegates bolted the convention of the Building Trades Department.

Hutcheson is on his high horse these days. The Carpenters' Union is the second biggest organization in the A. F. of L. and he feels that the Federation will not care to antagonize the carpenters. Upon the strength of this belief, he has been attempting to terrorize everybody in sight. He left the Building Trades Convention with a brazen threat which has provoked almost everybody. In addition to that, he issued certain statements to the press in which he made some undignified insinuations with regard to the entire A. F. of L.

The publicity which this incident received in the Denver press, and, of course, in the press all over the country, has proved that the much vaunted unity and solidarity of the American labor movement is more imaginary than real; that, in truth, there is no unity in that movement and that the bases of this friction are not questions of principle, but largely petty matters of craft and trade interests. The builders of the A. F. of L. and Gompers, its father, feel today as if the entire structure of the Federation, to which they have dedicated all their lives and aspirations, is like a tent upon a stormy field and they feel very much depressed over it. The Hutcheson incident has given all the delegates the impression as if a wild boar had broken into a temple and desecrated all that is sacred within its portals.

The Hutcheson affair has given the progressive delegates too a great deal of food for thought. Of course, the ideas entertained by some radicals in Europe that the American labor movement is "ready" for a revolution, are naive and puerile. But the progressives have, nevertheless, believed that the American labor movement is, at least, ready to become a part of the Trades' Union International, a part of the fraternal world-wide labor movement. These progressive leaders have, from time to time, been able to point out to the European workers that no matter what the shortcomings of the A. F. of L. it is a unified and solid body. And here comes a power-

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## Recent Labor Legislation in Europe

By LEO GLASER

(Special Correspondence from Paris)

(Continued from last week)

### B. Freedom of Trade Unionism

In Germany and Austria there have remained in power, practically until the outbreak of the revolution in 1918, the old stringent laws which limited and kept back the trade union movement among the workers. If the trade union organizations in Germany have developed tremendously under the old laws, it was rather in spite of them and even in opposition to them. The principle of freedom of labor associations was far from recognition in either of these countries.

The Revolution and the influence which it had had upon other countries in Europe strengthened and solidified the right of the working masses in these countries to unite in labor organizations, to conclude agreements with employers and has generally broadened out the ramifications and the sphere of activity of the labor unions.

### C. Condition of Agricultural Workers

The laws of Germany were particularly harsh with regard to the workers on land. Prussia, which derived its main source of strength from the class of land owners, bound agricultural workers hand and foot and would not let them or-

ganize and defend their interests collectively. The German Revolution freed the farm worker and has established the eight-hour work day in the agricultural economy of the land, except during the very busy periods of the year, when such a workday is practically impossible.

In Czechoslovakia the eight-hour work day has also spread to all forms of agriculture work. In France, this law has not yet been adopted. It is, however, on the order of the day in the Chamber of Deputies and is near realization.

In Italy and England, the condition of the agricultural workers was improved in a different way. In England, during the years of the war, there were created, through a special law, Land Councils charged with the fixing of the minimum of earnings for farm labor. In Italy, laws are now to be enacted which will strengthen the position of the agricultural unions for collective agreements with land owners.

### D. The Condition of the Woman Worker

In many countries there have been enacted during the past few years, reforms which have had a strong, though indirect influence upon the life of the woman worker. In England, even before the war,

a law was enacted which fixed a minimum scale of wages for the lowest paid class of workers, the victims of the so-called "sweating system." This law, while it affected both men and women, was actually a reform in the interest of women. In France, in 1916, after an sensational strike of the Paris "millefleurs" (the majority of them young girls in the needle trade industry), Parliament enacted a law regulating earnings of women home workers. Three years later, in 1919, a similar law was adopted in Norway, covering both men and women.

A great deal more was achieved in favor of the women who are compelled to work after their marriage. These laws affect women workers who are prospective mothers or nursing mothers. In Germany such women workers used to receive in former times six weeks pay after child birth. According to the new law in Germany, a prospective mother receives 60 Marks in addition to 10 weeks' pay and 25 Marks for physician's services. A nursing mother receives 50 percent in addition.

In England and Italy, the aid for prospective mothers has been increased. We also wish to make note of a bill introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies by Professor Finard, in which government support is sought to be provided for every woman worker for the entire period of her pregnancy and a certain period after child birth. Professor Finard also demands support for the baby and other minors of the prospective

mother, in addition to medical services. Since after the war, the subject of children's aid is very much in the forefront in France, and it is to be expected that this law will finally be enacted.

### E. Workers' Control

In Germany there have been formed, on the basis of the law of February 4, 1920, factory councils that concern themselves with all the internal problems of the factory. If any dispute falls of adjustment in these councils, it is carried over to another committee which consists of employers and workers and whose decision is final.

Such workers' control exists in England, in Czechoslovakia in the coal industry, and in a general form in Austria and Norway. In France, Italy and Switzerland this workers' control was introduced in the management of the railways.

These are the very latest achievements in labor legislation in Europe. It must be, nevertheless, stated here that all the above-mentioned reforms have been unable to reduce the intensity of the class struggle which rages even stronger today than before the war throughout Europe. Their importance, however, consists in the fact that they have created new forms for the class struggle and have brought into it a certain order. The reader may, therefore, treat it as material which is of general interest to anyone closely interested in the workers' movement.

# JUSTICE

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## EDITORIALS

### GOMPERS AND THE GERMAN WORKERS

It is yet a little premature to state whether or not the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L. will be an epoch-making gathering of American labor, as Gompers said in one of his pre-convention statements. So far, judging by the reports emanating from Denver, we find it difficult to discern any sign of unmistakable progress on the part of the Federation. Indeed, it looks more as if its critics and enemies, who have maintained right along that the A. F. of L. is incorrigibly reactionary, will be able to reiterate in elated spirits their "I told you so."

We shall, nevertheless, defer our opinion until we had read carefully all the proceedings of the convention, the debates, and had gauged the general barometer of sentiment that pervaded the convention. We would advise our readers to do likewise and not to allow themselves to be swayed by one or another partial report, and not to condemn in one breath five hundred delegates representing four million workers on the basis of a newspaper editorial.

We are inclined, however, even now to take issue with Samuel Gompers about his wholesale condemnation of the German workers. German labor, says Gompers, is the sole culprit responsible for the war. "Had the German workers taken the situation in at the critical moment, they may have lost several thousand in death, but that would have halted the war. The failure of men to act in times of crisis means treason to the general cause," says Gompers. In other words, Gompers believes that if the German workers had acted as true internationalists in August, 1914, they could have saved the world five years' of carnage and could have made their revolution right there and then.

Wittingly or unwittingly, Gompers adopts in this case, the point of view of the Russian Bolsheviks and of all other extreme radicals, that the German workers had betrayed the cause of labor through their meek submission to the mobilization orders of the Kaiser in 1914. It is a very grave charge, indeed. Not the Kaiser, not the court clique, not the corrupt press of Germany, and its lying diplomacy, but it is the German working class that is charged with the guilt for the World War. Is Gompers right? We believe not.

If the idea underlying this charge were to be developed to its logical conclusion, why not charge the Belgian, English and French workers with as much responsibility for the war? They, surely, were not less progressive than the German workers; not less international in spirit and not less revolutionary. The reply is: The workers of France, England and Belgium had no alternative. Their homelands were threatened by the invading enemy and they had no other choice but that of repelling the attack. But, ask we, were not the German workers confronted with a similar situation? Haven't they been fooled and terrified with lying statements that the enemy was at their gates and that, if they did not assume the offensive, they will be compelled to wage a defensive war that would devastate their fatherland? How can one, in conscience, accuse the entire working class of Germany with treason when it is an open secret that the old German Government cunningly led the population of Germany to believe that the war was a defensive one imposed upon it by powerful enemies?

The utmost Gompers could rightly charge the German workers with is folly and stupidity. Yes, theirs was the crime of having been gullible enough to believe even for a moment the protestations of their eternal enemies, the oppressors and exploiters of their class. And yet, we would still like to be pointed out, throughout the width and breadth of the globe, any mass of workers who had shown themselves in 1914 more far-sighted than the German workers. What about American labor? Was it not fooled in the meanest manner and deluded by no end of beautiful phrases and promises? The history of relations between organized labor in America and our own war-makers during the past years, labor's wholehearted contribution to the "war for democracy," and capital's retribution for these efforts, are pages burning with infamous, contemptible deceit followed by bitter disillusion.

Gompers, however, makes little mention of that, but is quick to charge the working class of Germany with treason. Is there logic or justice in such an accusation? We must keep in mind that Gompers does not believe that labor should oppose war even if it is a war for defense. Quite contrary, Gompers is fully convinced that a worker must be as much of a "patriot" as a millionaire. Gompers is not a revolutionist and scorns those who believe in revolution. How, in logic, can he, a patriot and an opponent of any revolution, condemn the German workers because they were good patriots and did not have the courage to make a revolution when their fatherland was passing through a most critical moment, as they were led to believe?

We do not know what has provoked Gompers to come out with such a sweeping "I ACCUSE" against German labor. We have not before us his entire speech, nor the speech of the English fraternal delegate, Mr. Thomas, to whom Gompers replied. We know, nevertheless, that this charge is on its face unfounded and unjust, and that a representative of four million workers should have exercised greater care and deliberation before placing the charge of treason at the door of the entire working class of a country, even if that working class is socially, inclined.

### RUSSIA BARS HER FRIENDS

William A. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, one of America's radical labor unions and one which has all the time displayed a very sympathetic attitude towards Russia, was refused admission into Russia at the order of the Soviet Government. Can anyone explain this?

Think of it! Mr. Johnston had made this trip, as a representative of his big union, to Russia, not as a pleasure journey, but in order to discuss with the Soviet Government the problem of the assumption of trade relations between the U. S. and America. Mr. Johnston is well known as a Socialist and a radical labor leader, and he was outspoken for the Russian Revolution in all its phases. Today, the Russian Government has shut its doors to him. We admit, we find it impossible to explain such an absurd and topsy-turvy act. This arbitrary act will cost Russia the friendship of a considerable number of people here and elsewhere and will offer justification for many to assume that things must be at a pretty pass in Russia, when even its devoted friends are not permitted to enter for fear that they might become its opponents from what they had seen and experienced.

Indeed, this refusal to admit President Johnston will create a feeling of disappointment among all friends of Russia in this country. We were told time and again that the Allies had held Russia in blockade for years, and the world was filled with indignation against this senseless brutality. Now the blockade has been lifted and in its place, it would appear, the Soviet Government has declared a blockade against the outside world. It is inexpedient, to say the least, and in the long run, creates enemies for the present regime of Russia. Had they let Johnston into Russia and allowed him to see even the worst, he might have been able to overlook a great many things in his desire not to harm the Soviets. And if he had acted otherwise, there would surely have been found enough defenders of the Soviet who would have declared Johnston as "bourgeois" and "traitor," as is usually the fate of those who come back from Russia with unfavorable reports. In either case the Soviets would have fared far better than through a policy of denying admission to its well-wishers and to those who are honestly eager to aid and relieve the distress of the Russian masses.

Or shall we, perhaps, adopt the point of view that the Soviet Government has finally come to the conclusion that it cannot expect anything from the workers anywhere beyond its own borders? The workers abroad cannot make revolutions to order in compliance with the demands of the Soviet, and, of course, they are of little use to the Soviet for the purpose of entering into commercial relations with the outside world! For this the Soviet Government is trying to deal directly with the bourgeoisie of all lands. The bourgeoisie of Europe and America may impose upon the Soviets severe terms, but they will, at least, give them in return bread, coal, machinery and other important commodities. The bourgeoisie of the world is, through the irony of fate, becoming the only savior of Russia, and while the door is being slammed in front of Johnston, it is widely opened for English commercial emissaries who may come and leave Russia at will. If this be the case, then, of course, there is a method in this madness.

### SIX COMMANDMENTS FOR THE MODERN CAPITALIST

Here and there, once in a long while, our capitalists are given the opportunity to hear an adequate appreciation of their true selves. Let us put down here, with unmixed delight, six commandments laid down in an address before a gathering comprising representatives of societies of employers and workers, which took place in the city of Jerez De La Frontere. They are as follows:

1. Give an example to others and do not content yourself with a life of ease.
2. Do not despise the efforts of the workers to improve their conditions.
3. Use your wealth in a natural way, by employing it to increase the prosperity of all.
4. Apply yourself to production for the general benefit, instead of thinking duties fulfilled by regular church-going and the saluting of the national flag, while at the same time appropriating the major portion of the products of the earth.
5. Respect the associations of the workers.
6. Avoid the adoption of violence because repression engenders revolution.

We like these commandments, though the old Ten Commandments are not to be despised either. For instance, "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not slay," etc., are pretty good rules of conduct, yet they seem to have had but a limited influence upon thieves and murderers all through history. We fear that these modern commandments will share the fate of the old-fashioned Ten Commandments. Our capitalist must be talked to in different, more persuasive language, before his mind is opened to conviction.

# REFORMS AND "REFORMS"

By S. YANOVSKY

There is an old truism that life is not another term for growth. Only the dead and the lifeless undergo no change. Human society lives on, and as long as it will live it will change continually its form and its mode of living. The moment it will become stagnant and petrified it will be dead.

Practically as much can be said for our labor unions. As long as they are vigorous and live they are and must be amenable to change and adaptable to new environments imposed upon it by the never-ceasing pulsation of life. The moment the labor unions cease to adapt themselves to new conditions they will have entered a stage of dissolution.

It is self-understood, therefore, that no friend of the labor movement will or should assume an attitude of opposition to reforms within the framework of a labor union as a matter of principle. Such an attitude would be another form of opposition to the growth of the labor movement in general and its normal development.

If there are such, blind and deluded persons within our own unions, we proudly admit we have not met them. On the other hand, it would seem that our unions suffer rather from a too bountiful crop of zealous reformers who are concerned less about the usefulness and benefits of this or that reform, than with the idea of reforming for the sake of reforming. There may be men in our midst who are afraid of all and everything that is new, of all that is different from what they have been accustomed to; some, because they are by nature conservative and believe that their union, which has existed for so many years without reforms, can go on functioning forever without what appears to them to be unnecessary changes. Others, perhaps, are afraid that the new changes will interfere with their own interests. They look with antipathy upon the reforms through the narrow spectacles of self-interest.

Of course, we have no kind words

for either anti-reformers or reformers of this type. We believe, however, that both these elements constitute but an insignificant group within our unions. We take it for granted that the bulk of those who believe or disbelieve in reforms are sincerely interested in the welfare of the union and that the personal element is absent in the molding of their attitude.

Elsewhere in this issue of "Justice" there is published a statement by the Organization Committee of Locals 1 and 9. We commend the authors of that statement for the clear and precise way in which their point of view is placed before our readers. No one should object in the slightest degree to the advocacy of changes and innovations within our union. Our object is only to consider how far these reforms are important, necessary and timely.

In that statement, for instance, the point of "democratizing" the union is being stressed at length. Naturally, every person who believes in popular rule will unqualifiedly and fully agree that the more democracy there exists in a labor union, the more promising is its future and safer its existence. Each and every member of a labor organization should be made to feel that it is his union, that he has to say as much about its policies and management as the next member, and that he has to bear a like share of responsibility for its conduct. Indeed, the more democracy in a union, the better. It is only when we come to consider the methods of democratization that the difference of opinion arises. We are inclined to believe that the election of business agents, for instance, instead of their appointment, as heretofore, will not stimulate democracy within the union to any appreciable extent. We have, upon various occasions in the past, made clear our position in this matter. Our readers know that there is a good deal to be said in favor of the appointment system of business agents. We shall not dwell on this subject, however, because the Joint Board has already decided to revive

the election system for business agents. We only wish to say that this reform has essentially very little to do with the democratizing of a union. A union can be very democratic with its business agents appointed, and very bureaucratic with its business agents elected.

Or take, for example, the point of representation of the locals in the New York Cloak Joint Board. Locals No. 9 and 1 are very big unions. There are in the Joint Board organizations that are much smaller than these locals. In that statement, it is claimed, that these big locals are accorded an injustice because they are not permitted a larger representation on the Board in proportion to their size. It is asserted that the tenets of democracy are being violated through this unequal representation.

On the face of it this claim would appear to be a just grievance. Upon further thought, however, it appears to us that the present principle of equal representation for all locals is thoroughly equitable. Let us assume that the principle of proportional representation had been established in the Joint Board. What would be the result? The entire Joint Board would practically be ruled by two or three big locals. The smaller organizations would remain in a hopeless minority and their interests would be poorly and inadequately represented. The small locals would lose eventually their entire interest in the Joint Board and would subsequently become weak and ineffective. That such an eventuality would be a detriment to the entire union no one will dispute. "A chain is as strong as its weakest link," and a few weak and defenseless locals could appreciably weaken even the strongest Cloakmakers Union. This is the A B C of modern trade unionism, and it seems strange that our old and experienced leaders need to be reminded of these simple facts at this time.

They appear to have left out of sight another very important consideration. The various locals united under the Joint Board are not, we all

assume, opposing bodies with divergent interests. All of them are vitally interested in the common welfare of every worker employed in the industry. Their principal interest is the integrity and inviolability of the entire cloakmakers' union. Why then should the operators' local have more to say in the Joint Board than the delegates of the buttonhole makers?

The inescapable conclusion of all this is that while democracy is a very essential and desirable thing, we must be careful in not misconstruing the letter of democracy for its spirit. We cannot help believing that the spirit of democracy within the union would be essentially violated if the Joint Board should adopt the system of representation demanded in that statement. It would lead either to the permanent domination of the Joint Board by a few large locals, or the Joint Board would become converted in a constant battle ground between locals organized to pursue identical industrial aims and interests.

Indeed, no matter how fine and noble the words "democracy" and "democracy" may sound at times, it is best to look into the substance of the proposals advanced under high sounding words and examine their essence. It was said long ago, that not all is gold that glitters. Besides that, the system of representation in the Joint Board, as the proponents of the change know full well themselves, cannot be changed on the spur of the moment and can be modified only at conventions. We expect that this question will be brought up for discussion at our next convention and will receive there a more exhaustive and complete treatment than we can afford to give it in these columns. Of course, meanwhile, those interested in these problems should discuss it at union meetings and may freely voice their opinion in the columns of "Justice."

There is another reform advocated in the statement of Locals No. 9 and 1 which, according to their interpretation, can be enacted without delay as it does not conflict with the constitution of the International. It is the introduction of shop committees. But we shall treat this subject separately in the next issue of "Justice."

## A Month With The Independent Department

By JULIUS HOCHMAN, Manager

### Greetings:

I hereby beg to submit to you a report of the work of the Independent Department for the period beginning May 2 and ending June 4, 1921

### Complaints

**Independent**—During this period, 422 complaints were attended to and were adjusted in the following manner: 252 in favor of the union; 61 were adjusted by mutual consent; 7 withdrawn; 71 dropped; and 1 was referred to the lawyer.

**Wrist Association**—85 cases of the Wrist Association were filed and attended in the following manner: 57 in favor of the union; 1 case filed by the association was adjusted in favor of the association; 10 were adjusted by mutual consent; 4 withdrawn, and 13 dropped.

### Visits

The number of visits made during this period is 936, of which 922 were made in shops of the Independent Department, 1 in a Jobber's sample room and 13 in shops of the Waist Association.

### Shop Meetings

The total number of shop meetings reported is 237, of which 232 were meetings held of Independent shops, 2 of Jobbers and 23 of Waist Association shops.

### OUTLYING DISTRICTS

#### Harlem Office

The Harlem Office reports 27 attended complaints adjusted as follows: 24 in favor of the union; 3 by mutual consent. They also report 26 visits and 6 shop meetings.

#### Downtown Office

The Downtown Office reports 26 attended complaints, adjusted as follows: 24 in favor of the union and 2 dropped. They also reported 62 visits made during that period.

#### Bronx Office

The Bronx Office reports 10 complaints and 13 visits.

The other offices have not reported since the last report was made up, April 30.

### IMPORTANT CASES

During the period of this report, we have collected liquidated damages for violations of the agreement from the following firms:

#### Employers Doing Their Own Cutting

1. The firm of the Pearl Dress Co., of 11 W. 17th Street, controlled by Brother Senon, was found doing its own cutting and the penalty of the shop stopped from work. The matter was finally settled by the firm paying \$25 as liquidated damages.

2. The Jeanette Dress Co., of 507 Sixth Avenue, controlled by Brother Bernstein, was found to have violated the agreement by doing their own cutting. The sum of \$25 was collected as liquidated damages.

3. The firm of Jacob Edelstein, of 44 W. 17th Street, a shop controlled by Brother Senon, was found doing its own cutting and the sum of \$25 was collected as liquidated damages.

4. One of the firm of Gruber & Gruber, of 24 E. 22nd Street, which is controlled by Brother Lessick, was also doing its own cutting. \$25 was collected as liquidated damages.

#### Ill Treatment of Employees

5. The firm of J. Silverman, of 148 W. 23rd Street, controlled by Sister Berman, was fined \$50 for the "New York Call" for having violated the agreement by using improper language and attempting to assault some of the workers of the shop.

6. The Concord Dress Co., of 133 W. 24th Street, controlled by Brother Cabati, used insulting language to the chairman of the shop. The workers made a stoppage of work and the matter was finally settled by the firm apologizing and paying \$25 as liquidated damages.

7. The firm of R. W. Sauer, of 33 W. 21st Street, controlled by Brother Lessick, used improper language to the workers of the shop and was therefore made to apologize and pay a \$25 fine.

#### Violation of Legal Holiday Provision

8. An investigation disclosed that P. & A. Leichter, of 204 W. 27th Street, controlled by Brother Bern-

stein, had their factory open on Decoration Day and some of their employees were working that day. The firm was made to pay \$25 as liquidated damages and the matter of the workers has been referred to the Grievance Board.

#### Dealing with Non-Union Concerns

9. Upon investigation, it was found that the concern Dress & Costume Co., of 146 W. 25th Street, controlled by Brother Shapiro, was sending work to non-union contractors and also receiving work from non-union jobbers. The firm paid \$100 fine for this violation of the agreement.

The total sum of such damages collected during the period of this report amounts to \$230.

(To be continued)

### BAKERS RESIST WAGE CUT

More than 800 organized bakers are idle in Chicago because they refused to accept a 20% reduction. The employers decline to arbitrate, and their purpose is shown in herding strikebreakers for weeks previous to the date the agreement expired.

During the war these employers professed their belief in "industrial democracy" and repeatedly declared that "labor is entitled to share in the profits of industry."

## Educational Comment and Notes

### WORKERS' UNIVERSITY TO HAVE OUTING AT CITY ISLAND, SUNDAY, JUNE 26

Next Sunday, June 26, students of the Workers' University and Unity Centers together with their friends will enjoy a day's outing and hike to City Island.

Water sports, including swimming and rowing, and other gymnastic sports will be among the pleasures of the day. Those who wish to bring along bathing suits may do so.

Members will bring along their lunch and in addition each person is asked to bring two potatoes which will be baked on the bonfire to be built by the committee in charge.

All members are urged to be on time. The party meets promptly at nine o'clock at the 177th Street Station of the Lexington Ave. Subway (West Farms train).

At this station members will take the bus which runs to City Island. The fare will be about fifty cents both ways.

The following committee will be on hand to meet the members: Henry Pollack, Local No. 9; Anna Grydukovsky, Local No. 11; S. Garbel, Local No. 3; Anna Pasachowitz, Local No. 25; Tillie Chad, Local No. 90; S. Warantz, Local No. 25; Rose Gill, Local No. 25; Fannie Farber, Local No. 25; Minnie Amin, Local No. 25, and Anna Altschuler, Local No. 41.

Members should take the Lexington Avenue subway or the Seventh Avenue subway marked "180th St. Branch Park", and get off at the 177th Street station. Here the party will meet nine o'clock sharp.

### WEEKLY LESSONS FOR OUR READERS

As promised last week, this page contains the first of the lessons which we intend to present to our readers who could not attend our classes last season or those who did attend and wish to review the subjects taught.

The lesson in this issue is the first of a series of very important and valuable studies of the subject. It is needless to say that every organized worker should be thoroughly acquainted with the history and development of his organization and of the labor movement in the country in which he lives. It seems almost impossible to believe that there are at this time thousands of men and women who have to work for a living, who are exploited mercilessly by their employers, and who realize that union and organization are their only salvation, but who, in spite of this, do not take the trouble to become acquainted with what should be of greatest interest to them.

Let us hope that these lessons will stimulate such people, if there are any among our readers, to further study of the subject.

However, our readers must remember that these lessons are by no means complete. They are merely suggestions and outlines. It would be a tremendous mistake to think for a moment that a person who reads these outlines will know all about the subject. He will not. He will be merely introduced to the things that he ought to know something about.

These outlines should be read carefully. Each particular point will give food for a great deal of thought, discussion and reading. The careful student will find that with proper study these few lines can be spread out into many pages.

We urge our readers again to follow these outlines carefully. Try to understand what they are all about. Discuss the points with your fellow-workers in the shop and with your family around the dinner table. You may disagree with some of the state-

ments. If so, find out whether your fellow-workers agree with you. If you think that some of the statements are wrong, write us about it. And we shall attempt to answer you.

Best of all, read a good book connected with the subject. We recommend Mary Beard's "Short History of American Labor" as one of the best books on the subject. It is written simply and can be easily understood by most workers.

### STUDENTS' COUNCIL TO SPEND JULY FOURTH AT UNITY HOUSE, FOREST PARK, PA.

At the last outing and hike of the students of the Workers' University, it was decided that a body of twenty-five spend the Fourth of July at the Waistmakers' Unity House, Forest Park, Pa., remaining there for three or four days.

Arrangements have been made with the Unity House Committee that all in this party be accommodated in one cottage. The cottage will be decorated with the emblem of the Students' Council of the Workers' University.

The members will enjoy rowing, swimming, hiking, etc.

Those who will join the next outing and hike of the Workers' University next Sunday, June 26, at City Island, can also make the necessary arrangements to spend the Fourth at Forest Park. They can register at the Waistmakers' Union, Local 25, at 16 West 21st Street, and if they will mention the fact that they wish to be accommodated with the Students' Council, proper note of this will be made on the registration card.

## At The Denver Convention

(Continued from page 3)

ful organization, consisting of 350,000 members and refuse to cooperate with other labor organizations in the same industry merely because its officers are eager to assume the rôle of overlords in the labor movement! Even if the claims of the carpenters were just, they had no right to leave the Building Trades Department and endanger the unity of the labor organizations in the building trades. The assertion of it all is the almost certain fact that the carpenters will endorse the act of their president and give their stamp of approval to this new manifestation of Brindellism in the building trades upon a national scale.

Indeed, Gompers' speech under such auspices could not have been anything inspiring. Small wonder that the delegates were very much relieved when they were told that the fraternal delegates from England would be granted the floor the second day of the convention.

### THE I. L. G. W. U. DELEGATION

Before I am going to tell you about the speeches of the English fraternal delegates and the effect of these speeches, I want to say a few words about our own delegation and its attitude towards many convention problems, particularly the Russian question.

Of the Ladies' Garment Workers' delegates, four (President Schlesinger, Louis Langer, Saul Metz and

## History of the American Labor Movement

By MAX LEVIN

### LESSON I

#### I. Introduction

The Labor Movement in America, as in any other country, is governed by definite principles. To study the American Labor Movement, we must have some knowledge of these principles.

To begin with:

- (a) What is a Labor Movement?
- (b) What are the causes that make a Labor Movement?
- (c) What are its possible aims?
- (d) What are its possible methods?
- (e) What are its possible forms of organization?

#### II. Causes of the Movement

1. Before there can be any Labor Movement there must be a class of wage earners.

A wage earner is a person who must sell his power to work to another person in order to exist. Merely the existence of a class of wage earners is, however, not enough to make a Labor Movement. There must be other reasons, such as:

- (a) The wish to associate with others. Man cannot live by and for himself. The worker's life compels him to associate with other workers who have the same interests that he has.
- (b) The worker knows that it is very difficult for him to become an employer himself. Modern machinery is very expensive. Most workers cannot hope to save enough money to set up a shop of their own.
- (c) The employer's way of living differs greatly from that of the worker.
- (d) There is no personal relationship between employer and worker in modern industry; the worker at his daily task meets his employer seldom, if ever.

#### III. Aims

There are two general theories underlying the aims of the Labor Movement.

1. One is that the wage system cannot or should not be abolished. According to this theory the aims of the Labor Movement should be merely to improve the life of the worker by:

- (a) Getting a living wage.
- (b) Shorter hours.
- (c) Sanitary working conditions.
- (d) Sickness and old age insurance, etc.

2. The second theory which is generally adopted by the more radical wing of the Labor Movement, declares that the wage system of today is opposed to the happiness of society as a whole.

Those who believe in this theory, therefore, divide the aims of the Labor Movement into two classes: immediate and ultimate.

The immediate aims are those named under the first theory. The ultimate aim is to abolish the present wage system, and to bring about another which is expected to be better for society as a whole.

#### IV. Methods

Labor must use certain methods to bring about its aims.

There are three methods which may be used: industrial, political, cooperative.

1. The industrial method is the direct method used by organized labor in its struggle, e.g., strike, boycott, etc.
2. The political method consists of using the votes of labor to pass favorable laws.
3. By the Cooperative Method workers may form either consumers' or producers' cooperative societies and in that way either be able to buy things at lower prices or free themselves from exploitation by their employers.

#### V. Forms of Organization

1. Labor must be united in order to achieve its aims.
2. Workers may unite; geographically, that is according to where they live or work, by trade, or by industry; into local, national and international union.

tions with Russia, would bring forward such a resolution. Naturally, it would have received the unequalled support of the delegates of the I. L. G. W. U. The Russian resolution was also expected from the delegates of the Machinists' Union, which adopted a friendly attitude towards Russia at its last convention. These machinists are now included among the "Left Wing" of the convention and they have shown their radicalism at the convention of the Metal Trades Department, where they demanded a reorganization of the department on purely industrial lines, without disguising their intentions to build up a "One Big Union." Nevertheless, these radical machinists have not brought in a Russian resolution. The reason is that Wm. H. Johnston, the President of the Machinists' International, who left for Soviet Russia some time ago with the best and friendliest intentions, was not admitted into Russia. The Soviet Government closed its doors to him. You can imagine the news with which this refusal to admit Johnston into Russia was received by the enemies of Russia at the convention. The friends of Russia here felt very much chagrined over it as it was regarded as an interpretation that the Soviet has closed its doors not only to Johnston, but to the entire progressive labor movement of America. One does not want to knock on a closed door more than once.

(Continued on page 7)

## Statement by Local 9

(Continued from page 2)

and his voice was therefore entitled to greater weight. It must also be kept in mind that the managers and the business agents wield greater influence in the Joint Board than the ordinary members, and the former used to be elected, until a few years ago, by the entire membership. These officers would, naturally, side more frequently with the big locals, who "delivered" the votes, rather than with a small local that had but a handful of members.

The locals have, at that time, had full autonomy. They conducted their local affairs to their heart's desire and the Joint Board did not interfere with this autonomous management of local affairs. Today the situation is quite different. A local can do nothing at all and the entire power is vested in the Joint Board. In the Joint Board, on the other hand, the few big locals that are composed of the bulk of the cloakmakers of New York, have much less to say. They are being regularly voted down by the majority of the small locals, the number of which has been increasing from year to year. The result is that the big locals have lost the power of determining their own affairs and fate. It would seem that if only it became necessary, a few more small locals could be chartered and

these could eventually become the masters of the situation, without feeling any responsibility to the masses of the workers in the shops.

The equitable and just thing would be to give each local proportional representation in the Joint Board. It would perhaps be just as well to retain the equal number of representatives at the Joint Board, but to give each local a proportionate number of votes based upon the strength of the organization represented by its delegates, such as is practiced at the conventions of the A. F. of L. To carry out this point would, in our opinion, require a lot of educational work among the workers of the entire International, as it would have to be fought out and won at the conventions of the International as an amendment to the constitution. The solution of this problem would be made considerably easier if the number of locals in the cloak trade of New York would have been diminished. Several locals have long since lost their reason for existence, if they ever had any. Take, for instance, Local 11. They have in New York a finishers' local and an operators' local. Why is it necessary, then, to have another mixed local of finishers and operators in Brownsville? Such locals, like Local No. 11, should have been dis-

solved and its members distributed among the locals where they properly belong.

It is really time that we, who are constantly adorning ourselves in radical feathers, abolish this duplication of organization within our midst. It is wasteful from an economic point of view; it divides the workers into small groups and develops narrow-mindedness and a clanish spirit. We know well that troubles we have had to endure from the fight between Locals 1 and 17, and we are firmly for the strict observation of the principle that no more than one local in one trade be permitted in the same city. If this is carried out we might have a few locals less in the Joint Board and less local politics which are unwholesome and detrimental to the union.

As stated above, these reforms are not easy to accomplish. It is a question that concerns the entire we can, however, with less effort accomplish the election of officers in the Joint Board instead of appointing International and the consent of the majority of the locals must be given before they can be achieved.



Designing  
Grading  
Sketching and  
Draping

Ladies', Misses and Children's  
Garments—Fashion  
Illustration

EVENINGS SATURDAY  
10 P. M. 2-5 P. M.

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ing them. When the officers of the Joint Board will be elected through a ballot, they will have to reckon a great deal more with the wishes and desires of the workers in the shops than today. We have it written black on white in our constitution that officers must be elected.

(To be continued)

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### AT THE DENVER CONVENTION

(Continued from page 6)

#### THE THOMAS SPEECH AND IRELAND

And now a few words about the fraternal delegates from England. The delegates were J. H. Thomas, the leader of the British Railwaymen, head of the "Triple Alliance" and Labor Member of Commons; and with him James Walker of the English steel workers. Thomas' speech was a masterly lecture on world affairs and the reaction of the labor movement of England towards these events.

It is to be regretted that Thomas, in his speech, did not touch upon the attitude of the English labor movement towards Russia. So many other things which he did touch upon in his speech received a different color and light. Take for instance, the readiness on the part of many of us to decry the act of the "Triple Alliance" in connection with the general strike of the miners in England. After hearing from Thomas the details about the causes and conditions which led to the strike, we felt like being ashamed for having entertained even the slightest notion in the past that the English labor leaders have betrayed anybody in this affair. Thomas has proved that the strike is the result of the miserable Treaty of Versailles. Germany is pledged to pay a huge indemnity to France and can pay it only with coal. France, therefore, became a coal-dealing nation and is competing sharply with England. This has brought in a crisis in the commercial and industrial life of

England and has brought about the strike. Gompers replied to the fraternal greetings of the English delegates by saying that their addresses will remain as "marvelous contributions to the development of ideas in the labor movement the world over."

With the address of Thomas, the Irish question too came unexpectedly to the fore at the convention. The convention is always two-thirds Irish. Several caucus meetings and conferences have already been held about Ireland and all politics concerning Gompers, the next Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the fraternal delegates to England and Canada are revolving about Ireland. Everyone thought, therefore, that the Irish bomb would burst when the Irish resolutions, of which there are quite a few, would come up for discussion. But when Thomas declared in a courteous and firm manner that while the labor movement of England is fighting for Irish independence, it is opposed to a separate Irish Republic, the entire convention was set on edge.

Thomas is known as a conservative labor leader, but he is, nevertheless, a person with a clear head, whose heart is in the right place. He sees in advance and knows whether the natural and logical trend of the world's events lead. If he is the chief leader of the English labor movement, we Americans have every reason to envy the British workers their leadership. Nevertheless, just as Thomas admonished the American workers not to judge the English labor movement through American eyes, we shall neither laud nor condemn the American labor movement through European spectacles.

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# The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By ISRAEL LEWIN

In last week's issue of "Justice," we announced the removal of the office of the union on or about August 1, from its present quarters to 231 East 14th Street. During the week, a number of questions poured in upon us, relating to the payment of dues and the filing of complaints. Some members considered that it would be too much of a distance for them to travel.

To these we wish to state that the Executive Board, prior to engaging the new premises, has taken this question into consideration, and arrangements are now being made with the Joint Board of the Cloak and Suit Industry to collect dues for our local in the different offices of the Joint Board. As far as complaints are concerned, they may be filed either at the office of Local No. 10 or at the different offices of the Joint Boards, so that our members will not be inconvenienced in any way.

The Executive Board decided to call a special meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division for Monday, July 18, for the purpose of acquainting our members with the results of the settlement reached between the Protective Association and the union. At the same meeting our members will also be informed as to the General Elections for business agents in the Cloak and Suit Industry, which will be held shortly.

Our union having for years elected its own business agents, this departure is rather a novelty to the members, and it would not be amiss to have the entire procedure explained to them in detail.

There will be no regular meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division next month, due to Independence Day falling on the first Monday of the month. However, the Executive Board expects every member of the Cloak and Suit Division to be present at the special meeting.

The last meeting of the Miscellaneous Division held on Monday, June 20, was very well attended. The meeting opened on time, as there was more than the required quorum on hand (Members of the Cloak and Suit and Waist and Dress Divisions, please take notice). In point of attendance of meetings, the Miscellaneous Division is, for its size, far ahead of any of the other divisions in our local, which does it credit. Those present showed great interest in what is going on in the union, and a lively discussion of different problems confronting the Miscellaneous Divisions took place.

At this same meeting the resignation of Brother Morris Alovis as member of the Executive Board was accepted, and President Dublinsky, with the unanimous approval of the members, appointed Brother Isaac Fendler in his place.

Brother Louis Harris, who acted as special organizer for this division during the recent General Strike in the Children's Dress Industry, was given a rising vote of thanks by the members for his successful work during that period.

Due to the urgency for a special meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division next month, we regret to state that there will be no meeting of the Miscellaneous Division in July.

The following are excerpts of the Executive Board minutes of the past week:

Louis Gordon, No. 7140, appeared on summons, charged by Brother Morris Alovis, No. 4749, with actions unbecoming a union man, in that he made slandering remarks in referring

to the officers of the union and the Executive Board. Brother Gordon denies that he slandered any of the officials, but admits that he did slander the Executive Board, when one of his co-workers told him that the union failed to protect his interests. Brother Gordon was censured by the Executive Board, instructed as to his future behavior, and a fine of \$5 was imposed upon him.

Herman Waldman, No. 5611A, appeared on summons, charged by Business Manager Shenker with working for \$35 per week for the Alpha Waist Co., 31 West 27th Street, for four weeks, while having in his possession a \$44 working card. A collection of \$35 was made in this case. Brother Waldman states that due to the fact that he was out of work for a considerable length of time and that he recently brought over his parents from the other side, he was compelled to accept employment at those wages. On motion Brother Waldman was censured and instructed as to his future behavior.

Pasquale Stromandino, No. 3355, appeared. Mr. Stromandino, who is a dropped member, came before the Executive Board some time ago, asking that he be granted a continuous account. It was at that time denied him, on the ground that he scabbed at the house of Schefron, 16 W. 23rd Street. He now denies that charge and requests that he be permitted to rejoin the union. On motion same was granted him, on payment of the full reinstatement fee.

Joe Faeder, No. 71, appeared. Mr. Faeder, who is a dropped member, was found guilty a year ago on the charge of working piece work, during the course of his paying up the reinstatement fee. The Executive Board thereupon raised his initiation fee to \$150, which he has failed to pay up to date. He is at present employed for Leifer & Rosenblatt, 113 West 31st Street. Mr. Faeder was instructed that he will have to pay the full amount that he owes or he will have to quit the shop.

Sam Lapides No. 3343 appeared on summons, charged by I. Babitz, member of Local No. 1, 139 Riverdale Avenue, shop chairman of the Fleischer Cloak & Suit Co., 29 West 33d St., with failure to carry out his orders with respect to equal division of work. Brother Babitz states that on a certain morning, Brother Lapides was ordered by him to quit work as another cutter in the employ of the above firm was entitled to the job, having been out for two weeks. This Brother Lapides failed to do. Brother Lapides is also charged by Sam Levy, member of Local No. 1, 121 Stockton Street, Brooklyn, with making disparaging remarks about the union and its officers in the presence of outsiders. Brother Lapides does not deny that he failed to carry out the order of the shop chairman. He does deny, however, that he made any insulting remarks in referring to the union. On motion a fine was imposed.

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## ATTENTION of DRESS and WAISTMAKERS

In view of the fact that some manufacturers are attempting to use this slack period as an opportunity for not employing cutters and also for settling prices for piece workers in an improper way, in violation of our agreement, you are requested, specially the chairmen,

**FIRST---To report to the officers of our Union whether your firm is employing a cutter or not:**

**SECOND---Before settling any prices for piece workers, come to the office of the Union for advice.**

Fraternally yours,

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND  
WAISTMAKERS' UNION

J. HA'PERIN, General Manager  
M. K. MACKOFF, General Secretary

## CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10 ATTENTION!

On or about August 1, the office of the Cutters' Union will move to

**231 E. 14th Street**

(Between Second and Third Avenues)

### NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

GENERAL & SPECIAL:	Monday, June 27th
WAIST AND DRESS:	Monday, July 11th
CLOAK AND SUIT:	Monday, July 18th
SPECIAL	

Meetings begin at 7:30 P.M.

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